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WILMINGTON JOURNAL:

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ADDRESS

HON. WILLIAM H. HAYWOOD, JR.,

TO THE PEOPLE OF NORTH CAROLINA. [CONCLUDED.]

Two Dollars and fifty cents it paid in advance. Now, the experimental tariff, as I interpret at the end of three months. No paper discontinued until all arrearages are it, fundamentally violated this doctrine. It lies on articles imported into the United States, did not agree with me, and I consented to without my knowledge, interposed to have paid, except at the option of the publishers. No discriminated, but it did so against our domes. not much short of one-third of the whole amount think further of that. It had been voted by its presentation delayed until I could be solitic labor; and in that way, and to that extent, of the duties is derived from articles rated ad va- the party to have no reference, and agreed to cited to recall it. But my own opinion never subscription received for less than twelve months. We will pay the postage on letters containing it made war upon the vital interests of the lorem. north. And pray, what inducements were of-Five Dollars and upwards, and money may be remitted through the mail at our risk. The Post- fered to North Carolina, by this experiment, as with us, is of principal, or very considerable the President of The United States him- 25th of July, ont of deference to others; and, that her senators should help to carry on the master's certificate of such remittance shall be a unnatural conflict? What, but the naked de-Inserted at one dollar per square of 16 lines or tess, for the first, and twenty-five cents for each olina had no local or State interest which will

succeeding insertion. 25 per cent will be deducted by it. None whatever, red from an advertising bill when it amounts to The limits of this address will not allow of "The re thirty dollars in any one year. YEARLY standing illustrations by a tedious detail of enumerated against evasions, which infallibly happen in a articles. I reserve that for a more suitable greater or less degree when duties are high. It is advertisements will be inserted at \$10 per square. All legal advertisements charged 25 per cent occasion, only remarking, for the present, that impossible for the merchants of any country to should any he disingenuous enough to deny have manifested more probity than those of the U If the number of insertions are not marked this characteristic of the new tariff, no one, States on this subject; and it is firmly believed who regards his reputation, will venture to that there never was one in which illicit purchaon the advertisement, they will be continued until Thetters to the proprietors on business condoes not discriminate in favor of American tained so little as hitherto in this Yet would it sive to existing manufactures, and which which it was hardly possible for him or any nected with this establishment, must be post paid manufactures; and not to discriminate in their be a delusive expectation, that, with duties so con- might allow Congress time to correct its er- man to violate; and I had knowledge, more each of our senators in Congress, with the request favor, moderately and reasonably, by a "live siderable as those which now exist, a disposition rors, and, after full deliberation, to amend it than a week before I resigned, that, in case of that they lay them before the Senate of the United OFFICE on the south-east corner of Front and against them. Verily, it appeared to me that prudent to guard with circumspection, and by ev- due to the subject, and the others were admit- it may be seen that, with my vote or without of yesterday learned in the law office, for the such attempts. It is needless to repeat, that this ped we might have peace with Mexico. and, If I had kept my seat, and voted for the bill, complete exculpation of my conduct. The le-NORTHERN MAIL., by Rail Road, is due daily at 3 P. M. ment, and the practice of all civilized nations, trader as to that of the revenue. for the sake of perpetrating an experiment upon the people of the United States. FAYETTEVILLE MAIL, by Rail Road, is due on Mondays

FAYETTEVILLE MAIL, by Prospect Hall, Elizabethtown, ties are to be laid ad valorem." It is not the Westbrooks, and Robesons, is due on Tuesdays Thurs- least remarkable circumstance, connected with Papers, Finance, vol. 1, page 348.

State my feelings were averse to going against the was not to be expected that I should vote least remarkable circumstance, connected with Papers, Finance, vol. 1, page 348. Westbrooks, and Robesons, is due on Tuesdays Thurs- | least remarkable circumstance, connected with days and Saturdays, at 9 A. M., and closes on same days the passage of the act, that this new ad valorem article in the democratic creed was sup-SMITHVILLE MAIL, by Steamer, is due daily at 8 A. M., ported by the sanction of no distinguished a report to the Senate, said thatname but Henry Clay's! and Mr. Clay's friends TAYLOR'S BRIDGE, LONG CREEK, MOORE'S CREEK, BLACK say, that even he has been misrepresented, to furnish the authority.

Another not unimportant circumstance is, that ONSLOW COURT Hadse, STUMP Sound, and Topsail the people of my State have been com-MAIL, is due every Monday at 4 P. M., and closes every manded to dishonor me, as one not true to the doctrine of a party tariff of "ad valorem duties;" and, therefore, treacherous to them; in a report to the House of Representatives, when I put it to your consciences, that there are thousands and tens of thousands of good Neatly executed and with despatch, on North Carolina democrats, who, so far from swer for himself-Did you ever understand it on their value."-See American State Papers, before ? In sincerity, I declare, that until af- Finance, vol. 3, page 91.

the longer it shall be tried, the less you will be necessary for the more effectual execution signed, I went into the country with a private quietly to resign, and not to attack a measure fore, that, independent of any political "duty But let me tell you what it is: It is to lay "In order to provide an adequate remedy against duties or takes upon goods imported from for- the frauds and evasions which already exist, and eign countries, according to the value of the to prevent their further increase, it is respectfully resistance to the bill. I had frequent conver- been kept, if the folly or the wickedness of might have been some room for censure, but I goods at the market from whence they come- submitted " &c. the law fixing the per cent., and the collector And then, after recommending twenty-four and Thursday, before the vote was taken in in self-defence. of it ascertaining the foreign value of whatev- additional laws, he adds:

the same tax in posed upon the same article ticable, the list of articles paying ad valorem du- for me to allude to our intimate personal and demn; and all can see, who will see, that it North Carolina to vote for the experimental values, by establishing the particular sum of . These opinions, of the great and eminent conversations that occurred, if it were possi- act of duty upon the facts already stated. If description of it. It is more than probable taxation, and leaving nothing for the collector men of our country, were never controverted, ble to repeat such conversations with perfect any one had been inclined to question the pol- the legislature had not anticipated the invenecute work in the above line, on reasonable terms. Continue the AGENCY business, and will make ties, from time to time, by adding to the list ache."

comprehending my objections to the new prin- the elections of 1844, and I have told you how that it was a mistaken calculation; and if not, will deny that I still had a perfect right to reciple of the experimental tariff. MARKET STREET-Wilmington, N. C. It was a maxim of the revolution, that "rep- senators, in my best attempts to sustain the ple's representatives against it! The sequel Did any one ever before suppose that party duty imposed upon the obligation of defeating resentation and taxation should go together." democratic party, by harmonizing the country proved that I was right, for it had to be return- had the right to claim dominion over the man this new, unwise, and sectional tariff of 1846, Now, this is a great principle of liberty never generally upon a distracting conflict of local ed to them, in consequence of another amend- who served them, as well as the office they in order to save the republic and the people to be despised; and the abrogation of it cannot interests. I have also shown you how the ment, and yet it passed, as it had done before. had bestowed—over the soul as well as the from those injurious results which, according Commission and Forwarding be necessary to the interest of the republic - tariff bill proposed at this session was alto- The democratic senators must have regarded station of their agent? Never, never. But it means nothing, unless it creates the du- gether a different one, and every way object any effort of mine to amend the bill, contrary But in my case there is no room for new and that therefore I had remained at my post LONDON'S WHARF, WILMINGTON, N. C. ty of laying taxes by the law, and not by the tionable in its details and in its principles, to their wishes, and after all that had passed, theories. The legislature that elected me in defiance of instructions, it would have been ROBT G BANKING takes by the state and not by the state of the control of their doc- untrue in my case, for, as I have already states they would have been instiffed in the control of their doc- untrue in my case, for, as I have already states they would have been instiffed in the control of their doc- untrue in my case, for, as I have already states they would have been instiffed in the control of their doc- untrue in my case, for, as I have already states they would have been instiffed in the control of their doc- untrue in my case, for, as I have already states they would have been instiffed in the control of their doc- untrue in my case, for, as I have already states they would have been instiffed in the control of their doc- untrue in my case, for, as I have already states they would have been instiffed in the control of their doc- untrue in my case, for, as I have already states they would have been instiffed in the control of their docreads the law may, as far as practicable, see have added, in the manner it was urged upon haps they would have been justified in that, trine. They were passed by the party that ed, I knew the bill would pass with or with-Auctioneer & Commission Merchant, in it what it taxes him: officers, too, whom the Senate, and how utterly impossible it was and therefore I finally resolved not to move elected me. Whilst the "voice of God in the out my vote. I was incapable of resorting to

in New York. september 21, 1844. LOHN HALL Commission Paerchant One door So. of Brown & DeRossett's, Water-st WILMINGTON, N. C. William Cooke. GENERAL AGENT

COMMISSION MERCHANT WILMINGTON, N. C. Office, second door North of Market street, on the

wharf, up stairs.

Ap17, 1846

AND DEEDS, a new supply, just printed and for sale at the JOURNAL OFFICE. MITCHELL'S

Texas, Oregon, and California. FEW copies of the above work, of the very latest edition, may be obtained at the JOURNAL OFFICE.

POCKET MAP

For Rent. FINE ROOMY STORE, in Mr. Parsley's to its officers, and according to its rules. A building, one door north of the Custom

WILMINGTON, N. C., FRIDAY, SEPTEMBER 4, 1846.

What they declared was a fruitful mother of amendments, expressing to him my exceed- when no other question was likely to be affecturing interests; and imposing unjust, unequal,

sentatives, used the following words, viz:

consequence, and where no peculiarity of situation self, upon this subject, and informed him of having done all for the party that an honest man has tended to keep the rates of duty low, experimy determination not to vote for the bill; but could do, I chose to resign. And now, after a sire for an apparent party unity where there ber of articles rated ad valorem, and of course to ence has led to contract more and more the num- left it to his discretion whether to-keep that calm review of all the circumstances, I do not extend the number of those rated specifically; that is, according to weight, measure, or other rules of

contradict the fact, that the experimental tariff ses to the disadvantage of the revenue have ob. to some period which would be less oppres- surances of his fixed determination to do so, and let live" law of love amongst brethren of will not be experienced in some individuals, who before the existing system had been destroy- a tie, the Vice Presieent meant to vote in fa- States. a common country, is the same thing in prin- carry on our import trade, to evade the payment- ed-for deliberation had been refused, and a- vor of it. The result has proved that I was ciple, though not in degree, as to discriminate of them, and this to an extent sufficient to make it mendments excluded, although the one was not mistaken in my facts. From these facts, its passage would be substituting the theories ery reasonable precaution, against the success of ted to be necessary. By that time, too, I ho- it, the bill was destined to pass the Senate. experience of fifty years of our own govern- will contribute as much to the interest of the fair indeed, I entertained no doubt that Congress it would have passed by a vote of twenty- gislature says that to "resign" is not only the

rating ad valorem could with convenience be bro't | Senate were about passing the bill, contrary vote of the Vice President! Fifth. The last objection I shall trouble within a much narrower compass, and it is evi- to the judgment of a majority, under the duyou with is to the new principle, that all "du-dent that to do so will contribute materially to the ress of a party drill; yet, unwise as that was, bill would not have counted in the result? It other—according to his own choice. So her

it would be eligible to lay specific duties on all such articles now paying duties ad valorem, as may be susceptible of that alteration." - See American State Papers, Finance, val. 1, page 702. In 1816, under Madison's administration. A. J. Dallas, the Secretary of the Treasury,

and in answer to a resolution of the preceding session, after a thorough examination, said: "That articles imported to a great amount having adopted it in their political creed, did should rather be charged with specific duties upon never so much as hear of it until long since their weight and measure, in order to guard against my election to the Senate! Let each one an- evasions and frauds, than with ad valorem duties

ter my election to the Senate, I did not, and I In 1818, under Monroe's Administration, presume you did not. But I think I under- William H. Crawford, the Secretary of the stand it now, my countrymen, and I venture Treasury, in answer to a resolution of 1817, to guess, that the more you know of it, and directing him to report such measures as might

of the revenue laws, said:

which he is not responsible to you, but to the be placed in the efficacy of the foregoing provisions, Tressury Department. And a specific duty is it is certainly prudent to diminish, as far as prac- bill was always known. It is unnecessary part, which a partisan has no right to con- did not positively instruct the senators from -the law itself, however, dstinguishing the ties."-See American State Papers, vol. 3, p 236. political relations, or to state the particular was neither more nor less than an unselfish tariff by that name, nor by any other precise

to do but to weigh or measure the quantity; so far as we know, until the present time; and accuracy. Suffice it to say, that he had not icy of the concealment beforehand, the result tion of such a tariff: and I am sure I had not. wherein, if he be guilty of fraud, he may pro-bably be convicted, or if disposed to oppress racy was I expected to refuse to them the the merchant, he can be prevented. In short, homage of my confidence and support? What was not willing to tell him of my intention otherwise, the fault would not have been mine. going resolution;" and a plansible argument. where the tax is specific the collector only should have induced me to forego the conclu- to resign, when there could have been no mo- It was a secret of the party at my hazard, and if not a sound one, might be made in favor of weighs or measures the quantity; where it is advalorem he not only measures or weighs authority and confirmed by the experience of into a resistance of my sent i the quantity, but likewise determines, upon the government for half a century ? In all my ministration. He saw that my mind was consented not to disclose my hostility to the fect by the experimental 'ariff, and therefore. his own judgment, the foreign value of the conferences with senators, no better reason made up, and he respected my scruples, tho' bill, it became a point of personal monor with if I had remained in the Senate to vote against things imported. The uniform rule, as appro- was given to me for it than that the bill would be was not indifferent to their supposed polition, and a prudent man, who has that to keep, the tariff bill, it might have been alledged, ved by your government, has been heretofore, destroy the tariff of 1842; but the remedy was ical consequences to me, or to his administration and it would have been charged, that I had that of making all the duties specific which as bad, if not worse, than the disease, and the tion. I will not say more.

the people have no agency in appointing, and with me, on account of all these things, to an amendment myself. As honor and good soul of many demanded my opposition to the any such false pretexts for my defence. As a Liberal advances made on shipments to his friends cannot remove—officers who, in assessing vote for the bill against their will I dots values, exercise their own discretion, and whose individual judgment, in this country, as to the market value of property in all foras to the market value of property in all foreign lands, cannot be successfully impeached, tion which I always thought to be a national ingly careful not to do any thing which might upon to denounce me as treacherous. No ries out" by the experimental tariff; and not

> parture from this maxim of the republic ?- has been done to me by all those who have conscience, party or no party, and leave the any party. Shall it be approved, upon the notion that this brought into question my faithfulness to the consequences with God." There is no senagreat principle of a representative democracy democratic party. Where my defamers have tor, I am sure, who ever doubted my scruples, has become impracticable? Shall we sanc- been prompted by malice, they are entitled to or if he did, he had self-respect enough to tion the pretence, that the people's representa- my compassion; where they have been led conceal his suspicion. On the contrary, the

frauds, it has adopted as the only parent of ing anxiety and fears upon the subject. Im- ted by it. I owe it to myself to state, that all and oppressive burdens upon other branches have no amendment to the bill. Next day, I varied upon that point, although my determit-"In other nations where this branch of revenue, held a long and confidential conversation with nation occasionally vacillated anterior to the purpose secret or not. In that interview, such hesitate to declare, that I should do precisely was my anxiety to reconcile my duty with the the same thing, were it to be done over again, faith, the legislature of North Carolina do protest wishes of others, that I consented to waive and these are my reasons: my opposition, and vote for the bill, however Democratic senators, numbering twenty- fied, so as to place it on the basis of revenue dureluctantly, provided it were amended so that seven, had agreed to vote for the experimental ties." the new tariff would not go into operation be- tariff bill; and so had Mr. Jarnagin, a whig fore 4th March, 1847. . The bill would then senator from Tennessee. I knew that Mr. have operated as a repeal of the tariff act of Jarnagin expected to vote for it, for he not on- and they are hereby INSTRUCTED, and our repre-1842, and so far I was willing to support it. It had told me himself, but I also had reliable But I desired its operation to be postponed information of the fact, that he had given as- cip'es set forth in the foregoing resolutions. would see the necessity for modifying the act nine! If I had kept my seat and voted against right, but the "duty" of a senator, who does "It is believed that in our system the method of at the next session. I knew well that the it, the bill would have passed by the casting not prefer to "obey" their instructions. It is In 1801, under Jefferson's administration, sons I assigned to the President, whose my vote. A speech in the Senate at that time have been forgetful of these instructions, per-Albert Gallatin, Secretary of the Treasury, in name is not used without his express license .- would have created great excitement, and no versely adhere to an error, by which they may "In order to guard, as far as possible, against had promised to do, I told several senators, my resigning would have denounced me for has spent the best part of his life, and worn the value of goods being underrated in the invoices who were regarded as leaders upon this ques- holding on to my office, merely for the sake out his constitution, as I have, in upholding tion, that I could not vote for the bill, unless of making war upon my party. My friends the democratic party in North Carolina, against so amended, I would give it my vote. And I might have had reason to accuse me of selfish- within its fold? Will that be honorable, or again promised to keep my objections and ness, and probably some of my reasons, ut- just, or democratic? I leave your own hearts purposes a secret from the other side, until tered in the warmth of a public speech, might to answer. my own party had been consulted, and until I have appeared as much like arraigning others Are you non-instructionists? Then rememshould be obliged to act. The secret was kept as defending myself. In short, I deprecated ber, that I had it not in my power to sacrifice sacredly upon my part, and no whig senator the possibility of an open rupture with those myself to the country, for my vote could not Washington, and out of the Senate, upon this ty to the country had demanded that risk at done. Remember, too, that these resolutions subject, except the President of the United my hands-"Country before party, but party were passed by my own party, and the legis-States himself, and one of his cabinet; un- before self," has always been my principle of lature who elected me, and my acceptance of less it may be, that, in general terms, I hinted action. If my self sacrifice did not secure the the office, in the view of some honorable to one of my colleagues in the House that I peace it was intended to propitiate out of the triends, might have been held to create an imwas embarrassed; but he asked no interview, Senate, I am abundantly rewarded by its ef- plied pledge that I would "resign," provided and I sought none. On the day before I re- fects in the Senate. My firm intention was I did not obey their instructions, and theregentleman and a personal friend, (a distin- of the administration after it had been passed to obey or resign," I had come under a personguished democrat) to consult with him upon by my party friends, even for my own vindi- al obligation to do the same thing. Hence, the single point of my resigning, or of making cation. And that determination would have by holding on to my seat and resisting, there sations with senators, and during Wednesday others had not forced this explanation from me desired to have no such controversy, and as

tives will cheat them in adopting the specific by the spirit of envy, they are more worthy of leading men of that body on the democratic duties, and assume at the same time that cus- their own; where they have been stimulated side, without exception, as well as the Presiton house officers will be more scrupulous into activity by a vain conceit or the love of dent of the United States, expressed themand m re just to you, in fixing the values un notoriety, or of a petty political colat, they are selves to me, upon all occasions, anxiously, der a system of ad valorem duties? Ought deserving of my contempt, and richly are they but most confidingly—all of them concurring such a departer from a great and fundamental deserving of my contempt, and flow it to honest men, in the wish that I could vote for the bill; rewarded with it. But I owe it to honest men, in the wish that I could vote for the bill; who may have been misled by their unfounded accusations, to disabuse their minds, so ded accusations, and ded accusations are described by their unfounds. ble necessity, and sand field as a part of our democratic faith, without increased as a part of our democratic faith, without increased which, amongst gentlemen, is imhour when I could not have altered my course, without any abatement of their respect, or any without any abatement of their respect, or and which is seldom be-A step or two further, and we shall be carried may be their subject, and which is seldom beto a point where Congress can be be carried may be their subject, and which is seldom benv sacrifice to mv own pride of opinion if I declare the aggregate revenues whothing but trayed without misrepresentation. If necesdeclare the aggregate revenues with may be levied for the government and leave the may be sary. I have liberty to do otherwise, but I shall could have reconciled it to my sense of duty. State will never consent to the imposition of taxreview for the government and leave the may be sary. I have more that and my conscience, under any circumstances, and according to its rules. State will never consent to the imposition of taxes the design and operation of which are to proto its officers, and according to its rules. State will never consent to the imposition of taxes the design and operation of which are to proto vote for the bill as it was. Yet my convicto its officers, and according to its rules. to its officers, and according to its rules. The second the Senate, I come now to show that what the experimental tariff makes the rule of taxation, the mote the interests of particular occupations at the certainly my right to postpone it until the general expense.

When the tariff bill reached the Senate, I could not general expense.

When the tariff bill reached to postpone it until the general expense.

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The second of the democratic party, whose intimate positions at the certainly my right to postpone it until the general expense.

When the tariff bill reached to postpone it until the general expense.

When the tariff law passed by the democratic party, whose intimate positions are the continue in my place and vote against my party passed from the continue in my place and vote against my party passed by the continue in my place and vote against my party passed by the continue in my place and vote against my party passed by the continue in my place and vote against my party passed by the continue in my place and vote against my party passed by the continue in my place and vote against my passed by the continue in my place and vote against my passed by the continue in my place and vote against my passed by the continue in my place and vote against my passed by the continue in my place and vote against my passed by the continue in my place and vote against my passed by the continue in my place and vote against my passed by the continue in my place and vote against my passed by the continue in my place and vote against my passed by the continue in my place and vote against my passed by the continue in my place and vote against my passed by the continue in my p mental tariff makes the rule of taxation, the was in realing, and then deficult I continue in my place and vote against my parfathers of the republic made the exception.— shintimate political friend how difficult I to friends, or to reman my seat at a period If find it to support it without important ty friends, or to resign my seat, at a period principles, operating as a bounty to the manufactor The people of North Carolina will

knew of my opposition to the bill. With that I loved, but with whom I dared not act, and have prevented, no more than it could have seview it was, that, down to the day before I was ever ready to sacrifice much more than a cured, the passage of the tariff act. With or resigned, I had no conference with persons in place in the Senate to avoid it, unless my du- without my vote, the deed would have been

the Senate, I held three confidential conferen- But I kept my intentions secret? You republic, surely all will agree that it was my er is taxed-viz: the sum of the tax-for "Whatever may be the reliance that ought to ces with the President, by his request, to have seen, that, to the extent that this was right to resign. whom my determination to vote against the true, it was an act of party obedience on my It must be confessed that these resolutions

cians who are to assist him. can be made so, and let the others be ad valo- operation seemed to me almost as unwise as I had been positively informed, before my But I resigned without a right to do so, and na legislature merely for the sake of my office. rem; but to reduce the list of ad valorem du- to "cut off the head for a cure of the tooth- last interviews with the President, that the without the leave of my State? Is that true? And what could I have answered? Had I democratic senators could not unite, or would Let us see. Suppose every voter in the dem- told you that the resolutions were obscure, and of specifies. The experimental tariff condemns I have now explained to you the origin, and not agree, upon the amendment which I had ocratic party had commanded me to vote for that therefore I had not been able to obey, my and repudiates this policy altogether, and pre- reminded you of the character of McKay's bill suggested, and the reason assigned to me was, the bill, and yet my own judgment had pre- excuse would have been a false one, for I have scribes a new one, of having all the duties ad of 1844. Thave intimated to you the nature that it would jeopard the bill in the other vailed, as it did against the joint influence of already shown you that I dared not vote for valorem, and none of them specific. With of those party, not to say, those moral obliga- House to alter it, and that the House would my feelings, my individual friendships, and the thing, had the instructions been sent in this explanation, you can have no difficulty in tions, which were contracted antecedent to reject it, if it went back. I replied to this, my personal ambition: is there a man who the very words of the act, whilst the alternation. they were imposed upon me, as one of your then the bill ought not to pass with the peo- sign my station and save my conscience?— and my duty. Had I told you that a higher

eign lands, cannot be successfully impeached, tion which I always thought to be a national linging careful not to do any street with my because witnesses to do it live abroad, and being abroad, and being abroad, and being abroad been any doubt about to resign. If there ad been any doubt about still be almost impossible to convict the offi- I now proceed to lay before you an unadorn- senators, and therefore resolved not to be put opedience to the mandate of others was both the other "principles set loss in the foregoing cer of intentional falsehood. It must be proved ed narrative of my party conferences in con- in array against them at all, until I was forced imperative and unavoidable; and nobody would resolutions," there was none apon a principal falsehood. that he was wrong, and knew it too. Is not nexion with this subject, and leave it for you to the wall, when, (as I told them.) I would be fit to serve the republic who could. Upon ple of the senator's "duty to resign;" and real this new dectrine, then, more than a slight de- to characterize as it deserves the injustice that be "compelled to follow the dictates of my any such terms, it would be infamous to serve "right" to do that was unquestioned and un-

Resolutions of the General Assembly of No. Ca. " Resolved, That the Legislature of this State curred with them; and I again repeat that my have a right to instruct the senators of this State in Congress, whenever, in the opinion of the le- that the act by which it was proposed to get instructions; and that it is the duty of the senators to obey the instructions given, on TO BESIGN to the party and the country, as bad or worse THEIR SEATS: Provided. The instructions to be given and obeyed require not the senator to commit a violation of the constitution, or an act of moral turpitude.

government, economically administered, yet this State being a whig, it was impossible to sur-

WHOLE NO. 103.

mediately after my return to this city, the first those who knew beforehand of my intention industry, and particular those peculiar to the south-In 1795, when Washington was President, day of the debate in the Senate, I told several to resign; with one voice, dissuaded me from ern States; and that such being the effects of this Alexander Hamilton, his Secretary of the of the senators (democrats) with whom I was it, for reasons indicative of their confidence law, it is unwise in policy, dangerous to public lib-Treasury in a report to the House of Repre- most intimate, the same thing, and, upon a and attachment, personal and political; and erty, and a perversion of that free constitution of conference; suggested to two of them that I after my resignation had been laid upon the government which was framed and adopted for the "According to the present laws, imposing du might have to resort to a resignation; but they table of the Vice President, a number of them, protection and security of all, and which will be best sustained by the equal operation of its laws. and the just dispensation of its benefits to every American citizen.

" Resolved, That this law is not only protective in its character, and unequal in its operation, but that it violates the compromise of 1833, unjustly depriving the south of the benefits of that act, precisely at the period when they were to accrue to us, and immediately after we had patiently and patriotically endured all its burdens; and, therefore, in the name of honor, justice, and good against this law, and insist that it should be modi-

"Resolved, That our Senators in Congress be, sentatives requested, to carry into effect the prin-" Resolved, That the governo: of this State be

required to forward a copy of these resolutions to "Ratified the 26th day of January, A. D. 1843.

"CALVIN GRAVES, S. H. C. "LOUIS D. WILSON, S. S."

Are you instructionists? Behold here is a not to "obey" without any other alternative, course of my party in that body. These rea- against my party friends without defending the honest democracy of North Carolina, who Upon my return to the Senate chamber, as I doubt the same persons who now complain of have allowed themselves to prejudge one who it should be amended as above; but, if it were in the Senate, who have resolved not to speak, political foes without and selfish demagogues

my resistance would have done no good to the

to my judgment, were almost unavoidable,

In so far as the legislature intended to declare hostility to the tariff act of 1842, I conembarrassments grew altogether out of this; rid of the tariff of 1842, was, under the circumstances of its presentation, progress, and enactment, and in view of all its consequences than the act of 1842; and a support of it by my vote was utterly repugnant to a sense of duty to myself, and of fealty to North Carolina and the Union; so that I retired from it as I would from a political pestilence. I did not do it sooner for the reasons already given; and for the additional reason that the governor of the