

pretending patriotism and unspotted political faith, and the high gratification I should derive from being thought worthy of their confidence, I shall feel it a duty to be content with whatever disposition of the question they in the honest exercise of their opinions shall see fit to make.

With sentiments of high consideration I am gentlemen, your obedient servant,

M. VAN BUREN.

To Joseph H. Bryan, Josiah T. Cranberry, and Nemucan Hunt, Esqrs. Committee, &c.

MESSAGE.

Fellow Citizens of the Senate, And House of Representatives:

In conveying you at an earlier moment than the period fixed by the Constitution for your usual meeting, I have cheerfully assumed whatever responsibility may attach to this exercise of my prerogative, under a belief that after our general elections, you could not too soon be brought together, to deliberate on the best means of promoting the interests of those, whose rights, whose liberties, and whose public honor are confided to your care.

I should indeed have convoked your predecessors immediately after the adjournment of the last Session of Congress, if I had not deemed it in every respect desirable that our people, in the exercise of one of the highest functions of their sovereignty, exerted in the choice of their Representatives, should, in the first instance, have an opportunity of passing on the final result of the proceedings of that Session, which claims to have fixed on a permanent basis, as far as can be effected by Federal legislation, the settled policy of the country.—As the canvass, which preceded our recent elections, was conducted in almost exclusive and absorbing reference to the ultimate result of this legislation by Congress, your selections may be taken as the exponents of this judgment. I cordially congratulate you, and our State at large, not only on the auspicious and elevated decision which our people, by infallible tokens, have thus made, but also on the cheering indications of our having already reached a unanimity of sentiment, nearly as great as the inevitable diversity of human opinions will permit, on a subject vitally affecting our dearest rights and liberties. Thus convened under circumstances of profound public anxiety, and intense public interest, you will, I am sure, come to the discharge of the trust which has devolved upon you, with an inflexible determination to perform its duties in an enlightened spirit of firmness and moderation, worthy of the occasion and of those inestimable principles of the most impressive of our obligations to preserve, and forever defend.

It is known to you, Fellow-Citizens, that the most anxious hopes of the good people of this State, were directed to the proceedings of the last Congress of the U. States. The necessity of providing for the large reduction of Federal Taxation, consequent on the proximate extinguishment of a large public debt, the strong and well founded complaints of a respectable patriotic portion of the States in this confederacy, the solid grounds on which, as a matter of constitutional right, these complaints rested, as well as our just claims to a reform not only in the abuses of the exercise of the power of taxation on the part of the General Government, but in the abuses of the appropriation of the public treasure after it is levied, inspired even those prone to despond, in spite of inauspicious omens, with some faint expectation, that these great and alarming questions of political power would be settled in a spirit of impartial justice and with a considerate regard to that amity and mutual concession, so essential to the preservation of a confederacy composed of co-equal and co-ordinate sovereignties.

It is scarcely necessary that I should inform you in detail, what has been the final result of these delusively cherished expectations, for you are in possession of an authority on this subject, infinitely more valuable than my own. Two-thirds of your Representatives and both of your Senators, after efforts on the floor of Congress of signal ability and disinterested patriotism, in which every species of conciliation was exerted, that a just and wise moderation could dictate, short of surrendering a principle essential to your constitutional liberty, have solemnly declared to the people of South-Carolina, in the face of the world, "That whatever hopes may have been indulged at the commencement of the session, that a returning sense of justice, on the part of the majority, would remove or materially mitigate the grievous load of oppression under which you have so justly complained, they are reluctantly constrained to declare that those flattering hopes,

too long deferred, and too fondly cherished, have finally and forever vanished." In proof of this disastrous consummation, they could not better have relied on any testimony than that on which they did rely, the Tariff of 1832, which, by a perversion of every principle of common sense and common justice, has been called a compromise between the conflicting interests of the manufacturing and plantation States, on principles of equivalent benefit to both.—It is unnecessary, gentlemen, that I should inform you, who are so well instructed upon the true grounds of the controversy, that this imputed compromise is destitute of every feature of that justice and equality that ought to characterize a measure bearing such an appellation. We might well in advance have distrusted the compact for this adjustment, in which it was found expedient not to consult, at any period of the negotiation, our Senators, and two-thirds of our Representatives, and which bore upon its face the signs of its being in some respects a subtle contrivance, to bond the pecuniary interests and constitutional liberties of the people, to a struggle for the executive power of the country. But apart from these intrinsic objections, the adjustment is intrinsically not a mutual, but an exclusive compromise of all the just claims and interests of the South. The Tariff Act of 1832 is, in point of fact, a law by which the consumption of the manufacturing States is nearly relieved of all sorts of burdens on those articles which they consume and do not produce, and under the provisions of which, they are secured a bounty on an average of more than fifty per cent. on the productions of their industry, whilst it taxes our consumption to an equivalent amount, and the exchange value of our products in a much more aggravated ratio. The law bears the impress of the legislation of an independent sovereignty for a feeble and distant colony and establishes the revolting discrimination that the labor of the South is less entitled to the paternal regard of this Government than that of a more favored section of the Union. The provisions of the Act are, moreover, at war with every acknowledged principle of wise and beneficent taxation, which has ever existed among any people on the face of the earth, having the shadow of a claim to civilization or a just knowledge of finance. Articles of luxury are selected as the objects of comparative exemption from all burden, whilst those of necessity bear nearly the whole brunt of the imposts. The great staples of the industry and consumption of man, which purchase seven-tenths of our agricultural products, Iron, Cotton and Woolen fabrics, Salt and Sugar, are burdened with a tax quite equivalent to an average of 75 per cent. on their prime cost, whilst the teas, the coffee, the silks and the wines of the rich, which are principally exchanged for the productions of manufacturing or Northern labor, enjoy, as it regards these articles a most unjust discrimination in their favor. Operating thus heavily on the exchangeable value of our products, the act provides for nothing short of the monstrous injustice of levying, at least $\frac{1}{3}$ of the whole amount of the Federal revenue, on the industry of the Southern States.—Nor does the gross inequality of the law stop here. It effects after all the subtle artifices of exaggeration respecting a diminution of our burdens have been dispelled, a reduction, from the amount of duties levied under the act of 1828 as modified by that of 1830, of three millions seven hundred thousand dollars on the unprotected articles, and only the pitiful sum of somewhere about eight hundred thousand dollars on the protected, (which purchase the staples of the South) making in all a reduction of only four millions and a half, instead of twelve, which last reduction was essential to the accomplishment of the desirable and highly conservative object of bringing the revenue down to the standard of the legitimate wants of the Government. As it is, nine millions of surplus revenue will, in all probability, result from the imposts of this Act, over and above the necessary and constitutional expenses of the country to be distributed by a majority irresponsible to us, in corrupt largesses or unconstitutional appropriations to those States which, without possessing an interest in the Tariff, are

made to feel that they have an interest in the high taxation, when by an unjust provision of the Government, they receive more than they are made to pay.

Repugnant as the Act thus is to every principle of justice, we cannot indulge even the humiliating consolation that designed as it was, in some respects, to subserve the periodical struggle for the Executive power of the country, it will be temporary in its duration, and will at last yield to that returning sense of justice so long promised, and whose advent has been so long and so tardily postponed. No. We have the authentic and solemn declarations of both the great dominant parties in the Union, who are now contending for its power and who conjointly form an overwhelming majority, that the system is fixed as fate, except in those particulars that are yet to be modified more beneficially for their interests, as cupidity may be instructed by experience. That the system, if we think proper to submit to its injustice, is the fixed and settled policy of the country, so far as the majority can will it to be such, we have much more solid reasons for believing, than even these declarations however authoritative.—This belief is founded on the indisputable fact, that it is impossible for the wit or wisdom of man, to have contrived a scheme for raising the revenue of the country in a mode more essentially and exclusively beneficial to their own interests. For it is a process by which taxation operates correlatively as a bounty to their industry; and that whilst three-fourths of the public revenue is to be raised on articles in the production of which they enjoy a premium of more than fifty per cent. all the articles necessary to perfection of their arts and manufactures, and many essential to the accommodations and luxuries of life, are comparatively untaxed. It is not a cold abstract sense of justice or what are insultingly called the metaphysics of constitutional liberty that will induce a people, rioting in such a high and palmy state of prosperity, to surrender these advantages, if they can find four millions of consumers, willing to submit to their exactions, who happen to be territorially separated from them, and who exercise a species of industry in no degree competing with, but on the contrary subservient and tributary to their own. We shall indeed have read the history of the world to very little purpose if we cherish so idle and senseless a conjecture. If the Southern States had been subjugated provinces, and after a war of exhausting desolation, had surrendered at discretion under the sword, I ask what other bill "for the regulation of trade with the colonies" our conquerors would have desired, but this very tariff act of 1832? Of the ruin which this measure will bring upon us, we are not left to speculation. The signs of our decaying prosperity are around us.

Informed as you are, gentlemen, of all the details of this act, I am conscious how unnecessary it is to press this view of the subject any further, but there is one consideration which cannot be overlooked, and that is, the solemn and abiding conviction of the good people of this State, that the right to pass a tariff of protection is not to be found in the constitution of the United States, that in the act of 1832 the principle of protection is distinctly and triumphantly recognised, and that, neither in express terms or by an authorized implication does any such power exist in the compact of Union. To submit to an infraction of the Constitution, involving the great right of human industry and property, is to acquiesce in voluntary servitude. To meet this vital truth, the lessons we have been taught by our ancestors contain an instructive and salutary moral. He must be a very ingenious casuist who can discover any difference in principle between taxation without representation and taxation with a nominal representation but in violation of the constitution. The result of both is, seizing and taking away money without legal right. But grievous as may be the pecuniary loss arising from this wrong, it is mere dust in the balance in comparison with the shock which the public liberty of the country sustains, if the people, by a relaxation of public spirit through sloth, servility or cowardice, are prepared to submit to an infraction of their rights for it overthrows, if I may so speak, that love and reverence for the authority of

the general principles of liberty, so essential to the preservation of the institutions of free states.

In this summary, fellow-citizens, I believe I have uttered not one word that does not meet a response, in the overwhelming public sentiment of our people. After ten years of suffering and remonstrance, we have at length arrived at least at the end of our hopes. Our petitions and protests have slumbered in apathy and contempt on the journals of Congress. The Legislature of this State has however, declared and reiterated, "that a Tariff of Protection is not only unconstitutional, but an abuse of power incompatible with the principles of a free government and the great ends of civil society," and has avowed its purpose "to expose and resist all encroachments on the true spirit of the Constitution." You have been elected by the people and charged by their opinions to adopt means the best calculated to protect and defend them from these encroachments; and you are now convened by me for the purpose of maturely deliberating on the mode of accomplishing this desirable and hallowed object. Public sentiment has already, by unequivocal tokens, declared in favor of a Convention of the people of South-Carolina, for the purpose of considering the character and extent of the usurpations of the general government.—In recommending that you promptly take measures to authorize the meeting of such an assembly, I feel, (notwithstanding my cordial concurrence in this measure,) that I am only responding to that sentiment. As it was by an assembly of identical and equivalent authority, that our compact was formed under the Constitution with the co-States, when they agreed to establish a common agency called the General Government, so, on no tribunal can more appropriately devolve the high province of declaring the extent of our obligations under this compact, "and in case of a deliberate, palpable and dangerous exercise of powers, not granted by the said compact," to determine "on the mode and measure of redress." Indeed all our political systems have flowed from the mighty source of these great primary and elemental assemblies, which are not the type but the essence of the sovereignty of the people; nor have they ever yet convened without subserving some eminent purpose of public liberty and social order. The judicious guards in our own State Constitution, by which the people have imposed restraints upon themselves, in the convocation of these bodies, by requiring the concurrence of two thirds of both branches of the Legislature, before a Convention can be called, not only effectually prevent tumultuary or revolutionary action, but ensure that unanimity among the people so essential to the success of all great public movements.

In earnestly recommending fellow-citizens, that you make, forthwith, legislative provision for the assembling of such a convention, with all the despatch compatible with the public convenience. I cannot but look forward to the deliberations and final decision of this high and authoritative body, as the blessed means, not only, of finally redressing our wrongs but of uniting our whole people in one common mode and purpose of resisting oppression, and in patriotic and fraternal bonds of concord. When this assembly shall speak, its voice, next to the voice of God, must command our perfect obedience. We owe no allegiance to any other power, except that which through a similar assemblage, South-Carolina has thought fit to contract for us, and so long as she thinks proper that the obligation should continue, is but rendering our loyalty to her.

I forbear bringing any other subject to your consideration connected with the ordinary and current business of the State, as under the Constitution you must again convene on the 4th Monday of the ensuing month. I would respectfully suggest that with the view, if practicable, of procuring an assembly of the proposed Convention, at this place prior to that period, you likewise abstain from the consideration of any other matter than the important topic and those necessarily incidental to it which I have brought to your view, as I deem it, for a variety of considerations so which it is unnecessary I should now dwell, in every respect desirable that our issue, with the General Government, should be made before the meeting of Congress.

In urging the expediency of calling a Convention of the People, for the purposes I have indicated, I have forbore to make a single suggestion of what may or may not, what ought or what ought not to be the remedy this Assembly should ordain. To a body so constituted and empowered, let the whole subject of our rights, and our grievances be confided, and uninfluenced by any bias arising from the official expression of our opinions. Representing public sentiment, it cannot but organize and give force to the public will.

In conclusion, Fellow-Citizens, our cause is worthy of our highest, our most zealous and our most inflexible efforts. It is for no object of ambition, no lust of power or avarice, that we have assumed our present posture in relation to the usurpations of the Federal Government but it is to redeem the Constitution of our Country from unlawful violation, to maintain its ascendancy over the law making authority, to save this once cherished Union from a

corruption and misrule, that doom it to irreversible disruption, to bring the Government back to the salutary principles of a just and economical administration, to restore to our own homes and the homes of our fathers their wonted prosperity, by the glorious effort of recovering for our Country a privilege we have never surrendered, of exchanging in a period of profound peace the fruits of our labor, under a wise system of free intercourse with the rest of the world; a privilege which, it has been justly said, belongs to the Christian Code among civilized nations. With these objects, and standing firmly on our rights,—I implore the blessings of Almighty God on your deliberations, that they may redound to the liberty, peace and happiness of our common country as well as of the people whom you specially represent.

J. HAMILTON, Jr.
Columbia Oct. 22, 1832.

Dress.—There is not an hour in the day in which a man so much likes to see his wife dressed with neatness as when she leaves her bedroom, and sits down to breakfast. At any other moment, *coquetry* stimulates her efforts at the toilette, for she expects to be seen; but at this retired and early hour, it is for the very sake of cleanliness, for the very sake of pleasing her husband, that she thus appears neat and nice. Some one says, "a woman should never appear untidily or badly dressed in the presence of her husband." While he was a lover what a sad piece of business if he caught her dressed to disadvantage! "Oh dear there he is, and my hair all in papers;—this frightful unbecoming cap! I had no idea he would have been here so early—let me off to my toilette!" But now that he is your husband, "dear me what consequence! My object is gained, my efforts to win him, and all my little manoeuvres to captivate, have been successful, and it is very hard if a woman is to pass her life in endeavoring to please her husband!" I remember greatly admiring a lady who lived among the mountains, and scarcely saw any one but her husband. She was rather a plain woman; and yet when she sat to breakfast each morning, and all the day long, her extreme neatness, and the attention to the niceness of her appearance made quite an agreeable object and her husband loved her, and would look at her with more pleasure than at a pretty woman, dressed soiled and untidy: for, believe me, those things (though your husband appears not to notice them, nor perhaps is he conscious of the cause,) strongly possess the power of pleasing or displeasing.

—Whisper to a new married couple.

Great Race.—One of the finest races on record took place on Saturday, on the Union (L. I.) course, when 4 horses were entered for the \$600 purse, four mile heats. These were Black Maria, Trifle, Relief, and Slim. They started at 1 o'clock.—The first heat was taken by Black Maria, who was closely pursued by Trifle, by whom she was beaten on a previous occasion; and the knowing ones were completely taken in, as they betted freely five to one on Trifle. Slim and Lady Relief merely saved their distances this heat, the saddle girth of the latter having broken. The second heat was pronounced a dead one; Lady Trifle overtaking Black Maria just at the winning post, Slim broke down in this heat. The third heat was beautifully contested and won by Trifle by a length. In the fourth heat each of the horses took the lead alternately, and it was won by Lady Relief by about a length. They again started for the fifth heat with continued spirit. Trifle broke down in the third mile, and Black Maria won the heat and the race by about three lengths; thus coming out victorious in a contest for 20 miles, and sustaining the reputation of the blood of Eclipse, for bottom as well as speed. Trifle, who was the favourite from the beginning, and until the fourth heat, is a beautiful Southern filly, by Sir Charles, Lady Relief is an Eclipse Colt.—N. Y. Com. Adc. 15th inst.

One of the numerous gang of rogues that infest the community, was recently arrested at the Tremont Theatre in Boston charged with having stolen a package containing \$5,000 from on board a steam boat between Wilmington and Philadelphia.—On searching him a gold watch and \$15 in money were found upon his person; and in examining his clothes \$600 in bills were found *stowed up in the bottom seam of his pantaloons*. The bills were, five of \$100 and two of \$50 each. He is a shoemaker by occupation, and bears about him a convenient number of aliases, calling himself by the names of Porterfield, alias Butler, alias Ellis—almost as many appellations as a Spanish Don.—N. Y. Cour. and Eq. 15th inst.

Mammoth Steamer.—A steam vessel was launched on the 18th ult. at Elizabethtown, Pa. near Pittsburg, said to be the largest on the western waters. She has 173 feet keel, and will carry 800 tons besides engine, wood and furniture, &c. which will probably swell the tonnage to one thousand. Her cabins, when thrown together by opening the folding doors, will measure 170 feet in length. She is to be propelled by an engine of 250 horse power, and is destined to run between New-Orleans and Louisville.