

Hillsborough Reporter.

UNION, THE CONSTITUTION AND THE LAWS—THE GUARDIANS OF OUR LIBERTY.

Vol. XXIII.

THURSDAY, MARCH 30, 1843.

No. 1167.

SPIRITUAL DESTITUTION.

To the Ministers & Members of the Churches in North Carolina.

Mr BRETHREN: Knowing that to those who love the Lord Jesus, any information concerning the spread of his Gospel will be interesting, I am disposed to submit to your attention the following facts and considerations, connected with the distribution of the Bible in this State.

While engaged in soliciting donations to the American Bible Society from your congregations, several circumstances came to my knowledge which led me to suspect that the supply which took place several years ago was not entire, as is generally supposed. But these circumstances did not come unsought. At almost every place when I presented the claims of the Society, allusions were made to the effort which had, twelve years ago, given the world of God to every family in the State. The inference was that very few needed the Bible, and that in these days of pressure charity might stay at home for a while. Other circumstances made me believe that very many families were, at that very time, destitute of the Bible. I felt anxious to obtain some data from which a calculation might be made of the probable lack of the scriptures in this State. The North Carolina Bible Society giving me permission to employ distributing agents, the counties of Wake and Orange were selected, in which it was intended to ascertain, as nearly as possible, the number of families without the word of God.

Wake county, having within its bounds the seat of state government,—which is the location of one of the largest book stores of the south, the residence of a Bishop of one branch of the church, and of five regular ministers of the leading denominations of the state,—and having, as I have been informed, at least twenty ministers, preaching to its inhabitants, who do not reside in the town, we might conclude that all the families of the county were possessors of the Holy Book. To be certain in this matter, the Rev. William J. Langdon undertook to explore the county. He obtained from the Clerk's office, in Raleigh, the list of the heads of all the families, as taken in the census for 1840. More than 2,000 names were on the Register. He has examined the Eastern district, and of the 1047 families in that district, he found 630 without the Bible. The whole county, at this rate, would contain 780 destitute families: more than one third of the whole number within its bounds. In an interesting communication from Mr. Langdon, which is now before me, he says: "It is a general impression that there are but few families without the Bible. I have found this to be the prevailing sentiment with ministers and members of every denomination. A worthy brother of the Baptist Church (in Wake county) stated that he did not believe there were more than two or three families destitute of the Bible, in ten miles square. I furnished him with a list of the heads of families, and he reported 42 destitute in his own neighborhood." The families without the Bible were not too poor to purchase, or too recently formed to have furnished themselves. Mr. Langdon found one person who is the father of eight children, and worth more than \$10,000, who never had had a Bible! He found heads of families from 75 to 85 years of age without the word of God. In one instance, he visited a man upwards of fifty years of age, (professing to be a member of one of the religious denominations,) whose children were married, and formed in separate families, and neither father nor children owned a copy of the Holy Scriptures. Another person, professing attachment to the Church of Christ, had no Bible, and refused to purchase for his two sons, who were married; one of whom belonging to the same denomination as his father, refused to take the Blessed Book into his house! These things, my brethren, were not discovered in a land of heathenism, or in our own thinly settled Far West, but in the capital county of the ancient state of North Carolina.

It was likewise proposed to explore Orange county. If the influence of a University of long standing, of refined society in its central town, and of probably a score of ministers of the four leading denominations of Christians, (several of whom are teachers of science, as well as preachers of the Gospel,) would make a county secure in its possession of the Bible, there would have been no need of a visitation in Orange. But being convinced that we had been mistaken in this matter, it was determined to explore this county. In the person of the Rev. J. A. McMannin we found an agent willing to undertake this honorable labor. His report up to this date shows 920 families visited, of which number 310 had no Bible! Yesterday there were six families on the road between Hillsborough and Chapel Hill who had no Bible—within the distance of 12 miles. Of the heads of these families, some were aged persons, some professed to have belonged to a religious denomination more than a quarter of a century! The Agent found persons who have not heard the Gospel for fifty years, and others, who were

more than twenty one years of age who never had heard a sermon! Many received the word of God with unconcealed surprise at the singular generosity which not only gave the poor the gospel "without money and without price," but actually sent the Holy Book to their houses. In no case was the gift refused: in two cases it was taken with some indications of "sourness of feeling," which the Agent thinks was, "because they were ashamed to be found destitute."

My brethren, we have too often said that none are destitute who would have the Bible, as they have great facilities of purchasing. Are there any counties having greater facilities than Orange and Wake? None, probably. If then, more than one third of the families in these counties are without the Bible, what may we suppose to be the aggregate destitution of North Carolina? Let us take into the calculation the inland counties which lie near no thoroughfare, and those counties nearer the coast, where we may suppose the access to books to be of very great difficulty. The lack of the Book of Truth in this State will arouse every right-minded Christian. Shall our charity begin at home? Let her begin at home! and much will she have to do to give her household bread before she go abroad.

Well, what shall we do? Shall a man quietly recline on the cushions of ease, while his brother is fainting and dying at the door? The Lord of Mercy and of the Bible forbid! We must do something now! Let all the pastors of churches in the state give to their people the facts with which our agents furnish them. Let them request all the Christians in the congregation to explore their own neighborhood, and see whether there be not some without the Bible. Let a collection be taken up in the congregations to purchase the Sacred Scriptures for the poor near them, and to assist the State Bible Society in supplying the poor in other parts of the State. Let the people know that there is a depository of Holy Books at Raleigh, where the attentive Agent, Jesse Brown, esq. is ready to sell Bibles, got up in different styles, at cost, and to give to those who have not money to offer in exchange for the word of God. Where are the County Auxiliaries? Cannot one Christian be found in each county to arouse the dormant Societies, to look after the wants of their neighbors? Cannot one pious man be found in every neighborhood who will go to every house and see whether any of his fellow citizens are starving spiritually? Brethren, we have been walking and riding past houses for weeks and months where there is no copy of the word of God. Let us wake up to the matter, and not rest while there can be any possibility of a single family not having the presence of the volume of Inspiration.

My brethren, I know that the interesting nature of the facts I have stated will prevent you from thinking of the length of this letter, and of the liberty taken in this appeal.

CHARLES M. F. DEEMS.
University of N. C. March 18, 1843.

The Gentlemen conducting the press in this State may advance the operations of the most noble Christian charity, by giving the above letter an insertion in their papers.

THE PHILADELPHIA ALARM!!!

We met a little boy shivering in the streets on Monday last (the thermometer somewhere near zero); he had a bundle of newspapers under his arm, and was bawling with a weak, lisping voice, "Philadelphia Alarm!" "Philadelphia Alarm!" Curious to know what might be the subject of such a newspaper, we inquired of the urchin, "what it was all about?" He replied, "all about Mr. Miller, sir! Fine paper, sir—very fine paper, sir! Buy one, sir!" We disbursed the required penny, and pocketed the paper with the ominous name. On arriving at our sanctum, we examined the paper. Instead of being fresh, it was a fortnight old. It is about the size of a sheet of letter paper, say one fourth the size of an ordinary penny paper. It contains a great many exciting articles on the coming events, fantastical interpretations of prophecy, and loud complaints of persecution. But the real gist of the whole matter appears in frequent announcements of lectures, with "seats free. A collection will be taken to meet the expenses." People are not to be alarmed for nothing, it seems, and if a man or woman can be convinced that the day of judgment will come in a few weeks, what excuse can there be for not paying liberally the messenger of such important tidings! Then money will be a mere drug in less than a year. Then again, in another part of the paper, is an announcement of a *Cheap Library*. "1, Miller's Life, 2 volumes, 37½ cents. 2, Lectures on the Second Coming of Christ, 37½ cents." &c. &c., in all a catalogue of twenty two volumes, each of which the dupes of Millerism are expected to buy. Now the long and the short of all this matter is, that Millerism is a speculation—a sordid speculation on popular credulity; and we have no doubt that it is an exceedingly profitable speculation. The managers of it will make large fortunes, and be riding in their coaches, while hundreds of their dupes are begging, or sent to the dungeons of a

madhouse. Tampering with the health of the body, by selling quack medicines, is bad enough; but tampering with peeling quack medicines, is bad enough; but tampering with people's mental health—destroying the tranquility of whole communities, in order to fill the pockets of a few speculators, is intolerable. Although the money obtained by such humbugs is exacted in small sums, yet the aggregate, when many thousands contribute, is a very heavy tax on any community. The "Cheap Library" advertised in the "Alarm," costs nearly four dollars. (3, 00.) and this is a pretty high price, when we consider that it is paid for merely singing the same tune over twenty-two times with slight variations. The purchaser, when he has bought the whole, has given enough to purchase "Brande's Encyclopedia" and a readable copy of the Bible, and he has got a heap of pamphlets, asserting in a number of forms of phraseology, and in a variety of type, that the world is coming to an end forthwith! A greater imposition was never devised.

Perhaps the greatest wonder is that a person so illiterate and unintelligible as Miller has shown himself to be while in this city, should attract or impress the public at all with a jargon of religious belief, which he does not even understand himself. He is a middle-sized, common looking person, rather stout, with a sly style of address—sneering at defiance all rules of grammar, pronunciation, and every thing else which we might expect from a public teacher.

Phil. Sat. Courier.

A Comet.—The papers state that a brilliant comet was seen in several parts of Massachusetts during the last week. The correspondent of the New Bedford Mercury:

"Its brilliancy was almost equal to that of Venus. Its situation is very near the limb of the sun; its tail appears about three degrees in length. It may be the comet announced some three months since in Europe; it was then traversing the constellation Draco. Be it that or another, it is of rare brilliancy. There are but three on record of sufficient brilliancy to be seen in the day season. The first was 43 years before Christ, and is called "a hairy star;" it was seen with the naked eye in the day time. The second was in the year 1402, and was so brilliant that the light of the sun at the end of March did not hinder people seeing it at mid-day; both its nucleus and its tail was, to use the language of the day, "two fathoms long." The third appeared February 18, 1744, and nearly equaled Venus in splendor, and many persons saw it at mid-day without glasses. It may yet prove that the comet of to day is the same as that of 1402."

The Earthquake—its Dreadful Effects in the West Indies.

By the arrival at Baltimore of the brig *Frances Jane*, from St. John's, (Porto Rico,) we learn that the Earthquake of the 8th ultimo (left here) laid in ruins nearly the whole town of Point Petre, (Gaudaloupe,) and that nearly ten thousand of its inhabitants are supposed to have perished. The same shock was also experienced with much severity at Antigua, where several lives were lost and a great deal of property destroyed. Nevis, Montserrat, and Barbadoes also suffered, but to what extent it is not known.

We copy from the Baltimore Patriot of last evening the following extract of a letter to the owners of the *Frances Jane*, dated

St. John's, (N. B.) February 14.

"We have just received advices from the Windward. The effects of the earthquake of the 8th inst. in the West Indies, is indeed, Point Petre, in Gaudaloupe, is totally destroyed, and ten thousand persons are supposed to have been killed. The loss of property is immense. At Antigua, also, there has been a great loss of property, but only five lives were lost. All the mills and sugar works were more or less injured, and the greater part of the present crop will be lost. Nevis, Montserrat, Barbadoes, &c. are said to have suffered much, but to what extent is not known yet. Here and at St. Thomas the shock was also severe, and lasted at this place two minutes; but there was no material damage done at either place."

METHODIST EPISCOPAL CHURCH.

The following statistics of the Methodist Episcopal Church have been taken from the minutes of the several Conferences just published for 1842:

Annual Conferences,	34
Travelling Preachers,	4,244
Local Preachers,	7,621
Church Members, (communicants),	1,009,900
Not increase in 1842 of Church members, (after deducting the dead, the withdrawn and the expelled),	120,123

There are now building at Blackwall, five large steam frigates for the Russian government, intended for the war against the Circassians.

REMARKS OF MR. FRANCIS,

OF HAYWOOD.

Made in the Legislature of North Carolina, in reply to Mr. McRae of Cumberland, on the Instruction Resolutions.

Mr. Speaker: Having had so ample an opportunity afforded me on Monday last, of giving my views fully on these resolutions, I should not have made another call on the attention of this house, were it not for the violent manner in which the gentleman from Cumberland has indulged, in assailing my motives on that occasion. I shall now, however, promise to be as brief as possible in replying to that gentleman's denunciations, and I can assure the house, that I am truly sincere when I state that I was extremely sorry when I found the mover of these resolutions thought fit to introduce them. For when, at best, the two great parties in this house can with difficulty act in concert, in performing the legitimate office for which we have assembled, it cannot be expected that a series of resolutions of this character is, in any way, calculated to ally the excitement that now exists, or bring about that unity of action so desirable in the intercourse of a deliberative body.

In these resolutions, sir, there is not only a great constitutional question involved, but a thrust is made at one of the great departments of our government, which is calculated to destroy the independence and consequently the utility of the judiciary. Can the mover of these resolutions inform the house, why it becomes necessary, at this late period, to declare by resolution what are the powers and duties of the Legislature of North Carolina? I had supposed that these were fully expressed in the first and tenth articles of the Constitution. An instrument, by which the people of this State have been governed for upwards of sixty years, cannot now need the aid of a resolution to inform this body what are its powers and duties.

It is, from the sections referred to, that this body derives all its powers—first to make laws, and secondly to elect certain state officers; and by the constitution of the United States, they are authorized to elect United States senators. These and these alone, are all the powers conferred by the constitution, and any act done, which does not come within the scope of these powers, is an act of usurpation on the part of the Legislature, not warranted by the Constitution. But I am told, that by the eighteenth section of the Bill of Rights, which is made a part of the Constitution, the people have a right to instruct their representatives. This right, I shall admit in the fullest extent—yes, further, I admit that the Legislature, being a portion of the free citizens of the State, have a right to express their wishes on national subjects, either by way of resolution or otherwise, and that they ought to have given them by the senators, respectful consideration; but while I thus admit this right in the Legislature, or any other body of the citizens of this State, I most positively deny the right, in this or any other body, to give *mandatory* instructions, such as these resolutions intend to convey. The section of the Bill of Rights, to which my attention has been called, however, can have no earthly connexion with these resolutions. Any, who are in the slightest degree acquainted with the history of this country, or of that from which we received our notions of the common law, will remember that from the reign of Edward VI, down to George I, various statutes were passed called Riot Acts, which made it a felony for twelve or more persons to assemble together to petition Parliament for a redress of grievances; nor were these Statutes confined to the opposite side of the Atlantic. The American Provinces also felt the force and tyranny of their operation, and the Patriarch of the Revolution who framed the Bill of Rights, had no doubt an eye to those statutes when the clause referred to was adopted by them. But who are the people, and who their Representatives? They are the free people of North Carolina, met in primary, not in legislative assemblies, to consult for the common good. The Representatives are the members of the General Assembly of the State of North Carolina, they are the agents of the people of this State,—authorized to pass laws, which can operate on the people of this State only. That this is the true construction of this clause in the Bill of Rights, and cannot mean Senators in Congress, is obvious from the fact, that the power to elect Senators is not derived from the State Constitution; and from the further fact, that the Legislature had no power to elect Senators for many years after the State Constitution was adopted. The power to elect Senators is derived from the United States Constitution, and there is no article or clause in that instrument giving to the Legislature the power claimed for them by this Resolution.

But we are told by the gentleman from Chatham (Mr. Jackson) that the Legislature may be considered as a primary assembly, and he has read for us some resolutions from a meeting in Mecklenburg of very ancient date, giving instructions to Congress. These, if I heard them right, were instructions from a primary assembly of the citizens of Mecklenburg to the Delegates in Congress, who framed the Articles of Confederation; but the idea that this Legislature may be considered as a primary assembly is begging the question. As, however, I am willing to meet the proposition in every possible shape in which it may be presented, I say that neither the Legislature nor the primary assemblies of the people of this State have the power to pass the *mandatory* resolution now under consideration, so as to give it the effect intended by its phraseology; because the laws passed by Congress are to operate, not on the people of this State only, but upon the people of every State in the Union. The power of electing Senators is not conferred on this body by the people of North Carolina, but by the people of the whole Union. It would then be preposterous to suppose, that a handful of men, forming but a very small fraction of that whole, could have the power to command and direct the action of those legislating for the whole. Besides, the wording of the resolution under consideration, forbids the construction a temptation to be given to it, of considering this body as a primary assembly, because the language used to the Representatives in both branches of Congress is different: to the Senators it is *instruct*, but to the Representatives it is *request*. Now, if we, as a primary assembly, were addressing Congress, the language used to both branches would be the same. I must therefore conclude, that these resolutions are not intended as emanating from any primary assembly of the people.

The gentleman from Cumberland, (Mr. McRae) takes a different view of the matter. I must however be permitted to notice the opening remarks of this gentleman, before I proceed further. He tells us that he entered into this debate, on account of *quasi* instructions given to one of his constituents in 1838, by those who neither admit nor obey instructions. It seems the gentleman has taken a very different view of the Rayner resolutions, as they were called, from what one of his constituents took of them; for that Senator clung to his seat with a tenacity equalled only by the desire for office, manifested by that party whose main spring of political action is inscribed on their banners—*Thy mistress belongs to the spoils*!—For neither did that gentleman's constituent, nor the other Senator, resign, or obey the declared will of the people of the State, until a second election was held, when the people's will was made manifest in such a voice at the ballot box, as struck terror and dismay into those sticklers for instruction—those servile advocates of passive obedience.

Another of the gentleman's remarks, I do not so well understand. He says the gentleman from Haywood was made a tool, to gratify others. If by the term *tool*, he means that in my remarks on Monday evening on these Resolutions, I can assure the gentleman, he honors me over much, as the remarks I made, were the result of my own reflections on the subject, unaided by the superior wisdom or judgment, which a concert of action and interchange of views with the older and more experienced members of the whig party of this House, would no doubt have suggested. But, sir, if by the term *tool*, it is attempted to be insinuated that I, as a mere instrument in the hands of others, was delivering their sentiments contrary to my own judgment; or the solemn responsibility under which I acted, I unhesitatingly pronounce such an insinuation false, base, and could only spring from a heart totally devoid of every sense of moral obligation.

Again, the gentleman from Cumberland says—"I have no hopes of bringing the gentleman from Haywood to use polite language; the opposite seems to have been his Spelling book in youth, and his Encyclopedia in manhood." I should like to know, Mr. Speaker, who constituted the gentleman from Cumberland the *Cherisher* of this House. He has no hopes of bringing me to use polite language! What a degree of arrogance and pomposity is exhibited here! I can assure that gentleman, that when I used the exquisitely sensitive ear of a tutor of polite language, I shall seek for some teacher better qualified to give a *practical* illustration of his attainments, than has been exhibited by the gentleman from Cumberland on this occasion. Let me quote a few of his beautifully turned periods: He says, that in the Resolutions of 1838, the whigs sneakingly endeavored to whip the devil round the stump—that debauchery and vice sprung from the log cabin and conn kind party in 1840—that they disgraced themselves and descended from the stand of men to that of brutes. These are a few *excerpts* of polite language from the modern democratic lexicography—mere initiatory specimens, found in the gentleman's vocabulary of refined taste and elegant language.

He next proceeded, as he said, to prove that the Legislature, had a right to give *mandatory* instructions, and that it was the duty of the Senators to obey. I have taken down his mode of reasoning, it is as follows: The people elect their

members to the Legislature, and have the power to instruct them—the Legislature elects the Senators, and of course have a like power, because the power which makes, can command and its creature, is a manufacturer of its own hands, and it is consequently the duty of the creature to obey such commands. When a schoolboy, Mr. Speaker, I have often heard of *chopping logic*—I think that this is as fair a specimen of *chop-fallen logic* as I have ever heard. I have already shown that the power to elect Senators was conferred on this body by the Constitution of the United States—say, the office itself was created by that instrument. Suppose the People of the United States, in place of giving the election of Senators to the Legislature, had conferred that power on the Grand Jury of Wake county, would any one contend that that Grand Jury would have the right to give the Senators *mandatory* instructions? The Governor can, by the same instrument which gives us power to elect, fill vacancies in the recess of the Legislature—a it believed, that he can, after he fills the vacancy, also instruct the incumbent? We elect Judges of the Supreme and Superior Courts—can it be for a moment presumed, that we ought to command them what judgment they are to pronounce, after their election? Again, by the second article of the Constitution of the United States, the Electors in each State shall, by ballot, elect a President of the United States—Was it ever dreamed of, that they could, after electing him, instruct him in the various duties pertaining to his office, or any one of them? Thus we see, that so far from any direct grant of this power to instruct in the Constitution, that even by analogy, with other clauses of a similar character in the same instrument, we can find no such power. The Constitution of the United States gives to the Legislature the naked power to elect, and that body arrogates to itself a far more important trust, never intended by that instrument to be delegated to it, namely, the right to direct and control the action of the Senators, when elected. The agents of the people of this State assume the prerogative of instructing the agents of the people of the United States, rendering the latter a mere breathing Automata in the hands of the former. It is facetiously remarked, that the Chancellor in England is the keeper of the King's conscience; but it remained for the wisdom and sagacity of the North Carolina Legislature of 1842, to become literally, not only the conscience keepers, but also the conscience directors of the Senators of the United States, and to declare formally and solemnly, that they are so, by resolution. For it will be remembered that these Senators act under the solemn sanction of an oath. In what a ridiculous attitude then, must not this body appear, when intruding itself as a dictator of the actions, and a superintendent of the consciences of the Senators of the United States? It will be also remembered that this assumption of power not only exposes the ridiculous attitude of the present Legislature, but it reflects upon the sanity of those Sages, who framed the Constitution of the United States; for those who contend that this power is derived from that instrument, must believe, of course, that its framers designed such power should be delegated. And, that they should require Senators to act under oath, and at the same time, give to this Legislature power to control their action, is passing an eulogium, not very enviable, on the wisdom of those Sages. I shall here, Mr. Speaker, say nothing of the effects of such a power as that claimed in the Resolution under consideration, upon the action, as well as the records of the United States Senate—for if the different legislatures have the power contended for, it must necessarily be, the duty of the Senate to obey implicitly their mandates. What a spectacle then, must not their Journal exhibit, in cases of a close vote, where one set of Senators are instructed, and another set elected to consider, expunge and repeal, as the sudden caprice of popular excitement may dictate. Neither need I call your attention to that body, when gavelly sitting as Judges upon a case of impeachment, and casting their votes upon a full view of all the evidence in the case, which judgment is subject to be reversed and the Judges themselves proscribed, according as the current of popular feeling may flow for, or against the party accused, through the dictation of the different Legislatures, without hearing one particle of the testimony upon which such judgment was founded. Nor is it necessary for me to describe what confusion may arise between the Executive and Legislative Departments, while the former has a bill under advisement for approval, which is repealed by the latter through the magic potency of *mandatory* instruction before the Executive prerogative is exercised. These difficulties have no doubt presented themselves to the mind of the sage youth from Cumberland, and his grave associates from Chatham and Orange, who advocate this novel doctrine, and are in their view perfectly reconcilable.

I had supposed, however, Mr. Speaker, that the mover of these Resolutions and his associates, would have been far, very

members to the Legislature, and have the power to instruct them—the Legislature elects the Senators, and of course have a like power, because the power which makes, can command and its creature, is a manufacturer of its own hands, and it is consequently the duty of the creature to obey such commands. When a schoolboy, Mr. Speaker, I have often heard of *chopping logic*—I think that this is as fair a specimen of *chop-fallen logic* as I have ever heard. I have already shown that the power to elect Senators was conferred on this body by the Constitution of the United States—say, the office itself was created by that instrument. Suppose the People of the United States, in place of giving the election of Senators to the Legislature, had conferred that power on the Grand Jury of Wake county, would any one contend that that Grand Jury would have the right to give the Senators *mandatory* instructions? 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members to the Legislature, and have the power to instruct them—the Legislature elects the Senators, and of course have a like power, because the power which makes, can command and its creature, is a manufacturer of its own hands, and it is consequently the duty of the creature to obey such commands. When a schoolboy, Mr. Speaker, I have often heard of *chopping logic*—I think that this is as fair a specimen of *chop-fallen logic* as I have ever heard. I have already shown that the power to elect Senators was conferred on this body by the Constitution of the United States—say, the office itself was created by that instrument. Suppose the People of the United States, in place of giving the election of Senators to the Legislature, had conferred that power on the Grand Jury of Wake county, would any one contend that that Grand Jury would have the right to give the Senators *mandatory* instructions? The Governor can, by the same instrument which gives us power to elect, fill vacancies in the recess of the Legislature—a it believed, that he can, after he fills the vacancy, also instruct the incumbent? We elect Judges of the Supreme and Superior Courts—can it be for a moment presumed, that we ought to command them what judgment they are to pronounce, after their election? Again, by the second article of the Constitution of the United States, the Electors in each State shall, by ballot, elect a President of the United States—Was it ever dreamed of, that they could, after electing him, instruct him in the various duties pertaining to his office, or any one of them? Thus we see, that so far from any direct grant of this power to instruct in the Constitution, that even by analogy, with other clauses of a similar character in the same instrument, we can find no such power. The Constitution of the United States gives to the Legislature the naked power to elect, and that body arrogates to itself a far more important trust, never intended by that instrument to be delegated to it, namely, the right to direct and control the action of the Senators, when elected. The agents of the people of this State assume the prerogative of instructing the agents of the people of the United States, rendering the latter a mere breathing Automata in the hands of the former. It is facetiously remarked, that the Chancellor in England is the keeper of the King's conscience; but it remained for the wisdom and sagacity of the North Carolina Legislature of 1842, to become literally, not only the conscience keepers, but also the conscience directors of the Senators of the United States, and to declare formally and solemnly, that they are so, by resolution. For it will be remembered that these Senators act under the solemn sanction of an oath. In what a ridiculous attitude then, must not this body appear, when intruding itself as a dictator of the actions, and a superintendent of the consciences of the Senators of the United States? It will be also remembered that this assumption of power not only exposes the ridiculous attitude of the present Legislature, but it reflects upon the sanity of those Sages, who framed the Constitution of the United States; for those who contend that this power is derived from that instrument, must believe, of course, that its framers designed such power should be delegated. And, that they should require Senators to act under oath, and at the same time, give to this Legislature power to control their action, is passing an eulogium, not very enviable, on the wisdom of those Sages. I shall here, Mr. Speaker, say nothing of the effects of such a power as that claimed in the Resolution under consideration, upon the action, as well as the records of the United States Senate—for if the different legislatures have the power contended for, it must necessarily be, the duty of the Senate to obey implicitly their mandates. What a spectacle then, must not their Journal exhibit, in cases of a close vote, where one set of Senators are instructed, and another set elected to consider, expunge and repeal, as the sudden caprice of popular excitement may dictate. Neither need I call your attention to that body, when gavelly sitting as Judges upon a case of impeachment, and casting their votes upon a full view of all the evidence in the case, which judgment is subject to be reversed and the Judges themselves proscribed, according as the current of popular feeling may flow for, or against the party accused, through the dictation of the different Legislatures, without hearing one particle of the testimony upon which such judgment was founded. Nor is it necessary for me to describe what confusion may arise between the Executive and Legislative Departments, while the former has a bill under advisement for approval, which is repealed by the latter through the magic potency of *mandatory* instruction before the Executive prerogative is exercised. These difficulties have no doubt presented themselves to the mind of the sage youth from Cumberland, and his grave associates from Chatham and Orange, who advocate this novel doctrine, and are in their view perfectly reconcilable.

I had supposed, however, Mr. Speaker, that the mover of these Resolutions and his associates, would have been far, very