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DOMESTIC.

GOV. BRANCH'S SPEECH, On the Resolutions to instruct Mr. Mangum, delivered in the Senate of North Carolina, December, 1834.

MR. SPEAKER.—The Senator from Warren, who has just resumed his seat, has asserted that our is a government of "popular feeling" and that this General Assembly possesses "inherent powers" under which it may rightfully adopt resolutions now under consideration.

In the course of a long public life, I have never before heard sentiments like these advanced. Had they been delivered to a promiscuous assemblage of all casts, they would have been, to say the least of them, very objectionable.

I propose to examine these dogmas—to test them by those fundamental principles to which our Bill of Rights enjoins upon us often to recur; for if ever there was a time when a recurrence to established political maxims was necessary, this is the time.

Again, after the achievement of our liberties, and the formal recognition of our independence by all nations, do you find our sagacious forefathers relying on this "popular feeling" which you have heard so much eulogized?

At that time I was desirous that some statesman should be found, who, as the successor of Mr. Monroe, should carry out in his administration the republican principles I held and bring the Government back to the good old doctrines of '98 and '99.

Not so, however, with the elder Adams. It cannot be denied that, under the administration of Gen. Washington, two parties were formed, alike patriotic, but essentially different in their political tenets.

domination was affixed to the odious measures of Federal misrule. On Mr. Adams' overthrow, was established those principles which I then recognized as orthodox and which I have ever delighted to cherish as fundamental truths in my political creed.

Now, forsooth, claim to be the exclusive friends of General Jackson, as his avowed and warm supporters, I was compelled to hear the most unmeasured vituperation of Gen. Jackson. I then stood alone in his support; and, sir, I can never forget the madrigal hostility of the Senator from Warren, and those who thought with him, to their present idol.

It was not, sir, until the gentleman and his party discovered that they could no where find safety save under the banners of our national ship, which again held her glorious course upon the deep, with the proud proddant of the Hero of New Orleans lying at her peak—it was then, and not till then, that this party were willing to enlist under her commander.

Retrenchment and reform were the order of that day. The prodigality of Mr. Adams' administration was loudly condemned. A committee of retrenchment was appointed; and an elaborate report, reflecting on the lavish expenditure of Mr. Adams' administration, was spread on the journals of Congress.

Early in 1824, Pennsylvania espoused the cause of Gen. Jackson, and his most formidable rival in that State, Mr. Calhoun, was dropped; his friends joined our standard. Inspired with renewed hopes by such an acquisition of strength, we entered the lists with these exultations, and in spite of their Collyer Bills and Benton pamphlets, circulated by thousands at a heavy expense to the party, we overcame them in North Carolina by a majority of more than five thousand votes.

Sufficient to say, the people triumphed in the election of General Jackson, in 1828; and no person, Mr. Speaker participated in this triumph more sincerely than I did, under a firm belief that the principles I had been advocating all my life would form the basis of General Jackson's administration.

On the arrival of Gen. Jackson in Washington in February, 1829, I met him with an affection almost filial, and as much alive to the success of his administration as any man living. I was perfectly satisfied that the solicitude of his friends should be directed to the preservation of his well-earned laurels; and that this could be effected only by a strict and faithful adherence to the principles which had borne him into office.

Without solicitation on my part, he desired me to become a member of his Cabinet, and take charge of the Navy Department. I returned him my warmest acknowledgments for so distinguished an evidence of his confidence; but remarked, that I doubted my ability to discharge the duties of that Department, either to my own satisfaction or that of my country.

House of Representatives of the United States—a friend indeed I may call him—a friend while in favor, but still more a friend when in adversity. His merits and just claims on the State I will speak of elsewhere. His counsels were substantially the same as those of Gov. Iredell. I then sought interviews with many others, and finding there was but one opinion among my friends as to the course proper for me to pursue, I, in due time, signified my acceptance of the trust.

The management of the public revenue—that searching operation in all governments—is among the most delicate and important trusts in ours; and it will, of course, demand no inconsiderable share of my official solicitude. Under every aspect in which it can be considered, it would appear that advantage must result from the observance of a strict and faithful economy.

As a statesman, Mr. Van Buren, in my opinion, stood pre-eminent; and hence, as you may imagine, I heartily concurred with Gen. Jackson in his selection of this individual for the State Department. It is known to many of my friends that I did not hesitate, on all proper occasions, to express the opinion that he would be the most fit person we could select as the successor of Gen. Jackson.

As soon as Gen. Jackson was inaugurated, and our nominations were confirmed by the Senate, each member took charge of the Department assigned to him, particularly anxious, I doubt not, to give eclat to the Administration, by a diligent and faithful discharge of the trust committed to him. I can speak for myself, at all events: never did I labor more assiduously.

On the last of May, my family came on, to mingle with a society to which they were strangers. They found the lady of the Secretary of War, a native of the City, excluded from this society, and did not deem it their duty or right to endeavor to control or interfere with the decision of the ladies of Washington; nor did they consider themselves at liberty to enquire whether these decisions were correct or otherwise.

Mr. Campbell was the pastor of a church in the city, in which Gen. Jackson had a pew, and which he had regularly attended up to this time. Three of his Cabinet ministers, myself included, likewise had pews in the same church, and were generally in attendance on Sundays. This gentleman was, so far as I knew or believed, one of the most exemplary persons in the place, and, withal, a most eloquent dis-

vine. Doctor Ely was a minister of the Gospel, a resident of Philadelphia, then on a visit to the City of Washington, and was invited by Mr. Campbell to accompany him to my house. These things, you may be assured, created some emotion; yet they were of so contemptible a character, that I persuaded myself the President of the United States would soon become ashamed of them. I therefore endeavored to repress my feelings. Not so, however, with the President. He became more and more perturbed, and soon after quitted Mr. Campbell's church, pressing me to do so likewise.

Mr. Van Buren, it must be borne in mind, was a widower, without daughters; and he ardently availed himself of all his privileges as such. His attentions to Mrs. Eaton were of the most marked character. Polite and assiduous on all occasions, he was particularly so in the presence of Gen. Jackson or Maj. Eaton. His influence, in every variety of form, both official and unofficial, was exerted to make it appear to those gentlemen that he entered deeply into their feelings; not, in fact, that he cared any thing about them; but he foresaw the power to be acquired by pursuing such a course, and had no scruples to restrain him.

At length Gen. Jackson, after the meeting of Congress in Dec. 1829, finding the ladies of Washington to be impracticable, determined that the families of his Cabinet should submit to terms or be dismissed. Accordingly, Col. Johnson, of Kentucky, duly authorized, as he said, by the President, notified the Secretary of the Treasury, the Attorney General and myself, that he had a communication to make to us. We, therefore, assembled at Judge Berrien's House, and, in a few minutes, the Hon. R. M. Johnson was announced. The ordinary courtesies passed; we awaited, with profound attention, the anticipated terms of submission. Judge Berrien and myself having previously received some intimation of the character of the mission from Mr. Ingham, who had had an interview with Col. Johnson, in the course of the day, were not taken by surprise. Col. Johnson commenced by descending at large on the delicate relation subsisting between the families of the Heads of Departments, and the great anxiety felt by the President to harmonize the relations.

He added, that the President had come to the conclusion that Mrs. Eaton had come to the conclusion that she would be invited to our large parties, and that our seats in the Cabinet would be vacated, unless these terms were submitted to. He then proceeded to reason the matter with us, in a persuasive manner, remarking, as I well recollect, that "the terms could not be considered hard, as every body was invited to the large parties in Washington." We answered, in substance, that such terms could not be submitted to by us, and that he was authorized so to inform the President. Here, sir, without pursuing the detail, our interview closed. In the morning, after breakfast, I waited on the President, confidently expecting to dissolve our official relations for this time. As it was highly probable this would prove the last opportunity afforded me of speaking freely to Gen. Jackson, I threw off all restraint, and entered upon the subject with the energy and conscious rectitude of purpose inspired. I told him, among other things, that all the powers on earth should not coerce me to submit to such terms; he might strike as soon as he pleased; I had not supported him from servile fear, or the hope of reward; that, failing in the maintenance of my honor and that of my State, I should only rise the stronger for the knocking down. The results of this session of the General Assembly have convinced me that I was in error, and deeply do I lament that I did not, in the estimate I then made of the intelligence and civility of my native State.

General Jackson, with his family, came on from Nashville—a gentleman of high character, and a particular friend of the President. After having taken one of my daughters on an excursion to Philadelphia and New York and returned, my family, for the first time during their residence in the City, determined, on the eve of his departure for home, to invite a few acquaintances to spend the evening with our guest and his family. Whom they had invited, I knew not, and accordingly met with many ladies and gentlemen and of this meeting, unimportant in itself, I should not have thought again, but for a singular communication, a few days afterwards, from Gen. Jackson, touching it by which I was informed that Maj. Eaton was displeased, because Mr. Campbell and Doctor Ely were at my house, on such an occasion. I had heard of many things connected with this delicate subject before; but this was the first time any thing in a tangible form had presented itself. As you will readily imagine, my feelings were excited, and I instantly demanded of Gen. Jackson, by what authority Maj. Eaton, or any one else, questioned my right to invite whom I pleased to my house. "By no authority (he replied,) but Maj. Eaton considers it very unkind in you to give an invitation to these gentlemen, inasmuch as they have been talking about Mrs. Eaton."

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Other indications very soon convinced me that the malignant influences which at this time were strong, were directed toward consummating their fell purpose. Congress was in session; the ladies of the members from Tennessee, even, had intercourse with Mrs. Eaton; in fact, the President's own family, the friends of the Administration, became alarmed, lest the exercise of such despotic power should overwhelm them all, and, doubtless interposing ward off the impending blow. The situation of Mrs. Eaton, however, engrossed the President's whole soul, and he continued to be much occupied in collecting certificates, principally from office-seekers, to sustain her. These were filed one upon another, and his friends pressed to read them, often I was persuaded, to their annoyance. This book of certificates for a folio did not become, was that on which office-seekers first qualified for office.

In the mean time, Mr. Van Buren, who had actively contributed to inflame the