

# RALPH REGISTER,

AND NORTH-CAROLINA GAZETTE.

"OURS ARE THE PLANS OF FAIR DELIGHTFUL PEACE, UNWARD BY PARTY RAGE, TO LIVE LIKE BROTHERS."

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## POLITICS OF THE DAY.

We copy from the new Administration Organ, the Globe, the following article intended as a reply to Mr. CRAWFORD's statement published in our last Register. Although it appeared additionally, in that print, the circumstance that the President is uniformly named in the third person, leaves, as remarked by the *National Intelligencer*, "no doubt on our mind that the substance of the publication was authorized by the President himself."

Mr. Calhoun is endeavoring to supply, by his subtleties, something to take the place of proof, to give probability to the "fact and corrupt conspiracy" which he has charged on the President and his friends, that he may himself escape exposure. Mr. Van Buren was accused, without a shadow of proof, of having procured the submission of Mr. Crawford's letter to the President to excite his hostility against the Vice President. Mr. Van Buren has solemnly declared that he knew nothing of the circumstances.

Some short time after the original letter just spoken of was handed to the General in 1827, he received a letter from Mr. Calhoun, stating that he had been informed that a confidential letter from Mr. Monroe to him had been placed in his hands, and desiring to know, if such were the fact, through what channel it had been sent, and if he had any knowledge of the manner by which it got out of his possession, and protesting that it would have been dishonorable in him to have violated the confidence reposed by Mr. Monroe. The original letter was forthwith returned to him. The General knows not how the letter was obtained from Mr. Calhoun, unless the statement of the member of Congress accounts for it, whose situation was not such as to make it probable that he could have had any other agency in the affair than that of a mere receiver. This statement is besides strongly confirmed by the fact, that the gentleman who handed the original was well known as a friend of Mr. Calhoun, and possessed the same character for justice and honor to be supposed of resorting to improper means to obtain it, or even, under any circumstances, to use it, without having strong reasons to believe that Mr. Calhoun himself had authorized such use.

It was the controversy with Mr. Southard, and the subsequent correspondence between Mr. Monroe & Judge White, connected with the intimations contained in the comments of the coalition papers upon these circumstances, that the confidential letter of Gen. Jackson to Mr. Monroe in relation to the Seminole war, would be published— that suggested to the friends of Gen. Jackson, the propriety of ascertaining what had occurred on the latter subject in Mr. Monroe's cabinet. This suggestion could not have been dictated by hostility to Mr. Calhoun, because none of General Jackson's confidential friends had ever entertained a doubt of the part he acted. The minds of all were firmly impressed with the belief that had been the advocate & friend of the General throughout. But it was otherwise with Mr. Crawford, who was almost as generally believed to have taken the opposite course, notwithstanding Mr. Monroe's declaration that no movement had been made in cabinet council to arrest or punish Gen. Jackson for a violation of his orders. For the purpose of ascertaining, therefore, the justice of the imputations or the charges made against Mr. Crawford on this subject, was the inquiry made of him, which being answered, was submitted to Mr. Calhoun, and has produced the correspondence between him and General Jackson, which has been recently published.

Gen. Jackson had no wish to excite public feeling, or produce political effect through it, and did not, therefore, desire that publicity should be given to it. But he felt it due both to Mr. Calhoun and Mr. Crawford, and also to himself, that an explanation should take place, and the difficulties arising from conflicting statements, become thoroughly understood. Gen. Jackson & Mr. Crawford had been alienated in friendship before the Seminole war. Mr. Crawford had predicated an article in an Indian treaty, and made grants to the Indians, up to the supposed limit of the land which had been their property by the treaty commanded by Gen. Jackson. No such injustice had been committed, & Gen. Jackson resented the wrong done to himself and the army by a treaty implicating their character, without, as he thought, sufficient care being taken to obtain proof of the real state of facts.— When the Seminole question arose, Gen. Jackson was the more readily induced to attribute the attacks made on him to Mr. Crawford because of this previous difference. Notwithstanding this, the wife of Gen. Jackson had still maintained an intercourse of kindness with the family of Mr. Crawford, and after the election of 1825 in the House of Representatives, for President, had taken place, and while Mr. Crawford was prostrated by disease, Gen. Jackson was prevailed upon to pay a visit to him, as an earnest that he was willing to forget the discussion which had produced enmity between them.

gave offence to Mr. Monroe, as was manifested by the correspondence on the subject which he originated with Judge White, of which General Jackson was advised. The expression was also public, and common soon after, that Mr. Monroe was engaged in the composition of a book, the tendency of which would confirm the prejudices so industriously circulated against General Jackson at that time, for political purposes.

About this period a member of Congress enclosed a General Jackson a copy of a letter purporting to be from Mr. Monroe to Mr. Calhoun, (confidential) the object of which was to induce Mr. Calhoun to enter into a friendly correspondence with the General, and draw from him an acknowledgment that in his operations in Florida he had transacted his orders.— This letter declared, at the same time, that the General maintained that he had not transacted his orders, and that there was nothing on record in the Department to show that he had. It also adverted to a confidential letter which he, Mr. Monroe, proposed to address to General Jackson on the subject, and which Mr. Calhoun was authorized to forward if he approved it—this was received.

The member of Congress who enclosed to Gen. Jackson the copy of this letter from Mr. Monroe to Mr. Calhoun, at the same time informed him that he understood it was done with the consent of Mr. Calhoun, and that the original would be placed in his hands by the same person who had handed him the copy. General Jackson afterwards received the original from the hands of a friend, as he had always understood, of Mr. Calhoun, as advised in the letter of the member of Congress.

General Jackson having always understood Mr. Calhoun to have been his supporter throughout the proceedings of the Seminole war, and believing him a high-minded and honorable man, naturally inferred that this disclosure of Mr. Monroe's feelings was made as a return of the effects of the book which Mr. Monroe was about writing. As there never had been an intimation from the President or himself until the campaign was ended, that the General had transacted his orders, it seemed to Gen. Jackson to be perfectly inconsistent with the claims of friendship and honor, that Mr. Calhoun, in 1827, finding that new views were taken of the Seminole war, and that the fair interpretation of his orders would be grossly evaded, felt himself at liberty to defeat the object of those who were thus employed, by exposing the letter which had been referred to.

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There was, however, no explanations or conversations with regard to the causes which had separated them. The meeting was in the presence of a number of friends, and marked, on the part of Mr. Crawford, by the deepest humility.

By the recent letter, received by Gen. Jackson from Mr. Crawford, a state of facts was presented, going to show on the one hand, that the General had long contended in his heart an innocent man for the efforts made to destroy his character as a patriot, and tarnish his laurels as a soldier. On the other hand, one whom he supposed always to have been a friend, and his most zealous vindicator in this particular instance, stood charged with having been the man who impudently had in the Cabinet for a violation of orders. If this were the true state of things, the General felt that he owed to his own and the feelings of Mr. Crawford, reparation for having wronged him in his opinions, and felt bound also to reject from his mind any conclusion as to the conduct of his long professed friend, Mr. Calhoun, until he had an opportunity for explanation. For these reasons Mr. Crawford's letter was submitted to him by the President. The result is known to the public.

There is one circumstance, however, connected with the course pursued by Mr. Calhoun in the Cabinet, which has not been presented to the public and which has served to embitter the regrets felt by the President on this subject.— At the moment when he proposed to call a court of enquiry to blast the reputation of the General, Mr. Calhoun had good reasons to suppose that he had sacrificed his life in giving effects to the objects of the Administration. It was known that his constitution had sunk under the fatigues and privations of the campaign, and that his troops were bearing him towards his home, which he never expected to reach, through a wilderness which furnished neither succor nor shelter to him in his feeble and worn down condition. The rapid decline of his health was known to the President as well as to the friends of the General, and it was not expected, by any of his friends, that he could survive. What must be his feelings when he now reflects that the man in whom he put his trust, did, at this time, originate a secret proposition, for political purposes, based on a charge against him, which, if he had died, would have left a blot upon his fame, and handed him down to posterity as one regardless of the orders of his Government, and ready to violate the Constitution of his country?

The Address which follows, we copy from the *National Intelligencer*. The Editors of that paper say in relation to it, that it is the production of an Abler hand than theirs. It cannot fail to be perused with deep interest by all who can enter into the feelings which prompted it.

## TO THE PEOPLE OF THE U. STATES.

Recent occurrences, manifesting not merely the future prospects but the present certainty of a wide division among the Party which has hitherto supported General Jackson's Administration, are of importance not to awaken a great degree of attention. They are entitled to the reflection by the opposers of the Administration, and by the Public. The Vice-President's late publication was but the ebullition of a political ferment, well known to have been secretly long at work. It was not the origin of a schism; it was only its avowal. From the moment of the original "Combination" (so it was admitted to be) against Mr. Adams's Administration, it was foreseen that the parts composing it, held together for the time by a common object, (the hope of power) would necessarily be asunder when that object should have been obtained, & when they should come to be divided, they would enjoy their posts for the present, and who expect the future. Nothing but the powerful chemistry of this common object, it was easy to perceive, could keep in union such opposite materials as the friends of General Jackson in Pennsylvania and those in South Carolina, and the followers of Mr. CALHOUN, who had been called "Prodigals," and the followers of Mr. CRAWFORD, who had been called "Rascals." Such a jumble of politicians could have no natural cohesion. If Mr. CALHOUN & Mr. CRAWFORD could not long be happy in the enjoyment of State Rights could be made to chime in with the Tariff and Nullification could walk hand in hand—then, indeed, the time might be expected to have arrived when the Lion and the Lamb would lie down together.

As to the Secretary of State, his affinities were well known to be easily drawn towards any political elements, and again easily be repelled. He mingles with every thing by the slightest attraction, and again is disengaged from every thing by the gentlest solvent. For Mr. KING, against Mr. KING, a friend to Mr. CLINTON and an enemy to Mr. BENTLEY, a man of a Tariff man, out of courtesy (or out of subservience) to some, to others a Tariff man, by virtue of instructions a friend to the Union, yet groping after lost rights of the States; and on the great question between the constitutional powers of the Government on one hand, and the absurdities of Nullification on the other, hanging precisely upon an exact poise. The foresight which anticipated this rupture of the Party, was not deceived. The fulfilment has trodden, indeed, very close upon the heels of the prediction. Before the second year of Gen. Jackson's Administration has closed, a wide, deep, and impassable gulch already separates the leaders of his legions of followers and feudatories. His own influence over these leaders not founded in respect for his talents or character, but mainly in the conviction that there is a great, though a vague and indefinite popularity attached to his name, is now no longer sufficient to repress their contentions. They quarrel in his own face, for his own seat, while he yet fills it, and means to fill it longer if he can.

We have heard much, heretofore, of the President's independence; & of his lofty elevation above all influence near his person, and of his fixed resolution to be himself every inch President. We now see the verification, and manifestly of these qualities: we behold him now in the first stages of a controversy, the origin of which lies in motives and objects, connected first with his own re-election, & secondly, with the succession of another to his office, when he shall have done with it. We were assured, too, by his supporters, that no aspirant for further promotion would ever be in his Cabinet, or participate in his counsels. We perceive how this assurance has been performed. But this is not all; the President has repeatedly expressed his own opinions and his own purposes, in words borrowed from one in whose mouth they meant what they seemed to mean. He has declared, over and over again, that he neither sought office, nor shunned it. If the public are not now misinformed, a recent occurrence has fully expounded his meaning, and explained his sincerity in this declaration.

It is not the object of these paragraphs to enter into the merits of the questions raised by the Vice-President's publication, and its numerous answers and replies. We are little disposed to meddle in family quarrels. Our purpose on the contrary, is to suggest that those who have opposed the Administration, & who still oppose it, have no concern in this dispute, except so far as its results may affect the public interest. These results, it is probable, will be various in their character, and in their tendency. So far as internal dissensions may be likely to weaken the momentum with which the dominant party has proceeded in a course so threatening to all the great interests of the country, the effect will unquestionably be good. Still better will it be, if this disclosure of the pre-eminence of merely personal and ambitious motives over all other considerations, shall open the eyes of the community to the real character of men, and the real character of the times. On the other hand, it certainly gives a still more formidable appearance to the dangers which threaten us, when we see what their objects are, unless we may hope at the same time that the public will see them also, and take care for its own safety.— Their publications afford a striking example indeed, of the nature of these objects. There is not the smallest reference in any of them, to any public principle, or public measure. The general welfare, the good of the country, constitutional principle, political expediency, these things, none of them, not one, is that about which our men in high places write letters—about which they express solicitude—about which they differ. Not at all. Gen. Jackson and Mr. CRAWFORD, choose to quarrel, and yet they put their quarrel on grounds perfectly consistent with the fullest approbation, on the part of Mr. Calhoun, of every one of Gen. Jackson's measures. The ruin of political prospects is spoken of, but they are the political prospects of an individual, not the political prospects of the country. The merciless proscription for opinion, which has stalked over the land; the violation of national faith; the TORRIF OF A POLITICAL INTRIGUE; is the fact, creditable in itself; and is the witness extended to belief. On the other hand, the President charges the Vice-President both with ingratitude and duplicity. Here, again, is the witness a good one? Shall we consider the charge proved? We say nothing of the language of Mr. CRAWFORD's letters; but we earnestly put it to the whole American People to say what they think of this controversy between their two highest public officers; and we put it to them to say, not only what the public honor but the public safety also requires, when the Vice-President publicly declares to all the world, that the President of the United States, at the moment when he is discharging the highest functions of his office, is not an independent agent, but a mere creature of others—the "victim of a political intrigue."

There remains, evidently, for the friends of the constitution, administered in its true spirit, to stay the progress of this administration, and to save the country from the effects of its measures, but one course. That course lies right straight forward. They will turn neither to the right hand nor to the left. They are destined yet to save the country and the constitution. They are *NATIONAL REPUBLICANS*; they are friends of Union; they are the great party of free Americans, without doubt or question.— If the mere charm of a name were withdrawn, they are at this moment a great majority of the Union. They will take courage from these proofs of dissatisfaction and schism among their opponents, and go forward with more assured hopes of ultimate success. They have a point of concentration. The public sentiment runs strongly in a direction towards one never yet charged with ingratitude; never yet guilty of duplicity; never made, nor to be made, the victim of any political intrigue. Let us beseech all friends of the Constitution, all real lovers of their country, to awake, look at the existing state of things seriously, and then do their duty. It becomes us to raise the alarm, not at pretended, but real, portentous and imminent dangers. It becomes us earnestly to implore THE PEOPLE to save themselves. Let us rally for the Union of the States, for the Constitution, for American Liberty, as it was while every man was yet free to speak his opinion, and for the preservation of those great interests for which the Government was established.

And what a spectacle does this contest exhibit? Who does not see, in what an aspect of disgrace it holds up the Government of the country? What honest man does not feel shame, as well as indignation, at the picture upon which he whole world is here invited to look? The second officer of the Republic openly declares that the first officer is THE TORRIF OF A POLITICAL INTRIGUE; is the fact, creditable in itself; and is the witness extended to belief. On the other hand, the President charges the Vice-President both with ingratitude and duplicity. Here, again, is the witness a good one? Shall we consider the charge proved? We say nothing of the language of Mr. CRAWFORD's letters; but we earnestly put it to the whole American People to say what they think of this controversy between their two highest public officers; and we put it to them to say, not only what the public honor but the public safety also requires, when the Vice-President publicly declares to all the world, that the President of the United States, at the moment when he is discharging the highest functions of his office, is not an independent agent, but a mere creature of others—the "victim of a political intrigue."

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## Mr. Williams's Circular.

To the Citizens of the Thirteenth Congressional District of North Carolina.

FELLOW CITIZENS,  
Subsequently to the date of my letter to you at the last session of Congress, an act was passed to reduce the duty on salt, imported into the United States. The law provided that the duty should be fifteen cents per bushel, from the thirty-first December, 1830, till the thirty-first December, 1831, and after that time, ten cents per bushel, and no more. At the time I wrote, the hope of effecting any change of this sort had almost sunk into despair, but before the close of the session, an opportunity was presented for carrying it through the House, and maturing it into a law. Nothing imported into the country is so universally used, or so indispensably necessary as salt. Every citizen, whatever be his circumstances; whether he be rich or poor, is obliged to have more or less of this article, and hence all duties upon it should be abolished, if not absolutely required for the purpose of revenue. In Mr. Jefferson's Administration, the duty was taken off, and so continued till July, 1813, when it was laid on again to enable the government to prosecute the war in which we were engaged at that time.— After peace was restored, when money was wanted to pay off the National Debt, which had been accumulated by war, it was thought politic by some in 1816, to

continue the duty on salt, because, as they alleged, the amount of revenue derived from customs, could not be exactly foreseen. But whatever force or plausibility might have been in this argument, in 1816, it has unquestionably ceased to be applicable or to have any weight at the present time. Government is now in no need of the money derived from the duty on salt, and it must be entirely abolished at no distant day. This result I regard as certain, notwithstanding the indications of an opposite character, which may have been recently given.

Other acts were passed at the last session, reducing the duty on molasses, coffee, tea, and cocoa, which promise relief similar to that experienced from a reduction of the duty on salt. Now if to those should be added a reduction of the duty on brown sugar, the amendments in our system of impost would be considerable. The great and warmly controverted points of the Tariff, are not much, if at all, involved in the policy of reducing the duty on the articles above enumerated. Sugar, it is true, is raised in the United States, but if it should be imported free of duty, the culture of the article at home, would still be the most profitable business in which our planters could engage.— They probably could not make such a percent on their capital, but the emolument would be great enough to pay them well, and insure a regular and constant increase of that species of agricultural labour. The alarms expressed by the sugar-growers, are to my mind perfectly ideal, for whether the duty be removed or not, their business would continue profitable so long as the production shall be less than the consumption of the article in the country.

In the annual message at the opening of the session, the President informed us that "the receipts into the Treasury, during the present year, (1830,) will amount to twenty-four millions, one hundred and sixty-one thousand and eighteen dollars, which will exceed, by about three hundred thousand dollars, the estimate presented in the last annual report of the Secretary of the Treasury. The total expenditure during the year, exclusive of the public debt, is estimated at thirteen millions, seven hundred and forty-two thousand, three hundred and eleven dollars; and the payment on account of the public debt, for the same period, will have been eleven millions three hundred and fifty-four thousand six hundred and thirty dollars, leaving a balance in the Treasury, on the first January, 1831, of four millions eight hundred and nineteen thousand, seven hundred and eighty-one dollars." From this condition of our impost revenue, the President infers, that the public debt may be extinguished sooner than was anticipated. In the documents that was submitted to Congress at the last session, it was estimated that the whole debt would be discharged in 1834. This policy of first paying off the National Debt, in preference to any other application of the public money, is exactly that which I have always endeavoured to maintain. You fellow-citizens, will be able to bear testimony to this fact, and will remember that while I have been the advocate of such policy, others have dissented from it, and exerted themselves to convince you of its impropriety. With me it is no new doctrine or recent belief, but it is as old as my political life, having urged it in all my communications to you both oral and written. Nothing has occurred to change my opinion of that policy, but on the contrary, I think it should be persevered in, till every cent of the debt shall have been paid off, which, as before stated, will happen in the year 1834. After that time, if any surplus should be in the Treasury, it may be applied to such objects as are deemed expedient and constitutional. But instead of continuing the duties in order to accumulate a surplus, I would prefer reducing them, so as to lessen the surplus, and by that means, enable the people to keep the money in their own pockets.— The idea of collecting a large revenue for the purpose of paying it out again, seems to me delusive, if not absurd. At all events, the expense of disbursing, will be a clear loss to those who originally paid the money into the Treasury, and must so far be to them a positive injury. Whatever schemes may therefore be devised for disposing of the surplus revenue, after the payment of the public debt, should be adopted with great caution. I have heard no one which is not liable to objection, on the score of expediency or constitutionality. It will be time enough to solve these difficulties, when the full and entire payment of the debt shall have been accomplished, and the revenue of the country perfectly disengaged. The agitation of them at so early a period, is premature, and causes unnecessary excitement, especially when all the money on hand can be applied to an object, (the payment of the debt) the most useful and valuable to the country.

I should be chargeable with neglect to omit calling your attention again to the subject of the public lands. On the supposition that North Carolina is of an average size with the other States, she would be entitled to between forty and fifty millions of acres, which would give

to each of her citizens, more than half a quarter section of land. I ask if it is prudent or proper, that we should abandon this vast possession and give it to others who have no claim to it? The Governor of Illinois, in a late message to the Legislature, has put forth some of the most extravagant, not to say licentious opinions, ever promulgated by any Executive Magistrate of any State in this Union. He claims, for Illinois, all public lands within that State, and denies to Congress, and of course to North Carolina in common with the other States, the right to hold any part of it. The time has arrived, when it is incumbent on every citizen in the old States, to look well to this matter, and guard with vigilance the interest he has in issue of this question.— On this account, I was glad to see a resolution offered in the Legislature of North Carolina, at the last Session, declaring our right, at least, to a distributive share of the National domain. While the new States are forward in laying claim to the whole of it, we should not be backward in asserting our just title to a part. It is perhaps, the only way in which we can defeat their unbounded pretensions.— If the present land system be broken down, and the public domain divided out among the new States, one of the strong cement to our Union, will be dissolved. In this view of the case, it is of the first importance that the system should be preserved.

In some of the old States, there are symptoms of discontent, much to be regretted and highly alarming. The doctrine of nullification, as advocated in South Carolina and Georgia, has a most dangerous tendency to the peace and happiness of our country. I stated to you last year, that I was opposed to it in every shape in which it had been proposed. If it means any thing, it amounts to this: that any one State has a right to resist a law of the United States. In other words: that the minority can control the majority, whenever they shall think proper to do so. This is manifestly absurd, according to any principle known or practised in the United States, and is wholly subversive of the Government. The fundamental maxim of our institutions is, that the general good must prevail; that this is to be ascertained only by giving to the will of the majority, paramount influence over that of the minority. Such a rule is the dictate of natural reason, and is in accordance with the declaration of still higher authority, "that in a multitude of counsellors there is safety." But in opposition to it, the Nullifiers contend they ought not to be bound by the majority; that any State has a right to resist, whenever it shall be deemed expedient or necessary. This, I understand to be the practical effect of the doctrine, and it requires little foresight to perceive, that if it should prevail, the union of these States will be destroyed, and with it, all our hopes of freedom and happiness will be blasted forever. I cannot believe the people in any part of the country, will seriously approve of nullification, when they see the consequences to which that doctrine obviously tends.

An attempt has been made at this Session, to repeal the twenty-fifth section of the "act to establish the Judicial Courts of the U. States, passed on the 4th of Sept. 1789." This section gives to the Supreme Court of the U. States, supervisory jurisdiction over the State Courts in questions growing out of the Constitution, treaties and laws of the U. S. Without such authority, the Government of the U. States would be annihilated. During the late war and the restrictive system which preceded it, violations were committed in the Eastern States, of the laws passed by Congress. When the offenders were brought before the State Courts, they were not punished, but rather protected in their violence. To remedy this evil, it was necessary to bring up the cases by writs of error to the Supreme Court of the United States, where the questions were fairly tried and the majesty of the laws properly vindicated. The politicians of the South, then made no objections to this exercise of authority by the Government of the United States, but that it was just & necessary to the well being of the country. At present, however, since South Carolina and Georgia have assumed a menacing attitude towards the General Government, it is contended that it is dangerous for the Supreme Court to be invested with such powers. It is indeed remarkable, that amidst all the conflicts and convulsions of party, no discovery of the kind has ever been made, till this late day. Mr. Jefferson and Mr. Madison, who were as bold and fearless advocates for State rights as any of the modern champions in that cause can profess to be, never thought it wise or proper to repeal the twenty-fifth section of the Judiciary act. Many of those who framed the Constitution, were also members of Congress in 1789, and were engaged in passing that law. It is not reasonable then to suppose, that Congress in 1831, after the lapse of forty odd years, could know more of the Constitution, than the very persons who founded it and were first employed in giving in practical effect.— It is further remarkable, that hostility to the Supreme Court is most apt to be