

election to a station of such high importance—by the occupation of which, he could so effectually by his treachery to Southern interests aid the execution of the murderous threats of the infamous Abolitionists? or can he flatter himself that the people will be so insane, so regardless of their precious rights and interests as again to confide in him? Some of the principles contained in these resolutions, Mr. S.'s party does deny. It is very well known that they do deny the very first principle, viz: That this government is a government of limited powers—consequently they must affirm the converse of this proposition, viz: That this government is a government of unlimited powers. There is no half-way house here—one of these propositions must be true, the other false. The Republicans assert that its powers are limited, that the government must be administered on this principle. Hence the eternal strife and contention between the two parties for the possession of the government, and hence the necessity of the sleepless and eternal vigilance—to keep the administration out of the hands of the Whigs. Will Mr. S. deny this principle, "That Congress has no right to do indirectly what it cannot do directly?" If he does, then is he unfit to be trusted with the rights of freemen. Will he deny "That the Constitution rests on the broad principle of equality among the members of this confederacy?" If he does, then can no principle bind him to the faithful discharge of any public trust. Will he deny "That Congress in the exercise of its acknowledged powers has no right to discriminate between the institutions of one portion of the States and those of another, with a view of abolishing one and promoting the other?" These are indisputable principles, and are dearly cherished by every man possessing a Southern heart and sound constitutional views, and yet our Representative refused to vote for them. But there is another collateral principle, which Mr. S.'s party has always denied, viz: that this government is a government of a confederacy of States, and not a consolidated government. It has always been a characteristic feature of the Federal party, that they affirm the pretension of its being a consolidated government, and let this party (now the many colored party) once succeed in seizing and establishing themselves in the government and the beautiful theory of State rights, now so strangely fenced by the constitution, will fade as a vision of the past, never to be re-visited. It is apparent therefore, that Mr. S. as a member of the Federal party must deny some of the principles contained in the resolutions. Hence his refusal to vote for them, either from fear of the lash of party discipline, or from a consciousness that he could not admit the principles. His sin against your rights and interests then fellow citizens consists in omitting a duty, which he was conscious was required of him by the occasion, by a knowledge of your wishes and opinions, and which he was persuaded every man in his district, not excepting even ultra Federalists, would have approved. The sum of guilt is just as great as if he had dared to vote against the resolutions and against the principles, prejudices and the rights of his constituents.

But in the severity of our judgment however, let us do an act of justice to Mr. S. However he may deny or stand opposed to the stern Republican principles contained in these resolutions, let us acquit him of any suspicion of holding (himself) any abolition principles; let us endeavor to discover and develop as accurately as we can, the true cause of his very reprehensible course, during the last session. Having imbibed at an early age strong prejudices against Republican principles, they have grown with his growth and strengthened with his strength. It ought not to surprise us, that on the first opportunity in public life, his zeal should have determined him to render all the services in his power to the party which he recognized as his own. His error lies in overrating his power to serve the Federal party by revolutionizing the public opinion of his constituents, and handing them triumphantly over to the Federal party. Mr. S. probably labors under the strange hallucination, that he is the Federal champion destined by fate to subject the people of this district to Federal rule—to make them believe that the Federalists are their only true friends, and that Mr. Van Buren the President of their own choice, stands arrayed with all his influence, as the greatest enemy of their rights, their interests and their liberties. If vulgar abuse, slanderous invective, gross misrepresentation, and bitter denunciation are the arms, which this doctory champion is to wield in his crusade against the government of the people; his achievements assuredly will never prove as lofty and as splendid as his vanity and ambition suggest. The great revolution then which his mighty prowess is to achieve, is to array the people against the government of its own choice. These are doubtless his hopes and aspirations, and that of the party with which he acts. As a politician he can only be recognized as a brawling factionist, a tool of his party. It is well known that the Federal party though ashamed of the connexion (which it will not acknowledge) have availed themselves of the strength and number of the Abolitionists to carry out their political designs and to seize the political ascendancy; and it is notorious, that all the elections to the North which the Whigs have gained, have been gained by the union of Abolition strength. To speak plainly the Abolition party has been engrafted upon that of the Federal alias Whig party. Hence Mr. S. is sore and tender on the subject of Abolition; hence all his labor to prove that there are to the North a few abolition Van Buren men. Therefore when Atherton's resolutions were presented, the chief object of Mr. S.'s faction was to defeat them and every means were put in requisition for this purpose. Mr. S. perhaps detested the abolition cause in his heart, but in his party zeal he was desirous of making all possible advantage to his party on this exciting subject. It has long been a principle of action of this phalanx, this forlorn hope of the Federal party, to obstruct the passage of every useful measure proposed for the good of the country, to thwart the government in the accomplishment of its most patriotic and cherished objects, to produce all the confusion possible in the business of Congress, to propose (themselves) no measure for the public good, to oppose every thing, to abuse the government in the most outrageous manner, to waste the precious time of the House in trifling and irrelevant discussion, and to lay hold on every exciting subject to divert Congress from the consideration of the business of the American people. The abolition discussions were of this exciting character, the suppression of which by Atherton's resolutions, caused an irreparable loss, to these do-nothing Whigs, of a theme of eternal excitement. Again, that these resolutions so patriotic and constitutional should have emanated from the friends of the Administration, and that the heart-felt thanks of every thinking man North or South awaited those sound Republicans who sustained them, was gilt and wormwood to Mr. S. Hence his inexplicable conduct, his equivocal course and the absurdities of which he has been guilty. Having said this much of his probable motives, charity itself can do no more—so far from extenuating his fault, it adds, it gives a deeper dye to the obliquity of his course, and his dangerous experimental trading.

Let us now proceed to consider Mr. S.'s reasons for the course he has pursued, at the imminent risk of allowing the Abolitionists to plant their feet upon the holy ark of our safety, our glorious constitution—and with the certainty if they had succeeded in their attempts, of a dissolution of the Union. I am desirous that Mr. S. should have all the benefit of those reasons, but they are scattered through so tortuous a labyrinth of what he would call arguement (but which scarcely rises to the elevation of sophistry) exhibiting little more than suspicion, insinuation and unsupported assertion, that it will be difficult to condense them into any moderate size or form, or to make any satisfactory summary of them. The address is a pamphlet containing (including in fifteen pages, of which these reasons for his obnoxious course, (which I call *Abolitioniana*) occupy about thirteen, the remaining two being devoted to other matter of about equal importance and dignity. I will however make the attempt to display to view, the strongest of those reasons and those most favorable to him, strip however of the verbiage and those graces so peculiarly his own. He must excuse me however if I omit to notice as they deserve the hundreds of elegant epithets which he has introduced with such judicious taste and admirable profusion into this veritable address—such as "would-be chivalry of the South," "Northern dough-faces," "rained bands," "self-styled Democrats," &c. &c. I profess my incapacity to cull these sweet flowers of Billing-gate eloquence, with the taste he possesses; but will endeavor as far as possible to present the substance of his reasons for the course he has pursued.

Mr. S. states that when the Atherton resolutions were presented, he moved a call of the House; he wanted a full attendance that every man's vote might be recorded. (What hyperis! he did not mean to record his own.) He wanted time to understand the resolutions, an attempt had been made to attach the name of Abolitionists to the Whigs of the North, (these were not the dough-faces, I suppose,) he knew some Van Buren Abolitionists and wanted to see their names recorded. Mr. Wise presented resolutions on the same subject. Out of order. Mr. Wise asked the consent of the House to have his resolutions read. Objected to. Mr. Bell, motion to adjourn. Refused. The prevailing question was moved by Mr. Atherton. Carried. Thus these resolutions worthy of patriots and statesmen, were passed, notwithstanding every effort of Mr. S.'s party to obstruct and defeat them.

Mr. Williams of Tennessee asked to be excused. Refused. Mr. W. C. Johnston moved an adjournment. Refused. Mr. S. proceeded to state reasons for wishing to be excused from voting on the resolutions. He had not had time to read attentively the resolutions—he wanted to see whether they gave the South all its rights, that the resolutions had been cunningly written he believed, not to support Southern rights, but to benefit a party. (Ah! there's the rub.) He knew that the supporters of the resolutions deserved the thanks and approbation of the country. He knew that the resolutions did support Southern rights, however cunningly written or with whatever intention, but he was indignant that the Van Buren party should have the merit of introducing, sustaining and passing them for the good of our common country; but to proceed. Mr. S. was called to order. He went on to state, that he believed, these resolutions came from the palace. The Speaker ordered him to take his seat. What a confession from

Mr. S.—he believed that these sound, patriotic and noble resolutions came from Mr. Van Buren, or that he was the author of them, and yet believes Mr. V. B. hostile to the rights and interests of the people! Adorable!

Mr. S. obeyed, i. e. took his seat, but told the Speaker "that he had no doubt that he had like the rest of the party received orders from his master at the white house and was bound to obey." Is there a single man among you fellow citizens, whether Whig or Republican, who does not feel the blush of shame tinge his cheek on reading this gross, gratuitous though puerile, insult offered to the presiding officer of one of the most respectable and dignified deliberative bodies on earth? and by the Representative of the third Congressional district of N. C. He acknowledges that he was unjustifiable, if he had not been excited by seeing a member from New Hampshire offer resolutions on slavery, without being informed by whose authority or instigation they had been offered. Does he think this a justification? what sensible conclusions! Ergo, if a member is excited, he is justified in insulting the American people, in the person of the presiding officer of the House of Representatives of the U. S. Ergo, a Representative of the freemen of New Hampshire has no right to introduce a resolution on slavery without informing Mr. S. by whose authority and instigation it is offered! Excellent! But in the next page he spits all his venom on the Republican members, who held a meeting (which he calls a caucus) to draft these very resolutions, so indispensable to the public peace and so powerfully asserting Southern rights. Truly he is difficult to please—if an individual Republican member drew up these resolutions, or if they were drawn up at a meeting of Republicans, he alike condemns the party. Is there a man of sense and reason, who will not say that they do honor to the head that conceived them and the hearts that sustained them? How must those agitators, those do-nothing Whigs, sink in public estimation when detected in their malignant arts to defeat a measure, so indispensable to the peace of the whole country, so welcome to the South, so conformable to the constitution, so just, so laudable in itself.

But Mr. S. "suspected there was some other object in view than to do justice to the South" (suspicion is equivalent to proof in his mind.) He accordingly determined, not to vote for them! It was clear says he, that they were prepared with great deliberation and there was room for the encouragement of the Abolitionists, if the Southern members voted for them. Wonderful logician! He must have arrived at this notable conclusion by some sophistical or paralogical syllogism—thus:

"Anti-abolition resolutions passed with great deliberation afford encouragement to Abolitionists;

Atherton's anti-abolition resolutions were prepared with great deliberation;

Ergo, Atherton's anti-abolition resolutions afford encouragement to Abolitionists. Q. E. D. Excellent!

He next directs your attention to the third resolution and insists that the words "that the agitation of slavery in the District of Columbia or in the Territories, as a means of disturbing and overthrowing that institution in the several States," do not deny to Congress the power or constitutional authority to abolish slavery in the District of Columbia or in the Territories, provided it was not intended to affect the States. Would not, says he, my voting for such resolutions have sanctioned this construction? Excellent critic! As Mr. S. is especially fond of quoting poetry, I present him with the following Hudibrastic effusion.

"He must have optics sharp I ween,
To see what is not to be seen."

But he cannot avail himself of this objection as an excuse. Why then did he not vote for the Atherton resolutions, objecting to the third? He has stated no objections to the first and second and fourth. The question was taken on them separately and he had an ample opportunity to exhibit his grammatical acumen, and if he will address his sharp optics again to the fourth resolution, he will perceive that a similar objection lies against it, on account of the words "with a view to abolishing, &c." But of this he does not complain in reality. His silly, hypocritical, and hypercritical construction, or rather analysis of the third resolution is unworthy of serious refutation: it is a quibble, a malignant conceit. The words he has quoted in capitals, "As a means, &c." are parenthetical, may fairly be considered independent of the rest of the sentence, and may be either obliterated or preserved without affecting the sense or substance of the resolution. But these words must be considered with the context, must be controlled by the abstract principle, or if Mr. S. likes it better, the self-evident principle at the head of the resolution, as well as by the general and concurrent sense and spirit of the other resolutions; all which nullifies and annihilates, the pretended mischief lurking in this resolution. In the next paragraph he reiterates his hair-splitting grammatical construction, which it is unnecessary to reply to.

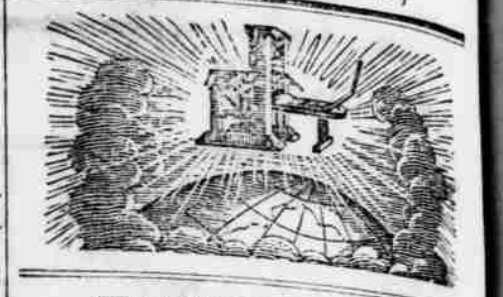
But he says further on, that "he knows his conduct has met with the approbation of his constituents." Mr. S. ought to know better. He knows that nearly one half of the people of the district were violently opposed to his election under any circumstances, and that they are radically opposed to his Federal alias Whig creed. He knows also that many who voted for him are dissatisfied with his public conduct, and with his opposition to an independent treasury, and his countenance and support of banks, and with his advocacy of Mr. Clay with his fifty million National Bank. Mr. Stanley will probably discover ere long that he has counted without his host. If the people approve his course, their intelligence must be far inferior to what we have given them credit for. No, it is impossible that they can support him. Let him not lay this flattering unction to his soul. The people think slowly, deeply, correctly. Let him tremble at their cool second thoughts. His constituents (as he calls them) are not puppets, to be moved by wires drawn by his hand. Their sentence is yet to be pronounced.

But he proceeds: "When the resolutions were first read I pronounced condemnation on them, as intended to benefit a party and not to protect the South." It seems all the South are pleased with these resolutions, but two men, Stanly and Wise! But he pronounced condemnation on them when they were first read. It will be remembered that he pretended not to understand them then; then he wanted time to understand them, and without understanding them pronounced condemnation on them. Oh! consistency thou art a jewel! But says he, this was then only suspicion. Admirable moralist! suspicion is the proof, after which condemnation follows. Let me recommend to him the petition he has often put up, in the eloquent language of the Episcopalian liturgy to save him from envy, hatred, malice and all uncharitableness.

But he says further—this (suspicion) has been since incontestably proved. And how do you think, reader? Why by a letter published in the New York Courier and Enquirer, edited by the infamous Webb of \$52,000 memory, and written by some infamous hired letter writer, called a penny a liner, a new race of scribbling hangers on upon Congress, with long ears and nimble fingers, who get their daily bread by fabricating every species of scandalous falsehood and mischief, to fill the polluted columns of every Grub street Whig editor in the Northern cities. This is the source from whence he derives his proofs. He then quotes some poetry, very pretty perhaps according to Mr. S.'s taste, but without any obvious application, unless to himself. It is not worth repeating, it is something about the hundred eyes of a fellow called Argus! But about the proof—this horrible proof amounts to this, that the Southern Republicans (whom in his elegant parlance he calls the "would-be chivalry") and the Northern Republicans, (whom he elegantly denominates "dough faces") held a meeting (which he styles a caucus—now you know reader the Federalists alias Whigs, &c. never hold meetings, nor caucuses, nor conventions,) to consult upon some resolutions, to put down this eternal abolition excitement and nail their infamous petitions to the table of Congress! Well they had a second meeting, and "horrible dieu" (you see he can talk some Latin,) they amended the resolutions, which had been drawn up at the former meeting. But the proof of this diabolical act of altering and amending is, that the Charleston Mercury publishes the original resolutions with unqualified approbation. These resolutions fellow citizens you have already read, in an opposite column to those passed by the House. You can compare them for yourselves. They are substantially identical.

But Mr. S. complains that they are materially altered and loudly condemns the substitution of the word "prohibit" for the word "regulate." I consider his argument (if it deserve the name) on the words just cited sheer nonsense and will only reply, that as no resolution could supersede the power granted to Congress by the constitution "to regulate commerce," the word "prohibit" was wisely substituted. He denounces the omission or the leaving out the words "shall be entertained or considered by this House," and especially of the word "read." These words the reader will perceive are mere surplusage, and so in fact are the words "without being debated, printed or referred," as the resolutions now stand. The resolutions are just as effective as if it contained these words, which have no other merit or value than that of form and technicality. The omission of these words is effectually supplied by the words "shall on the presentation thereof, without any further action thereon be laid on the table." This would have been entirely sufficient for all purposes, constructive or practical; but these words are added, "without being debated, printed, or referred." Now all Mr. S.'s learned acumen is directed against the omission of the word "read," before "debated, printed, or referred." The reader will perceive that all these latter words are substantially superfluous as well as "read." But Mr. S. is inconsolable for the omission of the little word "read," as if it could give preternatural strength to the resolution, although it will be remembered he was determined to vote against them under any circumstances; and he considers the Republican members from the South unparadise for consenting to the omission. Hear him: "And this too from gentlemen who are upon every subject taking 'higher ground,' who are daily challenging 'the wreck of matter and the crush of worlds!'" Defend us, genius of rhetoric and poetic prose! This flight is instantly followed by another flash: "Oh! what a fall was there, my countrymen." Truly it is something like a fall, certainly a strange flight, perhaps, an

Irish hoist. I will not undertake to say, that Mr. S. himself understood this lucid passage, but confess that it is too sublimely poetic for my matter of fact faculties. (Remainder in our next.)



TARBOROUGH:
SATURDAY, MAY 4, 1839.
Republican Candidates.
FOR PRESIDENT,
MARTIN VAN BUREN.
FOR CONGRESS,
A TRUE REPUBLICAN.

¶ We are highly pleased to notice the determined spirit manifested by the Republicans throughout this Congressional district, to have a candidate for Representative whose principles are more in accordance with theirs than those of the late incumbent. The Washington Republican of Tuesday last, contains a notice of a public meeting to be held at the Court House in that place on Wednesday evening, for the purpose of nominating a Republican candidate for Congress. It also contains the following article:—

This Congressional District.—Must the election in this district go uncontested? We trust not. The Federalists in almost every district represented by Republicans in the last Congress, are "raising heaven and earth" to get a Federal majority in Congress from this Republican State. Witness the insane efforts made and making in the Newbern district; also in the Edenton district; also in the Raleigh district; also in the Halifax district; also in the Wilmington district. We strongly suspect that the Federalists aim to carry the next Presidential election to the House of Representatives, there to re-enact the corrupt bargaining of 1825, and that it is a part of their plan to give the vote of North Carolina to the Federal candidate. Whilst these things are passing around us, shall we ground our arms? We hope not—we must not—we will not. We must have a Republican candidate. In the mean time, let our friends be of good cheer.

Fatal Duel.—We learn that a duel was fought a day or two since, near the Dismal Swamp Canal, on the Virginia line, between Joseph Sewel Jones, of this State, and a gentleman from New York, by the name of Wilson, in which the latter was shot through the breast and instantly killed. The face of Mr. Jones was slightly grazed by the ball from his antagonist's weapon.

Halifax Superior Court.—The Spring Term of Halifax Superior Court was held here last week, Judge Bailly presiding. There was but one case of a criminal nature. The case was so plainly proven to be justifiable homicide, that Attorney General Daniel did not request a verdict of conviction. The Jury consequently returned a verdict of not guilty, without retiring from their seats. We allude to the case of the State vs. Littleberry O. Wilcox for the murder of Nathaniel M. Eaton. There not being much business in Court, it adjourned on Thursday.—*Halifax Adv.*

¶ At the Annual commencement of the Philadelphia Medical College the Degree of M. D. was conferred on 146 gentlemen, of whom are the following from N. C.: Jas. W. Alston, John D. Bellamy, Richard A. Donoho, Lewis J. Dortch, John A. Downey, Samuel W. Eaton, Nathaniel S. Graves, Peter B. Hawkins, Jas. M. Lee, Wm. H. McKee, Jas. J. Moore, Caspar W. Noreum, Jas. L. Oliver, Zebulon M. Paschall, Newsom J. Pitman, Wm. M. S. Ridley, Henry J. Robards, John Shackelford, Thomas J. P. Smallwood, Thomas D. Stokes, John G. Tall, and Robert E. Williams.—*Raleigh Reg.*

Southern Convention.—Another Commercial Convention, composed of Delegates from the Southern States, has just been held at Charleston. Buncombe and Fayetteville were the only points in North Carolina, we believe, represented in the body. A Dinner was given to the Delegates at its close, at which universal good feeling and hilarity seems to have prevailed. The following complimentary Toast was drunk:—

North Carolina—She was up and doing when the battle was fought for Independence from abroad, she is not found wanting when we strive for Independence at home.

Mr. Hale, a delegate from Fayetteville (Editor of the "Observer") in some patriotic and spirited remarks, expressed his thanks in the name of the State he represented, and successfully vindicated her from the charge of apathy towards the general interests of the South. He concluded with the following sentiment:

The City of Charleston—May she continue to fight the great battle of Southern Commerce, until the sun of prosperity have