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## Congressional Debates.

### RICHMOND ARMORY.

The following is Mr. Randolph's concluding speech on this most interesting subject. Like every thing else from the same source, it is original, striking and full of novel opinions.

FROM THE NATIONAL INTELLIGENCER.  
The Virginia Armory, &c.—Some days ago, we gave a sketch of an incidental debate on this subject in the House of Representatives, which was terminated by an adjournment.—On the next morning Mr. Randolph again addressed the House on the same topic. It appearing to the Editors that enough had been given of debate on that point, the remarks of Mr. Randolph on the second day were not published. We have been since requested to present them to the public. They were as follows:

Mr. Randolph said that no consideration could have induced him to attend in his place this day, in his present condition, except to say a few words rather by way of explanation than reply to his worthy colleague, (Mr. Pleasant) which he had been prevented from offering yesterday by the motion for the committee to rise. He was apprehensive that he had been mistaken by his worthy colleague, perhaps by others, as having authority from Mr. Taylor for the statement he had made yesterday. If he had been so understood he had been entirely misapprehended. He disclaimed all such authority, either from that gentleman or from his other honorable friend—now no more—to whom he had alluded. Had he been the depository of their confidence, he humbly, yet firmly trusted, that he would be one of the last men in the world to abuse so sacred a trust. He did not call in question one word, he believed every syllable that his honorable colleague had uttered. He had said truly, that he was at that time a member of the assembly—and he might have added (said Mr. R.) with equal truth, that no man of his years was in fuller possession of the confidence of that honorable body—a confidence that has grown with each succeeding year—for it was merited. The object of this confidence, so honorable both to the giver and the receiver, was of that happy temperament, which exempted its possessor from many of the sorest ills of life. Sir, said Mr. R. I do not believe that my worthy colleague has made a personal enemy in the whole course of his life. I never even heard that he had a political one. This was not the only circumstance, Mr. R. said, in which he differed, greatly to his disadvantage, from his colleague. No misrepresentation of his (Mr. P's) language, or conduct, was within the scope of probability—supposing such however to occur, he would never stand in need of defenders. There could be no cause of surprise therefore at his (Mr. R's) solicitude to reconcile any apparent or conceived difference of opinion with one so generally loved and respected.

Mr. Randolph said that the only favor he asked at any man's hand who quoted him on that floor, was to use his own words, and to take them altogether. He hoped that he was not understood as complaining of unfairness, or misrepresentation, on the part of either of his honorable colleagues—far from it. He was not in the habit of using words without some definite signification attached to them, and nothing was easier than by a supposed paraphrase of one passage and the omission of another, by which it was qualified, utterly to distort the original meaning and intent of the speaker. What had he said? A question being under deliberation to abridge materially the rights of the states, he had declared that "by the right proposed to be taken away, this union had been saved from incalculable mischief and misery." "That by throwing (as she had an undoubted right to do) her whole weight into the Electoral scale, the Commonwealth of Virginia had constitutionally effected a change of ministry, and checked the mad career of ambition and usurpation, which otherwise, she might have been compelled to resist at the hazard of the greatest of all calamities, the abject surrender of their rights excepted, that a people could endure—of a civil war—for there was no longer any cause for concealing the fact, that the grand armory at Richmond was built to enable the state of Virginia to resist, by force, the encroachments of then administration upon her indisputable rights—upon the plainest and clearest provisions of the constitution:—in case they should persevere in those outrageous proceedings." And why had he so said? Because the principles and the men of that day, such as he had named, had been laid aside; and new principles, more convenient for men in power, and new men—men whose names, at that time, and long since, had never been pronounced out of their own parish, had come into play. Mr. R. said he hoped no invidious construction would be

put upon his words. He had been of sudden growth himself, somewhat of a mushroom, when he first started up in the world of politics.—He stated a fact, without drawing any inference from it.

He had no doubt that Mr. Taylor had given a characteristic reply to general Lee on the occasion. He recognized the man in every word that his honorable colleague (Mr. Pleasant) had ascribed to him. It was not his (Mr. Taylor's) business to give an advantage to an artful adversary; to injure, by a premature disclosure of ultimate and contingent views, which might not be, and in fact were not, realized, a noble and a holy cause. It would not require the sagacity of a Tacitus, or a Hume, to divine what were the intents of the master spirits who then swayed the councils of Virginia. The historian of those days would look to their deeds—nor was there any thing in the language of Mr. Taylor to mislead a sagacious mind from his true meaning.—It would be enough to reflect that the assembly held its sitting in sight of that very church on Richmond Hill, where, in March 1775, Patrick Henry, with a master's hand and prophet's fire, rent the veil that shrouded from the eyes of our first statesmen (himself excepted) the true condition of affairs, and laid open for the first time the necessity of a resort to arms. Nor will it be forgotten that the great measure adopted in 1798-9, was the very same proposed by him twenty four years before, on the eve of a rupture with the head of the empire, viz. arming the body of the people—and who would dare to say that the people were unfit to be trusted with arms?

Mr. Randolph asked if there was no case in which his colleague could justify resistance against the encroachments of government upon the privileges of the people, or of the rights of the states? The question was, like every other question touching human affairs, to be governed by a sound discretion. The assembly displayed that discretion; they acted under a high responsibility with a dignity and firmness which had long characterized, and he trusted would ever govern the proceedings of that ancient and venerable commonwealth;—They had sagacity to perceive the approaching danger, and wisdom and courage to make timely provision against it. They did not content themselves with resolutions and reports. They were statesmen, not professor in an university. They knew that logic was no match for the bayonet, and they provided bayonets; at the same time taking care to put themselves in the right by a most unanswerable and triumphant appeal to acknowledged facts and to the great character of the confederacy. And, sir, (said Mr. R.) did Virginia stand alone, in this impending conflict of authority, between the parent state-governments and this bloated, pampered, overweening federal government; this creature of concession from the states, now spurning its creator in the intoxication of power? No, sir, the eldest daughter of Virginia, the eldest sister of the younger branch of this great political family, took the lead even of her venerable parent. John Taylor of Caroline, had publicly announced under his hand that the resolutions of the preceding session of assembly, moved by him and ascribed to his pen were drawn by the present President of the United States, then in retirement at his seat in the county of Orange. Sir, (said Mr. R. to the chairman, Mr. Breckenridge) I did not stand as you did in the relation of consanguinity to the mover of the Kentucky resolutions, but I was in habits of political intimacy with him, and I assert, without fear of contradiction, that the resolution moved and carried in the legislature of Kentucky, on that memorable occasion, sprung from that same vein, of rich red land between the Rappahannock and James River, which has proved so favorable to the Presidential growth.

Mr. Randolph said, that when he spoke of the present President of the United States, as "next to Mr. Taylor," in that session of the assembly of Virginia, 1799—1800, he did it in reference to the activity and zeal displayed by each, in procuring the passage of the general ticket law; the great measure of the session, on which the approaching election of president hinged. Did the gentleman recollect nothing of Mr. Taylor's leaving the house and going home? which by some was construed into a *ruse de guerre* to draw away from the seat of government members opposed to the passage of that bill, although otherwise hearty in the cause of opposition? Mr. R. had some reason to believe that Mr. T's absenting himself, on that occasion, was the effect of disgust. He returned, however, set his shoulder to the wheel, and the bill was passed. Mr. R. said that if he felt any thing like disrespect for the character of the president, this was a time when he would studiously avoid shewing it.—He bore testimony to the correctness of his colleague's declaration respecting Mr. Madison's great weight of character and of abilities in the legislature of Virginia, and added that as he (Mr. R.) had not been bred an idolator, to worship the rising sun, now that the president had no longer power or patronage to bestow; now that "his orb was sinking temperately to the west" even he would not be deterred from saying of him that he was a great man; for such he unquestionably was in some respects—and he sincerely wished him all happiness in his retirement, as sincerely as he wished it for himself.

Mr. Randolph again adverted to the state of things in 1798—1800. He said that the opposition of that time was guilty of the grossest hyperisry, if it was not alarmed at the standing army, small as it was to what we had since seen with approbation. For his part, he felt the

apprehension which he had not scrupled to express. He should never forget the declaration of one of the ministerial leaders, (the first session that he, Mr. R. served in that house) that the standing army (upon a motion to reduce it) was necessary to keep the partizans of France in check. Another leader second in activity and in reputation, for influence to none, ventured to hint, not in public indeed, at a partition of Virginia by the Blue Ridge, or James River, or both. The cry was, that Virginia was overgrown—that she was unmanageable, (yes, she was unmanageable, thank God!) that if the country south of James River could be detached from the rest of the state, "the friends of government, of order," that was the language, might cope successfully with the "anarchists," and the south side of James River would not be powerful enough to give much trouble to administration. Hardly (said Mr. R.) were the designs of the federal government concealed. The partition of Poland was decreed, but Poland had turned upon and discomfited the partitioners.

Mr. Randolph appealed to public rumor at the time, and declared that he had the fact of a design to partition Virginia, and the alleged reasons for it, from his lamented predecessor in that house, (Mr. Venable).—Gentlemen talked of "admissions" and "confessions." He had made none—he had none to make—he had no apologies to offer—Virginia stood on her defence—the knife was at her throat—she was to be hampled in dust and ashes, and if she had not resisted, would have richly deserved the chains that were forging for her. Was the contested election, which almost immediately ensued between Mr. Jefferson and Mr. Burr, forgotten? We did not then (said Mr. R.) rely upon the Richmond armory, not yet in operation, but on the United States armory at Harper's ferry. At that day, when the sun shined out in brightness, rather than relinquinsh the long enjoyed sweets of power; when the sun rose upon this house, balloting through the night and through successive days, for a chief magistrate, (he well remembered the scene)—Had we not, said he, the promise of Dark's brigade, and of the arms at Harper's ferry, which he engaged to secure in case of an attempt to set up a pageant under color of law to supersede the public will, after defeating the election by the pertinacious abuse, under the pretence of exercise of constitutional right, to support one of the persons returned by artifice, whom they professed to abhor. General Hamilton had frowned indignantly upon this unworthy procedure, for which he paid the forfeit of his life. The conduct of this great man (for such, although Mr. R. differed with him in many points, he truly was) first opened his eyes to his much abused character. At this period of approaching confusion and general dismay, the president elect (then governor of Virginia) had deemed it advisable to establish a line of videttes from Richmond to the place. One of his colleagues, then present, (Mr. Sheffey) could tell some thing about these videttes, having made the expense a subject of enquiry at a subsequent session of the legislature. Every appearance betokened the breaking up of the federal compact, when the opponents of the public will, constitutionally pronounced, tardily and ungraciously gave up their opposition, and Mr. Jefferson was installed.

Mr. Randolph said that hostility to Virginia was the cardinal principle of the politics of a great variety of descriptions of persons, who agreed in nothing else. Having discernment to perceive that her influence in this confederacy was owing yet more to the nature of her institutions, than to her territory or population, no opportunity was let slip of attacking them.—Their stability was not the least part of the heel of Achilles. It was realizing too the fable of the fox who had lost his tail. Virginia must have a new constitution, arithmetical, geometrical and metaphysical; what you will but common sense and habit, worth all the visions of moonstruck philosophers. Mr. R. entered into a refutation of some of the vulgar errors on the subject of his native state, which prevailed even on the north bank of the Potomac, and would disgrace a Virginia school-boy. The ignorance prevalent upon this subject was scarcely credible, and the mass of these vulgar errors would swell a folio equal to that of the celebrated sir Thomas Brown. On the exemption of lands from debt, he said the law of Virginia was, with some relaxations, that of England, the greatest commercial country in the world. They had no law impairing the obligation of contracts, whereby a fraudulent debtor, become bankrupt to day, might drive over his half-shod creditor to-morrow in a splendid equipage. Once a debt, always a debt; once a wife, always a wife, except in very severe cases when the legislature did some times but rarely grant divorce. These were the great outworks of our honesty and morals. And he declared that there was not a country on the face of the globe, where, in proportion to the value of the transactions, so little money was lost by bad debts, or where the standard of female purity was higher.

NOTICE is hereby given, that agreeable to a deed of trust dated on the 11th day of April, 1814, from John R. Cary to Henry Austin and by the said Henry Austin conveyed to me; I will sell at public sale at the Court house in the city of Raleigh on the 7th day of April next, the following negroes, conveyed by the said trust to me, viz. Jordan, Phillis, Rachel and her child.

WILL. POLK.

March 17, 1817.

## LEGISLATIVE ETIQUETTE.

The article below from the Federal Republican, explains the misunderstanding, between the senate and house, which forced President Monroe to take the oaths of office out of doors.

To the Editors of the Federal Republican and Baltimore Telegraph.

GENTLEMEN—I enclose you for publication, if you like, the correspondence between governor Barbour of the Senate, and Mr. speaker Clay, relative to the ceremony of inauguration. The Senate having received a message from the President elect, that he would attend in the hall of the House of Representatives to take the oath, &c.; the usual order was taken in the business, and a committee of arrangement was appointed, who agreed that as the H. of Representatives would be dissolved on the 3d of March—that the Senate would hold its session in the hall, being larger and more convenient. After the arrangements were settled, an interview took place between Mr. Barbour and Mr. Clay, which produced the enclosed correspondence. The committee, finding themselves unable to proceed on account of the difficulty thrown in their way by the Speaker of the House, determined to bring the subject before the Senate. After a short speech, explaining what had passed, Mr. Barbour read to the Senate the correspondence, and then submitted to that body any further order in the case.

Mr. KING expressed his regret that any impediment should have been thrown in the way of the committee of arrangement. It was rendered obviously proper, however, by the correspondence just read, for the Senate to take some further order in the case. Mr. MASON preferred himself to be connected with the idea that the Senate, as a body, could with propriety quit its own chamber, to assemble in any other apartment. The Senate lost sight of its own dignity when it agreed to appear as a body in any place where its own officers could not enforce the rules of order, &c. Such would be the case if the Senate repaired to the Representative Hall as a body, and if they did not proceed there as a body, he for one would not attend the ceremony. He added that the difficulties which had arisen in this case, strange and unexpected as they might be, were such he hoped as would inculcate a very useful lesson, and to prevent the Senate from ever, hereafter, agreeing to leave their own apartments. He moved to expunge from the journal the order under which a committee of arrangement had been appointed.

Mr. CAMPBELL was inclined to think, that a proper sense of dignity would dictate a different though extremely simple course to the Senate, which was to take no notice whatever of the obstacles thrown in the way of the arrangement proposed by the committee, but to proceed with the arrangement precisely as if the correspondence just read, and the interview referred to had not taken place. The man who was then Speaker of the House of Representatives, would be without authority to-morrow, and would have no right whatever to give any orders concerning the Representative Hall.—He therefore much preferred that no motion would be made or further order be taken in the case, but that the committee of arrangements would proceed to perform the duties assigned to them.

Mr. TROUP trusted, that the Senate, mindful of what it owed to itself, and influenced by a proper sense of its dignity, would engage in no puerile controversy with the other branch, or its officers, about the proposed occupation of its Hall to perform the ceremony of inauguration. It was with great pain and regret he heard of the difficulties thrown in the way of the committee appointed by the Senate—but as those difficulties had arisen, he saw nothing left but to take the course suggested by the gentleman from New-York.

Mr. MASON, of N. H. thought it most advisable not to hasten any decision, but to let the question lie over for a few hours, thereby affording an opportunity for the other house to come to some decision of the question which would most likely come before them, as a message had gone to them on the subject. If the House should agree to offer their hall to the Senate, or should determine to support their Speaker in his view of the case, the Senate could then act definitively and properly on the subject. In the event of their refusing the use of their hall, the Senate could then reply to the message of the President elect, and inform him that it was not in their power to meet him at the place named by him—but that they would meet him in their own chamber, or in any convenient place to be appointed. The last thing he should think of, would be to enter into any disputes with the Speaker of the other house on the subject.

The subject accordingly lay over until the night session, when after having waited several hours to hear from the House, and no message being received, Mr. Barbour, of the committee, informed the Senate that the committee would proceed with their arrangements upon their own responsibility, if no objection was made, and at the same time stated what those arrangements would be. No objections were made, and accordingly the ceremony was settled, as carried into execution the next day.—Thus ended this strange affair.

SENATE CHAMBER,  
March 2d, 1817.

SIR—In the informal conversation I held with you to-day on the subject of the proposed occu-