

MR. CALHOUN'S PUBLICATION

FROM THE PAPER OF THE 11th OF SEPTEMBER

We have been not a little amused at the various readings of Mr. Calhoun's Exposition by our brethren of the quill. One sees in it the doctrine of Nullification to the full extent; another is of opinion that it evades that question. One is sure that its object and tendency are to lead to civil war, disunion, and all their dreadful consequences; another, that it is our only hope of political salvation. One says it is orthodox; with another heterodox. One thinks that it has gone beyond; and another that it has stopped short of, the public expectation. One opines that it seals his political fate; and another that it will be the stepping stone to higher honors. One thinks it too long and another too short. In fact, no two of the tribe view it alike. The only point in which they all agree, is that it is written with extraordinary ability. For our part, we do exceedingly regret, as he of the Camden Journal supposes, that any doctrine advanced by Mr. Calhoun should be unpopular, because we think there is not just now any other individual combining all the great requisites so prominent before the public, as to ensure the defeat of both Jackson and Clay; and because we think it essential to the prosperity of the country, and the purity of her institutions, that they should both be defeated. We see nothing in Mr. Calhoun's sentiments for which we would condemn him; but in his great leading principles we heartily concur. Our regrets arise from the apprehension that others will see nullification in them, which we think is not the case; and that the consequence will be that our hopes of seeing him President must be deferred, at least.

If Mr. Calhoun's publication had come from Virginia, and had the sanction of Mr. Jefferson's or Mr. Madison's name, it would doubtless be impossible to discover any thing amiss in it. But because it comes from South Carolina, and because a portion of the people of that State are nullifiers; and because the word nullification is unfashionable, it is every thing abominable. Let any one read the extracts from the Virginia and Kentucky Resolutions, which we this day publish, and see how far beyond Mr. Calhoun those two distinguished men have gone in their claims for the reserved rights of the States. We do not wish to be understood as asserting the right of one State to nullify an act of Congress, (which we consider the doctrine of nullification,) and we do not find it advanced by Mr. Calhoun. On the contrary, there is nothing there inconsistent with the purest love of country; nothing there which will prevent our giving to him our hearty support, should he be held up for the Presidency.

From the Raleigh Star. Mr. Calhoun's Sentiments.—To the exclusion of almost every thing else, we lay before our readers, in to day's paper, the address of the Vice President, setting forth, in detail his views on the interesting questions which now agitate and divide our country. In our next, we shall commence the publication of the political authorities upon which Mr. Calhoun founds his opinions, to wit: The Virginia Resolutions of 1799, the Kentucky Resolutions of 1799, and the Decision of the Supreme Court of Pennsylvania, pronounced in 1799, by Chief Justice Marshall, in the case of the Common Pleas vs. Cabbet. The public will then have the whole ground before them, and will be enabled to form a fair and impartial idea of the course of the Vice President.

From the Tarborough Free Press. Vice President Calhoun.—The last Pendleton Messenger contains the opinions of Mr. Calhoun, on the relation which the States and General Government bear to each other. In our next paper we will give the principal part of this important document. If we mistake not, our readers will find in this lucid Exposition an able illustration of the doctrines of '98, clearly defining the original landmarks of the "Jefferson School."

From the Newbern Sentinel. The Vice President's sentiments on the question of the relation which the States and the General Government bear to each other, and his views of the Tariff Policy, are published in this day's paper. This profound and masterly document does great credit to Mr. Calhoun's candor and firmness. Regardless of the degree in which it may affect his political standing, his course is frank and undisguised, and such as must endear him to those of his fellow citizens who entertain the doctrines which he inculcates.

From the Newbern Spectator. Mr. Calhoun's Opinions.—Mr. Calhoun has at length given to the public the anxiously expected disclosure of his opinions on the topic of nullification. He has done so with a candour and independence, that must enlist the admiration of all parties.

Mr. Calhoun's expose which we promulgated last week, occupies so much of

our space as to exclude the usual variety of matter which a newspaper is expected to afford. We do not regret this however, and we shall be much disappointed if our readers do. The opinions of such a man as John C. Calhoun upon a question of such deep and absorbing interest, are surely of more importance than the usual variety of topics which enter into newspaper composition. We are constrained to postpone any remarks upon it, until our next. Let every man read it, and say whether there be one sentiment inconsistent with the most ardent attachment to the Union of the States.

Cheraw Republican.

An extract from a letter from Thomas Jefferson to Judge Roane, dated, FORK AND FOREST BART. 6, 1812.

DEAR SIR, I had read in the Enquirer, and with great approbation, the pieces signed Hampden, and have read them again with redoubled approbation in the copies you have been so kind as to send me. I subscribe to every title of them. They contain the true principles of the revolution of 1800, for that was a real revolution in the principles of our government as that of 1776 was in its form; not effected indeed by the sword, as that; but by the rational and peaceable instrument of reform; the suffrages of the people. The nation declared its will by dismissing functionaries of one principle, and electing those of another, in the two branches, executive and legislative, submitted to their election. Over the judiciary department, the constitution had deprived them of their control. That, therefore, has continued the reprobated system; and although new matter has been occasionally incorporated into the old, yet the leaven of the old mass seems to assimilate to itself the new; and after twenty years confirmation of the federated system by the voice of the nation, declared through the medium of elections, we find the judiciary, on every occasion, still driving us into consolidation.

In denying the right they usurp of exclusively explaining the constitution, I go further than you do, if I understand rightly your quotation from the Federalist, of an opinion that 'the judiciary is the last resort in relation to the other departments of the government, but not in relation to the rights of the parties to the compact under which the judiciary is derived.' If this opinion be sound, then indeed is our constitution a complete *fait de se*. For intending to establish three departments, coordinate and independent, that they might check and balance one another, it has given, according to this opinion, to one of them alone, the right to prescribe rules for the government of the others, and to that one too, which is unselected by, and independent of the nation. Fore experience has already shown that the impeachment it has provided is not even a scare crow; that such opinions as the one you combat, sent cautiously out, as you observe also, by detachment, not belonging to the case often, but sought for out of it, as if to rally the public opinion beforehand to their views, and to indicate the line they are to walk in, have been so quietly passed over as never to have excited and misadversion, even in a speech of any one of the body entrusted with impeachment. The constitution, on this hypothesis, is a mere thing of wax in the hands of the judiciary, which they may twist into any form they please. It should be remembered, as an axiom of eternal truth in politics, and whatever power in any government is independent, is absolute also; in theory only, at first, while the spirit of the people is up, but in practice, as fast as that relaxes. Independence can be trusted no where but with the people in mass. They are inherently independent of all but moral law. My construction of the constitution is very different from that you quote. It is that each department is truly independent of the others, and has an equal right to decide for itself what is the meaning of the constitution in the cases submitted to its action; and especially, where it is to act ultimately and without appeal.

THE TARIFF.

MR. WEBSTER'S OPINIONS UPON THAT SUBJECT IN 1820.

"There is a power in names; and those who had pressed the tariff on Congress and on the country, had represented it as immediately and almost exclusively, connected with domestic industry and national independence. In his opinion; no measure could prove more injurious to the industry of the country, and nothing was more fanciful than the opinion, that national independence rendered such a measure necessary. He certainly thought it might be doubted whether Congress would not be somewhat against the spirit and intention of the constitution, in exercising a power to control essentially the pursuits and occupations of individuals in their private concerns; a power to force great and sudden changes, both of occupation and property, upon individuals, not as incidental to the exercise of any other power, but as substantial and direct power. If such changes were wrought incidentally only, and were the necessary consequence of such impost

as Congress, for the leading principle of revenue, should exact, then they could not be complained of. But he doubted whether Congress fairly possessed the power of turning the incident into the principal; and, instead of leaving manufactures to the protection of such laws as should be passed with a primary regard to revenue, of enacting laws, with the avowed object of giving a preference to particular manufactures, with an entire disregard to all the considerations of revenue; and instead of laying such imposts as would best answer the purpose of raising revenue, with the least burden on the public, carrying the impost on certain articles to a burdensome excess, with a full knowledge that the increase of duty will diminish the amount of revenue raised."

"It would hardly be contended that Congress possessed that sort of general power by which it might declare that particular occupations should be pursued in society, and that others should not. If such power belonged to any government in this country, it certainly did not belong to the general government."

The prospect before us is cheering. The doctrines for which we are contending are becoming daily more known and better understood, both at home and abroad. The cry that has been raised of "Treason, War, Rebellion" and the like will eventually be one of our most powerful auxiliaries. By giving an intense interest to the subject, it has caused investigation. This is all we ask. We are not striving to persuade the people to huzza for some petty personal intrigue. We call on them to guard their liberties to put down oppressive and grinding taxation—to bring back the Constitution to its original principles—to assert their rights to equal legislation—to remind their servants, the Federal Government, in a voice and manner not to be mistaken, that it is not their master—and to demand, as freemen ought to do, that no further attempts be made to reduce them from the proud situation of free citizens of independent States, to "worse than colonial vassalage."

Such views and such intentions no man need be ashamed of. Let our doctrines be examined. Let those of our antagonists be brought to the same test. Let the plain, manly spirit of determined liberty which breathes in the one, be contrasted with the uncertain and submissive doctrines of the other. Uncertain, for their leaders cannot agree among themselves—submissive as their nature shews, and as they openly avow themselves. And submissive to what? To the cupidity of a sectional majority, and to acts of Congress which their highest law has stigmatised as unconstitutional.

Let there be investigation. It is the cause of the people. Let them look to it. Winyaw Intelligencer.

LATEST FROM EUROPE.

One news boat boarded yesterday morning at an early hour the fine ship Mary Howland of this port, commanded by Capt. Alken, from Liverpool, whence she sailed on the 13th July; we have received by her Liverpool papers of that date, and London journals of the 12th.

The elections in France to which naturally much importance was attached, because the opinions of the majority in the Chamber of Deputies must infallibly exercise a marked influence not over the fate of France alone, but of Europe, have nearly terminated.

The ministerial papers claim an immense majority for the Premier, which his opponents however, deny him to the extent claimed. In Paris the elections were a moiety Ministerial and a moiety otherwise. The following are the candidates elected in that metropolis. Those with M. affixed to their names are ministerial; those with P. belong to the patriotic party.

- 1. Arond, M. Perier, M.
- 2. " " Lafitte, P.
- 3. " " Odier, M.
- 4. " " Ganneron, M.
- 5. " " Salvette, P.
- 6. " " Delessert, M.
- 7. " " Delaborde, P.
- 8. " " Daunou, P.
- 9. " " Schonen, M.
- 10. " " Labau, M.
- 11. " " Barthe, M.
- 12. " " Arago, P.
- 13. " " Bonet, P.
- 14. " " Les Cases, P.

In the 4th arrondissement, Odillon Barrot was defeated but he has been elected in five other places. In the Departments, the extreme gauche has lost none of its parizans. Lafayette, Louis, O. Barrot, Dupont de l'Eure, Mangin, Lafitte, &c. are all returned, on the other hand. Dupin zine, Guizot, Caser Calard and Schastianni are elected. M. de Bigny, the Minister of Marine has been defeated. General Lafayette has been returned by an immense majority.

The character of the new Chamber is thus summoned-up in a paper we have before us, and it appears to us as far as we are able to judge, to be probably correct. "The Minister has not a majority for the whole of his system, nor the position a majority for the whole of its

plans of government, but the Minister will have a majority for measures which are national and comprehensive, wise and just, and will be in a minority on the subject of the Peerage, Civil List and Poland."

Among the new members, are General Bertrand and Las Cases, the faithful followers of Napoleon.—It is evident that a party has of late grown up in France, which entertain some views favorable to the elevation of his son; we are however, not inclined to think that at this moment they threaten the present Government with eminent danger; and on the whole it strikes us that the aspect of affairs in France now promises more stability in the throne of Louis Philippe, than they did a few weeks since.

The question of Belgium, which has been one of great difficulty, and which the French nation regarded with a jealous eye, is definitively settled by the acceptance on the part of the Belgian Congress, of the conditions which Leopold annexed to his acceptance of the Throne. We should not be astonished that a marriage between him, and a daughter of Louis Philippe shortly follows; it has been of late frequently hinted at in the European Journals, and would probably go far to remove any dissatisfaction which the French nation might feel at a prince ruling in Belgium who has been closely allied to England. He will have much to do to heal the wounds which the late change has inflicted on the industry and commerce of his new subjects.

The discomfiture of the Poles before Wlana, is the most material military operation which we notice in their arduous contest with the Russians. Dissentions among themselves, and treachery in their capital and camp, are more alarming circumstances than the events of war. On reading of them, one is almost tempted to give credit to the saying of a conspicuous character in the French revolution, "That the tree of Liberty to flourish in an unwonted soil, must be watered with blood."

The Grand Duke Constantine, the former Viceroy of Poland, has, it is said in one account, died by his own hand. This however requires confirmation. Of the fact of the cholera having reached St. Petersburg there can be no doubt.

The great question of Reform—the fate of the bill in the House of Lords—entirely absorbs the attention of the people of England. We place no reliance on any calculations which go to show minutely the votes of the Peers on this important subject. It is not probable any thing like a correct computation can be made.

A report prevailed in London that the King of England would be crowned on the 23rd Aug; it would not seem to be justified by the discussion which took place not long since on that subject in Parliament. Courier & Enquirer.

INSURRECTION IN VIRGINIA.

FROM THE RICHMOND WHIG OF AUG. 27th. Disagreeable rumors have reached this city, of an insurrection of the slaves in Southampton County, with loss of lives, in order to correct exaggeration, and at the same time to induce all salutary caution, we state the following particulars:

An express from the Hon. James Trezvant states that an insurrection had broken out, that several families had been murdered, and that the negroes were embodied, requiring a considerable military force to reduce them.

The names and precise numbers of the families are not mentioned. A letter to the Post Master corroborates the intelligence. Prompt and efficient measures are being taken by the Governor, to call out a sufficient force to put down the insurrection, and place lower Virginia on its guard.

Serious danger, of course, there is none. The deluded wretches have rushed on assured destruction.

The Fayette Artillery and the Light Dragoons will leave here this evening for Southampton—the Artillery go in a Steamboat, and the Troop by land.

FROM THE SENT, OF AUG. 25th.

Various letters have been received here from Petersburg, and other places near circulation relative to the insurrection in that county. It appears from the best information, that a number of negroes, chiefly runaways, combined on Sunday, for the purpose of plunder. That they plundered several houses and committed some murders before their career could be checked—that having been joined by others, they proceeded to Jerusalem bridge in considerable force, where they were met by a few militia hastily assembled, who repulsed the blacks and drove them back, killing their leader, and several others, and taking some prisoners. The blacks became dispirited after this affair—and various parties of them were attacked, and killed, taken or routed by the militia. Four militiamen in one instance, fell in with a party of twenty odd negroes, whom they attacked, and killed and wounded some, and took others prisoners. And in all the affairs the whites have not lost a man.

There is therefore no cause for the slightest alarm. But it was necessary to

send a sufficient force to the spot to quell the country; and accede all the misguiding wretches, who have taken part in this insurrection. Such a force is now at the spot, and we shall soon hear of the apprehension of all the negroes concerned.

AWFUL CALAMITY.

Our Town has been visited with a calamity which must be long and severely felt. In consequence of the successive heavy rains which have fallen for two weeks past, our river was discovered to be rapidly rising as early as Friday morning last. It continued to rise until 10 o'clock on Saturday night, and at half past seven o'clock, that beautiful fabric, the Bridge over the Perdee, yielded before the destroying flood. Not a wreck is now remaining to tell where it stood. Such was the overwhelming violence of the flood, that nothing could withstand it. At the very moment of its yielding before the desolating flood, two white men and two negroes had entered and were passing through, but notwithstanding it had been reduced to a complete wreck, having been crushed before they could reach this end, astonished to tell they were all saved. As to the amount of damage sustained by the crops it is impossible to say. The low grounds on each side in some places for more than a mile in extent present the vast sheet of water. We learn that every bank from this fifty miles down the river has been broken—of course the low grounds are completely inundated. But it would require more time and space than we can command to chronicle the disaster. In extent it certainly surpasses anything which in the memory of our oldest inhabitants.

Cheraw Republican.



Saturday

SEPTEMBER 5, 1831.

We would respectfully remind the friends of Salisbury, that this day (Saturday) 12 o'clock, is the time appointed for the next meeting in this place. We hope that there will be a general attendance.

In 1798 and '9 this country was divided into two great parties; one was called the Federal, the other Republican: one maintained one set of notions about government, the other another set: one was monarchical in its principles, the other was democratic: one wished all power concentrated in the Federal government; the other wished it distributed as it was by the constitution, among the States. Each strove to gain the ascendancy. Each believed that the salvation of the country depended upon its political tenets. In 1800, however, the people gained the ascendancy—democracy triumphed over monarchy. The parties continued divided until Mr. Monroe's administration. Previous to that, during the war the parties were distinctly divided, though the line was not so closely drawn as in 1798 and '9. The Federal party was a man opposed the war.—The plan of a great northern confederacy was formed by them during that time, in the convention which assembled in Hartford. The Republican party triumphed.—It saved the country.—It saved the Union from dismemberment. We saw during Mr. Monroe's administration the parties were blended.—The Red rose married the Blue. This was then considered a great blessing. The Federal party gave it this turn. They wished to lull the Republican party in conscious security;—they did lull it. The Republican party was inactive. The Federal party put forth every nerve,—they strove to regain their former ascendancy. They have gained it. Do not let the Republican party see it? Do they not feel? Do they not see that the principles of the Republican party, when the line of demarcation was tightly drawn, have been entirely destroyed? Do they not see the triumph of the Federal party? Ought not they to arouse themselves? Ought they not to wipe the mole from their eyes,—to wash out the sand which has been thrown into them by the Federal party? We do not wish them to believe us;—we wish them to look and see themselves. By false pretences and under color of names Federal pretences have been palmed off upon the Republican party as of the true orthodox faith. It is time for the friends of the country to look.—It is time for him who regards the purity of our Republican institutions as worth a straw to arouse himself. It is time for the democracy of the country to arouse themselves—to arise in their majesty and to crush their enemies, to save their country. We ask them to look to the principles of some of those professing themselves Republicans and see if they see any coincidence with the principles of '98,—any similarity between these new-fangled Republicans and those of the true old democratic stamp,—of those who acknowledge the principles of Thomas Jefferson as orthodox, as correct.

We have extracted a piece from one of the letters which will be found in another column of our paper; to show the identity of the principles which we have contended with those of the old Republican party; to show the diversity which there is between the