which appear to me the most suitable and efficacious to pre-vent the cash from being withdrawn from the Treasury with dangerous rapidity. I must now submit to you another series of propositions calculated to draw into the coffers of the State,

and to give greater life to the circulation of money.

Diamonds of the Crown.—These valuables, of which royalty had merely the use, belong to the State. The silver plate found in the Tuileries and in the other royal residences also belongs to it. It has a right to dispose of it, and the charges which the fallen dynasty imposed on the future prospects of the republic give this political measure the character of an expiation. I propose to you to decree that the Minister of Finance be authorized, 1. To dispose of the Crown diamonds at the price fixed on them by sworn valuers. 2. To convert immediately into coin, bearing the affirm of the crown in immediately into coin, bearing the effigy of the republic, the silver plate and ingots found at the Tuileries, and in the other residences allocated the fallen dynasty by the law of 1832 regulating the civil list. It is to be understood that all objects of art are excepted from this measure.

Domain of the ancient Civil List .- By the terms of the decree you have issued the property of the ancient civil list has returned to the domain of the State. This property, which has been strictly estimated, has successively pas the ancient Kings to the Emperor, from the Emperor to Louis XVIII. and Charles X, and from those to the ex-King Louis In a double point of view—of policy and of finance—to break completely this long and strong chain of public possession, and to strike a blow, whatever the ruin. A pretty look out! Philippe. By its origin, its tradition, and by the manner of its administration, it appears always to await a new master. In a double point of view—of policy and of finance—to break and to secure to the State the resources which the fallen dy nasty has rendered necessary, I propose to you to decide that the Minister of Finance shall be authorized to alienate, if he judges it necessary so to do, in the form stipulated in the decree which follows, the woods, lands, &c. which compose the property of the ancient civil list. It is understood that and that it remains, provisionally, under sequestration for the

disposal of the National Assembly.

State Forests.—In a financial point of view the Administhe means of ameliorating that part of the service; but in the mean time it is certain that several portions of by a more energetic and skilful management. I propose to to examine what portions of the State forests may be sold with advantage, and to declare such an alienation, if he think it indispensable, as far as 100,000,000f, conformably to the provisions of the decree which accompa-

nies my report.

Loan.—In order to provide for the deficit, which was press ing it on all sides, the fallen Government obtained from Par-liament authority to raise a loan of 350,000,000f., of which 250,000,000f, were subscribed on the 16th of November last, and of which the Treasury has received 82,000,500f. Shall the remainder of this loan be realized ' Shall the difficulties which the ex-King bequeathed us afford the contractor a presitory it may be, prudence commands foresight. Whatever may be the resolution or the real power of the contractor, the Treasury must be placed in a condition to be independent of the ulterior instalments, even those nearest maturity. The object of the measures which follow is to provide for this resuit. But the magnificent expansion of patriotism, of devo-tedness, of self-denial, and of intelligent ardor, which the advent of the republic has every where roused, counsels a bolder enterprise. A great number of citizens have offered the Government considerable sums and valuables as a voluntary gift. to those who make so noble a use of them. But it will be permitted to us to connect those generous citizens with the forof August, 1847, the Treasury may still raise on the last loan a sum of 100,000,000f. I propose to you, citizens, to decree that this loan shall immediately be contracted under the title of a national loan. All citizens who wish to offer their voluntary tribute to the prosperity of the republic will be admitted.

The national loan will be open during a month. In exchange for their offerings the citizens shall receive a coupon of 5 per cent. Government stock at par, even though this stock should se above par before the subscription list is filled. There will de be a triple advantage. On the one hand, the national loan being taken directly from the Treasury by the sub scribers, it will be immediately classed. On the other hand should the loan of the 10th of November, 1847, be abandoned by the contractor, it will no longer press upon the money market : and if, at a later period, new circumstances should oblige the republic to use its credit, we should be on complete-

I shall make known to the Government in figures the result all the measures which I have proposed. It now remains for me to complete this exposition by some

assuring. Thanks to the measures which have been, or are about to be prescribed, the approaching situation of affairs is good. In this first moment of uneasiness which have been assuring. good. In this first moment of uneasiness, which ever succeeds great political commotions, demands for money have abounded. The savings banks particularly have received numerous demands for repayment. But already the panic is subsiding.

Paris—and, if not disarming, having a strict watch kept over allow the King of Pedemont (who is a consenting party) to have first moment of the Gardes Nationaux suspects—in tact giving up Paris wholly and solely into the hands of the people. The demonstration of the National Guard, yesterday, for the purpose of The National Guard already see the tendency of modelonic Every body comprehends that the fortune of France is to day what it was yesterday, and they perceive that ameliorations has given itself. The zeal, moreover, of the citizens proves itself to be superior to all difficulties. The payments made into all the offices for the receipt of taxes give us the assurance of providing without difficulty hereafter, not only for the ordi-

of providing without difficulty hereafter, not only for the ordinary service, but even for unexpected necessities.

As to the general situation of the republic under a financial point of view, I imagine that it no longer shows any thing alarming. The national debt, deduction being made of the rentes which belong to the sinking fund, amounts to 5,200,000,000f. If any one inquires what that mass of capital before the sinking fund, and the sinking fund, amounts to the sinking fund, amounts the sinki tal has produced, the mind stops short, disconcerted before the enormous disproportion of the means with the results. But if the country itself is regarded, the aspect of what it can do re-assures. The English debt amounts to twenty milliards. It rests on the manufacturing and commercial subjection of the world—a variable and fragile basis. Ours is only five milliards, and it has for its basis all the public and private proof France-an immovable basis, and every day stronger. A few years of a republican government, of a prudent, firm, and loyal administration, and the credit of France will not have any equal. But, in my profound conviction, these favorable provisions cannot be realized but by the firm growth and strengthening of the republic. Let all good citizens contribute to that result, without wild enthusiasm as without useless regrets. The last prestige of the monarchy was utility. Many sincere men believed the maintenance of that form indispensable to the maintenance of order, and to the regulation of all legitimate interests. The monarchy once compromised, they believed all to be lost. They were mistaken. The solemn experience which has just been made ought to have convinced erring though sincere minds. What is certain, what I affirm with all the force of an enlightened and loyal conviction, is that if the Orleans dynasty had reigned some time longer bankruptcy was inevitable. Yes, citizens, let us proclaim it with joy and delight, to all the titles which recommend the republic to the love of France, and to the respect of the world, this must be added—the republic has saved France from bank-GARNIER PAGES.

Amid the immense mass of descriptions, narratives, and speculations which fills the columns of the journals, it is difficult, says the New York Commercial Advertiser, to form a clear and reliable judgment as to the actual phase of the great revolutionary movement; different writers looking from different points of view, and writing more or less under the influence of preconceived ideas, favorable or adverse to the current of events. The following, from the Paris correspondent of the London Times, is perhaps as worthy of credence as any

Panes, Mance 15 .- It is all very well to talk of the external calm, but there is a groundswell of agitation which continually goes on below, and which, perhaps, threatens new convulsion much more speedily than we, any of us, supposed a day or two ago. I do not speak of the general depression of spirit, and the constant low grumbling about the financial spirit, and the constant low grumbing about the mancial crisis, great as is the uneasiness that it brings, nor even of the excitement still kept up by many of the outsiers, who parade the city in thousands, not content with the decision of the Government, and still demanding less work and more pay, and who prevent other workmen from going about their business; even pulling down masons from their scaffoldings at the risk of killing them, as I saw this afternoon myself. No; all to day the leading agitation was that occasioned by Ledra Rollin's arbitrary circular to the commissaries of the departments; and, if the effect be thus great in the capital, what must it be in the provinces, where men are sent down "invested with the unlimited powers of the sovereignty of the people, owning no master but their own consciences, and rendering every consideration subservient to the salut public"—awful and memorable words; "charged to exclude every man from the elections whose republican principles were not proved before the revolution, and to choose those springing from the people and of the people ; and this by every means in their power—the means being ac-cording to their fancy, their powers unlimited. I cannot attempt to describe to you the excitement that prevails about this circular. Nothing cles is talked of to the exclusion of the financial crisis. The exaltés alone applaud; the general bet-

principle that the number of employments shall be reduced in | ter class is in consternation, and talks of tyranny and an ap- | There was even a talk of barricades. Early in the morning principle that the number of employments shall be reduced in a large proportion, and that their salaries shall be placed on a proaching "terror." There is much exaggeration in all this, a large proportion, and that their salaries shall be placed on a proaching "terror." There is much exaggeration in all this, a large proportion, and that their salaries shall be placed on a doubtless, but it gives you an idea of the state of the public pouring from the turbulent east.

By noon at least seventy thousand ourriers occupied the mind. In the Passage de l'Opera this evening were two or three well-dressed men haraoguing a great mob upon the sub-ject in the midst of much excitement. The Ecole Polytech-nique, I am told, has gone to the Hotel de Ville to-day, en masse, to protest sgainst the circular, and to demand its recall; and to-morrow a great body of the National Guards are to go, they say, for the same purpose. On the other hand, I have just come back from a Communist Club, held at the Conservatoire de Musique, in which a resolution was hastily passed to support the Minister of the Interior, "by force if necessa-Masters have been threatened to have their houses burnt over their heads if they did not send away their English servants, and having yielded, I believe, all, without any excepion, all over Paris, are threatened by anonymous letters with a similar fate if they do not take French ones in their places, which they do not choose to do. This putting down of car riages, and sending away servants, and not spending money. is denounced quite seriously by some of the papers as une conspiration de l'economie, and the riches who are thus traitres a la republique are warned, and all but threatened, with measures similar to those taken against the emigrants of 1793. Several absurd reports are about relative to a supposed counter-revolutionary conspiracy among the Garde Nationale and the army; of course, I should say, a nonsensical fancy. But the army; of course, I should say, a nonsensical fancy. But the other day, a young officer, on the contrary, told me that all the officers had sworn, since they were to be considered as fusion, whatever the ruin. A pretty look out!
FRIDAY MORNING, MARCH 17.—The aspect of Paris all

yesterday was very curious. When I got out the boulevards were filled with crowds, knots, and groups, and large circles were formed in all parts. The agitation was extreme. A great portion of the Gardes Nationaux had gone up to the Hotel de Ville, unarmed, to demand a revocation of the detin called "private" is not comprised in this measure, cree issued by the Minister of the Interior relative to the iusion of the companies of Voltigeurs and Grenadiers among the mass of the National Guards, and also to ask for the recall

of the noxious circular to the department commissaries.

They found the Hotel de Ville guarded by armed hommes tration of the State forests has hitherto left much to be desired. Those magnificent properties produce to the Treasury altogether not more than two per cent. I am about to consider the closed against them. Their indignation was great. The closed against them. Their indignation was great. The most of the middling and better lower classes were generally very violent against Ledru Rollin for desiring to bring back those forests might be sold with equal advantage for the the times of "the terror;" and men in the midst of these lit-Treasury and for the general wealth, which would increase the meetings were declaiming against him as a "despot," a would-be dictator, who had already a body-guard of ruffians you, in consequence, to decide that the Minister of Finance about him. All this was in the extreme, but it shows you the state of the public mind. All the day this went on. When I came out in the evening, which was a bright moonlight one, I found that the agitation had gone on increasing; it continued until a very late hour of the night, contrary to all usual Perisian habits. Every where thick groups, and people de-claiming or disputing violently. The better-dressed groups, adherents of the National Guard, were fulminating against Ledru Rollin in no measured terms as a coquin and a thief, who wanted to cover his bad deeds by getting up the excesses of the first revolution. Every where there was a considerable degree of alarm. All along the trottoirs, at every passage opening, at every corner were these groups. One y text for not fulfilling his engagement? I know not; but, in presence of the depreciation in public securities, however trandemand the demission of the noxious Minister. In fact, there demand the demission of the noxious Minister. In fact, there were two elements of bitter opposition at work—the National Guards (the bourgeoisie) and the people. Once in the evening a quantity of fellows, en blouse, were coming down the boulevards shouting "Vive Henri V!" It seemed very clear to me that they had been put up to this in order to excite the Rollin found the Regency likely to be received, he threw the minds of the people still more with the idea that the opposi-tion to the Minister of the Interior and his despotic circular is only a party manœuvre, a vile trick, if so it be. An effiche was on the walls, signed by all the members of the Government, declaring their intention to maintain the decree about the fusion of the National Guards; but about the circular, of of Ledru Rollin, and with the incumbrance of an under sec-Full of profound gratitude for so patriotic and honorable an offer, the Government of the Republic will not, however, accept it. We should leave the free disposal of their fortunes which, when addressed to the people, have been so soft and which, when addressed to the people, have been so soft and conciliatory—was angry and almost threatening in its nature. The feeling against Ledru Rollin is very strong; so much so tune of the State by a combination equally advantageous for it and for them. According to the terms of the law of the Sth ed, the people are strong, and no one will dare to stir. Al- not hesitate to say that, failing to make the Provinces return ready, you see, parties are violently and angrily opposed to members "ultra" enough for his views, he has the power to one another. I suppose the whole affair will go off without "terrorize" any refractory majority in the Assembly, and bloodshed; but the germs of persecution, oppression, and vio-lence, on the one hand, and of a desire of resistance and oppression, on the other, are all there. Altogether this new agitation has made the state of things any thing but pressure.

I have just been out. Hundreds of thousands of the lower classes are thronging to the Hotel de Ville, unarmed it is true, whole deserve rather the name of anarchists than of republicans. Lamartine is for himself, but much more moderate in the Ballin clause. His partners in moderation mobs that I have met are inflamed to the last degree, and shrick like mad people. Their cry is now "A bas les Carlistes ! A bas les aristocrates!" There can be no doubt whatever, it seems to me, that this whole affair has been got up to excite the people; a manageuvre, I suppose, of Ledru Rollin and self. When the Provisional Government appointed the Mayor serious obstacle.

In a report which I propose to supply, as soon as my calculations shall have been completed with scrupulous accuracy, I suppose, of Legru Rollin and his faction, if he has any. Legitimists are too cautious to think of such a fattle demonstration, and in the present state think of such a fattle demonstration, and in the present state to the Mayor) confirmed him in his office, to which I shall make known to the Government in flower than the first reproduct the Profest reproduct the Pr ly free ground, and our liberty of action would experience no excite the people; a manœuvre, I suppose, of Ledru Rollin and to souse the people on his side. The cry is as much "Vive Ledru Rollin" as "Vive la Republique." Placards meanwhile are all over the streets, calling upon the people to take

> hole fancy is absurd, although the people, excited by unknown agents, call it nothing else. In fact the old National Guards, it seems to me, are now utterly powerless.
>
> Last night the people took up the affairs of the demonstrais changed against the Legitimists. The affair of the circular is merged in all this; and the declaration of Lamartine to a deputation yesterday, that the other members of the Governapprove a public ordinance given by one only of ment did not approve a public ordinance given by one only of their members, and going beyond the laws, with a promise that another manifesto should shortly appear in a more moder-ate sense, has passed off almost unnoticed in the new hubbub. The report goes that Ledru Rollin was furious at this public disavowal; and it seems very possible, and even probable, that the soi-disant Carlist demonstration managure to rouse

the people was the consequence.

Again I must repeat that these bands cry vive nobody but Ledru Rollin. I have heard again more than one person exclaim aloud, "Is there no hand to put a bullet into that fellow's brains " "Charlotte Corday might have been of service here," remarked another man of a group. Again, there is an immense exaggeration on both sides. But the fact of the phrenzy and excitement is already there, and things have a very bad look. The people have lost faith in the principles of the National Guard; the higher classes in their courage. The rampart that was to be a link of union, if not of defe been thrown down by the affair of yesterday; and again, for he moment, we are as near utter anarchy as possible.

I do not think, as some people do, that the Faubourg St. nonstration less of tolerance and moderation, and I hear more of sweeping "a bas." In fact the word "aristocrates" may very soon mean all who wear good coats. People ne longer talk of the obnoxious circular; but I was able to get an opinion on the subject out of a more quiet homme du peuple; and this opinion, aithough not expressed in so many words, went to say that Paris had a right to dictate to the provinces that the departments were lukewarm and suspects, and that Ledra Rollin was right to impose what republican laws he pleased on them. What think you of this concentration of French vanity in the form of Parisan autocratism? A pretty state of ings in this republic of peace and order! Even more graphic and distinct is the editorial comment of

the Times upon the scenes and events described in the preceding letter :

For three weeks the quarrel had been coming to a head was the old quarrel between those who have money and those who have none; between capital and bare hands; between e owners of houses, shops, manufactories, machines, material, credit, position, education, and mastery, on the one hand, and the possessors of strength or manual skill on the other. In this instance both parties were armed in the streets, full of et-

pectation, and fresh from a victory.

Day after day came out edicts strengthening the hands of the many against the few, the million against the bundred thousand; so much wages, so much leisure, and the like. The constitution of the Constituent Assembly to meet next month threatened to throw the power still more into the hands month threatened to throw the power still more into the hands of the masses, and favor the operation of popular clubs. M. Ledru Rollin's circular directed the agents and resources of unlimited power" to the universal exclusion of moderate men—that is, of the bourgeoisie. The grenadier and light infantry companies of the legion, which are more select and aristocratic than the rest, were deprived of their old power of electing their own officers, and fused with the main body for that purpose. They were thus separated from their old officers and old associations, and rendered liable to receive strangers, dictated by the mass of the legion. Against this their noide and their interest revolted.

oide and their interest revolted.

On Thursday these slighted companies presented themselves at the Hotel de Ville, and for hours endeavored to induce the at the Hotel de Ville, and for hours endeavored to induce the Government to withdraw the levelling decree. Being stead-fastly refused, the deputation announced, either in sudden pet or by deliberate design, that, whereas they had come unarmed this day, they would come with their arms the next. This rash menace was addressed to persons some of whom had every effectual means of reply. It had scarcely been uttered when forty young men were on their way to the faubourge to raise the people. All night long the clubs were listening to furious harangues, or plans of the next day's campaign.

approaches to the Hotel de Ville. The National Guard, re-buffed the previous day, made their appearance. Thirteen thousand of them came up in arms, and found themselves unable to penetrate the compact mass of the people. For hours the two parties looked at each other. The National Guard, the two parties tooked at each other. The National Guard, or, rather, the Compagnies d'Elite, of whom the demonstration chiefly consisted, at length perceived their pesition to be neither safe nor respectable, and slowly withdrew amidst the insults and jeers of the people. Such was this battle of classes. While the people were thus in position, and overpowering by their very look the National Guard, they addressed the

Provisional Government in a manner suited to that moment of victory. A deputation entered the Hotel de Ville, and expressly on the strength of the "peaceful manifestation" they were making in defence of "themselves and the Government," demanded the removal of the troops of the line, some of who had quietly returned to the city, the postponement to April 5 of the election of the National Guard, and the postponement

of the election of the National Assembly.

It was only by dint of all the rhetoric and reason the Government could muster to its aid that they were dismissed with a satisfactory answer to only one of their three demands that of which the unfortunate National Guards were the sub-ject. More time is allowed for the popular canvass, and the displacement of the existing officers of the offending compathis instalment of their demands. "The people expect something better than words," one of them said even to Louis "They desire a definitive reply. Take what time you please to deliberate, but we will not leave without a reply to mmunicate to the people."

at length over and the deputation dis-The long interview missed by the potent eloquence of Lamartine, the members of the Provisional Government were obliged to appear before the Hotel de Ville and address the assembled myriads. "Spare our time and strength," was the language of these men to the people throughout the long interview; "allow us to deilberate; respect your own appointments; confide in those you have chosen; remember that you have made us the Government of France as well as of Paris." They must indeed have abdicated their post had they surrendered all these points

at once to the demands of the people. Here, then, we see in a drama of one day and one scene the people constituting itself the army and the Government of France. How far will this go ! How long can this army be levying black mail on the nation, and will last only as long as there is any thing to be extorted or confiscated. The direct taxes are to be raised 45 per cent., though to the further discouragement of trade and manufac ture, already struck with their deathblow. Who will carry on any business or profession, any husbandry or craft, in this reign of terror, if he can transfer his means to a safer shore?

CORRESPONDENCE OF THE COURTER AND ENQUIRER.

LONDON, MARCH 24. it would not be easy to appoint. Up to noon of Thursday, (24th of February,) MIRRAST, and many of the now repubwe know from his conduct in the Chamber. But when Ledru making poor, imbecile old DUPONT DE L'EURE his mouthpiece, and himself in fact appointing every member of the Government, not one of whom holds his place except by sufferance retary, who is the creature and spy of this demagogue.

Rollin and his party are endeavoring to postpone the elec-tion in order to have time to influence the Provinces to return ultra-republican Representatives to the Assembly. proclamation to the provincial officers had this avowed intenon, but was so strong that it had to be retracted. He does means to use it ! He wishes a single chamber of representatives and an executive of five members. The moderate republicans wish the Chambers as in the United States, and a

the faubourgs are up, and thronging thither. The throngs of are Marrast, Carnot, and Arrago; but Marin, Cremieux, and Garnier Pages are doubtful. Cremieux is a Jew lawyer.
ROLLIN, as Minister of the Interior, has put into the Pre-

fecture of Police an irredeemable ruffian, who is his own creaof disunion of the members of the government, the seceder for the Prefect responded that he was already Prefect, and intend-violent measures seems very likely to have got up the scheme od to remain so until the National Assembly met, whether M. his friends, but in vain.

It is a curious fact that the ultras are the least disposed for war, the moderates the most so. It is certainly true that La-Carlism-calling, likewise, for the sending of all troops out of martine has it under consideration to "annex" Savoy, and to

opposing the fusion of their old companies, was certainly imprudent; but as for an idea of counter-revolution in it, the other day was so ill-concerted and so far from general as to nation, and wish to check it; but the attempt to do so the ose ground. LAMABTINE sees the pecessity of having some counterpoise to Rollin and his mob, and looks to the army; but there is no general officer whom the army respec-CAVAIGNAC has more weight with them than any one else, tion of the national guards against all fusion. To-day the cry and him Lamartine has managed to recall to Paris as Minis

THE ROMAN CONSTITUTION.

An extraordinary supplement of La Lega Italiana of the 18th contains a formal proclamation of the new Roman Fundamental Constitution by his Holiness Pope Pius IX.

The College of Cardinals (chosen by the Pope) is to constituted a Senate, inseparable from the same, and two Deliberative Councils for the formation of the laws are to be established, consisting of the "High Council" and the "Coun-The judicial tribunals are to be independent of the Govern-

ment, and no extraordinary commission courts are to be in fu-ture established. The National Guard is to be considered an re established. The National Guard is to be considered as istitution of the State.

The Pope convokes and prorogues the Legislative Cham

bers, and dissolves the Council of Deputies, being required to convoke a new Chamber within three months, which will be the ordinary duration of the annual session. The sessions are to be public. The members of the Senate are to be appointed the Pope for life, and their number is not unlimited qualification of a Senator is the age of thirty years, and the blenary exercise of civil and political rights.

The Senate will be chosen par preference from the prelates, ecclesiastics, ministers, judges, councillors of state, conjustial lawyers, and the possessors of an income of four thousand

Pope will appoint the President and Vice Presidents. The second council will be elective, on the numerical basis one deputy to every thirty thousand souls. The electors are to consist of the gonfalonieri, (mayors,) priors, and elders of the cities and communes; the possessors of a capi-tal of three hundred scudi; the payers of direct taxes to the amount of twelve scudi per ennum; the members of the col-leges, of their faculties, and the titular professors of the uni-versities; the members of the councils of discipline, the ad-vocates and attorneys practising in the collegiate tribunals, the lawertes ad honorem in the State universities, the mem-bers of the chambers of commerce, the heads of factories and adustrial establishments, and the heads of scientific and pubinstitutions assessed for certain amounts.

The qualification of a deputy is the possession of a capital of three thousand scudi, or the payment of taxes to the amount of one hundred scudi per annum, and the members of colleges and professors of universities, &c. will be eligible ex officio. The profession of the Popish religion is indispenable as a qualification for the exercise of civil and political rights. A distinct electoral law will regulate the elections of

The discussion of financial matters exclusively appertains the Council of Deputies. The sum or civil list appropriated to the endowment of the Pope and the College of Cardinals, and to ecclesiastic purposes generally, as well as to the ex-penses of the corps diplomatique, the pontifical guards, the maintenance of the apostolical palaces and museums, and va-rious other purposes, is fixed at sixty thousand sendi per anroum, including a reserve fund for contingencies. The canons, ributes and dues, amounting to the annual sum of thirteen nousand scudi, are to remain at the entire disposal of the Pope. The Ministers are responsible for their actions, and have a right to speak in both councils, whether members or not. The session of the Chambers will be suspended by the death of the reigning Pontiff, but the new Pope must convene them a month after his election. The ministers are to be con-firmed and chosen by the Sacred College.

The rights of the temporal sovereignty exercised by a de-funct pontiff are vested in the sacred college during the inter-There will also be a Council of State composed of ten cou

cillors, and a body of auditors not exceeding twenty-four.
This council will be required to draw up projects of laws, and to give its advice on administrative affairs in cases of emergency. Ministerial functions may also be conferred upon it by a special law.

he was prevented by the motion of the gentleman from Georgia (Mr. Stephens) for the previous question. If he had had an opportunity he should have offered the following resolution as an amendment to the series of resolutions that were introduced:

**Resolved, That no despotism is more effective than that which exists under the semblance of popular institutions, and that a great nation emancipated from the control of an oligarchy of two hundred thousand voting citizens is entitled to the congrutations of every friend of a feestom.

**There are in this city about twelve to thirteen hundred and four hundred are slaves, or rather were slaves, but have emancipated themselves, as Frederick Douglas would say, by 'paying with their heels.' This class of people are beginning to improve themselves. The signs are already visible, both as to deportment and mental improvement. Last year the first scholar in our high school (which is among the first in the State) was a solored civil—one who was far above all others. exists under the semblance of popular institutions, and that a great nation enameipated from the control of an digarchy of two hundred thousand voting citizens is entitled to the congratulations of every friend of freedom.

forth by some observations of the gentleman from Virginia, (Mr. Barlt,) whom he saw near him. He did not hear the gentleman from Virginia distinctly, though he sat near that gentleman. The observations of the gentleman from Virginia, as the gentleman had himself very properly said, were very discursive, though certainly interesting as far as he (Mr. P.) could hear them. He did not hear them distinctly, because his hearing, never the quickest, was affected by indis-position under which he labored.

Virginia in the general course of his remarks. He had no means of doing it. He sought the means in the newspapers now have been in that oldest of American universities. -or rather in the newspaper, the National Intelligences norning, that he might see the remarks of the gentleman from Virginia, and revive his own impressions, and correct any errors into which he might have fallen. There was no re-There was no re port, however, there; so that he was thrown entirely on his own very imperfect recollection. He was, nevertheless, obliged to address the House to-day, if at all; for the privilege of moving a reconsideration, which gave him the right to address the House, would be exhausted to-morrow.

As he had said he did not propose to follow the gentleman

from Virginia in the whole range of his remarks; it was only At the present moment Lennu Rollin is Dictator of France; and a more desperate, reckless, and unprincipled one man had brought forward on which he should touch; and particularly he wished to correct the gentleman's impression— for he supposed the gentleman from Virginia did not wish to rest under any misapprehension, or mislead any of those who lican party, are believed to have been in favor of the Regency of the Duchess of Orleans. That Onlean Barror was so ment and law in Massachusetts to which the gentleman had alluded. He might, to be sure, have interrupt man from Virginia when he was treating on this topic yesterday, but he saw the gentleman from Virginia was in much better hands than in his own-he alluded to his colleague,

> laws of Massachusetts—and he begged, if his recollection of what the gentleman from Virginia had said was not correct, when Virginia would again come to the an of public opinion.
>
> But he must begin by going back of the law of 1793. He would go all the way back to the adoption of the constitution what the gentleman from Virginia had said was not correct, that the gentleman would correct him. Massachusetts saw that the gentleman would correct him. Massachusetts saw that there were people within her borders of mingled blood there once—she would stand there again. If the great State of Virginia, for half a century past, had not the great State of Virginia, for half a century past, had not the Surger State of Virginia would again come to the an of public opinion. She had stood there once—she would stand there again. If the great State of Virginia would again come to the san of public opinion. She had stood there once—she would stand there again. If the great State of Virginia would again come to the san of public opinion. She had stood there once—she would stand there again. If the great state of Virginia would again come to the san of public opinion.
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> Well Massachusetts saw when Virginia would again come to the san of public opinion. She had stood there once—she would stand there again. If the great State of Virginia would again come to the san of public opinion.
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> Well Massachusetts saw when Virginia would again come to the san of public opinion. She had stood there once—she would stand there again. If the great State of Virginia would again come to the san of public opinion.
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> Well Massachusetts saw when Virginia would again come to the san of public opinion.
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> She had stood there once—she would stand there again. If the subject to the great State of Virginia would again come to public opinion.
>
> She had stood there once—she would stand there again. If the subject is subject, as well as the decisions of the States. In the Converted any appreciable influence over this nation, it could the subject again. If the subject is subject, as well as the decisions of the States of the 46. He stated that fact from his own observation. He knew irresistible, and it would be again; and when that bright day to the reported draught of the blood, there should be no legal obstacle to their being honest-ly born; and so she declared by her laws some three or four who had failed, by one or two votes, of admission into the Wilson) instantly rose and objected to the adoption of the

> years ago.
>
> The gentleman from Virginia, in speaking of the social position of the colored race in Massachusetts, asked if it had been known that a colored man had ever served on a jury. He (Mr. P.) could not answer that question; but he could He (Mr. P.) could not answer that question; but a due expression of regret at his tell the gentleman from Virginia how the laws of Massachusetts stood on that subject, to the best of his knowledge and belief. He knew the laws of Massachusetts made no qualibelief. He knew the laws of Massachusetts made no qualibelief. Some interlocutory conversation here took place between a three people of the free States in the arcesting of slaves.
>
> And Mr. G. would say that the intention of the people in thus refusing to be laid under any such obligation had been carried. fication of color among the quaincauchs of jurymen, Salar Mr. Parrner continued:
>
> Mr. Parrner continued:
>
> The definite object for which he had risen was to move a country might.

as a white man.

Mr. BAYLY asked the gentleman from Massachusetts yield the floor for explanation.

Mr. PALFREY assented.

Mr. BAYLY said he had referred to instances of a universal social feeling repealing the laws of the State. was that was before the House as that was before the House'
The SPEAKER replied that it was on a motion of the

Mr. BROWN inquired if those resolutions were now be

fore the House, and if they had not been returned to the Sen-And if they had been returned to the Senate, if this motion was now in order

The SPEAKER explained that the rules of the House gave the privilege to move a reconsideration on the day on which a vote was taken, or on the day succeeding; and such privilege was not superseded by the return of the resolutions to the Senate. That point had been frequently settled in this House. He would, however, state, as a matter of fact, that he under stood that the papers were still in the hands of the Clerk. Mr. PALFREY then resumed. He said he was the most

lpless man in this House—the rules might choke him off from all participation in debate, and he should not know how to help himself. On that subject he had but very little knowledge. He thought, however, that the rules had been applied by the Chair honestly and justly. His knowledge of the right to speak was that which he had acquired in New England, where he and the Speaker had been taught to hold up the right hand and say, "May I speak?" He really

hold up the right hand and say, "Any I speak" He reasy had no knowledge of his rights here.

The gentleman from Virginia had suggested a case in which the laws had been overridden by public sentiment. Now, he did not know but that the gentleman from Virginia was right. He (Mr. P.) had never sat on a jury; he had never argued the form the laws that he had never here. before a jury; he had never been tried by a jury. He knew not then how that might be; but this he knew, that the selectnen of the town placed in a box the names of those citizens who were eligible to serve on juries. The law gave them a discretion as to the names they should place there, and they ere authorized to deposite the names of those that they thought

But the gentleman from Virginia looked a little higher, and but the gentleman from Virginia looked a little night, and he asked if a colored man had been ever heard of on the bench? Now, was a justice's court a bench? A justice's court had a bench; and not many months had passed since, in his humble capacity of Secretary of State of the Commonwealth of Massachusetts, he set the broad seal of that Commonwealth to the commission of a respectable, learned lawyer, who, he believed, was nearly as black as his (Mr. P.'s) coat. And if the gentleman from Virginia should go to Massachusetts, as he (Mr. P.) hoped he would, and if he got into trouble there,

been chairman of the committee on the Latimer I which requested a law forbidding the efficers of the committee of the committ wealth to employ themselves in arresting fugitive negroes, and forbidding the use of the jails for such a purpose. But he did not take his seat. Perhaps he had no political ambition. the (Mr. P.) dared say he was a modest man, and did not de-sire a seat in the Legislature. Would not the gentleman from Virginia be modest under such circumstances? Would that gentleman desire to take a seat in a Legislature where all

The gentleman from Virginia had altuded to some other particulars of the social position of those persons. He would

DFBATE
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES.
[Continued from the first page.]

Tuesday, April 11, 1848.

Say to that gentleman that they associate with our children in the public schools—those institutions which make the great glory of our commonwealth, and give her that standing which she has in this confederacy of republics. After making a few remarks some weeks ago in this House, which were published in the National Intelligencer, he received a letter from a gentleman who resides in the town of New Bedford, with whom to relate the following clause of the constitution: "No person held to service or labor in one State, under the laws thereof, escaping into another, shall, in consequence of any law or regulation the National Intelligencer, he received a letter from a gentleman who resides in the town of New Bedford, with whom to relate the public schools—those institutions which make the great following clause of the constitution: "No person held to service or labor in one State, under the laws thereof, escaping into another, shall, in consequence of any law or regulation the National Intelligencer, he received a letter from a gentleman who resides in the town of New Bedford, with whom to relate the public schools—those institutions which make the great following clause of the constitution: "No person held to service or labor in one State, under the laws thereof, escaping into another, shall, in consequence of any law or regulation the National Intelligencer, he received a letter from a gentleman who resides in the town of New Bedford, with whom to relate the public schools—the great following clause of the constitution: "No person held to service or labor in one State, under the laws thereof, escaping into another, shall, in consequence of any law or regulation." Tuesday, April 11, 1848.

Mr. Palfrey rose as soon as the Journal had been read and moved a reconsideration of the vote by which the joint resolution from the Senate tendering the congratulations of the American to the French people on the consolidation of a French Republic and the principles of liberty was passed yesterday.

Mr. Palfrey said he was desirous yesterday to offer an amendment to the resolutions when they were pending, but he was prevented by the motion of the gentleman from Georgin (Mr. Stephens) for the previous question. If he had had a constant to the resolutions when they were pending, but he was prevented by the motion of the gentleman from Georgin (Mr. Stephens) for the previous question. If he had had a constant to the resolutions when they were pending, but he was prevented by the motion of the gentleman from Georgin (Mr. Stephens) for the previous question. If he had had a constant to the resolutions when they were pending, but he was not acquainted, but, on making inquiry from the gentleman who represented the tenth Congressional district of Massachusetts, who was now absent, he had learned that the writer was a gentleman of wealth, and standing, and respectability, and philanthropy, and education. The gentleman gave laim who represented the tenth Congressional district of Massachusetts, who was now absent, he had learned that the writer was a gentleman of wealth, and standing, and respectability, and philanthropy, and education. The gentleman gave laim who represented the tenth Congressional district of Massachusetts, who was now absent, he had learned that the writer was a gentleman of wealth, and standing, and represented the tenth Congressional district of Massachusetts, who was now absent, he had learned that the writer was a gentleman of wealth, and standing, and represented the tenth Congressional district of Massachusetts, who was now absent, he had learned that the writer was a gentleman of wealth, and standing, and tenth the writer was a gentleman of wealth, and standing, and t

Mr. PALFREY said he would add that there was there a charming boy, whom God in his providence had seen fit to take away. [Voices: "Charming!" "A charming negro!"] it, a charming and most interesting colored boy, who, as his instructor informed me, was the best scholar he had in all the could hear them. He did not hear them distinctly, because his hearing, never the quickest, was affected by indissistion under which he labored.

He was not now proposing to follow the gentleman from inginia in the general course of his remarks. He had no coarse of doing it. He sought the pressure in t would there have been the companion, perhaps the rival, of Mr. P.'s own son, now in that institution, and companion to the son of a gentleman from South Carolina, not now in his place. Mr. P. could say, for his own son, that had he not rest. He called on the gentleman to show in what part of confidence which he now felt.

Mr. P. went on to say that he had no wish to Jepart from the regular and orderly course of business in the House. He had been led into the course of remark in which he had indulged by some of the remarks of the gentleman from Virgi- have anticipated that such a point would be made, he would nia, (Mr. Baylly,) who did not, he was very stre, desire to remain under a misapprehension of the true state of facts in

Mr. McLANE explained that, as he understood the deci-

league (Mr. Ashmux) had not meant to express displeasure violence; but, as such remedy would be very insufficient, the at what had been done by that body. Certainly Mr. P. felt none. Honesty was first of all the virtues, and one which gislative remedy, and that this legislative power of Congress Mr. P. ever desired to maintain both in aimself and others. He would not praise the dead because they were dead. Let his tongue be palsied before it uttered praise on the character trates named in that act might if they pleased execute the better hands than in his own—he alluded to his colleague, (Mr. Ashuur.) He was far from saying that Massachusetts in this or any particular entirely conformed to the idea of a perfect commonwealth. He knew there was nothing perfect here below, in either the individual or the social state. He was far from maintaining that the practices of Massachusetts conformed to the referred to distinguished jolitical characters. He held that the form maintaining that the practices of Massachusetts conformed to the referred to distinguished jolitical characters. He held that the Senate of Virginia ought, in their course of public action, to be true to the opinions they held. The misfortune was not that they acted according to their opinions, but that they held such opinions. They could not sympathize with that great life; they were unable to appreciate its aim, and they were dead. Let his tongue be palsied before it uttered prose on the characters list of men now gone who had once been members of that House!

Of course he referred to distinguished jolitical characters. He held that the form who were now historical characters. He held that the Senate of Virginia ought, in their course of public action, to be true to the opinions they held. The misfortune was not that they acted according to their opinions, but that they held such opinions. They could not sympathize with that great life; they were unable to appreciate its aim, and they were dead. Let his tongue be palsied before it uttered prose on the characters list, and if that House!

Mr. Gidding he was unconstitutional.

Mr. Gidding he restrain the remedy provided by the act of 1793, the magistrates named in that act might if they pleased execute the law, and if State legislation interfered to forbid them, such legislation was unconstitutional.

Mr. Gidding he restrain the remedy provided by the act of Massachusetts referred to distinguished jolitical characters.

Mr. Gidding he restrain the remedy provided by the act of 1793, and in that they be dead of her public action, The gentleman from Virginia had adverted to the marriage stranger, would turn over that leaf flastily, as not liking to re- would now point out the result of that examination.

reconsideration of the resolution of the Senate, so that it might aid the arrest of slaves or to hinder that arrest. They had no be amended by the substitution of the language very judicious-thing to do in the matter. The soil of the free States was a ly selected by the gentleman from Georgia, (Mr. STEPHENS.) He considered those words as fully meeting the case, and as Governments of those States was not to interfere between them. most happily selected.* Mr. P. said he dreaded the resolution | They were neither to surrender up the slave nor to prevent his not like on such an occasion to sit silent, and because he was fered to come and catch his own slave as he could. The law

tleman in the House, nor did he know who it was that had draughted this resolution; but, to speak the real truth, he did not know what it meant. If any body knew what "connot know what it meant. If any body knew what "con-solidating the principles of liberty" meant, he knew more than Mr. P. [A laugh.] No; the language was French, and sadly modern French, too. No such French could be got out a free State or a slave State, under the law of the United of the pages of Moliere. It was the French of Cousin and States. that school. For aught he knew the phrase in question might have been drawn from some of the speeches or papers of Lamartine, in whose proclamations and harangues, while there were here and there some very good things, there were others like those of a much greater character, "some things hard

to be understood."

The French loved a brilliant saying as well as any body; but they were a people of taste; they bore a keen lash, and had as keen a sense of the ridiculous; and Mr. P. confessed he as keen a sense of should not like to be present when this resolution should be read in the French legislative hall, for he verily believed it would excite such merriment as an American would little like to hear. He hoped, for the sake of our own good taste and exactness that the resolution, would be reconsidered.

Mr. KAUFMAN moved to lay the motion to reconsider on

the table; but consented to withdraw it at the earnest solicita-

tion and remonstrance of
Mr. BAYLY, who said he should not reply to the gentleman from Massachusetts with any asperity. There was so much of the man that was the gentleman, so much propriety of conduct and of manner about him, that, much as Mr. B. abhorred the principles he held, he should not attempt in his reply to his remarks on this occasion to give any expression to his feelings. But it was due to himself that he should add a few words to his reply to the other gentleman from Massachu-

setts, (Mr. Asamun.)
But before he did so he must say a few words in reply to the gentleman who last spoke, (Mr. PALVREY.) And in the first place that gentleman had said that Mr. B. was in error in regard to the legislation of Massachusetts. Now, if the gentleman had heard his remarks distinctly, as he says he did not, he could not but have been struck with the fact that in all he had said in relation to the legislation of the States of this Union on the subject of free negroes he had carefully excepted Massachusetts. He had repeated that exception with particu-And if the gentleman from Virginia should go to Massachusetts. He had repeted that exception with particularity more than once, and the reason must be obvious. He was constitutional, in the case of Prigg Massachusetts. He had repeted that exception with particularity more than once, and the reason must be obvious. He was not folly judicial commission in the old Bay State.

The gentleman from Virginia said something too about the Legislature. Now, he (Mr. P.) was in the Legislature of Massachusetts in the years 1842 and 1843, and in one of those years—1842, he believed—the was said in the House that a colored man was chosen from one of the towns of Massachusetts to represent it in the Legislature. He believed—the town of Pepperfll.

Mr. Baylly.

The gentleman from Virginia said something too about the Legislature was the town of Pepperfll.

Mr. Baylly.

The gentleman from Virginia said something too about the Legislature was the constitution of the towns of Massachusetts in the years 1842 and 1843, and in one of those years—1842, he believed—the believed—the believed he believed—the vasce of the statements and suggestions of others. But, after all, he did not think the gentleman had pointed out any other proposed to the server of the statements and suggestions of others. But, after all, he did not think the gentleman had pointed out any other proposed to the server of the state that the case: one was that the constitutional case: one was that the constitutional and the reason of the State Legislation excepted that the server of the State Legislation excepted the server of the State Legislation excepted to assist in the delivering up of fugitive slaves, and had prohibits to assist in the delivering up of fugitive slaves, and had prohibits to assist in the delivering up of fugitive slaves, and had prohibits to assist in the delivering up of fugitive slaves, and the state was constitutional; another point was that there was a concurrent power of legislation in the season was the town of Pepperfll.

Mr. BAYLY. Did h willing and his State was willing to abide by the constitution as it stood, and that in reference to the subject of slavery he was willing to stand by the compromises on which that instrument had been formed. Let him sak the gentleman whether in passing such laws as these his State was doing that?

Mr. ASHMUN. Yes; she is.

Mr. BAYLY. No; she is not. The United States courts

*Mr. STEPHENS's amendment, which he submitted without

comment, was as follows:

"That the efforts of France to establish civil liberty upon the basis of a republican form of Government command the admiration and receive the warmest sympathies of the American people."

be delivered up on claim of the party to whom such service or labor may be due." Judge Story, a jurist who was the beast and glory of the he was not acquainted, but, on making inquiry from the gentleman who represented the tenth Congressional district of Massachusetts, who was now absent, he had learned that the writer was a gentleman of wealth, and standing, and respectability, and philanthropy, and education. The gentleman gave him some facts which he believed would be interesting to the gentleman from Virginja, and to other members of this House. Amongst other things in that letter, he said:

"There are in this city about twelve to thirteen hundred and four hundred are slaves, or rather were slaves, but have emantioned themselves. The federick Douglas would say, by a cinated themselves. The federick Douglas would say, by a superior of such fugitives.

Judge Story, a jurist who was the boast and glory of the gentleman's own State, in commenting on this clause of the constitution, observed that it contemplated a summary ministerial proceeding not in conformity with the rules of the constitution, observed that it contemplated a summary ministerial proceeding not in conformity with the rules of the constitution, observed that it contemplated a summary ministerial proceeding not in conformity with the rules of the constitution, observed that it contemplated a summary ministerial proceeding not in conformity with the rules of the constitution, observed that it contemplated a summary ministerial proceeding not in conformity with the rules of the constitution, observed that it contemplated a summary ministerial proceeding not in conformity with the rules of the constitution, observed that it contemplated a summary ministerial proceeding not in conformity with the rules of the constitution, observed that it contemplated a summary ministerial proceeding not in conformity with the rules of the constitution, observed that it contemplated a summary ministerial proceeding not in conformity with the rules of the constitution, observed that it contemplated a summary ministerial proceeding not in conformity with the rules of the constitution, observed that it

any such requirement :
Mr. BAYLY. Yes, I will. Hand me the volume of the

Laws of the United States and I will show it.

Mr. B. said that the Constitution of the United States detwo hundred thousand voting citizens is entitled to the congratulations of every friend of freedom.

The French Government tately overthrown was said to have been a well-founded monarchy—a throne surrounded by popular institutions, by institutions of a republican character; and yet it came to this, that about two hundred thousand voting citizens wielded the power of that republic, and governed some thirty-five millions of men. They did it in the way in which other oligarchies, other monarchies have done it in other days, without disturbing the forms of republicanism, acting through the channels of republican government, yet wielding the power they possessed by means of imfluence, of bribery, of intimidation, and in other ways.

The French Government tately overthrown was said to have been a well-founded monarchy—a throne surrounded by popular institutions, by institutions of a republican character; and yet it came to this, there are two colored boys of our public schools, each of whom is as black as possible, and who take the very head of their classes in mathematics. Moreover, head of their classes in mathematics. Moreover, head on the propose of the propose of the school among the colored children.

They did it in the way in which other oligarchies, other monarchies have done it in other days, without disturbing the forms of republicanism, acting through the channels of republicanism, acting through the channels of republicanism of the monarchies have done it in other ways. The time, however, had gone by, and he should not now offer his amendment. But he would take occasion, which he could have desired to have had yesterday, to make a remark or two, called forth by some observations of the grandle states and twist samong the first in the State Mark as a colored girl who, though not the first, was an at the very head of their classes in mathematics. Moreover, had gone by, and the should not now offer his among the first of the relass when he graduated in our high schools, as the case of the court, with this de Mr. Palenex said he would add that there was there a charming boy, whom God in his providence had seen fit to take away. [Voices: "Charming!" "A charming negro!"]

Yes, (said Mr. P.) I shrink from no expression of commendation where intellectual and moral worth are found. I repeat it, a charming and most interesting colored boy, who as his setts. With what propriety, then, could the gentleman come here and say that his State was willing to stand by the consti-

Mr. BAYLY having assented-Mr. GIDDINGS said he would state the point as it existed. treated this lad with every demonstration of respect and good will, his father would not have felt for him that esteem and

Mr. G. was ready to acknowledge that he had made some progress in knowledge to-day.

Mr. BAYLY said it was of course impossible for him to stop now to examine the details of a law. Could he possibly

remain under a misapprehension of the true state of facts in regard to which he was speaking.

Mr. McLANE explained that, as he understood the decision of the Supreme Court in regard to the act of 1793, the Supreme Court had decided that the clause in the constitution gard to the action of the Senate of Virginia respecting his la-mented friend, Mr. Anams. Mr. P. supposed that his col-itself so far as the fugitive could be arrested without illegal was exclusive; and that no State could interfere to qualify or

who had failed, by one or two votes, of admission into the French Academy. On his death the Academy decreed him a amendment, because it would involve the people of the free monument in their own hall, on which, by their order, this States in the arrest of slaves, that is, in the expense of it was written, "Nothing was wanting to his glory: he was and he was followed on the same side by a gentleman from wanting to ours." So it might be said of this proceeding of Connecticut; and the result was that the amendment was re

the Senate of Virginia: her condolence was not wanting to the glory of Mr. Adams; but a due expression of regret at his

The rejection had been put upon the ground that it would refusing to be laid under any such obligation had been carried out by the Supreme Court. The true doctrine of the Court, was that the people of the free States could not legislate either to The SPEAKER replied that it was on a motion of the gentleman from Massachusetts (Mr. Palvary) to reconsider the vote of the House yesterday adopting the resolutions congratulating the French on the establishment of a republican government.

In yielding the free States to aid the master in arresting his slave. There was no legal process by which to arrest a fugitive slave. When the master overtook and seized him without progovernment.

Mr. P. would not speak in a disrespectful tone of any gencess, then the law made it the duty of the State magistrate to

give him a certificate of the fact; and so far the Court pro-nounced the law to be unconstitutional.

Mr. VINTON said, as he understood the decision, it made no distinction between slaveholding States and States not slaveholding; no State could arrest a fugitive, whether it was

Mr. GIDDINGS. Certainly ; the Court made no distinction. The law left the master to arrest his own slave, and then the magistrate commenced his action; but the Court pro-nounced this to be unconstitutional.

Mr. BAYLY said that the interruption of the gentleman had given him time to examine the law, and he was not mis-taken. He had said, and he repeated it with the law before him, which he thanked the gentleman from Ohio for handing to him, that the law of 1793 made it the duty of State offi-

him, which he thanked the gentleman from Ohio for handing to him, that the law of 1793 made it the duty of State officers to assist—that was his statement—in removal by the master or his agent or attorney of his fugitive slave. It did so in express terms. As he had been contradicted on that point he desired to read the section:

"Sec. 3. And be it further enacted, That when a person held to labor in any of the United States, or in either of the territories on the northwest or south of the river Ohio, under the laws thereof, should escape into any other of the said States or Territory, the person to whom such labor or service may be due, his agent or attorney, is hereby empowered to seize or arrest such fugitive from labor, and to take him or here before any judge of the circuit or district courts of the United States, residing or being within the State, or before any magistrate of a county, city, or town corporate wherein such seizure or arrest should be made, and upon proof, to the satisfaction of such judge or magistrate, either by oral testimony or affidavit taken before and certified by a magistrate of any such State or Territory, that the person so seized or arrested doth, under the laws of the State or Territory from which he or she fled, owe service or labor to the person claiming him or her, it should be the duty of such judge or magistrate to give a certificate thereof to such claimant, his agent or attorney, which should be sufficient warrant for removing the said fugitive from labor to the State or Territory from which he or she fled."

That law made it the duty of the State magistrates to assist

That law made it the duty of the State magistrates to assist in the surrender to the owner, agent, or attorney of these fugitive slaves. The Supreme Court of the United States had decided that that law was constitutional, in the case of Prigg against the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania.

Mr. COLLAMER, (in his seat.) That part of it.

Yes, that part of it, (said Mr. B.) He knew perfectly well what that decision was He had read it at the time—it was

stitution gave the right to the master, or his agent or attorney, without the interference of any officer or any body, to go and take his slave who had got into a free State precisely as he would his horse if he went there, and bring him back, without any other authority than that which the constitution provided; and he maintained that any legislation of the States going to impair this provision was unconstitutional. A majority of the judges of the court—Mr. Justice Story delivering the opinion—decided that the constitution did contemplate legislation, and that that legislation was exclusively in Congress, and that the State Governments had no right to legislate on the subject at all. That was the decision of the Court. But three judges—the Chief Justice, Mr. Justice Daniel, of Virginia, and Smith Thompson of New York—gave their opinion that the right of