

IN SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES.

DECEMBER 29, 1837.

Laid on the table, and ordered to be printed.

Mr. MORRIS submitted the following motions for consideration :

1. *Resolved*, That in the formation of the Federal constitution, the States acted in their sovereign capacity ; but the adoption of the same was, by the people of the several States, by their agents specially elected for that purpose, and the people of the several States, by their own free and voluntary assent, entered into the compact of union proposed in the constitution, with the view to form a more perfect union, establish justice, insure domestic tranquillity, provide for the common defence, promote the general welfare, and secure the blessings of liberty to themselves and their posterity ; and that the means of attaining all these important objects are fully provided for in the grants of power contained in the constitution itself.

2. *Resolved*, That the people of the several States in delegating a portion of their power to the Federal Government, which they had formerly exercised by their own Legislatures, severally retained the exclusive and sole right over their domestic institutions, which they had not, by the constitution, granted to the Federal Government ; and they reserved to individuals, and to the States in their sovereign character, the full liberty of speech and the press, to discuss the domestic institutions of any of the States, whether political, moral, or religious ; and that it would be the exercise of unauthorized power on the part of this Government, or that of any of the States, to attempt to restrain the same, and that any endeavor to do so would be insulting to the people and the States so interfered with ; for each State alone has the power to punish individuals for the abuse of this liberty within their own jurisdiction ; and whenever one State shall attempt to make criminal acts done by citizens in another State, which are lawful in the State where done, the necessary consequence would be to weaken the bands of our Union.

3. *Resolved*, That this Government was adopted by the people of the several States of this Union as a common agent, to carry into effect the powers which they had delegated by the constitution ; and in fulfilment of this high and sacred trust, this Government is bound so to exercise its powers as not to interfere with the reserved rights of the States over their own domestic institutions ; and it is the duty of this Government to refrain from any attempt, however remote, to operate on the liberty of speech and the press, as secured to the citizens of each State by the constitution and laws thereof. That the United States are bound to secure to each State a republican form of Government, and to protect each of them against invasion or domestic violence, and for no other purpose can Congress interfere with the internal police of a State.

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4. *Resolved*, That domestic slavery as it exists in the southern and western States, is a moral and political evil, and that its existence at the time of the adoption of the Constitution is not recognised by that instrument as an essential element in the exercise of its powers over the several States and no change of feeling on the part of any of the States can justify them or their citizens in open and systematic attacks on the right of petition, the freedom of speech, or the liberty of the press, with a view to silence either, on any subject whatever; and that all such attacks are manifest violations of the mutual and solemn pledge to protect and defend each other, and as such is a manifest breach of faith, and a violation of the most solemn obligations, political, moral, and religious.

5. *Resolved*, That it is the indisputable right of any State, or any citizen thereof, as well as an indispensable duty, to endeavor, by all legal and constitutional means, to abolish whatever is immoral and sinful, and that Congress alone possess the power to abolish slavery and the slave trade in this District, or any of the Territories of the United States; and the right of petition, of speech, and of the press, to accomplish this object, is not to be questioned, and that an act of Congress on this subject would be within its constitutional powers.

6. *Resolved*, That the Union of these States rests upon the virtue and intelligence of the citizens in supporting the constitution of the United States, and not upon any supposed advantages it may afford to any particular State; and that it is the solemn duty of all, more especially of this body, which represents the States in their sovereign character, to resist all attempts to discriminate between the States; and that it would be unwise, unjust, and contrary to the constitution, to annex any new Territory or State to this confederacy, with a view to the advantage of any State, or its peculiar domestic institutions; that such an attempt would be contrary to that equality of rights which one object of the constitution was to secure alike to all the States; and if done to favor the slaveholding States, for the purpose of giving to those States a preponderance in this Government, would, in effect, be to establish slavery in all the States.

7. *Resolved*, That to regulate commerce among the several States is an express power granted by the constitution to the Congress of the United States. That, in the exercise of this power, Congress may rightfully prohibit any article, though made property by the laws of a State, from being used in such commerce, if the same would be detrimental to the general welfare.

8. *Resolved*, That Congress have possessed the power since the year 1808 to prohibit the importation of persons into any State as articles of commerce or merchandise.

9. *Resolved*, That the political condition of the people within the District of Columbia is subject to State regulation; and that Congress, in the exercise of its legislative powers over the District, are bound by the will of their constituents in the same manner as when legislating for the people of the United States generally.

10. *Resolved*, That this Government was founded and has been sustained by the force of public opinion, and that the free and full exercise of that opinion is absolutely necessary for its healthful action; and that any system which will not bear the test of public investigation is at war with its fundamental principles; and that any proceedings on the part of those who administer the Government of the United States, or any of the States,

or any citizens thereof, which are intended or calculated to make disreputable the free and full exercise of the thoughts and opinions of any portion of our citizens on any subject connected with the political, moral, or religious institutions of our country, whether expressed by petitions to Congress, or otherwise, by attaching to the character of such citizens odious and reproachful names and epithets, strike at the very foundation of all our civil institutions, as well as our personal safety; poison the very foundations of public justice, and excite mobs and other unlawful assemblies to deeds of violence and blood. That our only safety is in tolerating error of opinion, while reason is left free to combat it.