ments, be attributed to him. Without looking back to the circumstances, and regarding the question on its merits only, it would seem surprising that a decision, rested on the most solid principle, and which had for its object the protection of the constitutional power of the body over which he presided, and the restriction of himself to its proper sphere, [illegible] other feelings than those of approbation. The Constitution gives to the House the power of establishing the rules of its proceedings. It is conceded on all hands, and the almost unanimous vote of the Senate at a subsequent period decided, that no rule had, under the provision of the Constitution, been adopted by the Senate, which gave to the Vice President the power to call a Senator to order *for words spoken in debate*, which prescribed what description of words should be considered disorderly. On the contrary, that high and extraordinary power over the freedom of debate was denied, by a strong implication to be withheld. Mr. Calhoun decided that, as the rules *did not confer the power in question, either expressly or by implication, he did not possess it; while those* who took the opposite view, contended that *he possessed the power inherently under the Constitution, as the presiding officer of the body.*

It will be manifest, on slight reflection that the decision of this point rested the freedom of debate in the Senate. If the Vice President, in virtue of his power as presiding officer, has the right to determine what words are disorderly, and what not, the right not being derived from the rules, but the Constitution itself, he may, in his exercise of it, be under no control *but his own discretion*; and the necessary consequence would be to give him a power over discussion, which that body could *neither limit nor control*, and which would be utterly incompatible with the right expressly given to the Senate by the Constitution, of establishing the rules of its proceedings. The Vice President holds his seat independent of the Senate, and will generally be elected by the same party and possess the same political feelings with the President. Mr. Calhoun could not bring his mind to adopt a conclusion, respecting the rights of the presiding officer of the Senate, so repugnant to the freedom of debate, without which the legislature must become the subservient instrument of the Executive branch of the Government.

Satisfied with the correctness of his decision, Mr. Calhoun evinced not the slightest impatience at the clamor which followed. He calmly and confidently left his conduct to abide the result of cooler and more mature investigation. That result has proved that a good cause may be left to the quiet operation of time. After the lapse of two years, the Senate, without any movement of his friends, took up the subject, and *after a full examination and discussion Mr. Calhoun's decision received the deliberate sanction of that body.* His friends may look back to his conduct during this trying season with a just pride, as affording a strong proof of his sagacity, his firmness, and devoted attachment to principle; his sagacity, in perceiving the truth in so novel and complex a case, involving the relation which the Constitution has established between his power and those of the body over which he presides; his firmness, in maintaining what he believed to be a sound doctrine, when it exposed him to so much censure; and his devotion to principle, in sustaining the powers of the Senate at the hazard of his popularity, when, from the circumstances of the case, he might have quietly increased it, by encroaching on, instead of defending, the constitutional powers of that body.

On a review of this hasty and imperfect sketch of Mr. Calhoun's public life, in which many important incidents are entirely passed over, it will be seen to be distinguished for the leading part which he acted from the very commencement of his political career. No man in any country, in the same space of time, has rendered more signal services and acquired a more solid and durable fame. It may be safely affirmed, that since he entered the national councils, his name has been identified with almost every valuable measure adopted by the Government, and that there has not been an important event in the political history of our country, in which he has not borne a prominent part. A course so marked as his could not fail to raise up many opponents, but we think there will be but few, even of those, who will not agree, after an impartial examination of his conduct that he has been actuated by no selfish motives or personal rivalry, but that, regardless of consequences he has fearlessly pursued the course which he conceived his public duties required. That his course has been entirely free from error, those who best know the imperfection of the human intellect will not expect. He has been charged in one or two instances by his opponents with inconsistency; but we feel confident, that few public men have, in a career so long and active, been more uniform in their conduct. To affirm that his conceptions and principles have undergone no modification from the time he entered on public life to the present, would be to assert that he has not profited by observation and experience; but the high proof of Mr. Calhoun's principles and patriotism, that whatever modification his opinions have undergone, that modification has been *in favour of liberty and not of power*, as it is but too common with public men as they advance in life.

It has been a fundamental principle with Mr. Calhoun from the first, that the great difficulty in government is to *reconcile power with liberty*; that if the former be so diminished as to be inadequate to preserve tranquility within or to defend the country against external danger the ends of Government would fail and a revolution would necessarily follow; but on the contrary, in giving power to the Government, if adequate guards be not established in the Constitution to restrain its pernicious tendency, particularly in the exercise of patronage, it will ultimately contaminate the whole body politic. Such has been the maxim which has guided Mr Calhoun through his public life, and it explains the whole of his political course, and, acting upon it, it is not surprising that he should be found at one time in favor of conferring power on the Government, and at another resisting its abuse. The Government at no period from its commencement required strengthening so much as at the times when he became a member of Congress. The Government being pressed on all sides—without by aggression from proud and powerful belligerents, and within by violent party animosities—many of our ablest and most experienced statesmen feared that it would not have strength to overcome its difficulties. True to his principles, we find Mr. Calhoun, in this great crisis, placing himself on the side of Government, and exerting every faculty with the utmost zeal to strengthen and sustain it. Nor is it surprising, that after the determination of the war, when the danger and difficulties through which the country had passed were fresh in the memory, to find him giving a decided support to respectable and well organised military and naval establishments—an extended system of fortifications—suitable encouragement to manufactures, so far as it could be effected through a revenue system—the means of facilitating intercourse through our widely extended country, and the re-establishment of a sound and uniform currency. But those who know Mr. Calhoun best would expect him to evince the same determined spirit in resisting the inroads of power and corruption as he displayed in sustaining the Government in the hour of weakness. While he would maintain in the General Government the powers *delegated* to it unimpaired, no one would more resolutely repel any encroachments on those reserved to the States, on the full exercise of which by the States, he sincerely believes, our liberty and happiness depends.

Mr. Calhoun was married on the 8th January, 1811, to Miss *Floride Calhoun*, the daughter of John Ewing Calhoun; formerly a Senator in Congress of great respectability from South Carolina. They have seven children—five of them sons, and two daughters.

In the foregoing sketch of Mr. Calhoun's career, we have been able to give the outlines only of his political life and conduct. The period at which he was so actively engaged in public affairs was one of interest and remarkable for the variety of its incidents. He was so intimately connected with and had so much influence over the current of events, that we have been obliged to omit entirely many important particulars, and have space left only to add a short notice of his person and private character, and to make a few concluding remarks on the various qualities displayed by him in the several capacities of orator and legislator; of an executive officer, and of a statesman.

In his person Mr. Calhoun is slender and tall. His countenance, at rest, is strikingly marked with decision and firmness. In conversation it is highly animated, expressive, and indicative of genius. His eyes are large, dark, brilliant, and penetrative, and leave no doubt at first view of a high order of intellect. His manners are easy, natural, and unassuming, and as frank as they are cordial and kind. In all his domestic relations, his life is without a blemish. He has none of the cautious reserve and mystery of common politicians, for he has nothing to conceal or disguise. He is accessible to all, agreeable, animated, instructive, and eloquent in conversation, and communicates his opinions with the utmost freedom. Some politicians seek popularity by carefully avoiding responsibility. Whatever popularity Mr. Calhoun posseses has, on the contrary, been acquired by bold and fearless assumption of responsibility on all critical and trying occasions. His judgment is so clear and discriminating, that he seems to possess a sort of prophetic vision of future events and on occasions when most men doubt and hesitate, he decides with confidence, follows up his decision with undoubting firmness, and has never failed in the end to be justified by time, the arbiter of all things.

Few men have been called upon to pass through scenes of higher political excitement, and to encounter more vigorous and unrelenting opposition than Mr. Calhoun; yet, amidst all the prejudices which party feeling engenders, and all the jealousy of political rivals, and all the animosity of political opponents, no one has yet ventured to hazard his own reputation for judgment or sincerity so far as to doubt for one moment his great and commanding talents.

As an orator, Mr. Calhoun stands in the foremost rank of parliamentary speakers. On first rising in debate, he felt, to the last day of his congressional career, the anxiety of diffidence, arising from a sensibility which is almost always the companion of true genius. His manner of speaking is energetic, ardent, rapid, and marked by a solemn earnestness, which leaves no doubt of his sincerity and conviction. His style is pure, forcible, logical, and condensed, often figurative for illustration—never for ornament. His mind is well stored with the fruits of learning, but still better with those of observation and reflection. Hence depth, originality, and force, characterise all his speeches. He lays his premises on a foundation too broad, solid, and deep to be shaken; his deductions are clear and irresistible. "The strong power of genius" to adopt the language of the eloquent Pinckney, in relation to Mr. Calhoun's splendid speech on the treaty making power, "from a higher region than that of argument, throws on his subjects all the light with which it is the prerogative of genius to invest and hallow everything;" and his speeches, full of the most elevated and patriotic sentiments, after conquering the understanding, take the heart entirely captive, and carry along his hearers, often unconsciously, and sometimes against their will to the point he desires.

Mr. Calhoun had attained so high a reputation as a member of Congress, that it was thought by many that he was leaving his appropriate field, when he accepted the appointment of Secretary of War. On the contrary, his new situation only presented another theatre for the exercise of his great and diversified talents. The distinguishing feature of his mind, the power of analysis, was now to be exercised in the practical business of Government, and at once, as by enchantment, order, efficiency, and perfect accountability sprang from the chaos in which he found the Department, demonstrated that his energy in execution was equal to his wisdom in organizing, and left it doubtful whether his legislative talents were not surpassed by his practical ability in administration.

As a statesman, in the most enlarged and elevated sense of the term, Mr. Calhoun has no superior. A philosophical observer of men and of their affairs, he analyzes and reduces all things to their original elements, and draws thence those general principles, which, with inconceivable rapidity and unerring certainty, he applies on all occasions, and banishes the perplexity and doubt by which ordinary minds are overwhelmed and confounded. By this wonderful faculty, he is enabled to decide at once, not only what measures are at present necessary for a government novel, in its principles, and placed in circumstances of which there is no precedent in the history of mankind, but, by discerning results through their causes, to look into futurity, and to devise means for carrying on our beloved country in a direct path to the high and glorious destiny which, under the guidance of wisdom and virtue, awaits her.

To the highest powers of mind, Mr. Calhoun unites those elevated moral qualities, which are equally essential with ability, to complete the character of a perfect statesman—inflexible integrity, honor without a stain, disinterestedness, temperence, and industry, a firmness of purpose which disdained to calculate the consequences of his duty, prudence and energy in action, devotion to his country, and inexaustible love of liberty and justice. To these great qualities, perhaps, we ought to add a lofty ambition; but it is an ambition which prefers glory to office and power, which looks upon the latter only as means for acquiring the former, and which, by the performance of great and virtuous actions for the accomplishment of noble ends, aims at the establishment of a widely extended and ever during fame.—This ingredient which enters into the composition of all great and powerful minds, seems intended by Providence to stimulate them to the highest pitch of exertion in the service of mankind; and if it be a defect it is one which Mr. Calhoun shares, as well as all their high qualities, with the most perfect models of Greek and Roman excellence.

To those who have not been attentive observers of the life, character, and conduct of Mr. Calhoun, or who may have been alienated by political conflicts, the above portraiture may seem to derive some of its coloring from the partial pencil of friendship. If an intimate connexion of that kind, for nearly a quarter of a century, may be supposed to tincture the writer's mind with partiality, it will be allowed, at the same time, that it affords the best possible opportunity of forming an accurate estimate of the moral and social character of the subject of this memoir. His *statements of fact and opinions he knows to be entirely authentic*; and after a deliberate review of every sentence and word he has written, he finds nothing which a reverence for justice and truth will allow him to alter.

FROM THE RALEIGH REGISTER.

Messrs. Editors:

There are certain subjects which many readers pass over without even a hasty perusal, because they feel no interest in them, or suppose, that under existing circumstances, they are wholly impracticable, or believe they already understand them sufficiently well. I have some apprehensions, that the subject of the following Communication is one of this character. Its originality, in connexion with its great and acknowledged importance, will, I hope, attract the attention of intelligent and reflecting men, and secure for it a careful examination. My object is the establishment of Schools throughout North-Carolina. Several of our late Governors have in their annual Messages to our Legislature, expatiated at considerable length, on this fruitful and popular topic. Nor has it escaped the vigilance of several of our eminent private citizens. But so far as I now recollect, all the Communications which I have seen in our papers on the subject, though the productions of enlightened and zealous friends, have been deficient in one important particular—they have not been fully adapted to the peculiarity of our circumstances.

The system of Education, which has been *for some time* in so successful operation in New-York, Massachusetts and some other States, is not, I apprehend, suited to North-Carolina. It is, therefore, the part of sound wisdom, and of enlightened policy, not to follow in the steps of our neighbors, however we may admire their example; but make for ourselves *a new road*, in other words, *originate a plan of Education adapted to our peculiar circumstances*. And, if our system should not be as imposing and as splendid as that of our neighbors, but should in the end lead to the same desirable result, the general diffusion of learning among the people, we ought to possess sufficient independence and magnanimity to carry our own views into full effect. In the sincerity of my heart, I believe the time is far distant, when good schools *on the common plan and in sufficient numbers* will be supported throughout our whole State, either by the public revenues or by private patronage, or by both these united. Still I do not consider our case as hopeless. Very far from it. I regard the present time as [illegible] more propitious to a general and successful movement in favor of education, than any which has occurred since the adoption of our present Constitution, if not since the earliest [illegible] of this State. I may be [illegible] opinion, but permit me to offer some reasons for it.

In the first place, a great variety of causes which I need not specify have for a long time, been operating to make a deep impression on reflecting men, who cherish a warm attachment to their native State, and who feel much solicitude for its prosperity and future welfare; that there is urgent necessity for the adoption of some general and efficient system of Education. A great many persons of this description, in different sections of our State, are ready to co-operate cordially in the general establishment of schools on a plan, *practicable, thorough*, and attended with moderate expense.—Show them a plan, which unites all these desirable qualities: and you will secure at once their cheerful and liberal assistance.

In the second place, the uneducated and poorer class of our people, have recently had their attention, incidentally indeed yet impressively and powerfully, directed to the subject of education. An impression very general if not co-extensive with our boundaries, has been made on a large proportion of our community, in favor of the subject under consideration. To "the Bible effort" which has been in progress nearly two years, we are indebted for this propitious circumstance. The distribution of thirty or forty thousand copies of the Holy Scriptures among our destitute families, and often where not even a Spelling book, or an Almanac was ever seen, has, I believe, under these disadvantages, excited, in a great many instances, an earnest desire to become acquainted with their contents. And this desire will cause many of them to hail with lively joy the establishment of Schools for their children; that their offspring may obtain ready access to that volume, which though it contains intelligence more valuable than a globe of gold, is nevertheless at present to them "*A sealed Book*." I readily admit, that this is not the great object for which the friends of the Bible have been putting forth their vigorous and persevering exertions; but it has, I believe, been the necessary consequence of their successful efforts to spread the word of life over our land in all its length and breadth, and whilst every benevolent mind and every friend of learning and of Christianity must be much gratified with this happy result, it is highly important that we should avail ourselves of our present advantages to urge forward with increasing confidence and zeal, the cause of moral and intellectual improvement.

I now proceed to state, in a few words the outlines of a plan, which appears to be better adapted to our circumstances than any which has come to my knowledge. Its peculiarity is the division of a Teacher's labors among two or more Schools, according to the ability of his employers. I would engage none but well qualified Teachers, of good character and of experience, and provide a satisfactory remuneration for their services. Then if one neighborhood could sustain such a Teacher, let him take charge of only one School. If it would require two neighborhoods to support him, let him have the care of two Schools; and devote three days in a week to each of them. If it would require three neighborhoods to support him, let him have the charge of three Schools, and spend two days in a week in each of them, and if in some thinly settled and mountainous sections of the State, a still greater number of Schools would be necessary to sustain a good Teacher, let him have the charge of five or six Schools, and devote only one day in a week, to each of them.

I infer with certainty, that all the children in North-Carolina, could in this way obtain a knowledge of the fundamental branches of Education; for in Sabbath Schools, a great number of children, and youth, and adults, have been educated, who never enjoyed any other literary advantages. This fact is itself a practical demonstration, that the plan which I have proposed, if generally adopted would be of incalculable advantage, to the interests of learning in our State. This plan would be economical. In the schools, taught only one day in a week, the price of instruction would probably not exceed 50 cents per scholar per quarter, and in the other Schools, in the same proportion; it would moreover, be very convenient for those parents, who often, and especially during the busy seasons of the year, need the services of their children. Besides, Parents, it is believed, would make greater exertions to send their children the distance of two or three miles to school, *a part* of the time, than they would to send them *daily*.

In conclusion, I inquire, is not my theory apparently so well adapted to our peculiar circumstances, and of so much promise, as to be worthy of being fairly tested? This could easily be done, if some person of public spirit, of influence and wealth, would embark in this enterprize, and establish a few schools in his neighborhood. In this case he should spare no pains to procure *competent* teachers, to prepare convenient School-houses, to provide all necessary books, and make a thorough experiment. The result might justly enrol his name among the most distinguished benefactors of his country.

THE PEOPLE'S FRIEND.

P. S. Since the above article was written, I have been informed that a respectable Teacher, in an adjacent county, has commenced the instruction of two schools. He spends three days in a week, in each school.

Anecdote of John Randolph.—When Henry Clay was speaker of the House of Representatives, and J. Randolph a member of that body, the latter indulged himself in drawing a fancy portrait, in something like the following words:—*We* will suppose Mr. Speaker, a young man born in Virginia, destitute of principle, who had spent his patrimony in dissipation