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PROCEEDINGS



AT A

PUBLIC DINNER IN ALBEMARLE COUNTY, VIRGINIA.

GIVEN

TO MR. WILLIAM C. RIVES,

LATE

A SENATOR OF THE UNITED STATES FROM THAT STATE.

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PROCEEDINGS

AT A

PUBLIC DINNER IN ALBEMARLE COUNTY, VIRGINIA.

A public dinner was given to William C. Rives, Esq. on the 19th of the present instant, at the Eagle Hotel, Charlottesville, as had been previously determined on by a meeting of a portion of the citizens of Albemarle county, (which has been already made known, with a publication of the letter of invitation, and its acceptance,) in consideration of their personal regard towards him, and of their decided approbation of the course he had pursued as a member in the Senate of the United States, and in the discharge of the various duties which had been assigned him. At about 3 o'clock, P. M. the company, consisting of 87 gentlemen—that being as large a number as could conveniently be accommodated—with their distinguished guest, together with Captain Partridge, Judge Irvin, of Michigan Territory, and Col. Wilson of Botetourt, who had been invited to partake of the festivities of the occasion, took their seats at a sumptuous and elegant dinner, prepared in the very best style, by Mr. John Vowles, the proprietor of the Hotel. Thomas W. Maury, Esq. acted as President, assisted by Henry White, and Martin Dawson, Esqs. as Vice Presidents. After the cloth had been removed, the following toasts were drank:

1. *Our Country:* "The land of the free, and the home of the brave." "It needs no bulwark," whilst the people hold the *purse* and the *sword*.

2. *The memory of George Washington:* By wisdom and valor, he won an empire, but refused a diadem. He chose Liberty in its stead, and bequeathed the rich heritage to man.

3. *The memory of Thomas Jefferson:* He fell on the anniversary of his political meridian, and (like a falling star,) has left a train of light behind to guide the benighted pilgrim in pursuit of "his long-lost liberty."

4. *Our Guest and Fellow-citizen, Wm. C. Rives:* Alike distinguished for his firm, consistent, and unwavering exertions, to protect the Government of the United States from the ravages of Nullification, and to rescue it from the gulf of Consolidation—the interpreter of the Constitution and its powers, as construed by the Republicans of '98, the immortal Jefferson and Madison. Let him be fairly tried by the People.

Mr. RIVES arose and addressed the company in substance as follows:

Gentlemen: I should be either more or less than a man, if I were not moved, deeply moved by the manifestation of affectionate kindness and regard, with which you have greeted my return among you, on the present occasion. You are all, gentlemen, my countrymen, and neighbors—the companions or patrons of my early years—the

eye-witnesses and near observers of my conduct in all the relations of life, public and private. With a knowledge of my character and principles thus acquired, you have generously stepped forward, at a moment when a sentence of political ostracism has been passed upon me by others, to assure me of your undiminished confidence, to cheer me with your approbation and regard, to welcome me back to your society, and to the communion of kindred pursuits and kindred feelings. This is a testimony, on which I can repose with consoling and triumphant consciousness, amid all the denunciations and revilings to which I have been so unsparingly subjected. I shall cherish it, gentlemen, with grateful recollection, and transmit it to my children as the most unimpeachable muniment of that inheritance of character and public esteem which I desire, above all earthly possessions, to leave to them.

The great public question, in which the part borne by me, has called forth this kind and flattering expression of feeling from you in my behalf, is one of the most momentous character which was ever submitted for the consideration of a free people, wisely jealous of their rights and liberties. It involves, in fact, the whole question of free Government. The issue it presents is nothing less than this—Shall the People of these United States, in the true spirit of their institutions, govern themselves by their own agents freely chosen and responsible to them, animated with common sympathies and common interests, and amenable at all times, to the control of public opinion; or, renouncing the precious inheritance conferred upon by the valor and wisdom of their ancestors, tamely submit to be ruled and lorded over, by a sordid and selfish aristocracy, in the form of a great moneyed corporation, without responsibility, without sympathy, without check of any sort, legal or moral? The Bank of the U. States has abundantly shewn by its conduct, that, though nominally established for commercial purposes, its ruling passion (in conformity to the example of all great moneyed associations, of which history has recorded the existence,) is that of political domination. To secure itself against opposition in the pursuit of its schemes, it seeks to *command* the public councils, and by an influence, both external and internal, to control and supersede the action of the Government. Nor is it difficult to conceive, that an institution, like the Bank of the United States, wielding an immense capital, penetrating with its branches every portion of the Union, connecting itself by the fearful extent of its operations (amounting annually to between three and four hundred millions of dollars,) with

the business and concerns of every individual in the community—it is not difficult to conceive, I say, that such an institution, if unchecked in its career, should be able to make itself virtually the master of the country. Should it unhappily triumph in the daring struggle it is now maintaining with the constituted authorities of the nation, the forms of the Constitution may still remain, but, as a system of popular Government, its substance and vitality will be gone forever. We shall be henceforward, in fact, the vassals and slaves of a heartless moneyed power, whose despotic sway will only be rendered the more intolerable by the bitter mockery of the still subsisting forms and semblance of free Government.

Let it not be supposed, gentlemen, that the object of this struggle on the part of the Bank, is a mere restoration of the public deposits to its keeping. Its aim is far higher and deeper—nothing less than the renewal of its charter, and the perpetuation of its power. I foresaw, from the commencement of the controversy, and declared in my place in the Senate, that these two great questions were indissolubly connected—inseparable parts of the same system. It was impossible to conceive that the restoration of the deposits for the brief space of two years, could be so urgently sought, or that it could be expected to afford any valuable relief from the pecuniary pressure produced by the winding up of the Bank, unless it were regarded as the certain means and immediate precursor of a renewal of its charter. What was opinion then, is now fact; prediction has been converted into history. The Chairman of the Committee on Finance, in the Senate, has, as we have seen, given notice, that by direction and authority of the committee, he would, on the 17th inst. (the day before yesterday,) bring forward a measure, deemed by them the only one of effectual relief for the distresses of the country, to wit: a measure “for the restoration of the deposits and the rechartering of the Bank;” thus associating the two objects, (as they now stand by their own natures,) in indissoluble connection. “The chairman of the committee exposes, at the same time, with a frankness, for which, in these times, he merits no small praise, the whole plan of operations on which the friends of the measure rely for success. With a view to “unite different opinions,” as he informs us, the Bank is proposed to be rechartered “for a short period,” as if, in point of principle, the constitution would not be as much violated by a recharter for a single day, as for twenty years, and as if, too, a recharter for four or five years, (the term probably proposed,) would not certainly put it in the power of the Bank to secure hereafter an indefinite extension of its existence. He then tells us, that, “considering the present state of opinion within the walls of Congress, and with the Chief Executive Magistrate, the measure is to be submitted to the People in a more direct and emphatic manner than is usual in ordinary cases;” expressing, at the same time, his belief, that “in order to relieve themselves from the distresses under which they labor, if the question were now put to the People, not less than three-fourths of them would give an affirmative response.” We are, then, finally told, that, “while the present state

of embarrassment and distress shall continue,” (as continue it must, according to the committee, till the Bank is rechartered,) “an adjournment of Congress is a thing not to be thought of.”

What, gentlemen, is the obvious interpretation, the plain English of all this? The distresses of the People being relied on as the cogent instrument of persuasion, the Bank is to go on to aggravate, by every means in its power, the pecuniary distress of the country. Under the duress of this pressure the People will, it is expected, “in order to relieve” their pockets, compromise their principles; and call upon their Representatives for a recharter of the Bank. While these extorted instructions of the People are pouring in, the Senate is to lay siege to the House of Representatives, and prevent an adjournment of Congress; and the grand operation is to terminate only with surrender, at discretion, of the People and their Representatives, to the coercion of the Bank. Here is a bold and frank avowal, at least, of both the end and the mean of the great struggle which is now convulsing the country. That end is openly proclaimed to be, a recharter of the Bank and the means relied on for success, is the new species of torture, by the infliction of pecuniary distress, operating first on the People, and through them on their Representatives.

If I have not greatly misunderstood my countrymen, this scheme of operations is founded on a total misconception of their character. Every new oppression of the Bank, will but confirm them in their resolution to put down the oppressor. Every additional instance of embarrassment and distress produced by it, will be but an argument the more against the existence of an institution, capable of inflicting such wanton and gratuitous mischief on the country. It has been justly said by an eloquent and philosophical writer, that “men are often hardened by their very pains, and the mind, strengthened even by the torments of the body, rises with a strong defiance against its oppressor.” So will it be with the free and enlightened people of this country, in regard to the oppressions of the Bank. They will hurl back defiance in the teeth of the oppressor. Instead of the submissive and “affirmative response” which has been anticipated, they will answer in the proud spirit of freemen: “We know too well the blessings of liberty, to permit any paltry consideration of money to weigh against them. We know too well how much, both of blood and treasure, the establishment of our institutions cost our gallant ancestors, not to be ready and willing to bear the small sacrifice, (insignificant, indeed, compared with that they manfully encountered,) which may now be thrown upon us in their maintenance and defence. We shall glory in the opportunity, if the Bank so will it, of showing our devotion to those institutions, by meeting, not only with fortitude, but with disdain, all the distresses it can inflict upon us, in the utmost extremity of its vengeance; and, far from indulging the unworthy thought of deprecating its wrath, by instructing our representatives to yield to its demand of a recharter, we will enjoin it upon them to redouble their opposition, and not to relax in

their efforts, till this unconstitutional and sordid tyranny has been finally put down."

The arguments with which it has been attempted to alienate the people from the support of their government in this vital struggle, have no less underrated their intelligence and sagacity, than the scheme of operations relied on to overcome their principles, has underrated their patriotism and virtue. They have been told that the President has united in his own hands the power of the sword and of the purse—that, by the Constitution, he holds the one, and by his own arbitrary and lawless act, he has grasped the other—that the separation of these two powers is a fundamental maxim of free government, and that their union in the same hands forms an unmitigated despotism. Now, gentlemen, in the first place, the enlightened people of this country know full well, that the maxim so pompously and frequently cited, with regard to the fundamental importance of a separation of the powers of the purse and the sword, is a maxim of monarchies, and is consequently wholly inapplicable to our republican institutions. In monarchical systems, the power of the sword, to wit, that of raising armies, equipping fleets, making war, &c., being in the hands of an hereditary Chief Magistrate, holding his power independently of the people, it is indispensable to the preservation of the public liberties, that the power of the purse should be separated from it, and placed in other hands. But, in our free, republican system, this reason for a separation of the powers of the purse and the sword has no application whatever, and they are both lodged, where only they can be safely lodged, in the hands of the representatives of the people. Our Constitution, therefore, does not recognise, but expressly repudiates this monarchical maxim; for, the fundamental principle of American liberty, as you have so well declared by the sentiment embodied in your first toast, is, the *union of the sword and purse in the hands of the people*. But yet, under color of an antiquated maxim, borrowed from the English and other European monarchies, and entirely inapplicable to our free institutions, attempts have been made to alarm the jealousies of the people with regard to the security of their liberties in this respect.

The President, gentlemen, holds neither the power of the purse, nor that of the sword. They are both, as you have justly and properly said, in the hands of the *people* by their representatives. The circumstance of the President being by the Constitution commander of the Army and Navy, when raised, and of the militia, when called forth, does not give him the power of the sword; but it is the power of raising the Army and Navy, of calling forth the militia, of declaring the war in which they are to be used, and of directing for what objects they may be employed; it is these powers which form the power of the sword, and every one of them has been expressly confided by the Constitution to Congress, the immediate representatives of the people. As commander-in-chief, the President is but an *instrument* of the powers of Congress. So, in regard to the power of the purse, which consists in that of raising money from the pockets of the people, and of designating the

objects for which the money so raised is to be expended, this power is, in like manner, confided by the Constitution to Congress, the immediate Representatives of the people, and has neither been claimed nor exercised, in any way whatever, by the President. Will it be pretended that he has raised, or attempted to raise, by his authority, a solitary cent from the pockets of the people; or that he has, by his authority, undertaken to expend a solitary cent of the public money for objects not authorized by Congress? And yet, if he has not, what ground is there for the accusation that he has arbitrarily and lawlessly usurped the power of the public purse? Can any color be found for such a charge in the circumstance that, under the Constitution and laws, the Executive Department being intrusted with the collection, keeping, and accountability of the public moneys, the President, as the responsible head of that department, and in execution of a power to that effect expressly granted by Congress, had thought it necessary and proper, that the unexpended balance of the public moneys should be removed from one place of keeping, where the trust had been shamelessly abused, to another, where such abuse was not apprehended? I think, gentlemen, you will answer with one voice, No.

The people also have been told, that the President had broken into the public Treasury, seized the public money, and that he now controls the whole public revenue of the country. These denunciations have been made, as if, by the mere transfer of the public deposits from one set of Banks to another, the public moneys have been taken out of that official and responsible custody, which alone constitutes the Treasury—and, as if they were now at the unlimited disposition of the President, to be used by him for his private purposes, or to be bestowed in largesses on his favorites, just as he may think proper. Are not representations such as these an insult to the understandings of the people? Is it supposed that the citizens of this enlightened Republic are wholly ignorant of the laws and institutions under which they live? The people know full well, gentlemen, that the public moneys are as much now under the responsible guard of the public Treasury as they ever were—that not a dollar has been, or can be, drawn out and expended for any purpose which has not been expressly authorized and sanctioned by their Representatives in Congress—and that the President cannot get a cent even of his own salary, without passing through all the precautionary forms and checks of a warrant drawn by the Secretary, countersigned by the Comptroller, recorded by the Register, and ordered to be paid by the Treasurer, which the law has prescribed.

To sustain these charges against your patriotic Chief Magistrate, gentlemen, novelties of the most startling character have been advanced in regard to the administrative and constitutional theory of the government. It has been contended, that the Treasury Department is not an Executive Department—that the Secretary of the Treasury, though from the first organization of the government to the present day, he has, as the head of an Executive Department, held a seat in

the Cabinet of the President, and has been, both by the usages of the Government and the provisions of law, placed in the same relations with the President as the other Secretaries or Heads of Departments are; yet, unlike them, he is wholly independent of the President: in short, that though the power of removal and control on the part of the President, with regard to *all* the Secretaries, was fully considered and settled in the most solemn manner, by the first Congress which assembled under the Constitution, and has ever since remained undisputed; yet that that, and all subsequent Congresses, to the present day, mistook the principles of the Constitution in this respect, and that, while by its theory, the President, as the Executive head, is responsible for the conduct of all his Secretaries, he is to have no power to control the conduct of those for whom he is thus responsible! These novel and extraordinary doctrines will be appreciated as they ought to be, by those whom it most concerns, and to whom it rightfully belongs to appreciate them. The same enlightened and incorruptible tribunal, too, will not fail to see, that in the actual position of the great question, they are now called on to decide, there can be no neutrals. A vital issue is joined between a daring and unconstitutional moneyed power, struggling for supremacy on the one hand, and between the delegated and responsible government of the people seeking to vindicate and maintain the powers which have been committed to it in trust for the public good, on the other. In such a contest, he who, by exaggerated or unfounded charges against the government, contributes to deprive it of the public confidence and support necessary to sustain it in so momentous a struggle, as effectually aids the bank and subverts its triumph, as he who should come forth openly as the champion and advocate of the bank.

Nor can the People of *Virginia* forget, that the firmness, moral courage, and constitutional principles of the present Chief Magistrate, have formed the great dyke, which has protected the political doctrines so long cherished by her from the swelling tide of federal encroachment. Break down that dyke at the present moment, by causelessly and rashly undermining the foundation of popular confidence and affection on which it rests, and the united currents which are now setting in from so many different points, will sweep from the public administration every vestige of the principles and doctrines of *Virginia*. It may be asserted, without fear of contradiction, that no President of the United States has ever done more for the ascendancy of *Virginia* principles, than the present Chief Magistrate. I cooperated with you, gentlemen, and a large majority of our fellow citizens of the State, in his election; and I may safely say, that no one expectation entertained by any of us, at that time, has been falsified by the course of his administration. You will all recollect, gentlemen, that at that period, an unconstitutional and corrupting system of Internal Improvements, under the patronage of the Federal Government, was rapidly extending its dangerous lures and mischievous abuses over the country—that an unequal and oppres-

sive system of taxation, for the protection and advancement of sectional interests, was steadily increasing its burthens, to the almost entire annihilation of the freedom of industry—and that the Bank of the United States, with the favor it then enjoyed, seemed likely to perpetuate for ever its triumph over the prostrate constitution of the land.

These were the three great, and, as we deemed them, pernicious and unconstitutional systems of national policy, against which the efforts of *Virginia* had been zealously and perseveringly exerted through a long course of fruitless opposition.— They seemed, at that time, to be so fixed in the affections of a majority of the nation, and in the habits of the public administration, that the present Chief Magistrate was called to the head of the Government, more, perhaps, in the confidence that he would restrain their abuses, than with the hope of his waging, as he has done, a war of uncompromising opposition to them, on principle. But this he has manfully done; and, by the courageous exertion of his constitutional power, or by the moral influence of his great and deserved popularity, he has razed each one of these systems of gigantic corruption to the ground. Nothing can be more conclusive than the testimony of one of the most zealous of his adversaries, and a leading member of the administration which he succeeded, on this point. That gentleman has told us, on a recent occasion, that “If the present Chief Magistrate should go on in the course of innovation, (or, as we should call it, salutary reform,) he had commenced, hardly a vestige of the policy of the government, as it was on the 4th of March, 1829, would remain on the 4th of March, 1837.” Now, gentlemen, this is precisely the mission which we, of *Virginia*, at least, intended by our votes, to confide to him; and if he has gone farther in its successful accomplishment than we had ventured to hope, it surely furnishes no matter for reproach or complaint with us, however naturally it may do so to those who have been opposed alike to him, and to the policy and doctrines of *Virginia*. On what ground of principle or honor is it, then, that *Virginia* is now to unite with those who have been her steadfast political adversaries, in making war on an administration of her own choice, which has faithfully and triumphantly carried out her doctrines, and more than fulfilled her most sanguine expectations?

Before I close the remarks, gentlemen, which seemed called for on the present occasion, I shall find in your kindness and partiality an apology for a single observation on a subject relating to myself. When, on my return from the service of my country in a foreign land, I was unexpectedly, and without any solicitation on my part, presented to the Legislature of my native State as a candidate for a seat in the Senate of the United States, a gentleman, then a member, and perhaps the oldest member of the House of Delegates, one who had known me from my boyhood, and who had been, and is still, I am proud to say, my friend, through good and through evil report, addressed me a letter requesting to know my opinions briefly on the leading political topics of the day. In my reply, which was written on my journey home-

ward, and was necessarily hurried, I answered in his own laconic and significant language, that "I was anti-Tariff, anti-Nullification, anti-Bank, and a firm and decided supporter of the policy of Gen. Jackson's administration." My letter was read by him in his place in the House of Delegates; as is, doubtless, recollected by two gentlemen now present, and then members of the Legislature; and upon the declarations of opinion contained in it, I had the honor of being unanimously elected (with the exception of four or five votes) to the Senate of the United States—in honor which no one could appreciate with more grateful sensibility than myself; for the confidence and affection of my native State I have ever regarded as the highest reward of my public service. Now, gentlemen, I think I have a right to ask, that my conduct in the discharge of the high duties confided to me, should be tried by the declaration of principles I then made, and upon which I was unanimously elected, with the exception mentioned. It has so happened that, in the course of the last eventful twelve-month, occasions have occurred to test the sincerity of every one of the opinions I professed. It will be admitted, I think, by all that, by my course during the last session of Congress, I proved myself anti-Nullification and anti-Tariff—by my course during the present, anti-Bank—and on both occasions, the friend of the present Administration, by giving it that candid and honorable support which it seemed to me to deserve at the hands of the People—especially the People of Virginia.

While I have thus redeemed every one of the pledges made by me at the time of my election, and upon which I was chosen by an almost unanimous vote, and, as it would now seem, precisely because I have so redeemed them, I have had the misfortune to fall under the displeasure of the Legislature. Let it be my consolation to know that, when I was chosen to the honorable office I have felt myself called on to lay down, it was upon an honest and frank declaration of my principles, to which I have faithfully adhered—that I have broken no pledge, violated no promise, deceived no expectation. If there has been any change of principle or opinion, I think I may stand up in the face of the world, and say, I have not changed. Nor do I believe, that the People of Virginia have changed. Amid the sudden and capricious mutations of parties, amid the violent conflicts of political ambition—the enlightened steadiness of the People, their incorruptible fidelity, and unwavering attachment to principle, have ever formed my most cheering reliance, and on their verdict, I shall rest with conscious security. When we look around us, and witness the infuriated contests of political leaders for power, the reckless extravagance of party spirit which animates their followers, the too often angry and violent debates of our public bodies, and the furious proscriptions of the public press, the heart of the patriot sickens with despondency and apprehension, for the fate of our republican system. But when our eyes are turned from this scene back to the People, the fountain of power—when we see them calm and unexcited, though vigilant and enlightened observers of the proceedings of

their public men, marking with discriminating judgment, the merits and demerits of each, but kindling with the passions, and enlisting under the ambitious lead of none—shaping by their patriotic will, and controlling by the sober exercise of their power, the actual administration of their own affairs—our confidence revives with increased strength, and we feel that our happy institutions are founded on the imperishable rock of ages. It is in this conviction, deeply felt and cherished with enlivening confidence, that I offer you a sentiment, gentlemen, in which your hearty concurrence is assured to me, in advance:

The PEOPLE, the rightful source of all power—Their virtue and vigilance the corrective of bad, the support of good government.

6. *The People are sovereign.* Let those who instruct their agents, first go to the source of all legitimate political power.

7. *James Madison:* Look for his history to the annals of his country, and his doctrines of '98 and '99—Time may blanch his brow and bend his form, but his name, like his principles, will be immortal.

8. *ANDREW JACKSON, President of the United States:* The Thesus of Executive reform—he has not only pierced the corrupt labyrinth of the Bank, but he has destroyed the monster, and rescued the liberties of the people from its expiring grasp.

9. *Nullifiers, Nationals, and Bankites.* The extremes of parties divided among themselves—united only in their ruthless and reckless warfare against the present administration.

10. *The Governor of Virginia:* Official authority, when it stoops from "its pride of place," sinks into the mere partisan—gratuitously and un-called-for, transcends the line of its prescribed duty—it is then deservedly censured and justly rebuked.

11. *The Union of the States and the Rights of the States:* May the Traitor who dares to attempt the destruction of either, find a Brutus with a dagger for his heart.

12. *The modern Triumvirate, Calhoun, Clay, and Webster:* A rare and mysterious coalition, striving to win the Empire by division; but, if gained, each one determined to aim at a monopoly of the whole.

13. *William J. Duane:* He who needs the advice of a father, and is insensible to the obligations of a sacred pledge, is incapable of advising, and unworthy of a seat in the councils of his country.

14. *Woman:*
 "Her look is to man's eyes a beam
 Of loveliness that never sets;
 Her voice is to his ear a dream
 Of melody it ne'er forgets.
 Alike in motion or repose—
 Awake or slumbering, sure to win;
 Her form, a vase transparent, shows
 The spirit's light enshrined within."

VOLUNTEERS.

1. By the Committee. Our Guest, Capt. Partridge: The distinguished instructor of youth—he will always teach the true doctrines of Republicanism.

After the annunciation of this toast, Capt. Partridge rose, and after expressing his acknowledgments, in a brief and neat address, offered the following toast:

2. The Youth of our country: With pride may our citizens point to them, and say, "These are our jewels."

3. By Col. G. W. Kinsolving. W. C. Rives, Virginia's talented and favorite son: He stands unmoved amidst the conflicting elements of the political world; may no clouds of prejudice obscure him in this political storm.

A toast sent by Mr. Jesse Lewis, who had intended to be present in person, but was prevented by circumstances beyond his control:

4. The ship of State: A bold and hazardous tack, but now, *probably*, the only one that could have defeated the enemy.

5. By Thomas J. Randolph. Jesse Lewis: Thomas Jefferson's sample of a nation's wealth.

6. By the Committee. Our Guest, Col. Wilson, of Botetourt, a faithful and able member of the Republican phalanx in the late Legislature of Virginia.

[After this toast was announced, Col. Wilson rose, and in a brief address defended the principles he had maintained in the late Legislature, and offered the following:]

7. The People of Virginia: May they speak in a voice not to be misunderstood, against the restoration of the deposits and the recharter of the United States Bank.

Thomas W. Maury, President of the Day, being called upon for a toast, gave the following:

8. The Address of the Minority of the Legislature of Virginia on the deposite question—a torch from the vestal fane of '98. The popular breeze will fan the flame till it shall cease to be the lesser fire.

Sent by Col. John R. Jones, who was unavoidably prevented from attending:

9. Our Guest, William C. Rives: The honest politician, the true patriot, and firm supporter of the constitution of the United States. May his services ever be remembered with gratitude by the American People.

10. By Col. Thomas Durret. William C. Rives: We hail him as the faithful and independent interpreter of the Constitution, and able supporter of the administration. May our next Legislature replace him in that station, which his magnanimity and high sense of honor caused him to resign.

11. By Col. David Hays. William F. Gordon: False to his constituents; and I am in hopes the People will let him know it, when he returns home.

12. By Craven Peyton. The Americans: Wise, brave and just. All the wealth of the universe would not induce them to tarnish the fame of their two sons, Andrew Jackson and William C. Rives.

13. By a student of the University. Our Guest, the Hon. Judge Irvin, of Michigan Territory—a true Virginian and firm supporter of the present administration.

[After this toast, Judge Irvin made his acknowledgements in an appropriate manner, and offered the following:]

14. Virginia now, and Virginia forever.

15. By Dr. Chastain Cocke. General Jackson—the stripling soldier of the revolution—the veteran hero of the last war, and now the venerable and unflinching patriot of to-day.

16. By Allen T. Peebles. The guests at this banquet, a band of freemen, who are resolved to aid in saving the democracy of our country, by sedulously supporting the disciples of the Jefferson Republican School.

17. By William S. Dabney. The next President of the United States: May he, like the present, be called to office by the voice of the People, unawed by the frowns and unseduced by the smiles of any soulless corporation whatever.

18. By William H. Brockenbrough. Virginia, unbullied and unbought—her voice in '98, terror could not stifle—in '34, the Bank cannot buy.

19. By Capt. John H. Craven. Patriots of '98 and '99, watch! The enemy are on the lines, or in the camp.

20. By Col. Samuel Carr. The Rights of the States and the Union of the States—avoiding nullification on the one side, and consolidation on the other; both equally dangerous to the perpetuity and freedom of our institutions.

21. By Henry White, Esq. one of the Vice Presidents. The ensuing April Elections. Virginia expects every man to do his duty without fear, favor, or affection.

22. By Charles I. Merewether. May the *resolutions and instructions* sent to our Senator by our last Legislature, cause the political death of the *majority*; but the People will reward the *minority*.



WERT
BOOKBINDING
Grantsville, Pa.
Jan. - Feb. 1989
We're Quality Bound

