STAR, AND NORTH CAROLINA STATE GAZETTE.

NO. 18 — RALEIGH, N. C. THURSDAY, APRIL 29, 1830 — VOL. XXI

BY AUTHORITY,

LAWS OF THE UNITED STATES.
Passed at the First Session of the Twenty-First Congress.

An act authorizing the appointment of an additional Brigadier General for the Territory of Arkansas.

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That the President of the United States by and with the advice and consent of the Senate be, and he is hereby, authorized to appoint a Brigadier General for the Second Brigade of the Arkansas Militia.

A. STEVENSON,
Speaker of the House of Representatives.
J. C. CALHOUN,
Vice-President of the United States, and President of the Senate.
Approved, April 15th, 1830
ANDREW JACKSON.

An act authorizing the Secretary of the Treasury to refund a sum of money, now in the Treasury, to Charles Henry Hall.

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That the Secretary of the Treasury is hereby authorized to refund to Charles Henry Hall the sum of two thousand [illegible] hundred and seventy three dollars, being the net proceeds, after paying the duties, of four pipes and twenty-two casks of wine, imported at New Orleans in the brig Sarah, by Hazard Williams, and improperly condemned for alleged breach of the revenue laws: *Provided,* that said Hall shall produce satisfactory evidence to show that the said wines in fact belonged to him, and that he is the person entitled to receive such part of the proceeds as now remain in the Treasury.

Approved, April 15, 1830

An act for the relief of the Mercantile Insurance Company, in Salem, Massachusetts.

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That the Secretary of the Treasury be, and he is hereby, authorized and directed to re-pay to the President and Directors of the Mercantile Insurance Company, in Salem, Massachusetts, out of any money in the Treasury, not otherwise appropriated, the sum of [illegible] hundred and thirty dollars and ninety-two cents, being the amount paid to the Collector of Customs for the District of Belfast, in the State of Maine, for duties on sails, rigging, and materials, saved from the American Brig [illegible], which was wrecked at Martinique, in the year one thousand eight hundred and twenty-seven, and which materials were subsequently brought back, and landed in said District. *Provided,* it shall be satisfactorily shown to the Secretary of the Treasury, that the articles upon which said duty has been paid, were a part of the materials of said brig Lydia.

Approved, April 15, 1830.

From the United States Telegraph.

JEFFERSON'S BIRTH DAY.

We are enabled, to day, to lay before our readers an account of the Celebration of the 13th inst. The venerable patriot, the Hon. Wm. Roane, of Virginia, officiated as President of the Day, assisted by the Hon. Geo. Robb, of Ky., Hon. Levi Woodbury, of New Hampshire, Hon. Felix Grundy, of Tennessee, Hon. C. C. Cambreleng, of New York, Hon. Wm. P. Gordon, of Va., and Hon. Mr. Overton, of Louisiana, as Vice Presidents. The toasts and speeches are worthy of the distinguished individuals who were present, and of the occasion, which they are designed to commemorate.

1. Thomas Jefferson: We celebrate the anniversary of his birth, not in the spirit of idolatry idolatry, but from regard and respect for his political principles.

2. The Declaration of Independence: An enduring monument of that devotion to liberty, and abhorrence of tyranny, which stamp the character, and mark the whole course of the life of its author.

3. "Thomas Jefferson: Author of the Declaration of American Independence; of the Statute of Virginia, establishing religious freedom, and Father of the University of Virginia." (*Memorandum of Mr. Jefferson, found in a drawer containing his will.*)

4. The Kentucky resolutions of '98: drawn by the same hand which drew the Declaration of Independence; a practical illustration of Jeffersonian republican principles, and a correct definition of the relative powers of the State and Federal Governments.

Mr. Bibb said: The notice which had been taken of Kentucky, could not fail to excite the feelings of her representatives here present. In compliance with what he was supposed was expected of him, as the representative of the State, he would take a brief view of the principles alluded to. They were principles near to his heart; he had embraced them in his youth; he had cherished them in the meridian of his days; and, in the twilight of life, he still adored them with a zeal which he hoped he should carry to the tomb. It was his good fortune to have been instructed in the principles of the immortal Author of the Declaration of Independence; his fame was known in both hemispheres; his literary attainments had attracted the admiration of the age in which he lived; his philanthropy embraced the human race.

Before I enter into any explanation (said Mr. B.) of the principles of the resolutions of '98, and of the conspicuous part which Kentucky had the good fortune to act, in asserting the true principles of the Constitution, I beg leave to introduce her to those here present who have never seen her, in miniature hastily sketched. Her face is lovely and very inviting. The fertility of her soil, the luxuriance and variety of her brakes, vines, herbs, trees, fruits, and flowers; her mineral springs; her limped streams, which, rising in her mountains, pursue devious courses through her cliffs and valleys, until they discharge their tributes in the fair Ohio—had attracted fowls, fish, beast, and savage man. A form so fair, with charms so vast, could not fail to win the admirations and command the devotions of the human man. Indian tradition says, that this precious gift of the Great Spirit, had excited the jealousies and contentions of various tribes of the red men. That they fought, bled, and died, in such numerous and repeated battles, contending for propriety of right, that her forests were filled with warriors' bones, and her streams were stained with blood. The River Kentucky was named by them, "the river of blood." Length, to stop the course of deadly wars, it was agreed among the contending tribes, that no one should settle a village within this fair land; and that it should remain a common hunting ground for all. So it was, when the white man first explored this fair region, there was not an Indian village in the county of Kentucky.

As soon as the whites took possession of this enchanting land, it became again the subject of fierce and bloody contention. Virginia engaged, in union with her sister States, in the war for independence, could spare but little to her colony in Kentucky. Whilst the American Eagle was soaring with the British Lion, Kentucky, separated from her parent Virginia, and from all the States, by a wilderness, was left to contend, single handed, against the tomahawk and scalping knife of the red men, aided by their British allies. She maintained the conflict, under the most trying circumstances, with an undaunted spirit, and a gallantry which became those who resolved to be free, and had to chose between liberty and death. The Kentuckians, whilst dwelling in stations, cultivating their fields under the protection of the rifle, invaded, continually, by their savage foe, did, nevertheless, carry the war beyond their borders, and hunted even the British Lion in his places of fancied security. A regiment of Kentucky volunteers, under their gallant leader, General George Rogers Clarke, crossed the Ohio, waded the inundated praires, breaking the ice with their breasts, with their guns uplifted and rested on their heads, by an enterprise in boldness of conception, and skill in execution, not surpassed by the genius of Hannibal, surprised and took the British posts of Kaskaskias and Vincennes. When Governor Hamilton had deposited his arms in the fort, and marched his unarmed soldiers out to surrender themselves prisoners of war, he shed tears of anguish and mortification, to find that, by a stratagem of war, he had been circumvented to surrender his fortress without firing a gun, to a force far inferior in numbers, provided with nothing better to batter his fortress than logs of wood, cut and blackened to wear the semblance of cannon.

I have singled out this, because of the vast consequences which flowed from it. This gave to the United States the advantage, in settling the preliminaries of peace, to insist upon their possession of the vast territory Northwest of the Ohio, as one of the fruits of the war to be secured in the articles of peace. To enumerate the various skirmishes, battles, sieges, expeditions, tilts and tournaments of war, and the gallant inhabitants of Kentucky, who have figured in them, during her infancy as the county of Kentucky, her riper years as the district of Kentucky, and in her maturity as the State of Kentucky, would transcend all decent limits prescribed to me upon this occasion. Suffice it to say, that the same spirit which conquered the country from the savages, which surprised and took Kaskaskia and Vincennes, which poured forth and animated her regiments in the frozen regions of the North and the burning sands of the South, still animates her. Kentucky was cradled in war, nursed in war, grew up in war. Her parent, Virginia, with that spirit of justice and generosity for which she is distinguished, consented that Kentucky should become a separate State. She has been admitted to the rights, authorities, privileges, and liberties of a sovereign State, and placed in the constellation of the Union. This high attribute of a sovereign State, this precious emblem of liberty, she has fought for, conquered and deserved. She knows its value, and has the genius and the spirit to maintain it. For her generous mother she feels the affection of a daughter; for her sister States she feels the generous affection of a sister; neither infected by the pernicious vices of insensibility to merit on the one hand, nor envy on the other. And may the hand and brain of any political alchymist be withered and palsied, who shall attempt to poison the social cup with discord, and present it to the lips of the mother, the daughter or the sisters, for the purpose of transmuting the generous spirit of union, mutual deference, concession, and affection, into a sordid spirit of avarice, envy and insensibility.

No sooner had Kentucky obtained a respite from her contentions with the red men of the forests, than she had to experience a new species of warfare. As if this land, so fair to view, had been enchanted, and doomed to perpetual warfare, the litigations in the courts of justice began. The numerous conflicting patents with which this country has been shingled over, sprung up like dragons teeth sown upon the land. The dogs of judicial warfare, lawyers and sheriffs, with ejectments, bills in equity, and writs of right, were let loose, with all the expense, and pomp, and circumstance of forensic litigation; the occupants of the soil were hunted and dragged from the cultivation of their farms to defend, in the courts, the title to their houses and their fields. But let this pass without reproach. Virginia was engaged in the arduous struggle of the Revolution, which required the whole force of her talents, mental and physical. To raise the means of prosecuting the war, she brought her Western lands into market, by a system devised under the most pressing and urgent necessities. The motive was just, laudable; and magnanimous. The cause was glorious, and it gloriously triumphed. Let the mother and the daughter look at the under circumstances without recrimination, but with that mutual forbearance due to the circumstances in which they have been respectively placed, and especially with all just allowance due to the noble motive. Let us be grateful for the greater good; and, by mutual forbearance and assistance, endeavor to soften the lesser evil which has sprung from the support of a virtuous cause.

In 1798, whilst Kentucky was smarting under the consequences of her struggles against the tomahawk and scalping knife, and those of the Revolutionary war, to which I have just alluded, a more alarming grievance sprung up under the action of the General Government. A high handed system of measures was put into operation; direct taxes, excises, and internal duties were instituted; a large standing army was authorized; an army of officers and tax gatherers were swarming through the land, to take from the mouth of labor the bread it had earned, without sufficient causes of justification. As if to stifle the voice of the people, destroy the freedom of discussion, suppress the sentiments of the human heart, and beget a temper of passive obedience, the acts, commonly called the alien and sedition laws, were passed. The alien law placed it in the power of the President of the United States to order all aliens to depart who might fall under a suspicion of being suspected by him of being dangerous to the peace and safety of the United States; and, in case of refusal to obey such order, to cause them to be arrested, and sent out of the United States. No accusation of any crime committed, no trial before any court, was required; the suspicion of the President was enough. A foreign dialect was enough; and, unless the persons ordered to depart could prove, to evidence satisfactory to the President, that they were not aliens or not dangerous, and obtain a licence, by giving bond and security for good behaviour, they were to depart, or be arrested, and sent out of the United States. This act was levelled against all foreigners who had arrived on our shores, and who had not completed their naturalization. It was levelled against oppressed humanity, seeking a home and an asylum on our peaceful shores from the oppressions and convulsions of the old world. It counteracted the policy of the States and our laws for naturalization, which invited foreigners to come and settle our uncultivated forests. The sedition law was levelled against citizens as well as aliens, as if it were intended, by the terrors of an inquisition, to restrain the commerce of hearing, writing, printing, or speaking, of public men and public measures.

Kentucky had tasted of liberty; she was not of a temper to drink of the cup of slavery, nor to submit in silence to encroachments upon her rights, authorities and privileges. In those early seasons of virtue, the principles of the revolution were remembered; the sly encroachments of power which had been perceived, and resisted, were remembered; the danger of suffering a noxious precedent to take root was properly estimated. It fell to the good fortune of Kentucky, then the youngest sister of the Union, to take the lead in raising the voice of the State against the encroachments and usurpations of the federal government. The resolutions of Kentucky of '98, passed the House of Representatives with but few dissenting voices, were unanimously concurred in by the Senate, and were approved by the Governor. The concord with which they passed does honor to the spirit of the times.

Those resolutions asserted two great principles; that the federal constitution is founded in compact between the States; that, in case of a deliberate, palpable, and dangerous exercise by the federal government of powers not granted by the said compact, the States who are parties thereto, have the right to interpose for arresting the usurpation, and for maintaining within their respective limits the authorities, rights, and liberties appertaining to them.

The resolutions were drawn by Mr. Jefferson, and, as I understand, were so drawn and transmitted to Kentucky, upon consultations and communications between Mr. Jefferson, Mr. Madison, Mr. John Taylor, of Caroline, Mr. Spencer Roane, and others, of Virginia, and Mr. George Nicholas, Mr. John Breckenridge, Mr. Hubbard Taylor, and others, of Kentucky. The same principles were asserted by the Legislature of Virginia in 1798, and again at the ensuing session were re-asserted and vindicated in a very lucid report penned by Mr. Madison.

It is not my intention to enter at large into the principles of those resolutions, but leave them to the arguments contained in the resolutions of Kentucky, and in the masterly argument of Mr. Madison as the head of the committee of the Legislature of Virginia of 1799. A few remarks, however, upon the origin and internal structure of the constitution may not be improper.

This new Constitution of the Federal Governments grew out of the old Constitution, and articles of confederation. The third article of the old Constitution declared it to be a firm league of friendship between the several States, "for their common defence, the security of their liberties, and their mutual and general welfare." The 13th article declared, the Union should be perpetual, and provided for amendments, if agreed to by the Congress, and afterwards ratified by the legislatures of the States. The Congress reciting this provision for amendment, proposed to the States, a Convention of delegates, "for the sole and express purpose of revising the articles of confederation and reporting to Congress and the several legislatures, such alteration and provisions therein, as shall, when agreed to in Congress, and confirmed by the States, under the Federal Constitution be adequate to the exigencies of governments, and the preservation of the union." The delegates were appointed by the States, accordingly—they met in Convention, revised the old Constitution; reported their revisal to Congress, who reported it for confirmation to the several Legislatures of the States; who authorized the Conventions in the several States; who ratified it, and their ratifications were again reported to the Congress. Upon receiving the ratifications of nine States, the Congress, reciting the whole process by which the new Constitution had been proposed, framed, and ratified, made provision for putting the new Constitution into operation. The Constitution itself declares, in the 7th article, that it shall be established "*between* the States so ratifying the same." The Senators cannot be elected but by the Legislatures of the States, the electors of President and Vice President in each State must be appointed "in such manner as the Legislature thereof shall direct;" they cannot be appointed if the Legislatures will not direct. Thus it is plain, that a majority of States, by persisting in a refusal to elect Senators, and direct the appointment of electors of President and Vice President, can put an end to this Government.

The observance of the compact between the States to elect Senators, and provide the manner of choosing electors, is the security for the continuance of this Government.

Of a truth this new constitution grew out of the old constitution; it was conceived in compact; born in compact; cradled in compact, its foundation is in compact, its first voice and action depended upon the observance of the compact by the States who are the parties to the compact, its future life and action depends upon the faith of the States in observing their compact to supply the aliment. The States are the parents. They are the natural and appointed guardians. The Federal Government is, from its very texture, and of constitutional necessity, the offspring of the States, and dependent on them for its health, its regular action, its very existence. When it ceases to be so, if it has life and action at all, it will have changed its form, its nature, its aliment, and, like a parricide and a cannibal, it will have murdered and devoured its parents. Against all approaches towards such a horrid catastrophe, I trust the States will long interpose the authority of their voice, and the energy of their faculties, even unto the latest, last, dying conclusive throb.

In such vast extent of territory as that embraced by the United States, with such variety and difference of climate, soil, productions, pursuits, habits and interests, it is impossible to combine and manage all interests in one general system of legislation, and yet preserve the liberties and welfare of all. Hence the necessity of State governments with their appropriate powers, and a Federal Government with its appropriate powers. These delegated by the States to the Federal Government, are wisely selected by the most enlightened statesmen and patriots, assisted by experience. The great powers of making war, peace, and treaties, levying money, and regulating commerce, with the correspondent executive and judicial authorities, were effectually vested in the Federal Government. All the powers not delegated, are reserved to the States. The Federal Government is founded in a spirit of amity and of mutual deference and concession. The States delegated a portion of their powers and authorities, the better to secure the residue. So the constitution is explained by the unanimous order of the Convention, in a letter appended to the constitution, and signed by General Washington, the President of the Convention, and addressed to the Congress. So it was understood, and so adopted by the States.

The majority of States are secure, as all majorities are; they elect a majority of members to both Houses of Congress, and the President; they control the operations of the Government, and can change the course of oppressive measures, by the regular course of periodical elections. They are secured against the oppression of their local and particular interests. But the minority of States have also their local and particular interests. These required security under this new Constitution. This security of the minority of States, against the oppression of their particular interests for the benefit of a majority, was intended to be effected: 1st. By such a judicious selection of delegated powers as, in their exercise, were likely to advance the general welfare of all, if discreetly used; but if abused, the abuse would be generally felt, and therefore subject to be corrected by the regular action of the government. 2dly. By a regulation even of the delegated powers, to prevent local and particular injury, such as that no tax or duty shall be laid on articles exported from any State—no preference shall be given by any regulation of commerce or revenue, to the ports of one State over those of another, &c &c. 3dly. By providing against the addition of new powers, at the will of a majority, but requiring the concurrence of three-fourths of the States.

But if new powers may be assumed, by forced constructions and usurpations, and the will of the Government, acting by a majority of its parts, can stand in place of amendments ratified by three-fourths of the States if the will and construction so made can stand for constitutional law, then the mode of amendment which requires the concurrence of three fourths of the States is evaded—a new mode of amendment is introduced—the will of a majority of Congress, with the assent of the President, or (two-thirds without his assent,) with the assent of a majority of the Supreme Court, can make the Constitution what they please. But a majority of the States can elect whom they please as President, and make the majority of the Supreme Court as they please. The constitutional security of the minority of States, against amendments, unless by the concurrence of three-fourths of the States, will be gone.

The greatest dangers to the liberties prosperity, and tranquillity of this Union, are to be apprehended from the assumption of new powers to the Federal Government, contrary to the course of amendment prescribed; whereby the particular interests of a majority of the States may be subserved, at the expense of the particular interests of a minority of the States. Secondly, from leaving out of view the great end and design of the Constitution, which was to protect the rights, and advance the interests and prosperity of all the States, substituting therefor, a course of legislation to advance the particular interests of a part only, by a colorable use of the delegated powers according to the letter, but contrary to the spirit and intent of the grant.

Whilst that spirit of amity, and mutual deference and concession in which the Constitution was framed and adopted, shall be observed and cultivated, the great purpose and design of the constitution will be accomplished, the general welfare will be advanced, the national defence will be strengthened, the Union will be consolidated. The exercise of doubtful powers, and a wan on disrespect of the opinions and sutements of the representatives of particular States, a want of mutual deference and concession in the exercise of delegated powers, whereby measures particularly disagreeable and injurious to a part are unnecessarily imposed, when other measures less obnoxious would answer the exigencies of the Government, cannot fail to produce distrust, discord and weakness. The discreet exercise of powers, clearly delegated, cannot fail to promote concord, tranquillity, union, and strength. The powers delegated are sufficient for all the exigencies of the Federal Government. They are of such character, so judiciously and guardedly selected, that a discreet use of them cannot fail to promote the general prosperity, and strengthen the national defence.

Viewing the Federal and State Governments in their respective proportions and divisions of powers, moving harmoniously in their respective orbits, the plan is most beautiful, and well ordered. The theory of the Government, when surveyed in all its parts, divisions, connexions, and proportions, is the grandest and most sublime effort of the human genious on the subject of human government. It combines the greatest practical security for protecting the rights of industry and personal liberty at home, with the most energetic, powerful defence against foreign force.

In other governments, as the empire is enlarged security for particular interests and personal liberty is weakened. The whole power of the government is concentrated at the capital. The foreign force which conquers the capital, conquers the government, and prescribes the terms of the conqueror. But in our federative principle, the enlargement of the territory does not endanger particular local interests, nor weaken the security for liberty; the domestic concerns are managed and protected by the State governments. The multiplication of States adds to the general strength and general defence against foreign force; the general interests are managed and protected by the General Government. Let a foreign force possess and burn the Capitol; he has accomplished no conquest: The Congress will rebuild with increased splendor. Should the President and both Houses of Congress be carried into captivity, they have no power to destroy the Constitution; the Government is not conquered. The States are ready to elect another Congress and another President. In war, there is a power in every State, to act in concert with the General Government, to give aid, activity, and energy, the means of defence.

Whilst we cherish that spirit of amity, mutual deference, and concession, in endeavoring to promote the common interests and general welfare of all the States in which the Constitution was made, we have nothing to fear for our liberties from abroad or at home. But if that generous spirit, which was the creator of the Constitution, which is its soul and its essence, shall be supplanted by a sordid spirit of avarice, a cold calculating policy to promote the particular interests of a majority of the States, at the expense of the minority of the States, then indeed we will have fallen upon evil times. Whenever a majority of States shall be enclined to promote their particular interests at the expense of the minority, then there will be a day big with the fate of the last and fairest experiment in favor of the rights of human nature. The actors of that day will be responsible for the greatest trust ever confided to a political society; the fairest, fondest hope of human liberty. The federal Union must be preserved; the friends and patrons of free government must not be exposed to be insulted and alienated by the votaries of tyranny. It is foreign from my purpose to excite sectional jealousies or arouse local and particular interests. My earnest desire is to promote a generous spirit of union, a lofty spirit of patriotism, which rises above the level of consulting particular interests, by measures particularly disagreeable and injurious to others. I desire to cultivate a spirit of mutual concession, and deference in devising measures liable to as few objections as may be, and most likely to invite the concurrence and promote the prosperity of all.

That the Ruler of the universe in his infinite wisdom and goodness, will teach us the value of union, and lead us to cultivate that spirit of amity, mutual deference, and concession which the peculiarity of our political situation renders indispensable to the general welfare, and that this union may be perpetual, is the longing of my heart, as it ought to be the prayer of every true American.

By Mr. Bibb. The Federal Constitution: The charter of limits between State and federal powers. Let us remember that the best constitutions will degenerate into tyranny if there be not a power to watch, support, and defend them against usurpation.

5. The Virginia resolutions, and Madison's report of the year '98—Text books in the Jeffersonian school; when they cease to be read and admired, the days of Liberty will be numbered.

Mr. P. P. Barbour rose and said—

Mr. President: The sentiment which has just been proposed, is of a character calculated to excite strong emotions in the bosoms of those present, who are members of the Virginia delegation. It carries with it a tribute of respect to those great principles, which have uniformly characterized her political course.

Though, Sir, altogether unused to addresses of this kind, I may be indulged for a moment, in making a few remarks, which the occasion seems to justify, if not to require.

If it be our wish, as I doubt not it is, to administer this Government with a view to those beneficial and happy results which it is capable of producing, allow me to say, Sir, that I know no means so effectual for the attainment of that object, as an adherence to the principles contained in the resolutions which have just received our decided approbation—principles which, of late, have been tauntingly called *the Virginia doctrines;* but which, no matter from what quarter they may have been advanced, are the doctrines of the Constitution.

The sum of them is this: To maintain the political balance, in the precise equilibrium in which it was adjusted by those who made it; to leave with the Federal Government the powers which are granted to it; to claim for the States and the people of the States, the remainder. In fixing this line of demarcation, to follow that surest of all guides, the text of the Constitution, and not the bewildering mazes of the doubtful and erroneous commentaries which are made upon it; we should thus avoid exercising *here,* all those powers which are attempted to be derived from an endless series of construction and inference; we should thus, and in my judgment, thus only, "give unto Cæsar, the things which are Cæsar's."

We cling to these principles, Sir, not as constitutional fantasies; not as matter of feeling or of prejudice; but as the result of the most deliberate reflection; because we verily believe them to be undeniably true, and because we think that our political liberty depends upon their observance.

It was a flag, Sir, bearing these principles in bold relief, under which my native State led the van in the great battle which produced the civil revolution, at the opening of the present century; it was the one, under which she rallied the democracy of the country. They followed her lead, and she led them to a glorious and triumphant victory—a victory whose trophies consisted, not in the spoils of a conquered enemy, but in the re-establishment of their violated Constitution. Yes, Sir, the time was, when, what are now, in the language of derision, called *Virginia doctrines,* bore another and a more honored name; when they were called *American doctrines,* and were revered as such; when, not only the whole democracy of this Union recognized them as orthodox in theory, but they were triumphantly carried into practice, under the auspices of that distinguished son of Virginia, the anniversary of whose birth we have this day met to celebrate.

"He was the pilot who weathered the storm," Sir, when I have said this, I have not filled his just measure of praise. I shall do no more than justice to his memory, when I say, "that he was the darling of philosophy, the apostle of truth, and the favorite votary of liberty."

This, Sir, is neither the time nor the place to inquire how it has happened that principles which, a few years ago, like sound coin, passed current throughout the United States, have so far lost their credit, as to be confined in their circulation, *now,* to a narrow compass. I may, however, be allowed to say, that the change which has occurred is not in the intrinsic value of this political coin, but in the mistaken estimate which, of late, has been set upon it. No, Sir, let the *assayers* subject it to what process they please, they will find that it has no more of *alloy now,* than it had *in times past;* and that *now,* as *then,* it is entitled to fill the channel of circulation, whether we regard the purity of the gold which it contains, or the mint at which it was coined.

Sir, no political event would give me so much pleasure, as to see these doctrines restored to their original credit and general currency; to see them henceforth bear not the impress of *Virginia* only, but that of *United America*—in short, to see the banner of the Constitution displayed by those who are in command *here,* in every department of the Government, with the same inscription labelled on it, as was seen on the cross which appeared to Constantine, *hoc signo vince.*

Sir, what gives to the sentiment, which has just been proposed, great value in my estimation, is, that I hail it as an auspicious omen; that hope at least, as to this desired good, may be indulged, even though in event expectation may be disappointed.

6. Louisiana. The memory of him who *acquired* it, first honored, by an anniversary commemoration under the Presidency of him who *defended* it.

Long continued cheering, and brilliant music from the marine band, followed the delivery of this toast; and after the applause and acclamations had subsided, a pause and silence ensued which indicated the expectation of a speaker. A feeling of disappointment had began to prevail, when Mr. Benton rose and responded to the toast, in a brief address.

Mr. President, and gentlemen of the company:

The sentiment which has just been delivered, and received with so much applause, and followed by a pause so emphatic, calls for an acknowledgment from the *West,*—from that *further* West which lies beyond the Mississippi, and stretches its vast expanse towards the shore of the Pacific and the shades of the setting sun. It calls for a son of Louisiana,—a native born son of that former province of the French and Spanish monarchies, whose personal history, in his transit from the despotism of a province to the liberty of a continent, whose political metamorphosis from subject vassalage to republican citizenship,—would illustrate without the aid of words, and more forcibly than my words can illustrate any thing, the greatness of the events which the sentiment commemorates.—I come from the remote West, not a native, but an adopted son; and, in the absence of such a son, and to justify an expectation which the press in this festivity, the silence, the looks of the company, and the whole occasion announce, I have risen to return thanks in the name of all the inhabitants of the ancient Louisiana,—in the name of all the inhabitants of the *Great West,*—for the delivery, and applauded reception, of the toast which has honored the act, and the author of the act, and the defender of the fruits of the act, which, in re-uniting the two halves of the valley of the Mississippi, and collecting all the waters of the Father Floods under the shelter of our Republican Flag, vindicated the laws and relations of nature, established and confirmed the rights and happiness of the present and future generations, and laid the foundation for the largest empire of freemen which Time or Earth ever beheld.—Great was the merit of the acquisition,—great the merit of the defence and rapidly approaching is the time when the complete subsidence of all the brief passions which feed upon the glory of contemporary deeds, shall leave to the *policy* which acquired, and the *valor* which defended Louisiana, the universal applause, and everlasting homage, which the gratitude of all nations bestows upon the events which fix and perpetuate their happiest destinies. But let us pass from this grateful theme of thanks and gratitude, to a point in the toast well calculated to fix our attention, and excite our admiration,—to that singular fact, and remarkable coincidence which it recognizes, that, the *memory* of him who *acquired,* is *first* honored by a public commemoration, under the *Presidency* of him who *defended* Louisiana. I am no believer, much less a professor in the occult sciences; but I have faith in the concatenation of homogeneous event, and in the order of succession between cause and effect. I believe that events have their causes; and when I see things happening at one time which could as well have happened at another time, and at various other times, and yet did not happen, I am prone to believe that there was a cause for each contingency, for the omission as well as for the occurrence; and that it belongs to the power of reason to discover that cause. This is the case with the civic festival which we are now celebrating. This festival might have been celebrated before, and often, and was not. The appropriate occasion for it has often occurred. I pass by the whole period of Mr. Jefferson's life, because his principles and his delicacy, retreated from an honor of this kind while he was alive, and rendered it impossible, by causing the knowledge of his birth day to be kept a secret. I take the period that has elapsed since his death. He died in 1826. And three times, since that period, has the revolving year brought round the anniversary of his birth,—three times has the vernal sun shone upon the day of his nativity—and no token of remembrance, no sign of grateful recollection, has marked *that* DAY. Unheeded and unnoticed, undistinguished, and unknown from the series of common days, it has been permitted to take its unhonored turn in the revolution of time, as if it had never produced any thing to fix the attention, to command the gratitude, and to call for the thanks of the generations of man. Now, for the first time, this scene is changed. Now, for the first time, the grateful homage which all nations, in all ages, have paid to their benefactors, is seen to be paid, by a portion of the American people, to the memory of their own greatest benefactor. Now, for the first time, after the lapse of three posthumous anniversaries, a company has assembled to honor the birth day of Jefferson. And what a company! How rich in renown! how high in the confidence of the people! how dear to the cause of liberty!—But this is a theme which I cannot touch,—which belongs to other speakers and to other auditors,—to Rumor and to Fame! to whose "*thousand tongues*" and "*brazen trumpet*" I leave it to proclaim, to America and to Europe, the character of the company which *first* commemorated, as a civic festival, the Birth Day of Thomas Jefferson. I return to my own train of reflections, which exclude this celebration from the chapter of accidents, and give it a place in the history of regular events. My reason forbids me to class it with the light contingencies which come together without cause, and go off without consequences. It instructs me to look for a cause, and tells me it is to be found in the book of causes which brought into power the men whose bosoms are filled with the sentiment which the first toast announces,—*Reverence for the political principles of Thomas Jefferson.*—In this point of view I contemplate the coincidence which the toast recognizes, and which I have thought worthy to fix the attention of the company; and thus regarding it, I look upon this celebration as a solemn recurrence to fundamental principles, and a declaration of adhesion to the republican doctrines of the great apostle of American Liberty.

This, Mr. President and gentlemen, is the grave and important character under which this *first* celebration presents itself to my mind; and thus regarding it, the inquiries rush upon my mind: Have I seen the *last* of these celebrations? Shall I see the last? Is the man yet born that shall live to see the last? Is the sent of the Federal Government alone to witness them? Shall the States, of which he was the greatest friend, have no honors for that friend? And answering these inquiries, according to my own ardent wishes and fond aspirations, I answer, no! I answer that this is the beginning only, the first in a series and multiplication of celebrations, which the friends and admirers of Jefferson will cherish and perpetuate, for the double object of shewing honor to him and preserving his principles for themselves. This is my hope, and to crown it with a libation, I beg leave to offer to the company, in concluding these brief remarks, a sentiment congenial to this wish.

(Leave was granted by acclamation. Mr. B. then gave the following toast, which was drank with great applause:

THE BIRTH DAY OF THOMAS JEFFERSON: *May its anniversary celebration* EXTEND *through all time, and* SPREAD *through all the borders of the Republic.*

7. "Peace, commerce and honest friendship, with all nations; entangling alliances with none. (*Jefferson's Inaugural Address.*)

8. "The support of the State Governments in all their rights, as the most competent administrations for our domestic concerns. (*The Same.*)

9. "The preservation of the General Government in its whole constitutional vigor, as the sheet anchor of our peace at home and safety abroad. (*The Same.*)

10. "A jealous care of the right of election by the people; a mild and safe corrective of those abuses which are lopped by the sword of revolution in countries where peaceable remedies are unprovided." (*Same.*)

11. "Economy in the public expense, that labor may be lightly burdened." (*Same.*)

12. "A wise and frugal Government, which shall restrain men from injuring one another, shall leave them otherwise free to regulate their own pursuits of industry and improvement, and shall not take from the mouth of labor the bread it had earned; *this* is the sum of good government." (*Same.*)

13. Republicans of the Jeffersonian faith, wherever found—in the North, South, East, or West—all brethren of the same principle; unity of action in the great cause of good government their paramount obligation of duty and interest.

Mr. Woodbury rose and observed, that the kind allusions in the last toast to the East, and the wishes of the President of the Day, and other gentlemen near, had emboldened him to trespass a few minutes on the indulgence of the company.

The sentiment expressed in the toast in favor of unity of action in the great cause of good government among Republicans of the Jeffersonian faith, wherever found, met with his most hearty approbation. He presumed that it would also meet with the approbation of the

(See 4th page.)