

right or wrong. (How.) When they talked of disfranchising the negro, he must have something stronger before him to induce him to assent to the proposition than the mere allegation that it was expedient that it should be disfranchised; for he would repeat that it would be impossible to disfranchise the negro in schedules A and B, without including the most valuable property of every description. The noble and learned lord next proceeded, as well as we could collect the import of his observations, to allude to the question of a bill brought forward in the year 1793, which, though by no means so sweeping and extensive as the present one, was rejected by the House of Commons, and to consider that considering what was passing at that time, France—considering what was passing in this country, where societies were formed, some of which had constant communications by means of their own journals with France—of the great respect of their own liberties, and the question of reform—did not take a more vigorous measure to secure the peace of the country, their lordships would not now sit in that place. The noble and learned lord next adverted to the late war, the expense of which, though he would admit it was enormous, had saved this country from the danger of becoming a republic. If they sacrificed the constitution, the republic would soon be gone. He would ask, would their lordships—would his fellow-subjects through the country—have young Napoleon as the sovereign of the country, or a member of the House of Hanover? He knew they would not say any such thing, but the risk of being made an appendage to any state of Europe; but if that sacrifice had not been made in the expense of the late war, the independence of this country would have long since been lost. (Here the noble lord's tone became so low, that for some time we could not hear him.) We next inquired how the noble lord was again wholly in error. The next we understood him to say, that he would not offer a word for or against reform, until he knew what the entire system proposed was, and until it was explained to him how it would work. When he saw that the question of reform had been one of doubt and difficulty for the last fifty years, he would not say that the measure was better before him. To go to a committee on a bill to one clause of which if their lordships had read it he was sure they could not assent, would be wholly useless, and worse than useless. The bill went to disfranchise a large number of the negroes of England, with an intent to say to our freeborn subjects, that they were not to be considered as freeborn subjects. Was it not a principle, which if applied to either right, would render the property of every individual in the Kingdom insecure? The noble and learned lord next adverted to that part of the bill which disfranchised the non-resident women and contended that it was absurd to say that any freeborn subject should not vote for the borough of which he was an elector, because he lived more than 7 miles from it. It was a most ridiculous sort of objection to say that one man should be allowed to vote if he lived within 7 miles, and that another should be deprived of his franchise, because he lived more than 7 miles distant. The noble and learned lord then apologized for their lordships for the length of time during which he had occupied their attention. He would not now detain their lordships further by going into a thousand other things which suggested themselves to him on this important subject; but his mind was so far advanced in this state of error, that he could not discuss the merits of this the most important subject that had ever been submitted to the consideration of Parliament. He would only allude to that if their lordships assented to this measure, they must prepare themselves for making still greater concessions; they must make up their minds to meet the demands of the House of Commons, and the vote by ballot; for this bill would necessarily lead to the introduction of these innovations; but what was infinitely worse, it would lead to the introduction of a system which would be absolutely incompatible with the existence of the House of Lords, as a branch of the Legislature. He was now so far advanced in years that he must soon be called to his account; but with that prospect before him, he solemnly declared his conviction that the effect of the bill would be, if it received the sanction of the Legislature, to be destructive of the best and most ancient institutions of the country. He was now so far advanced in years, and in his conscience he believed would end in the destruction of the monarchy itself. On these grounds he should give it his strenuous opposition.

UNITED STATES.

WASHINGTON, DEC. 6. MESSAGE.

From the President of the United States to both Houses of Congress at the commencement of the first session of the 23d Congress. Fellow Citizens of the Senate and of the House of Representatives: The representation of the people has been renewed for the twenty-second time since the constitution they formed has been in force. For near half a century, the chief magistrates, who have been successively chosen, have made the annual communications of the state of the nation to its representatives. Generally, these communications have been of the most gratifying nature, testifying an advance in all the improvements of social, and all the securities of political life. But frequently, and justly, as you have been called on to be grateful for the benefits of Providence, at few periods have they been more abundantly or extensively bestowed than at the present; rarely, if ever, have we had greater reason to congratulate each other on the continued and increasing prosperity of our beloved country.

Agriculture, the first and most important occupation of man, has compensated the labors of the husbandman with plentiful crops of all the varied products of our extensive country. Manufactures have been established, in which the funds of the capitalist find a profitable investment, and which give employment and subsistence to a numerous and increasing body of industrious and dextrous mechanics. The laborer is rewarded by high wages, in the construction of works of internal improvement; which are extending with unprecedented rapidity. Science is steadily penetrating the recesses of nature and disclosing her secrets, while the ingenuity of free minds is enlarging the elements of the power of man, and making each more competent auxiliary to his consort. By our mails, whose speed is regularly increased, and whose routes are every year extended, the communication of public intelligence and private business is rendered frequent and safe—the intercourse between distant cities, which formerly required weeks to accomplish, is now effected in a few days; and in the construction of rail-roads, and the application of steam-power, we have a reasonable

so much approximated, and those most isolated by the obstacles of nature, rendered accessible as to remove an apprehension sometimes entertained, that the great extent of the Union would endanger its permanent existence. If from the satisfactory view of our agriculture, manufactures, and internal improvements, we turn to the state of our navigation and trade with foreign nations and between the states, we shall scarcely find less cause for gratulation. A beneficent Providence has provided, for their exercise and encouragement, an extensive coast, indented by capacious bays, noble rivers, inland seas, with a country productive of every material for ship building, and a every commodity for gainful commerce, and armed with a population, active, intelligent, well informed, and fearless of danger. The advantages are not neglected; and an impulse has lately been given to commercial enterprise, which fills our ship yards with new constructions, encourages all the arts and branches of industry connected with them, crowds the harbors with our vessels, and covers the most distant seas with our canvases. Let us be grateful for these blessings to the beneficent Being who has conferred them, and who suffers us to indulge a reasonable hope of their continuance and extension, while we neglect not the means by which they may be preserved. Alas! we are so prone to judge of His future designs, by the manner in which his past favors have been bestowed, he has made our national prosperity to depend on the preservation of our liberties; our national force on our federal union, and our individual happiness on the maintenance of our rights an I wise institutions. If we are prosperous at home, and respected abroad, it is because we are free, united, industrious, and obedient to the laws. While we continue so, we shall, by the blessing of Heaven, go on in the happy career we have begun, and which has brought us, in the short period of our political existence, from a population of three to thirteen millions

from the thirteen separate colonies to twenty-four United States; from weakness to strength; from a rank scarcely marked in the scale of nations to a high place in their respect. This last advantage is one that has resulted, in a great degree, from the principles which have guided our intercourse with Foreign Powers, since we have assumed an equal station among them; and hence, the annual account which the Executive renders to the country, of the manner in which that branch of his duties has been fulfilled, proves instructive and salutary. The pacific and wise policy of our Government kept us in a state of neutrality during the wars that have, at different periods since our political existence, been carried on by other powers; but this policy, while it gave activity and extent to our commerce, exposed it in the same proportion to injuries from the belligerent nations. Hence have risen claims of indemnity for those injuries, England, France, Spain, Holland, Sweden, Denmark, Naples, and lately Portugal, had all in a greater or less degree, infringed our neutral rights. Demands for reparation were made upon us. They have had in all, and continue to have, in some cases, a tendency to increase the nature of our relations with the powers on whom they were made.

Of the claims upon England it is unnecessary to speak, further than to say, that the state of things to which their presentation and denial gave rise has been succeeded by arrangements prospective of mutual non-interference, which it is hoped will not be interrupted. One of these arrangements is that relating to the colonial trade, which was communicated to Congress at the last session; and although the short period during which it has been in force will not enable me to form an accurate judgment of its operation, the result is every reason to believe that it will prove highly beneficial. The trade thereby authorized has employed, to the 30th September last, upwards of 30,000 tons of American and 15,000 tons of foreign shipping in the outward voyage; and in the inward, nearly an equal amount of American, and 20,000 only of foreign tonnage. Advantages too, have resulted to our agricultural interests from the state of the trade between Canada and our Territories and States bordering on the St. Lawrence and the Lakes, which may prove more than equivalent to the loss sustained by the discrimination made to favor the trade of the northern colonies with the West Indies.

After our transition from the state of colonies to that of an independent nation, many points were found necessary to be settled between us and Great Britain. Among them was the demarcation of boundaries, not described with sufficient precision in the Treaty of Peace. Some of the lines that divide the States and Territories of the United States from the British Provinces, have been definitively fixed. That, however, which separates us from the Provinces of Canada and New Brunswick to the North and the East, was still in dispute when I came into office. But I presume to say, that I cannot bring myself to believe, in a final decision, that cannot but be deemed an unfrivolous denial of justice, should be persisted in, the matter before your adjournment, be laid before you, the constitutional judges of what is proper to be done when negotiation for redress of injury fails. France seemed to present a favorable opportunity to renew our claims of a similar nature on other powers; and particularly in the case of those upon Naples, more especially as in the course of former negotiations with that power, our failure to induce France to renounce her claims, had been an argument against us. The desires of the merchants who were the principal sufferers have therefore been acceded to, and a mission has been instituted for the special purpose of obtaining from them a reparation already too long delayed.—This measure having been resolved on, it was put in execution as law, to produce an agreement, to the end that the state of Europe created an apprehension of events that might have rendered our application ineffectual.

Our demands upon the Government of the Two Sicilies are of a peculiar nature. The injuries on which they are founded, are not denied, nor are the atrocity and perfidy under which those injuries were perpetrated attempted to be extenuated. The sole ground on which indemnity has been refused is the alleged illegality of the tenure by which the monarch, who made the seizures held his crown. This defence, as justly and as properly abandoned, even by those powers upon whom the responsibility for acts of past rulers bore the most heavily, will unquestionably be given up by his Sicilian Majesty, whose councils will receive an impulse from that high sense of honor and regard to justice, which is so characteristic of him. I feel the fullest confidence that the talents of the citizen commissioned for that purpose will place before him the just claims of our injured citizens in such a light as will enable me, before your adjournment, to announce that they have been adjusted and secured. Precise instructions to the effect of bringing the matter to a speedy issue, have been given and will be obeyed.

In the late blockade of Terceira, some of the Portuguese fleet captured several of our vessels and committed other excesses, for which reparation was demanded; and I was on the point of dispatching an armed force, to protect our citizens in the prosecution of their lawful commerce, when official assurances, on which I relied, made the sailing of the ships unnecessary. Since that period prompt promises have been made that indemnity shall be given for the injuries sustained by our citizens, and in the performance there has been some, perhaps unavoidable delay; but I have the fullest confidence that my earnest desire that this business may at once be closed, which our Minister has been instructed strongly to express, will very soon be gratified. I have the better ground for this hope, from the excellent principle of a friendly disposition which that Government has shown by an actual reduction in the duty on rice, the produce of our Southern States, authorizing the anticipation that this important article of our export will soon be admitted on the same footing with that produced by the most favored nations.

With the other powers of Europe, we have fortunately had no cause of discussions for the redress of injuries. With the Empire of the Russias our political connexion is of the most friendly, and our commercial of the most liberal kind. We enjoy the advantage of a peaceable and friendly trade, given to the most favored nation; but it has not yet suited their policy, or perhaps has not been found convenient from other considerations, to give stability and reciprocity to those privileges, by a commercial treaty. The ill health of the Minister last year charged with making a proposition to our Government, to a friendly disposition which that Government has shown by an actual reduction in the duty on rice, the produce of our Southern States, authorizing the anticipation that this important article of our export will soon be admitted on the same footing with that produced by the most favored nations.

Sweden and Denmark having made compensation for the irregularities committed by their vessels, or in their ports, to the perfect satisfaction of the parties concerned; and having renewed the Treaty of Commerce entered into with them, our political and commercial relations with those Powers continue to be on the most friendly footing. With Spain, our differences up to the 23d of February, 1819, were settled by the Treaty of Washington of that date; but at a subsequent period, to our entire commerce entered into with them, our political and commercial relations with those Powers continue to be on the most friendly footing.

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Few changes have taken place in our connexion with the independent States of America since my last communication to Congress. The ratification of a Commercial Treaty with the United Republics of Mexico has been for some time under deliberation in our Congress, but was still undecided at the date of our last dispatches. The unhappy civil commotions that have prevailed there, were undoubtedly the cause of the delay; but as the Government is now so tranquil, and the most anxious to receive the ratification of the Treaty, and an arrangement for the demarcation of the boundaries between us. In the mean time an important trade has been opened, with mutual benefit, from St. Louis, in the state of Missouri, by caravans to the interior province of Mexico. This commerce is protected in its progress through the Indian countries by the troops of the United States, which have been permitted to escort the caravans, beyond our boundaries to the settled part of the Mexican territory.

From Central America I have received assurances of the most friendly kind, and a gratifying application for our good offices to remove a supposed imposition towards that Government in a neighboring State; this application was immediately and successfully complied with. They gave us also the pleasing intelligence that differences which had prevailed in their internal affairs had been peacefully adjusted. Our treaty with this Republic continues to be faithfully observed and promises great and beneficial commerce between the two countries, a commerce of the greatest importance, if the magnificent project of a ship canal through the dominions of that State, from the Atlantic to the Pacific Ocean, now in serious contemplation, shall be executed.

I have great satisfaction in communicating the success which has attended the exertions of our Minister in Colombia to procure a very considerable reduction in the duties on our flour in that republic. Indemnity also has been stipulated for injuries received by our merchants from liberal seizures; and renewed assurances are given that the Treaty between the two countries shall be faithfully observed. Chili and Peru seem to be still threatened with civil commotions; and until they shall be settled, disorders may naturally be apprehended, requiring the exertions of our Government, to protect our fisheries and guard our commerce. The disturbances which took place in the empire of Brazil, previously to, and immediately consequent upon, the abdication of the late Emperor, necessarily suspended any official application for the redress of our citizens from that government, while they have been the cause of others, in which all foreigners seem to have participated. Instructions have been given to our Minister there, to press for indemnity due for losses occasioned by these irregularities; and to take care that our fellow citizens should properly be indemnified in respect to the duties on the articles imported into that country, which the Treaty lately made between the two powers, all which the good intelligence that prevails between our Minister at Rio Janeiro and the Regency, gives us the best reason to expect.

I should have placed Buenos Ayres in the list of our friendly relations in respect to which nothing of importance affecting us was to be communicated, but for occurrences which have lately taken place at the Falkland Islands; in which the name of that republic has been used to cover with a show of authority, acts injurious to our commerce, and to the property of our fellow citizens. In the course of the present year, one of our vessels engaged in the pursuit of a trade which we have always enjoyed, without molestation, has been captured by a band of armed men, as they pretend, under the authority of the government of Buenos Ayres. I have therefore given orders for the despatch of an armed vessel, to join our protection to our trade which shall be necessary; and shall, without delay, send a minister to inquire into the nature of the circumstances, and also of the claim, if any, that is set up by that government to those islands. In the mean time I shall be charmed to hear that our fellow citizens, to the end that they may cloth the Executive with such authority and means as they may deem necessary for providing a force adequate to the complete protection of our fellow citizens fishing and trading to those seas.

This rapid sketch of our foreign relations, it is hoped, fellow citizens, may be of some use in so much of your legislation as may bear on that important subject; while it affords to the country at large a source of high gratification in the contemplation of our political and commercial connection with the rest of the world. At peace with all nations, and having subjected our fellow citizens, and these susceptible of easy adjustment—extending our commerce gradually on all sides, and on none by any but the most liberal and mutually beneficial means—we may, by the blessing of Providence, hope for all that national prosperity which can be derived from an intercourse with foreign nations, guided by the principles of justice and reciprocal good will which are binding as well upon States, as the individuals of whom they are composed. I have great satisfaction in making this statement of our affairs, because the course of our national policy enables me to do it without any indirect expressions of what in other governments is usually concealed from the people. Having now laid a straight forward open course to pursue—guided by a single principle that will bear the strongest light—we have happily no political combinations to form, no alliances to entangle us, no complicated interests to consult; and we are enabled to do all that is done in the consideration of our citizens, and to the inspection of the world, we give no advantage to other nations, and lay ourselves open to no injury.

It may not be proper to add that to preserve this state of things and to give confidence to the world in the safety of our trade, all our consular and diplomatic agents are strictly enjoined to examine well every cause of complaint, preferred by our citizens; and while they urge with proper earnestness those that are well founded, to continue those that are unreasonable or unjust, and to enjoy on our merchants and navigators the same confidence to the laws of the countries to which they resort, and a course of conduct in their dealings that may support the character of our nation and render us respected abroad. Connected with this subject I must recommend a revival of our consular trade, by agents and commissions, to be appointed for that operation that ought to be renewed and supplied. For your further information on this subject I have directed a report to be made by the Secretary of State, which I shall heretofore submit to your consideration.

The internal peace and security of our confederated State, is the next principal object of the General Government. Time and experience have proved that the abuse of the Native Indian within their limits is dangerous to their peace and injurious to himself. In dangerous to their peace and injurious to himself. In dangerous to their peace and injurious to himself. In dangerous to their peace and injurious to himself.

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