

them time for reflection and experience of consequences; keep ourselves in a situation to profit by the chapter of accidents; and separate from our companions only, when the sole alternatives left, are a dissolution of our Union with them or submission to a government without limitation of powers. Between these two evils when we must make a choice, there can be no hesitation. But in the meanwhile, the States should be watchful to note every material usurpation on their rights; to denounce them as they occur in the most peremptory terms; to protest against them as wrongs, to which ours shall be considered not as acknowledgments or precedents of right, but as a temporary yielding to the lesser evil, until their accumulation shall outweigh that of separation."

Through all of these letters the same idea is preserved. The two evils are presented—submission to what we may deem infractions of the compact, or separation; at the same time he admonishes us, that until the oppression becomes intolerable—until all hope of relief is cut off—we should bear with our brethren rather than hazard the existence of that Union from which we have derived so many advantages and to which, we should cling as the last hope of freedom.

But mark, sir, in these letters there is no mention, no allusion even, to nullification as a means of correcting abuses in the administration of the government; and if more were necessary to prove his opinions upon this subject, I would call the attention of gentlemen to a memoir in the first volume of his works in which he says—"The fundamental defect of the confederation was that Congress was not authorised to act immediately on the people and by its own officers. Their power was only requisitory, and these requisitions were addressed to the several Legislatures, to be by them carried into execution, without other coercion than the moral principle of duty. This allowed in fact a negative to every State, on every measure proposed by Congress, a negative so frequently exercised in practice, as to benumb the action of the federal government and to render it inefficient in its general objects and more especially in pecuniary and foreign concerns." Sir, to my mind this isolated paragraph is conclusive, and covers the whole ground upon which Mr. Calhoun rests his doctrine.

The testimony of Mr. Madison is no less clear and emphatic. And here I would remind gentlemen, that no man contributed more to the establishment of our present form of government than did Mr. Madison—no man better understood its theory—and more especially, no man can be so confidently relied on, as to the nature and object of the Virginia report and resolutions as he who conceived and matured them. In his letter to the editor of the North American Review, (1830) he speaks thus—"In the event of the failure of every constitutional resort, and an accumulation of usurpations and abuses, rendering passive obedience and non-resistance, a greater evil than resistance and revolution, there can remain but one resort—an appeal from the cancelled obligations of the constitutional compact, to original rights and the law of self-preservation: This is the ultima ratio under all governments, whether consolidated, confederated or a compound of both; and it cannot be doubted that a single member of the Union, in the extremity supposed, but in that only, would have a right, as an extra and ultra constitutional right to make the appeal. This brings us to the expedient lately advanced, which claims for a single State, a right to appeal against an exercise of power by the government of the United States, decided by the State to be unconstitutional, to the parties to the federal compact; the decision of the State to have the effect of nullifying the acts of the government of the United States, unless the decision of the State be reversed by three-fourths of the parties. The distinguished names and high authorities which appear to have asserted and given a practical scope to this doctrine, entitle it to a respect which it might be difficult otherwise to feel for it," &c. &c. &c. Subsequently in a letter to Mr. Ingersoll he

says—"you have succeeded better in your interpretation of the Virginia proceedings in 1798—'99, than those who have seen in them a coincidence with the nullifying doctrines so called. The doctrine of nullification is as new to me as it was to you, derives no support from the best cotemporary elucidations of those proceedings—the debates on the resolutions—the address of the Legislature to its constituents, and the scope of the objections made by the Legislatures of other States, whose concurrence in the resolutions was invited and refused. The error in the late comment on the Virginia proceedings has arisen, from a failure to distinguish between what is declaratory of opinion, and what is, ipso facto, executive—between the rights of the parties and a single party—between resorts within the purview of the Constitution and the ultima ratio which appeals from a Constitution cancelled by its abuses to original right paramount to all Constitutions."

Sir, I cannot allow myself to doubt that these evidences are sufficient to establish the position I assumed—That the Virginia doctrines are not nullification—that neither Mr. Jefferson or Mr. Madison so regarded them. To my mind it is perfectly clear, that any other interpretation of the Virginia doctrine than that given by Mr. Jefferson and Mr. Madison in the letters to which I have referred, is forced and unauthorised, and contradicted by all the contemporaneous evidence that has been furnished. The whole of the Virginia doctrine, as I understand it, is this—as by the action of States the federal government was created, so, as States, they should act to cause their creature, their common agent, to retrace his steps when he has deviated from the legitimate track. And the kind of action implied is evidently a concurrent action, to be agreed upon and exercised in the same way, as was the original compact or agreement. It invites the co-operation of the co-States—their refusal leaving but two alternatives—submission to those acts of the government that have been passed under the form of the Constitution or separation. Nullification, on the other hand, is the separate action of a single State—and in practice would present the singular anomaly of a State of a confederacy—a member of a firm, if gentlemen choose so to express themselves, deriving all the benefits of the association, while at the same time it is exempt from the burdens it imposes. Admit it, and in the language of Mr. McDuffie, before the mystic light of nullification had been revealed to him, the Constitution is literally at an end—a revolution of the government is already accomplished and anarchy waves his horrid sceptre over the broken altars of this happy Union.

I have said, sir, I do not conceive the exigency sufficient to warrant the resort to a remedy of so disorganizing, so revolutionary a character. And why, sir? Because the evils of the Tariff—and I will continue to protest against every branch of that system of which a protective Tariff is but part—because, I say, the evils of the Tariff are of such a nature as to work their own cure. Indeed things are rapidly hurrying to this crisis. Public opinion is undergoing a rapid and radical change upon the subject. And I venture to predict that before the lapse of another Presidential term, public sentiment, not here, sir, not in North Carolina, but in the manufacturing States, will have been entirely revolutionized. Why you doubtless recollect that a few years since, many of our counties were divided upon this subject. They had not examined it—indeed they had not had access to the same sources of intelligence, that the last few years have developed. But reflection and investigation have shown them the evils—have discovered to them the ruinous consequences that are resulting from this disastrous policy. And now, sir, you may execute a day's journey in the section of the State in which I reside, without finding a man undetermined. And the same investigation must every where produce the same result. The principles of free trade, when understood, must triumph and that triumph must of necessity involve a corresponding change of policy. Our habits—our

pursuits—the spirit of our institutions—all authorise the conviction, that in this country no system of restrictions can be permanent. The only means by which the rapid march of these liberal principles could have been arrested—their speedy triumph prevented—would have been by additional duties, so to encumber us as to cut off all hope of relief from the partial and oppressive operation of the Tariff. Heretofore the protective policy has been progressive—constantly advancing, and really seemed to threaten to attain this end.

To have remained stationary even might fairly be construed into an implied acknowledgment of the justice of our complaints. But a reduction—a manifest and palpable reduction, if not an abandonment of the entire scheme, may certainly authorise the conclusion that subsequent legislation will be but the prosecution of a freer and more liberal policy.

Besides, sir—in a country so vast as ours—where agricultural enterprise is constantly unfolding new channels of industry—where immense tracts of now uncultivated forest are daily being subdued by the hardy and intelligent emigrant, the interest of which these make a part must ultimately preponderate. The west, sir—the great west is destined at no distant day, to hold the balance of power in this country—and that interesting region must, from its identity of interest and pursuit, throw its weight into our scale. Nor will the diffusion of these principles be confined to the west. The east—yes, sir, New England is the birth place of liberal principles. She cherished them in her bright and palmy days, and they have been consecrated by her best blood—by the blood of her patriots and her martyrs. Compelled to abandon the ocean, her proper, her natural element, by the very men who now urge upon us the doctrine of nullification, she adopted a policy, which both her interests and her principles condemned. But when the mists which have obscured this subject shall be dissipated, and they are already flying before the irresistible influence of truth and justice—she will no longer be blinded by errors in practice to truth in theory, but will return to her first love with all the ardor of renewed affection.

Besides, sir, the system of restrictions was commenced avowedly for the purpose of cancelling the heavy debt we had incurred during the war—The object is attained, the debt is cancelled and 'no Shylock can demand the bond.' The result of the late Presidential election too, furnishes additional ground of hope; to my mind it reduces that hope to certainty. Gen. Jackson has succeeded by a majority beyond the expectations of his best friends. He has succeeded too against the combined influence of every vested interest in this country. Upon this subject he is with us—and stands pledged to press upon the federal Legislature, such measures as will relieve us from the odious and iniquitous exactions of the Tariff.

And, sir, when this desirable object is about being attained—when a vision brighter than Moore or Harrington ever indulged is about being realized—when we are about experiencing for the first time the benefits of practical freedom—shall we recognize this dangerous, violent and unconstitutional heresy, under whose exercise every star in our splendid galaxy must shoot madly from its sphere, or one by one go out?—No, sir, let us cling with pertinacious and filial devotion to the holy heritage our fathers left us, and while we resist every act of usurpation no matter from what source it may emanate—while we oppose every attempt that may be made to hurry us into anarchy and civil commotion on the one hand, or consolidation and oppression on the other, let us not forget our obligations to the Constitution and the Union. Destroy the first—and your government in losing its character, will lose its value. Destroy the last—and you break the golden bowl, from which we have imbibed liberty—prosperity and happiness.

But, sir, we live in a world that is full of revolutions and changes. Nothing is fixed—nothing is lasting. The most

splendid creations of human pride—the most gigantic monuments of human art have been swept away and are no more. Nations have arisen and triumphed and passed away, leaving scarce a memorial from which tradition can trace the story of their fame; and if we are destined, thus early to meet the fate, that soon or late overtakes States and empires; if through the errors of misguided, even if honest zeal, our fair temple is so soon to be demolished; and its pillars shattered, torn, mutilated, then indeed will the predictions of our enemies have been fulfilled; then, indeed will man's incapacity for self-government have been demonstrated; then, indeed will posterity have cause to mourn over the fragments of that mighty republic, "which in its dawn offered to the world so bright an example, and to itself promised so proud a destiny."

Erratum.—On the first page, third column, twelfth line from the bottom, read, "If ever a case could occur," instead of *should*.

NEW GOODS.

THE Subscribers are receiving a large and extensive Stock of

DRY GOODS,

OF EVERY DESCRIPTION.

ALSO, Shoes, Hats, Hardware and Cutlery, Groceries, Cotton Bagging, Rope, Iron, Nails, Castings, &c.

THEIR STOCK

Consists in part of the following articles:

6 hds St. Croix Sugar,
20 bags Coffee,
10 hds. Molasses,
10 " N. E. Rum,
30 barrels Whiskey,
75 pieces Cotton Bagging,
100 coils Bale Rope,
10 tons Swedes and English Iron,
100 barrels new Fish,

Also, 5,000 bush. T. I. SALT.

The above articles will be sold low for Cash or Country Produce, or on a credit to punctual customers.

The highest market price paid at all times for Country Produce.

EVANS & ANDREWS.

Sparta, 2d Nov. 1832.

NOTICE.

THE Subscribers are now receiving, in addition to their former stock, the following articles, which they offer on good terms

For Cash or Produce.

6 hds St. Croix Sugar—10 casks Cheese,
50 sacks Liverpool Salt—10 hds. Rum,
20 barrels Whiskey—40 bags Coffee,
50 pieces Bagging—10 tons Iron, assorted,
20 kegs Nails—50 coils bale Rope,
1000 bushels alum Salt—1000 do. ground do.

The above articles were purchased in New York and Boston, and are now offered at a small advance on the first cost.

D. RICHARDS & CO.

Tarborough, 15th Dec. 1832.

Earthenware, China & Glass.

THOMAS J. BARROW & CO. Importers, 88 Water-Street, New-York—are receiving their spring importations in the above line; comprising a great variety of the Newest Patterns—which are offered to Southern Merchants at the most reduced prices possible for the article to be sold at.

In addition to the above, they have a large and complete assortment of Gilt and Plain LOOKING-GLASSES constantly on hand at low rates.

Hoping a continuation of the liberal support hitherto received from our Southern friends, we have made every exertion to lay in a stock of the most desirable Goods for that market—and it shall be our constant endeavor to promote the interest of all those who may favor us with their orders.

THOMAS J. BARROW & CO.

Importers—88 Water-St. New York.

New York, Jan. 18, 1833.

Rocky Mount Hotel.

THE Subscriber respectfully informs his friends and the public that he has commenced keeping

A House of Entertainment,

At his residence at the Falls of Tar River, 18 miles from Tarborough and 55 from Raleigh, on the stage road between those towns. He will provide every thing abundantly, necessary for the comfort and convenience of man and horse, and hopes to merit and receive a share of public patronage.

ISAAC W. HORNE.

Jan. 1833.

Lawrence & Lemay's

NORTH CAROLINA

ALMANACK,

FOR 1833.

For sale at this Office, at the Raleigh prices.