

To the Citizens of the Congressional District composed of the Counties of Spotsylvania, Louisa, Orange and Madison.

FELLOW CITIZENS—Having accepted a judicial appointment under the Federal Government, I am about once more, to dissolve the tie, which binds me to you, in the relation of Representative, and to retire from your service.

Under these circumstances, I feel impelled, if not by a sense of duty, at least by inclination, to say a few words to you at parting. With the exception of the period of the 19th Congress, it has been my fortune to have represented you, in uninterrupted continuity, for 16 years last past.

On my part, all that I can pretend to, is—that I have endeavored to serve you to the utmost extent of my ability, with zeal and fidelity. On your part, during the whole of that time, I have experienced, so much steadiness of support, when you thought me right, so much allowance for human fallibility, when you thought me wrong, and such uniform kindness, at all times, and on all occasions, that I may say, with a figure, "that your service has been perfect freedom." I will add, that in retiring from it, I feel engraven upon my heart, a sense of gratitude, which neither time, nor other cause can ever obliterate, whatsoever of good or ill may befall me, in future life.

As it would be doing injustice to my feelings, not to make this declaration, so I am persuaded, that the circumstances under which it is made, will in your estimation, give it full credit for perfect sincerity. For now at least, I cannot have any other, save only the pleasure arising from the outpouring of the grateful sensibilities of a heart, full to overflowing.

As it respects the cause, which has induced me a second time to withdraw from the political theatre, I am sure, it will be esteemed by you, justification enough for me to say—that the toil incident to a service in Congress, and the duties of a laborious profession, is more than I can bear. In a word—"That weariness wants repose;" not the repose of indolence, for it is not in my nature to indulge in that, but that of mitigated labor.

Here, perhaps, I might with propriety close this valediction—But my feelings prompt me irresistibly to go further, and I yield obedience to the impulse.

Ever since the formation of our present Federal Government, we have been divided into political parties. The great line of demarcation, has been, between those who advocate an enlarged, and those who advocate a restricted construction, of the Constitution of the U. States.

To the latter party it has been my pride and boast to have belonged, through the whole course of my public life—And to its doctrines, I have endeavored to point in my public acts with an unvarying polarity.

I have done this, because it has been, and still is, my sincere belief—that such a course steadily pursued, will lead directly to the happiness and prosperity of our common country.

It is not my purpose at this time, to enter into any speculative discussion, upon this subject.

I have heretofore on the floor of Congress exhausted all my views in relation to it—and moreover, the views of others, especially those of Virginia, as exhibited in the luminous report of her legislature in 1799, are before the public. Put on this occasion the last during my life on which I ever expect to address you, in your sovereign character, I ask solemn attention, to a few remarks which I propose to make founded upon experience and observation.

These two antagonist principles of latitudinous and restrictive construction, have for now more than forty years, vied with each other with varying success—Behold the practical results as the one, or the other predominated.

The present century opened with the great civil revolution, which placed in the chief executive chair, the apostle of true principles, and the head of the political church, whose articles of faith I profess.

Compare this period of our political history, including that of the administrations which succeeded it, and were formed upon the model of this great archetype, with that during which the opposite principle was lord of the ascendant—And judge them in the utmost candour, by the fruits which they have respectively produced.

Under the doctrine of restricted construction, we have enjoyed freedom of speech and of the press—We have had a well regulated economy, in every department of the Government—We have had harmonious concert in general, between the Federal and State authorities—And last, but not least, the States and the people of the states, were left to reap the fruits of their own toil, diminished only by the necessary amount of the public dues—Of this last advantage it may well be said, that it is one of the primary objects of every good government. As the natural consequence of these, we have had during their continuance, a rapidly growing prosperity, and with one stri-

king exception, a general quietude and contentment amongst our people.

Under the ascendancy of the doctrine of enlarged and indefinite construction, mark, I beseech you, the reverse of this picture.

Under its reign we had, at an early period of our history, the alien and sedition laws, on which a large majority of the American people, have impressed the stamp of their decided reprobation.

At a very late period, we have seen immense expenditures of public money, and which were every year becoming greater, characterized by the injustice of being raised from the substance of the whole community, and appropriated for the benefit of a part only, and that frequently the part, which furnishes the least portion of the contribution—We have seen the constitution so as to enable Congress to appropriate millions, for internal improvement—a matter of policy, which I verily believe, belongs to the local authorities of the States—We have seen the power of laying and collecting duties, distorted from its constitutional purpose of raising revenue, to that of regulating the labor of the country—By force of this construction, under the name of a Tariff of duties, the labor of one part of the country is severely taxed, that of another, may be successfully applied to manufactures—Tho' it is obvious, that either, labor thus applied, was less profitable than other labor, in which aspect, it was impolitic, or, that manufactures did not want this aid, in which aspect, it was oppressive and unjust.

This latter doctrine, with all its evil consequences in its train, is now in the full tide of unjust, and as those who are interested say, unsuccessful experiment. We who are obliged to pay the price of this experiment, have complained, we have remonstrated, we have reasoned, we have almost entreated—But the majority feeling their strength, have with a firm and steady step moved on towards their object, which, to attain the end they have in view, must be finally prohibition.

And what is the result, let me ask you as now exhibited amongst our people? It is a melancholy truth, nay, it is a matter of history, that a deep and settled discontent pervades a very large portion of the country—Indeed, some have thought, that they have perceived in the signs of the times, threatening indications of a coming storm, which would scatter to the winds this beautiful federative machine of ours, in broken fragments.

Amidst the hitherto determined perseverance of the majority, and the murmuring disquietude of the minority—good men have seemed to be almost ready to give up all hope of a successful issue to our great political experiment—Of which, it is not too much to say, that as it is the best, so in the event of its failure, it would probably be the last hope of the world, for self government.

They have feared, that we too like other nations which have gone before, should first be involved in civil war, then anarchy, and finally perish as a people, and be blotted from the map of the world, as to our independent political existence.

It would be the part of wisdom, even under any extremity of circumstances, to take counsel, and derive a ray of consolation, from the noble maxim of the Romans, never to despair of the Republic.

For my own part, although past experience does not much countenance such an expectation, yet I will not entirely despair of some relief from the majority. I trust in God, that they will in the school of that very experience have learned a lesson of moderation—That they will have learned to estimate more highly, the complaints of a minority—To appreciate the moral and political benefits of this Union, as of more worth, than roads, canals, manufactures, or any other similar advantage—To feel, that it is pride of heart alone, which would make them consider its defeat, to concede to a minority—In fine, to consider it, as in truth it is, not a surrender to the menaces, but a concession to the remonstrances of a minority, who believe themselves to be oppressed, and call aloud for relief from their oppression. Nor are we without a memorable example of such a magnanimous concession. Witness the repeal of the Embargo not as we are informed by Mr. Jefferson himself, from any change in his opinion, as to its policy—No, my fellow countrymen, it was done in deference to the complaints of New England, and in the spirit of conciliation and harmony. And why shall not New England, and other manufacturing portions of the Union, in their turn, emulate so distinguished an example? It is for them, not me, to answer this solemn inquiry.

Should, however, the majority in Congress, contrary to our just expectation, still press on in their course, regardless of the voice of a complaining people, then we have the consoling hope, that there is another department of the Government, whose moderation will be interposed to save us, from those appalling evils, which many fear, and which all good men must deprecate.

Under the auspices of the present administration, we have seen some mitigation of the pressure of the Tariff, upon

some of the necessaries of life—We have seen a check put by the interposition of the Executive veto, to the career of improvident expenditure, in Internal Improvement.

Let us indulge the hope, that this good work will go on, and that the principle out of which these late measures grew, will be expanded into more extensive practical usefulness.

Under this brightening prospect of better times, which has recently burst upon our vision, under the hopeful auguries of the future, which we may thus derive from the past, let us have philosophy enough, yet to bear and forbear; let us remember, that if we cannot feel patiently under oppression, it behooves us, as we love our country, yet to check our impetuosity, so as to do nothing which might hereafter be the subject of regret. Let us yet try further argument, further remonstrance, I had almost said entreaty. And is it, can it, be too sanguine a hope to be indulged, that if the one party shall practice a moderation, which will bear with their brethren, though seven times offended and the other shall remember, that there is a point at which forbearance ceases to be a virtue, we may yet have a happy issue out of all our afflictions? I trust that this will be the result, and that the union of the states will be as durable as the everlasting hills.

In conclusion, my countrymen, I bid you an affectionate farewell, from the bottom of my heart—And I offer an earnest prayer that He whose arm is mighty to save, will protect our beloved country, in every time of need, and that her high destinies according to our fondest hopes will be fulfilled.

Most respectfully, your fellow citizen,
P. P. BARBOUR.
Orange, Oct 20, 1830.

Dr. Collins, of Abernethy District, S. C. has offered himself as a candidate for Congress, in opposition to Mr. McDuffie. Although the latter gentleman has gone over to the Nullifiers, he is so valuable generally as legislator and orator, that we should be sorry to see him supplanted by Congress, even by the most orthodox politician. More advantage may be always expected by the nation from his powers and principles, than injury from any particular error of doctrine into which he may fall. The cause of Nullification could not be long upheld by any individual—Atlas or Ajax; but the strength of such supporters when sure to be applied to better purposes, is above all price and ever worthy of preference.

The above paragraph is copied from the Philadelphia National Gazette, and we heartily concur in the doctrine laid down. An able and faithful public servant should not be rejected from any particular and temporary error of doctrine into which he may fall. If the general course of a representative of the people has been unexceptionable, he deserves to be continued in his trust. The general good requires that experience in public affairs, and eminent talents should not be sacrificed on the altar of party or for a difference of opinion.

Charleston Patriot.

Mail Contracts.—Those who went from this section of the country to Washington for the purpose of entering into contracts for carrying the mails, have generally returned, and we learn that the following disposition of the routes in this quarter has been made: The line from Petersburg to Fayetteville has again been given to Messrs Saltmarsh & Co. who have also obtained that from Fayetteville to Norfolk, at present in possession of Mr. Thompson. Mr. George Williams and Mr. Merritt Dillard have obtained their old lines—the former from this place to Salisbury, and the latter from hence to Newbern. Mr. David Sauls has obtained the one from this city to Hillsborough, which is at present held by Mr. John Moring. Raleigh Star.

[In this quarter there has been some alteration made. The line from Fayetteville through Charlotte to Lincolnton, was taken by Mr. Emanuel Reinhardt of Lincolnton, the mail to be carried twice a week in four horse stages. From Charlotte to Wilkesboro', the contract was taken by M. Newland, at present held by Mr. Massey. The line from Greensboro', through Salem, Salisbury, and Charlotte, to Yorkville, S. C. is retained by Mr. Moring, the present contractor, to run in four horse post coaches. Col. Thomas Boyd continues the line from Charlotte to Camden.] Charlotte Journal.

The Baltimore Republican gives the following explanation of the recent elections in Maryland.

"After all the boastings of the Anti Jackson party, it will excite some surprise, in our friends abroad, to find that the actual majority of popular votes against us is very small; and that with a majority of forty right delegates in the lower house, they have less than five hundred majority of the people. For every ten votes of a popular majority they have one delegate majority. Putting the case in another light, and deducting eight delegates elected in St. Mary's and Calvert, where the Jackson party had no ticket,

and we have a majority of popular votes exceeding one hundred, while they have a majority of delegates amounting to forty. This is owing to the gross inequalities which exist in our mode of representation, the small counties carrying equal weight with the largest in the house of delegates, and double the weight of Baltimore City. In some of the small counties, the Clay party have succeeded by such slender majorities, that notwithstanding the vast majority which they have in the Legislature, a very few votes would revolutionize the State."



Salisbury:

NOVEMBER 16, 1830.

The Senior Editor of this paper will be absent from this place for several weeks, after Wednesday next.

If those who profess to be statesmen and politicians and who have, in some measure, the reins of government in their hands, are so little skilled in the nature of Republics—so little learned in the causes which contribute to their stability or downfall—if they are so ignorant of the fact that the Grecian and Roman Republics were hurried on their ruin by the extension of their dominions, it would be well if they would even now, commence to consider the deleterious consequences which must grow out of a further extension of the territory of the United States, something were said some time ago about the purchase of Texas. What a ruinous scheme it would indeed, be to purchase that country! We have already more territory than we know how to dispose of. If the representatives of the Nation wish to preserve the free form of government—if they desire to permit the people to retain the right of sovereignty in their own hands, they must not extend the present dominions of the United States government. The effect of such a course of policy must be to raise up other conflicting interests in the administration of the government, between which we have already had some fearful jarrings that have shaken its stability and lowered its compactness. To increase the territory of the United States would be to add to the present number of States in the Union, in which event, it would be morally impossible to exercise that rigid authority over the States and to observe that strict and impartial attention to their interests, when so far remote from the seat of government, and which would be absolutely necessary in order to preserve harmony and contentment among the various members of the confederacy. The difficulties having already exhibited itself to conduct a satisfactory administration of affairs which intimately concern the welfare of the present states that have been admitted into the Union, we cannot think it prudent to burthen the hands of the general government with an addition of weighty business under the pressure of which it would assuredly sink into anarchy or despotism. We cannot even think it prudent to admit more states into the Union which will grow up from the present territory belonging to the United States. As Colonies under the protection of the general government they should be permitted, when necessary, to form a national council for the regulation of their own concerns. If men will calmly and coolly consider this subject they will find that such a course in disposing of that extensive Western Territory will not only be the most humane but the most politic we could possibly pursue towards a country which must, at some time or other, have a separate and independent government of its own. When it is made manifest that we cannot receive more members into the bosom of the confederacy, without jeopardizing our own freedom and independence, how glorious and disinterested a spectacle! how great a sacrifice! to surrender a perpetual source of wealth to the Nation in order to secure the liberties, welfare and happiness of a people who live at a distance from us, and to whom we know and feel we cannot do that justice to which their equal station and uniform rights would entitle them! How must they applaud our frankness and generosity who could be thus plain and thus liberal to them!

It is time that the attention of this Nation should be occupied in deliberate consideration of a subject, important not only to our own safety and well-being, but to the safety and interests of that great body of people so rapidly springing up beyond the borders of the Mississippi river. The most important of the many questions of moment which would present themselves in deciding upon the question, and which would show the necessity of pursuing the policy here recommended, would be the one, whether the government of this Nation will submit to extend its dominions at the peril and extreme hazard of its free institutions, or whether it will lay aside, at once, all sordid and selfish views of interest and emolument, and declare against any more additions to the body-politic, already too unwieldy and expansive. We would at all times be willing to extend protection to the country and its inhabitants, and when sufficiently populated, add them to our confederacy.

Montesquien in his chapter upon the constitution of England says "that the political liberty of the subject is a tranquility of mind arising from the opinion each person has of his safety. In order to have this liberty, it is requisite the government be so constituted as one man need not be afraid of another." Whether in the days of Montesquieu there was an actual and practical distinction between civil and political rights as branches of the great body politic, we are not sufficiently instructed to venture any positive assertion, either pro or con. But surely there is a broad and marked line of difference between them, dislaid out and strictly pursued in the administration of the concerns appertaining to the body politic in these republican days of liberty. The rights of individuals then are three-fold, natural, civil and political. When we speak of natural rights, we mean that each and every individual has a right to the free and uninterrupted enjoyment of his life, liberty and personal security. These the God of nature has accorded to all his children, and they cannot be violated, without direct transgression of his laws laid down in the Great Book written for the government and preservation of every nation. Civil rights then are of a conventional origin, growing out of the friendly association of individuals who anterior to this Union were in the occasional exercise of their natural rights only, which were at all times liable to be broken in upon by some who might chance to harbor enmity against others from any cause, and thereby every individual was in continual peril and his life was an uninterrupted series of alarms. In this state of affairs, and from motives of self preservation was the first social compact formed which secured to each individual the enjoyment of his natural rights, with those of a civil nature whilst the course of his life was freed from anxiety, arising from the unceasing liberty exercised by every man of taking away the natural rights of his neighbor when unweary by a sense of personal danger, or not impeded by the sentence of divine justice. The rights which were guaranteed to each individual in this association were called civil rights, and they are in every comprehensive in the language which Montesquieu applies to political rights, to wit, a tranquillity of mind arising from the opinion each person has of his safety, and we would add to make the definition more complete of the peaceable and uninterrupted enjoyment of his property. In these words of Montesquieu all the privileges of a civil and political nature are not included. The language of Montesquieu then with us could be more aptly applied to civil than political privileges. Civil rights according to our understanding of the terms are all those rights which the laws of the body-politic assure to each individual, which laws are based upon the grand principles that led to the civil association. The right to make these laws is a civil right in the manner of making them is a political right. If the people composing the body politic say that every thirty thousand of them shall choose a delegate to make laws to govern the community, the right to elect and the right of the representative to have his voice in every act of legislation are political rights as contra-distinguished from civil. Then it follows that the rights to be elected a member of the Senate; the right to take a seat in the body of senators (to be a member of which he was chosen) are all political rights, since they emanate from the body politic. It is equally clear that the right to vote must likewise be denominated a political right. These are the three grand divisions of rights in civil Society and a free government. A sound and correct understanding of the true distinction between them, among the people generally, cannot fail to secure the perpetuation of the institutions of which they are the constituent elements. It has been said of the Americans, as we are usually termed, that a more general and diffusive knowledge of the rights of man does not prevail among any other nation of people known to the civilized world. This is a compliment of which it is no fault to boast and to be proud—but how long we are to deserve so much and such high reputation remains for those who are now scattered over this vast empire and who are to succeed them, to determine. With so many facilities for acquiring this knowledge ourselves and transmitting the means of acquiring it to our descendants we may well calculate, that instead of leaving room for retracting the encomium which has been passed upon us, as a nation, we will be likely to astonish the people of Europe in a yet greater degree. Save the intelligence of the community from abatement and it will exhibit the glorious spectacle of perpetual union and security.