

fraction as to be met by actual resistance. They respect too... all powers foreign and domestic... by construction... no limits to their power. Take... of the Federal Court... of the President, and the misconstruction of the constitutional compact acted... of the Federal branch... but too evident that the three... of that department, are in combination... strip their colleagues, the... the powers reserved to them, and to... themselves, all... Under the... they assume... indefinitely that also, over... and call it... to take the earnings of one of... of industry, and that too, the... and put them into the pockets... the most flourishing of all. Under... to establish post roads, they claim... cutting down mountains for the... of roads, of digging canals, and aided... a right to do, not only the acts to... which are specifically enumerated... and permitted, but, what ever they shall think... will be for the general welfare. And that is our resource for the preservation... of the Constitution? Reason and argument! You might as well reason and argue with the... columns encircling them. The representatives chosen by ourselves? They are... of the combination, some from incorrect... of government, some from corrupt ones, sufficient voting together to out number the... and with majorities of only 1, 2, or 3, hold enough to go forward in defiance. Are we then to stand to our arms? No! that must be the last resource, not to be thought of until much longer and greater... If every infraction of a compact of... parties, is to be resisted at once as a... of law, no one can ever be formed... which would last one year. We must have... and long endurance then, with our brethren, in the face of all opposition. Give them time for reflection and experience of consequences; keep ourselves in a situation to profit by the... of accidents—and separate from our... only when the sole alternatives left, are the dissolution of our union with them, or submission to a government without... of powers.

NULLIFICATION.—MR. JEFFERSON.

From the Richmond Enquirer. GENTLEMEN:—I observe in your paper of the 15th of this month, (March, 1830) in remarking upon an editorial article of the National Gazette, you say—as to nullifying an act of Congress, we do not know whether Mr. Madison has expressed any opinion. But it is certain that the Kentucky resolutions of 99, did employ this language—"and then you give the language of these resolutions.—My object is to show that in those days, Mr. Madison went fully as far in the nullifying doctrine, as it is sneeringly called by Mr. Webster, as Mr. Jefferson did.—Do you know, or, at least, the senior editor of the Enquirer knows, that the resolutions of 99, were drawn by Mr. Madison, and that the resolutions of 1800, were drawn by Mr. Madison, Mr. Taylor being only the "putative Father," to use his own language. The resolution relating especially to the Alien and Sedition laws of Congress, as originally offered by Col. Taylor, and drawn by Mr. Madison, reads thus:—"that the good people of this Commonwealth having ever felt, and continuing to feel, the most sincere affection to their brethren of the other states, the truest anxiety for establishing and perpetuating the Union of all, and the most scrupulous fidelity to that Constitution, which is the pledge of mutual friendship, and the instrument of mutual happiness, the General Assembly doth solemnly appeal to the like disposition of the other states in confidence, that they will concur with this Commonwealth in declaring, and it does hereby declare, that the acts aforesaid are unconstitutional, and not law, but utterly null and void, and of no force or effect, and that the necessary and proper measures will be taken by each, for co-operating with this state in maintaining, unimpaired, the authorities, rights, and liberties, reserved to the states respectively, or to the people."

During the latter part of the debate on these celebrated resolutions, Mr. Giles took his seat in the House of Delegates; and he concluded the first speech he made upon the subject, by suggesting that the words in italics should be omitted, and that the Assembly should go no farther, than to declare the Alien and Sedition laws unconstitutional. Col. Taylor consenting, the words were stricken out. The history of the fact however, evinces what was Mr. Madison's opinion, and that it went fully up to that of Mr. Jefferson. I have now the proceedings on these resolutions before me, as well as the debate, together with the eyes and noses on the different questions—all of which were published at the time in a pamphlet. Indeed, there is another fact exhibited by these resolutions, which shows, that Mr. Madison, at that period, was as far as the foremost in favor of the doctrine of State rights and powers. The second resolution, as it came from his pen, was in these words—"That this Assembly, doth explicitly and perpetually declare, that it views the powers of the Federal Government, as resulting from the compact, to which the States alone are parties," &c. The word "alone," in this resolution, was stricken out, on the motion of Mr. Giles; and thereby the sense of it materially varied from the original proposition. I have thought proper to give this brief history of the proceedings of that day, in order that the Virginia Whigs should not be deprived of any of their champions, and that men, both in and out of Congress, when they combat "State Rights," may seek some other authority than Mr. Madison.

THE UNION.

From the Free Trade Advocate. Mr. Jefferson, in his draft of a protest intended for the legislature of Virginia, expressive of its conviction of the unconstitutionality of the Tariff laws, communicated to Mr. Madison on the 24th of December, 1825, declared his opinion, that great as would be the evil resulting from a dissolution of the Union, there is yet one greater: "submission to a Government of unlimited powers." "They know as well as we too highly the blessings of their Union as to be met by actual resistance."

fraction as to be met by actual resistance. They respect too... all powers foreign and domestic... by construction... no limits to their power. Take... of the Federal Court... of the President, and the misconstruction of the constitutional compact acted... of the Federal branch... but too evident that the three... of that department, are in combination... strip their colleagues, the... the powers reserved to them, and to... themselves, all... Under the... they assume... indefinitely that also, over... and call it... to take the earnings of one of... of industry, and that too, the... and put them into the pockets... the most flourishing of all. Under... to establish post roads, they claim... cutting down mountains for the... of roads, of digging canals, and aided... a right to do, not only the acts to... which are specifically enumerated... and permitted, but, what ever they shall think... will be for the general welfare. And that is our resource for the preservation... of the Constitution? Reason and argument! You might as well reason and argue with the... columns encircling them. The representatives chosen by ourselves? They are... of the combination, some from incorrect... of government, some from corrupt ones, sufficient voting together to out number the... and with majorities of only 1, 2, or 3, hold enough to go forward in defiance. Are we then to stand to our arms? No! that must be the last resource, not to be thought of until much longer and greater... If every infraction of a compact of... parties, is to be resisted at once as a... of law, no one can ever be formed... which would last one year. We must have... and long endurance then, with our brethren, in the face of all opposition. Give them time for reflection and experience of consequences; keep ourselves in a situation to profit by the... of accidents—and separate from our... only when the sole alternatives left, are the dissolution of our union with them, or submission to a government without... of powers.

SMUGGLING.

From the New Hampshire Patriot. THE FEDERAL "AMERICAN SYSTEM!"—During the past week, a load of Smuggled Broadcloths, the property of two red-hot Federal Tariff men, was taken by our vigilant officers of the customs. The fact of the Clay party, in this vicinity, being engaged in violating the very Tariff, in a private manner, which they publicly support, is an excellent comment upon the rottenness and falsity of their principles. The democratic party are in favor of having the Tariff so modelled as to prevent smuggling; but the Clay party, it would appear, act upon the opposite principle. We should think the payment of a few such duties as the revenue laws exact from smugglers, would have the effect of changing their theory as well as practice.—Montpelier (Vt.) Patriot.

That the business of smuggling has actively revived, is evinced by the movements "to and fro" all the way between Boston and Montreal, of some of the old war smugglers and other young sprouts, who have been educated by them. The recent passage of loaded teams through the alternate mud and snow drifts, at a season when there is so little produce of the country to be transported—teams loaded with casks, and barrels, and firkins, as if of pot or pearl ashes, distilled spirits, butter, &c.—fully demonstrates to our conviction, that it is not right. There are no custom-house officers on the way for more than a hundred miles—no search can be lawfully made: of course, tons of smuggled goods may pass without detection, and there can be but little doubt that tons do pass.

When smuggling of British goods is carried on by the "American System" men with impunity—when the revenue is defrauded of hundreds and thousands, if not millions of dollars—when the people are obliged to pay a tax on their wearing apparel, for the sole benefit of smugglers—when our manufacturers, instead of being benefitted, are positively injured by high duties, intended for their protection, those duties being shamefully evaded—is it not high time, either to enforce the laws for the punishment of smugglers, or so to reduce the duties as shall do away the temptation to violate them?

THE EFFECTS OF HIGH DUTIES

On the Revenue, and on the Morals of the People. Among the various objections which have been made by men of reflection and experience, to the high duty system, is its tendency to corrupt the morals of the people, by holding out inducements to the idle and the profligate to evade the laws of the land, by which more may be gained by a single act of dishonesty (for which there is no punishment but the forfeiture of labor of a farmer or mechanic. For instance, the duty on a few hundred pieces of broad-cloth, or a similar quantity of fine cotton goods, under the existing Tariff, amounts to \$500, 1,000, or 2,000 dollars, according to quality and cost of the goods. A man, therefore, on the frontiers of Canada, (where such goods can be delivered at an expense of five per cent. on the cost in England,) who can introduce a wagon load of cotton or woollen goods free of duty, may, after incurring a heavy expence in arranging his operations, gain more money than can be earned in a year by the most industrious farmer in Ohio or Pennsylvania, in possession of 100 acres of the most fertile soil.

That there has been smuggling to a great extent, is notorious from the statements of the manufacturers, who have, from time to time, complained of its effects, in keeping down the prices of their goods. The Government have been so well convinced of this, that they have, in several instances, recommended to Congress to increase the number of revenue officers on the frontiers of the States most exposed to this evil; but of what avail can a few hundred, or even thousands of custom-house officers be on the line of territory of some hundreds of miles, most of which is a wilderness, and embracing in its extent those inland oceans, our lakes, which afford such extraordinary facilities to illicit commerce?

Even in Great Britain, limited as her coasts are, and guarded by an army of revenue officers, Mr. Huskisson stated, as one of the inducements to a reduction of duties, that thirty per centum was the utmost rate which could be levied, without holding out such rewards to smuggling as would deprive the Government of a great portion of its revenue. The fidelity with which the revenue was formerly paid, under the administrations of Washington, Adams, and Jefferson, was owing to the moderate taxes which these honest and enlightened patriots imposed upon the people, never, even while bending under a load of national debt, exceeding two and a half to 15 per cent. on the principal articles of consumption, while, at this moment, with a debt which will be extinguished in four years, the people are taxed on the first necessities of life, from 30 to 250 per centum—and for whose benefit? Why, principally of the sugar-planters of the South, the iron-masters of the Middle States, and the incorporated manufacturers of New England, not more in number than the inhabitants of one of our second-rate cities, and possessing enormous wealth, from which, under the taxing system, imposed by their influence, they derive more income than the whole agricultural population of the most populous State in the Union. If there is any one who doubts this assertion, let them inquire into the dividends of the wealthy cotton and woollen manufacturers, the profits of the iron-masters, and the revenue of the idle and luxurious planters of Louisiana.

That there are many honest and disinterested men in all parts of the Union, who advocate the present system of high duties from a firm belief in its justice and expediency, no one can doubt; but we are firmly convinced they do it from that want of attention to this important subject, which prevents their perceiving its true bearings upon the general welfare, and the consequences to which, if persisted in, it must lead, namely...

We publish this day the Resolutions of Virginia and Kentucky, penned by Madison and Jefferson, in relation to the Alien and Sedition laws, in the years 1798 and 1799. The gradual tendency of the General Government to encroach upon the rights of the States, has at all times been regarded by a large portion of our politicians, as a matter which might some day prove fatal to the liberties of the country; but more especially has this been the case, within the last eight years, during which term the most gigantic strides have been made, each one of which gaining ground upon the weaker party, has, like the outposts of an invading army, conferred upon the assailant a more commanding position for new encroachments. With the view of arresting the march of this unconstitutional and dangerous usurpation, the politicians of those States which feel most its pressure, have endeavored to awaken public attention to the all importance of an immediate check upon the spirit of broad construction now advocated by Congress, and have appealed to authorities once regarded by a majority of the Nation as of the highest value, for a true interpretation of the instrument under which the twenty-four States of this confederacy are united, and for a knowledge of the rightful remedy against "a deliberate, palpable and dangerous exercise" of powers not delegated to the Federal head. These authorities are those of Thomas Jefferson and James Madison, who, at the period of the enactment of the Alien and Sedition laws, exerted their talents and their influence to nip in the bud, the earliest manifestation of a disposition to assume unauthorized power.—Banner of the Constitution.

There are thousands of persons who have never read the Constitution of their country, who believe that Congress has just as much right to expend the public money in turnpike-roads, rail-roads, and canals, as they have to expend it in supporting the army or the navy, and who, as soon as they hear another say "the powers not delegated to the United States by the Constitution, nor prohibited by it to the States, are reserved to the States respectively, or to the People," and that no such power as that contended for has ever been delegated to Congress, are altogether amazed, and cry out "Enemies of the Constitution!" "Hostile to the Supreme Court!" "Nullification!" and all that sort of nonsense—as if people were to be frightened or humbugged out of their rights and liberties, without remonstrating against it.

TARIFF.

Mr. Editor.—A friend of mine, well known to you, purchased a pair of pantaloons, and a coat in London, last fall. He gave for them there, ready made, 22 1/2 dollars. Wanting a similar coat and pantaloons made in Columbia, the price asked was 55 dollars.

Another friend of mine, also well known to you, wanted paint to paint his house this summer. He purchased 12 kegs of white lead, each weighing 50 lbs. for 3 1/2 dollars per keg, making 42 dollars. The duty on white lead imported, is 2 cents per lb., so that on an article whose real value, when imported is 12 dollars, he had to pay 30 dollars duty. No wonder, Mr. Wetherill, who manufactures this article very extensively in Philadelphia, was one of the Committee lately appointed in that city, to support Henry Clay and the American system! No wonder the Tariff-men, and their friends, the submission-men, cry out patience, patience! let us wait a few years longer, and all will come right! Every year of patience adds to their wealth, and our poverty.

The present crop of Cotton now ready for market may keep up its price; but the crop of the present year now growing, will not bring the planter more than 6 1/4 cents at Christmas next. The question now is, whether we shall or shall not have a constitution in spite of the usurpations of the General Government: as this is a mere theoretical discussion, we are content to throw the burden of deciding it, on our children; and as we do not fight for ourselves, we leave the contest to them, when they will be still more reduced than we are, to poverty in pocket, and poverty in spirit; but before this year is out, another question will arise, such as, can we raise cotton with any profit? If not, what are we to raise with our slave labor? Whatever that produce may be, will it allow us to educate our children, or will it buy us broadcloth coats, or enable us to paint our houses with white lead taxed at 250 per cent. on prime cost by the tariff, in favor of Mr. Wetherill and a few other manufacturers! If 12 dollars pay a tax of 30 dollars, how much will 100 dollars pay? Answer, 250 dollars.

CALCULATION.

Amongst the almost innumerable host of members of the House of Representatives of this State, the past political year, were two venerable octogenarians, Major Melville, of Boston, one of the celebrated Tea-Party patriots to the Revolution, and a conspicuous patriot and soldier during the war for Independence—and Dr. Aaron J. Miller, of Ludlow, who was actually a member of the same House of Representatives in the year 1775, fifty-six years ago. These interesting men are both between 80 and 90 years of age, but they retain their mental vigor to an extraordinary degree—and Maj. Melville's bodily activity is unusual for a man of his years. He was one of the most punctual and attentive members of the House, being constantly in his seat, and always evincing a deep interest in the proceedings. The old veteran, with locks white as snow, wears a genuine revolutionary three-cornered hat, and no one can look at him without strong feelings of respect and veneration. He is social and communicative, gentlemanly in his manners and takes great pleasure in receiving the visits of his friends and strangers, at his residence, where he exhibits to them a sample of the cargoes of Tea captured and destroyed by the Indian party in Boston harbor, and relates the adventures of that intrepid band, and other memorable incidents of the times that tried men's souls, in a manner right being secured, by causing to be inserted, to excite the liveliest.—[Essex (Mass.) Reg.]

RESIGNATIONS AT WASHINGTON.

WASHINGTON, April 18, 1831. Sir—In communicating to me, this morning, the information of the resignation of the Secretary of State and Secretary of War, together with the reasons which had induced the former to take this step, you were pleased to observe that this proceeding was made known to me as one of those whom you had associated with you in the administration of the Government, and you suggested that I would, after a few days reflection, have a further conversation with you on this subject. But, in recurring to the brief remarks made at the time, as well as to the letter of resignation of the Secretary of State, which you were good enough to submit for my perusal, I have not been able to ascertain what particular matter was intended to be proposed for my reflection, as connected with this event. Under these circumstances, and being desirous of avoiding the possibility of misapprehension as to your views, I would respectfully inquire whether the measure adopted by the Secretary of State and of War, is deemed to involve considerations on which you expect a particular communication from me, and if so, of what nature. I have the honor to be, respectfully, your obt'd serv't. S. D. INGHAM. To President of the U. S.

WASHINGTON, April 19, 1831.

Sir—I am gratified to find myself entirely relieved, by the distinct explanation at the interview to which you invited me to-day, from the uncertainty as to the object of your communication yesterday, which I had referred to in my note of last evening; and have to make my acknowledgments for the kindness with which you have expressed your satisfaction with the manner in which I have discharged the duties of the station to which you had thought proper to invite me, and your confidence in my administration of the Treasury department. I beg leave however, to add, in my own justification, for not following the example of the Secretary of State and Secretary of War, in making a voluntary tender of the resignation of my office as soon as I was acquainted with theirs, that I was wholly unconscious of the application to myself of any of the reasons, so far as I am apprised of them, which had induced them to withdraw from the public service. It, therefore, seemed to be due to my own character, which might otherwise have been exposed to unfavorable imputations, that I should find a reason for resigning, in a distinct expression of your wish to that effect; this wish has now been frankly announced and has enabled me to place my retirement on its true ground. I have, therefore, the honor of tendering to you my resignation of the office of the Secretary of the Treasury of the United States, which you will be pleased to accept, to take effect as soon as my services may be dispensed with consistently with your views of the public interest. I seize the occasion to offer you my thanks for the many testimonials I have received of your kindness and confidence during our official connexion, and especially for the renewed assurance this day of the same sentiment. S. D. INGHAM. His Excellency ANDREW JACKSON, President U. States.

WASHINGTON, April 20th, 1831.

Sir—Late last evening I had the honor to receive your letter of that date, tendering your resignation of the office of Secretary of the Treasury. When the resignation of the Secretary of State and Secretary of War were tendered, I considered fully the reasons offered, and all the circumstances connected with the subject. After mature deliberation, I concluded to accept those resignations. But when this conclusion was come to, it was accompanied with a conviction that I must entirely renew my Cabinet. Its members had been invited by me to the stations they occupied—it had come together in great harmony, and as a unit. Under the circumstances in which I found myself, I could not but perceive the propriety of selecting a Cabinet composed of entirely new materials, as being calculated, in this respect at least, to command public confidence and satisfy public opinion. Neither could I be insensible to the fact that, to permit two only to retire, would be to afford room for unjust misconceptions and malignant misrepresentations concerning the influence of their particular presence upon the conduct of public affairs.—Justice to the individuals whose public spirit had impelled them to tender their resignations, also required then, in my opinion, the decision which I have stated, however painful to my own feelings, it became necessary that I should frankly make known to you the whole subject. In accepting of your resignation, it is with great pleasure that I bear testimony to the integrity and zeal with which you have managed the fiscal concerns of the nation. In your discharge of all the duties of your office, over which I have any control, I have been fully satisfied; and in your retirement you carry with you my best wishes for your prosperity and happiness. It is expected that you will continue to discharge the duties of your office until a successor is appointed. I have the honor to be, with great respect, your most obedient servant, ANDREW JACKSON. SAM'L D. INGHAM, Secretary of the Treasury.

WASHINGTON, April 11th, 1831.

Sir—In the interview which I had the honor to hold with you this morning, I understood it to be your fixed purpose to reorganize your Cabinet, and that as to myself it was your wish that I should retire from the administration of the Navy Department. Under these circumstances, I take pleasure in tendering to you the commission, which, unsolicited on my part, you were pleased to confer on me. I have the honor to be, with great respect, yours, &c. JOHN BRANCH. To the PRESIDENT U. S.

WASHINGTON, April 19th, 1831.

Sir: Your letter of this date, by your son, is just received—accompanied by a note, in which you inform me that you have resigned your office as Secretary of the Navy, and that you have retired to your private property, and by no means to be considered part of the archives of the Government. Accordingly, I return it.

There is one expression in your letter which I take leave to except. I did not, as you yourself express a wish that you should retire. The Secretary of State, and of War, having tendered their resignations, I remarked to you, that I felt it desirable to reorganize my Cabinet, possibly, as it had come in harmoniously, and as a unit, it was a part was about to leave me, which on to secure would be announced, a reorganization was necessary to guard against misrepresentation. These were the remarks, made to you in candor and sincerity. Your letter gives a different import to my words. Your letter contains no remark as to your performing the duties of the office until a successor can be selected. On this subject I should be glad to know your views. I am, very respectfully, yours, ANDREW JACKSON. The Hon. JOHN BRANCH, Secretary of the Navy.

WASHINGTON, April 18, 1831.

Sir: I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of yours of this date, in answer to mine of the same date. In reply to your remark that there is one expression in my letter to which you must except, I would respectfully answer that I gave what I understood to be the substance of your conversation. I did not pretend to quote your language. I regret that I misunderstood you in the slightest degree; I, however, stand corrected, and have cheerfully accepted the interpretation which you have given to your own expression. I shall freely continue my best exertions to discharge the duties of the Department, until you provide a successor. I have the honor to be, with the greatest respect, your obt. serv't. JOHN BRANCH. To the PRESIDENT, U. S.

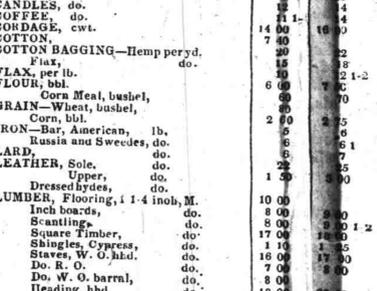
WASHINGTON, April 19, 1831.

Sir: Late last evening, I had the honor to receive your letter of that date, tendering your resignation of the office of the Secretary of the Navy. When the resignations of the Secretary of State and Secretary of War were tendered, I considered fully the reasons offered, and all the circumstances connected with the subject. After mature deliberation, I concluded to accept those resignations. But when this was come to, it was accompanied with a conviction that I must entirely renew my Cabinet. Its members had been invited by me to the stations they occupied—it had come together in great harmony, and as a unit. Under the circumstances in which I found myself, I could not but perceive the propriety of selecting a cabinet composed of entirely new materials, as being calculated in this respect at least, to command public confidence and satisfy public opinion. Neither could I be insensible to the fact, to permit two only to retire would be to afford room for unjust misconceptions and malignant misrepresentations concerning the influence of their particular presence upon the conduct of public affairs. Justice to the individuals whose public spirit had impelled them to tender their resignations, also required then, in my opinion, the decision which I have stated. However painful to my own feelings, it became necessary that I should frankly make known to you my view of the whole subject. In accepting your resignation, it is with great pleasure that I bear testimony to the integrity and zeal with which you have managed the conduct of the Navy. In your discharge of all the duties of your office, over which I have any control, I have been fully satisfied; and in your retirement you carry with you my best wishes for your prosperity and happiness. It is expected that you will continue to discharge the duties of your office until a successor is appointed. I have the honor to be, with great respect, your most obedient servant, ANDREW JACKSON. JOHN BRANCH, Secretary of the Navy.

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