

national laws? Why shall a power be used at all, which is always pernicious, when it is not useful?

What then will become of the peace of the country? Is it not scattering fire-brands among you, to send abroad your laws with a stigma upon them, to have an ill name go before them, such as the assembly shall think fit to give them? What is the first step towards overturning the government of this country? To destroy the confidence of the people—to convince them that their affairs go wrong, and are managed by men and upon principles which it is a virtue to oppose—a people in whose hands the government is, will delay acting only till they are so convinced. As soon as the county convention, in Massachusetts, in 1786, began to vote the measures of the government grievances, that state was shaken to its centre—It is turning the principle of life into a pestilence—it is arming the right hand against the left. Society cannot be managed but by representatives, chosen to act for the common good—The choice implies trust and confidence—But when one set of representatives set up a cry against another, as tyrants and oppressors, what but uncertainty and confusion can ensue? And what security is there that this cry will not be set up sometimes by an assembly without cause? Will Congress always be in the wrong? Will the body which has information from all parts of the union laid on its table, be more apt to err than another body, which has no such general information, and is not at all bound to make up any judgment upon it? Will the election of a senator or representative to Congress never tincture their resolutions with a party hue? Will envy or fear of the power of Congress, or the ambition to snatch a part of it, never find an entrance within the walls of the state-house? It is a sound principle to be jealous of power—it is equally true that power will be jealous for itself. If it is natural for every body to attempt extending its own jurisdiction, it seems to follow that the assemblies should not pass votes of censure on the acts of Congress—The people only will exercise that power of revision with impartiality—It is their province to watch all their public bodies—For, as the people must govern by their representatives, they will have no inducement to make encroachments upon any of them.

The question concerns the peace of this country—The people have a right to judge, and thanks to our forefathers who established schools, they have sense enough to decide it.—Shall the assembly of Pennsylvania, as it were, snatch the business off the table of Congress? Shall they like reviewers, draw before them a law of the union, and make it depend for its passage, and its execution when passed, on their criticism? Shall the whole be governed by its parts? Congress is a government over governments—Suppose they should all adopt the measures of Pennsylvania, and undertake to decide upon the affairs of the nation, confusion of counsels would be the first effect, as dear experience has already taught us. If we escaped ruin before, it was because the adoption of the constitution saved us from it.—The people will readily see, that the peace of the country requires that the several governments should keep within their respective limits; without suffering one to encroach upon the business assigned by the constitution to the other.

A people, who have so long enjoyed liberty, would be wretched without it—Long may it endure—and what, but breaking the union, can destroy it? The best principle in the politics of this country is, the firm union of its parts under one efficient government. What other barrier is there between us and anarchy? It is our only chance for maintaining our liberties, and for becoming great. Things are in so prosperous a train, that if we preserve our present happy constitution, we can scarce fail of becoming the greatest and happiest nation that ever existed; but if we should so relax the government of the union that the band which binds the states together should be snapped asunder, we should probably become nests of petty barbarians, making spoil upon one another. So degraded and corrupted as to deserve all we should suffer, and sufficiently disposed to perform the work of vengeance for providence, by mutually inflicting all we should deserve.

CHARLESTON, Dec. 27.

Extract from judge GRIMKE'S charge to the grand jury, Camden District.

IT is with much satisfaction that I resume the judicial duties of this district. After so long a period has elapsed since I have had the honor of addressing your pannel, and after the necessary retirement to a northern climate on account of the infirmity of my health, I receive additional pleasure in recommencing the usual functions of my commission.

But grateful as these considerations are to me individually, there are others of a public nature which will contribute to heighten our feelings, and to warm our hearts. The present situation of South-Carolina, whether viewed as a compo-

nent part of the federal union, or in its natural independent state under our own constitution affords ample relief to the political eye by the bright prospects now opening upon us. The act of Congress assuming so considerable an amount as four million of dollars of our debt, relieves us from the difficult alternative of overburthening our constituents with taxes to discharge the interest thereon, or of ruining a number of innocent sufferers by withholding that payment from them. It is an act of the first importance to our state. It enables us to maintain our public faith and rescues us from the disgrace of a national bankruptcy; nor will the effects of this statute be confined alone to the public—but each individual will partake of the benefits of its consequences: many in finding the above mentioned sum realized in their hands, and others, that such a value will be stamped on our securities as to give them a currency and circulation through the state. The honest man who finds himself embarrassed in his circumstances if possessed of this paper, will be enabled readily to relieve himself from his unworthy situation: or if his property should chance to be exposed for sale, he will at least have the satisfaction of seeing it purchased at a fair price; for there can be but little doubt that such an accession of paper, with our proportion of the debt due by the United States to our citizens, [besides the annual amount of interest, amounting at least to 250,000 dollars) rising at once in the hands of our inhabitants and serving as a negotiable medium, will augment the price of property in a very considerable degree: and altho' this will not have any immediate effect, nevertheless we shall feel the advantages resulting from it in a year or two, when the interest on our assumed debt begins to be paid. It is with peculiar pleasure therefore, that I anticipate the fruits of this wise measure ripening into maturity, and serving as the basis of reconciling to the federal union the minds of those honest citizens, who at first were opposed to the constitution of government under which we now live, and I may add flourish.

As to our domestic state affairs, we may rejoice with uplifted hands and grateful hearts for the peaceable manner in which we have been enabled to alter our constitution, and for the benign and happy spirit of accommodation which discovered itself in the framers thereof. I believe that there were but very few persons, if any in the convention, who were dissatisfied with the principles ingrafted into the constitution. For each party generously sacrificing somewhat of their own opinions, heartily strove by mutual concession to render it as perfect as possible. The result of their wisdom, their deliberation and their liberality was unanimously ratified, the members of every part of our country giving their assent thereto in the most unequivocal manner.

### Philadelphia, Feb. 19.

It has been said that the circumstances of the United States are so diverse from those of England, at the time of the institution of the national bank in that country, that no reason for the institution in this country can be drawn from thence. The pleasing prospects of the United States, are said to supercede the necessity of a national bank. But a correspondent observes, that the argument in favor of the institution, in his opinion, derives additional force from the above representation. If a bank, instituted at a time of general distress, has been found to be productive of such extensive advantages, as acknowledged in respect to the bank of England—what benefits may not be expected to result to the United States from a bank-institution, in a time of profound peace, and at the moment when the country is rising in prosperity, encreasing in population, and continually appreciating in its credit, resources and revenue.

A correspondent observes, that the provision proposed to be made by some of the States for the unassumed part of the State debts, is a measure of a dubious complexion; so far as it originates in a tender concern for the State creditors, it is to be applauded—but in proportion as it is founded on the idea of State sovereignty's being essentially connected with making the people feel the concurrent powers of the State and general governments in taxation, it will be found impolitic and unpopular. The State creditors would do well to reflect, whether it would not be more for their interest to depend altogether on the general government; they have no reason to anticipate much from the particular States, from past experience, and their prospects will not be brightened by a division of the power, necessary to doing them complete justice.

### PORTSMOUTH, Feb. 2.

The address of his excellency Alexander Martin, Esq. Governor of North-Carolina, presented to both houses of the general Assembly of that state, on the 2d of November last, contains the following:

"The act of Congress for the assumption of the debts of the individual states without their particular consent, or application of the citizens for this purpose, seems to exhibit at an early period, a new and unexpected precedent of legislation in the federal government: How far the same may involve in it the independence and internal sovereignty of the state, I shall not undertake to discuss; but must presume the principles of pure and equal justice dictated, in that honorable body, this extraordinary measure!"

The Rev. Dr. PETERS, formerly of Hebron in Connecticut, is expected shortly to take charge of the province of Quebec, as Bishop.

The Rev. Dr. BASS, having resigned his election as Bishop; that office will probably be given to the Rev. Doctor PARKER, of Boston, in testimony of the affection and esteem of the Church, and in gratitude for his many important services to her, in days of distress.

The Rev. UZAL OGDEN, of Newark, in New-Jersey, is also a candidate for consecration as Bishop of the Churches in that state.

A correspondent observes, he is happy in hearing that a committee of the honorable legislature of this state are now considering the subject of establishing post-roads and post-riders through the state. The advantages which would result to the citizens at large from such an establishment, are many and obvious—an early and expeditious communication would be kept up—the people would be better informed of the proceedings of their rulers—and a vast saving would be made to the state by having its business increased, owing to the regular intercourse which the establishment alluded to cannot fail of producing—It is notorious that hundreds of pounds are annually lost to the state for want of such an arrangement.

Quere. Is not the general government in a fair way of being superceded in the business of the union?



CONGRESS.

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES.

TUESDAY, Feb. 1.

THE engrossed bill to incorporate the subscribers to the bank of the United States, was read the third time—and on the question, Shall this bill pass?

Mr. Smith, (S. C.) observed, that the bill being taken up rather unexpectedly yesterday, gentlemen did not appear prepared to discuss the subject—It therefore was suffered to be read in committee of the whole, and passed to the third reading in his opinion rather informally—as the members were thereby deprived of giving their sentiments in the usual manner on a bill of the greatest importance. He thought it susceptible of various amendments. The Speaker having observed, that the bill, agreeable to the rules of the house, could not be amended without being re-committed, Mr. Smith moved, that the bill should be re-committed, for the purpose of making sundry alterations, and removing objections which he thought the bill liable to. He then enumerated several objections: Those who are to receive the subscriptions, he said, by the bill are not obliged to give any bonds for their fidelity: He thought the clause which excludes foreigners from voting by proxy, exceptionable—and the time in which subscriptions are to be received, he thought too contracted.

Mr. Jackson said he was in favor of the motion for a re-commitment; but not for the reasons offered by the gentleman from South Carolina. He was, he said, opposed to the principle of the bill altogether. He then adverted to the situation of the United States, and observed, that it was so different from that of Great Britain, at the time the bank was established in that country, that no reason in favor of the institution can be deduced from thence. He adverted to the arguments arising from the facility which banks afford of anticipating the public resources in cases of emergency. This idea of anticipations he reprobated, as tending to involve the country in debt, and an endless labyrinth of perplexities. This plan of a national bank, said he, is calculated to benefit a small part of the United States, the mercantile interest only—the farmers, the yeomanry, will derive no advantage from it—as the bank bills will not circulate to the extremities of the Union. He said he had never seen a bank bill in the state of Georgia—nor will they ever benefit the farmers of that state, or of New-Hampshire. He urged that there was no necessity for instituting a New Bank: There is one already established in this city, under the title of the Bank of North-America—This proposed institution is an infringement of the charter of that bank, which cannot be justified. He urged the unconstitutionality