

blended, occurred in Monroe county, in Illinois. There are in many parts of this country, singular depressions or basins, which the inhabitants call sink-holes.

yet, as she constantly believes, the happiest frame of polity that is now or ever has been enjoyed by any people—to maintain and preserve the whole, and every part of these institutions, in full vigor and purity; to uphold the Union, and the States; to maintain the Federal Government in all its just powers, administered according to the pure principles of the constitution without the least departure from the limitations prescribed by the compact, fairly understood, and the State governments in all their rights and authority, as absolutely necessary to the good government and happiness of their respective citizens.

The Convention then proceeded to the election of a President of the Convention which resulted in the choice of Governor Hayne. After being conducted to the chair, Gov. H. made a short address and entered upon the duties of his station.

wing, so far as to yield to the measure, as a sign that their Ordinance shall hereafter be considered as having no force or effect. Unequal and oppressive trade system of raising revenue by duties upon imports, must be upon the Agricultural States, which furnish more than two-thirds of the domestic exports of the United States; yet South Carolina always has been, and still is willing to make large sacrifices to the peace and harmony of the Union.

that no higher duties shall be laid than may be necessary to defray the economical expenditures of the Government. It is therefore Ordained and Declared, That the Ordinance entitled "An Ordinance to Nullify certain acts of the Congress of the United States, purporting to be laws laying duties on the importation of foreign commodities," and all acts passed in pursuance thereof, be henceforth deemed and held to have no force or effect; provided that the act entitled "an act further to alter and amend the military laws of this State," passed on the 20th day of December, 1832, shall remain in force until it shall be repealed or modified by the Legislature.

Form the Jeffersonian & Virginia Times. THE BLOODY BILL.

The Bill lately passed by Congress ostensibly for the collection of revenue, effectually puts the Constitution of the country under the feet of the President—leaving the sovereignty of the States—the lives, liberty, and property of the free citizens of this Republic, entirely at the mercy of a man, who is thus clothed with all the attributes of a Despot—and wants but the name of AUTOCRAT to qualify him for the Iron Scepter. The People of the South have passed a severe but just judgment on the late abominable Proclamation and Message. The principles of that Proclamation and Message have been approved by the Congress; and the Bloody Bill responds to the call contained in them—thus exhibiting (and it is a fatal sign) that the Legislative and Executive Departments of the Government have combined together to trample on the popular rights.

The reader must know that the passage of the Tariff Bill, removed entirely every colour of necessity for this detestable and sanguinary act of Tyranny. The South had signified its willingness to acquiesce in the adjustment proposed by Mr. Clay. No necessity on that account, then, existed, for its passage—and the People must be left to the inference that it was passed in the mere wantonness of power—insulting to them—and dangerous to the Constitution.—What earthly excuse can be assigned for this nefarious proceeding? None—absolutely none.—Nothing could have induced it but a sinister purpose to engraft, thus indirectly, the principles of the detestable Proclamation on the Constitution—and hereafter to hold up this Bill in terrorism over the States—to frighten them from the maintenance of their sovereignty. It is a deep device—a disguised and dangerous movement of the Federal Party which must be promptly met, and put down. As Mr. McDuffie justly observed of it, its title should have been "An act to subvert the sovereignty of the States—to consolidate them into a government without limitations of power—and to make the civil subservient to the military authority."

A leading advocate of this Bill observed that it was "necessary to pass it, in order to prevent its being said that Nullification produced the abandonment of the American System." Thus, it should seem, that in order to destroy State Rights, and those who support them, these men hesitate not to trample the Constitution under their feet! To such an extreme of corruption and profligacy have the adherents of Government arrived! It remains to be seen whether these men will be sustained by the People. If they should be, then is the Constitution, indeed, mere parchment.

THE BLOODY BILL.

The Papers from the South are hurrying their execrations against this high handed and nefarious measure. The popular spirit is rising every where against it. We be to its supporters! The fate of the Seditious Law advocates will be honour when compared with theirs. The friends of the Constitution will rally against it in every State. It is an effectual overthrow of the Constitution. Already are some of the leading Federalists (Monarchists would be a fairer word,) crying out that "nullification is dead! State Right absurdities are gone! State Sovereignties—that whimsical notion of the Republicans, is blown sky high! The Government is now consolidated, as it was intended by its framers to be—and Jackson will crush the moister Party! Stop, Gentlemen! Not so fast. Your Bloody Bill will never be the Constitution of the South. Jackson can do every thing. There is a voice—a well known voice, that cries "TO THE RESCUE!"—GIVE NOT KNEE TO THY EYES, NOR SUMMER TO THY EYEBLIDS, TILL THIS BILL BE ERASED FROM THE STATUTE BOOK!" His voice will be heard and heeded. Jeffersonian.

THE "FAILURE."

It is known, and will be seen, that Calhoun and Webster did not meet each other on the Bloody Bill—for though Webster spoke in reply, he made the Resolutions, and not the Bill the subject of his remarks. The cry of a "Failure" was got up and paid for by Van Buren and Jackson. The Parties met directly on the Resolutions of Mr. Calhoun, and their speeches are forthcoming, when the public will be able to judge for itself.

It is reported on sound authority that while Mr. Calhoun was speaking in defence of his Resolutions, John Randolph sat eyeing Webster. "A hat was on a table before him, which obstructed his sight.—"Take that Hat away!" said Mr. R. It was removed—and the keen-eyed descendant of Pocahontas sat himself to watch the motion of Webster; throwing into his face, that piercing gaze, before which he had quailed in past time. When Mr. Calhoun sat down, Webster rose and faltered, and blundered, and sat down utterly demolished. "Aye," said Randolph: "He's dead! He's dead, sir! He has been dead an hour ago. I saw him dying made by words."

ORDINANCE.

Whereas, the Congress of the United States, by an act recently passed, has made such a reduction and modification of the duties upon foreign imports, as amounts substantially to an ultimate reduction of the duties to the Revenue Standard; and

It seems very evident to us, and has appeared since the Proclamation; that there must be a new organization of parties in this country on the basis of fundamental principle and the true construction of the Federal Constitution. It is not material to enquire, or even to know, how it has come to pass; but the fact itself is beyond dispute, that the Federal Government is now administered on Federal principles; that Federal councils predominate at Washington; that the Proclamation embodying a number of dogmas covering the whole ground of dispute between the Republican and Federal parties, is transcendently and peerlessly Federal, and that the "Force Bill," the progeny of these doctrines, is worthy of its paternity, and more odious and abominable than the Alien and Sedition Laws themselves. Whether Gen. Jackson was duped into sanctioning these ultra doctrines; which annihilating the States as Sovereignties at a blow, concentrate all power in the Federal arm, or has only now, for the first time, displayed his original principles, or the corrupting influence of power upon the nature of man; whether he has acted from ignorance, or has listened to the suggestions of hatred; what boots it to enquire? There is the Proclamation; there are its doctrines, which Alexander Hamilton would blush to own, and none but the "triple turned whore" would have put into the mouth of a dotting and confiding President, and there stands the Law, the product of General Jackson's prostitution of ultra Federalism.

The country is in a more perilous condition as to principle than in 1793. 1. The "doctrines" of the Proclamation are more sweeping and annihilating of reserved rights than those which were embodied in the Seditious Law: That struck at a single right, these at all. 2. The popularity of Gen. Jackson far exceeds that of Alexander Adams, and has attached multitudes to the principles of his Proclamation for the reason alone, that Jackson has sanctioned them: Nay, ourselves have heard even legislators, "ho buzz for Jackson, no matter what was in the Proclamation," legislators who called, and possibly thought themselves, '98 Republicans. This overshadowing popularity, which appeared to defy time and circumstance to diminish or impair it, was precisely the basis of the calculation which emboldened the artificer of the Proclamation, Edward Livingston, to drug it so highly with Federalism. Such an opportunity for reorganizing Federalism could never again occur; an ignorant and imbecile President might be committed to any extent, while his unbounded popularity furnished a prospect of sustaining any thing advanced in his name. The Federal trio in the Cabinet—Livingston, McLane and Taney—saw the opportunity, and embraced it to the utmost latitude. 3. The sectional feeling and antipathies the growth of late years, and the fruit of legislation. These must have the effect to a great degree of consolidating the North in favor of the Proclamation, and making even a question of principle, also a sectional question. The North will support the Proclamation for a better reason than that the South opposes it.

These are some of the causes which will render the contest more arduous than that of '98. Nevertheless, if we would preserve ours and our children's rights, we would remain a free, sovereign and independent People, and would not sink into consolidation and vassalage, we must fight the battle again, and that with stout hearts and willing hands. We must fight it with the resolute despair of rebels with the halberd around their necks, for not to conquer, not to succeed in overthrowing the dogmas of the Proclamation, and their spirit the Enforcing Bill, is neither more nor less than to fall into the condition of a province to New York and Pennsylvania, and finally to retain personal liberty itself in subordination.

Let the Force Bill then be the rallying point, that in which is concentrated the essence of the hateful doctrine of modern, so much worse than ancient Federalism. Let us rally against it, as our fathers rallied against the Alien and Sedition Laws, and swear never to remit our exertions until the statute book is purged of the dogmas.

MR. POINDEXTER OF MISSISSIPPI.

Pending the passage of Mr. Clay's bill in the Senate, for a modification of the tariff, on a question of formality about the introduction of the bill, Mr. Poindexter held forth the following pithy and pungent remarks. With the senator we agree that a cure is much more desirable by the bill, than by "gunpowder, ball and cannon." Mr. Poindexter said—"We have arrived at a most singular state of things. Here were gentlemen loudly denouncing all tariffs—who were yet perfectly willing to vote fleets and armies for enforcing them. The ultra branch of peace had been offered by the patriotic Senator from Kentucky—shall we refuse him leave to introduce it, because forthwith the bill which contains it, must like most other bills, be amended? If one of its provisions could not constitutionally be adopted here, is it worse than a precious bill now under discussion which violates the Constitution from beginning to end, and ought to be kicked out of the Senate? He hoped the proposed bill Senate? He hoped the proposed bill which looks to a state of peace and concord would be heard. The Senator from Ky., had his thanks for proposing it. He regarded it as a more salutary panacea for the disorders which now pervaded the nation, than gunpowder, balls and cannon. He was willing to accede to any proposition which approached towards consolidation, rather than clothe the executive with the whole physical force of the nation. Intelligence Times

THE CONVENTION OF S. C.

Monday, March 11, 1833.

Pursuant to a Proclamation of the President of the Convention, issued on the 13th day of February, one thousand eight hundred and thirty three, the Convention of the People of South Carolina re-assembled in the Hall of the House of Representatives in the Town of Columbia, on this day at Meridian.

After Prayer by the Rev. Mr. Ware, the roll was called, after which the President addressed the Convention explaining the objects of the meeting. He mentioned in concluding, that as another Governor had been chosen since his appointment, he would, after submitting to them the following correspondence, resign his office into their hands.

EXECUTIVE DEPARTMENT, Columbia, March 11, 1833. To JAMES HAMILTON, Jun. Esq., President of the Convention of the People of South Carolina:

Sir—I herewith transmit you a letter which I have received from the Hon. Benjamin Watkins Leigh, Commissioner from the State of Virginia, which, together with the Correspondence in relation to Mr. Leigh's Mission, and the Resolutions of Virginia, of which he is the bearer, you are requested to lay before the Assembly over which you preside.

I am very Respectfully, Your obedient servant, ROBERT Y. HAYNE.

COLUMBIA, March 11th, 1833.

Sir—Having, at our first interview, presented to you the resolutions of the General Assembly of Virginia of the 20th January last, on the subject of federal relations, I have now to request your Excellency to lay these resolutions before the Convention of the people of South Carolina, which, at my instance, has been re-assembled for the purpose of considering them.

The General Assembly of Virginia has expressed in its own language, its sentiments concerning the unhappy controversy between the State of South Carolina and the Federal Government, and its motives, its views and object, in making this intercession. In these respects, therefore, the commissioner it has thought proper to depute to South Carolina, can have nothing to add, and nothing even to explain.—The duty presented to him is simple and precise.—He is instructed to communicate the preamble and resolutions to the proper authorities of this State, and to give them such direction as in his judgment may be best calculated to promote the objects which the Legislature of Virginia has in view; and this part of his duty he has already, by the prompt and cordial compliance of those authorities, had the happiness to accomplish, to the entire satisfaction (as he has reason to believe) of the Legislature of Virginia. And he is further instructed and authorized to express to the public authorities and people of this our sister State, the sincere good will of the Legislature and people of Virginia towards their sister State, and their anxious solicitude that the kind and respectful representations they have addressed to her, may lead to an accommodation of the differences between this State and the General Government.

Virginia is animated with an ardent and devoted attachment to the Union of the States; and to the rights of the several States that compose the Union; and if similarity of situation and of interests naturally induce her to sympathize, with peculiar sensibility, in whatever affects the prosperity and happiness of South Carolina and the other Southern States, she knows how to reconcile this sentiment with her affection and duty towards each & every other State, severally, and towards the United States. She is most solicitous, to maintain and preserve our present institutions, which, tho' they partake of imperfection, from which no human institutions can ever be exempt, and notwithstanding some instances of mal-administration or error in which all governments are liable, are

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Virginia, remembering the history of South Carolina, her services in war and in peace, and her contributions of virtue and intelligence to the common councils of the Union, and knowing well the generosity, the magnanimity, and the loyalty of her character, entertained the most perfect confidence, that these sentiments so cherished by herself, would find a response in the heart and understanding of every citizen of this State. And that confidence induced her intercession on the present occasion. She has not presumed to dictate, or even to advise. She has addressed her entreaty to the Congress of the United States, to redress the grievance of which South Carolina complains. And she has spoken to South Carolina also, as one sovereign State, as one State of this Union, ought to speak to another. She has earnestly, affectionately, and respectfully, requested & entreated South Carolina, "to rescind or suspend her late Ordinance, and to await the result of a combined and strenuous effort of the friends of the Union and Peace, to effect an adjustment and conciliation of all public differences now unhappily existing." She well hoped, that this state "would listen willingly and respectfully to her voice;" for she knew and felt, that South Carolina could not descend from the dignity, and would not compromise the rights, of her sovereignty, by yielding to the intercession of a sister state.

If, therefore, no other considerations could have been presented to the Convention of the people of South Carolina, if no other motives for compliance could have been suggested than the intercession of Virginia, offered in the temper and manner it has been, and the interests we all have in the Union, the common attachment we feel for our tried republican institutions, the aversion from civil discord and commotion, and the wise and just dread of changes of which no sagacity can foresee the consequences,—it might have been hoped and expected, that the Convention would rescind, or at least suspend for a time its late Ordinance.

But, in truth, the Convention comes now to a consideration of this subject, under a state of circumstances, not anticipated by Virginia when she interposed her good offices to promote a peaceable adjustment of the controversy between this state and the federal government. There has been made that "combined and strenuous effort of the friends of peace and Union, to effect an adjustment and conciliation" of this controversy, the result of which South Carolina was requested and expected to await—and that effort, it is hoped, will prove successful. The recent act of Congress, "to modify the act of the 14th of July 1832, and all other acts imposing duties on imports," is such a modification of the tariff laws as (I trust) will leave little room for hesitation on the part of the Convention of the people of South Carolina, as to the wisdom and propriety of rescinding its Ordinance.

Forbearing, therefore, to enter at large into the many and forcible considerations of justice and policy, which, independently of this measure of Congress, might, I humbly conceive, have sufficed, to induce the Convention to suspend, if not to rescind the Ordinance, I shall rest in the hope, that the wisdom of the Convention will adopt, at once, the course which the dignity, and patriotism of South Carolina, her attachment to the Union, so constantly expressed, and manifested by her deeds, her duty to herself and towards her sister states, and (I hope I may add without presumption) her respect for the intercession of Virginia; shall dictate to be proper; and that that course will lead to a renewal of perfect harmony.

Sensible as I am, how little any effort of mine has or could have contributed to the result I now anticipated, I shall be well content with the honor of having been the bearer of the resolutions of Virginia, and of a favorable answer to them—happy in being the humblest instrument of such a work. I have the honor to be, with profound respect, your most obedient servant. B. W. LEIGH. To his Excellency R. B. Y. Hayne Governor of South Carolina.

REPORT

That they have had under consideration, the act passed at the late session of Congress to modify the "act of the 14th of July 1832, and all other acts imposing duties upon imports;" and have duly deliberated on the course which it becomes the people of South Carolina to pursue at this interesting crisis in our political affairs. It is now upwards of ten years since the people and constituted authorities of this State, took ground against the protecting system, as "unconstitutional, oppressive, and unjust" and solemnly declared in language which was then cordially responded to by the other Southern States, that it never could be submitted to "as the settled policy of the country." After remonstrating for years against this system in vain, and making every possible effort to produce a rescission of this grievance by invoking the protection of the constitution, and by appealing to the justice of our Brethren, we saw during the session of Congress, which ended in July last, a modification effected avowedly as the final adjustment of the Tariff, to take effect after the complete extinguishment of the public debt, by which the protecting system could only be considered as riveted upon the country. Ever believing that under these circumstances, there were no hopes of any further reduction of the duties from the ordinary action of the federal government; and convinced that under the operation of this system the labor and capital of the plantation states must forever be tributary to the manufacturing states, and that we should in effect be reduced to a condition of colonial vassalage, South Carolina felt herself constrained, by a just regard for her own rights and interests, by her loss of liberty, and her devotion to the Constitution; to interpose in her sovereign capacity for the purpose of arresting the progress of the evil, and maintaining, within her own limits, the authorities, rights and liberties pertaining to her as a sovereign state. Ardently attached to the Union of the States, without which the Union itself would cease to be a blessing; and well convinced that the regulation of the whole labour and capital of this vast confederacy by a great central Government must lead inevitably to the total destruction of our free institutions, they did not hesitate to throw themselves fearlessly into the breach, to arrest the torrent of usurpation which was sweeping before it all that was truly valuable in our political system.

The effect of this interposition, if it has not equalled our wishes, has been beyond what existing circumstances would have authorized us to expect. The spectacle of a single State, unaided and alone, standing up for her rights—influenced by no other motive than a sincere desire to maintain the public liberty and bring about a salutary reform in the administration of the Government, has roused the attention of the whole country, and has caused many to pause and reflect, who have heretofore seemed madly bent on the consummation of a scheme of policy absolutely fatal to the liberty of the people, and the prosperity of a large portion of the Union.—Though reviled and slandered by those whose pecuniary or political interests stood in the way of a satisfactory adjustment of the controversy—deserted by many to whom she had a right to look for support, and threatened with violence from abroad, and convulsions within, South Carolina, conscious of the rectitude of her intentions and the justice of her cause, has stood unmoved; firmly resolved to maintain her liberties, or perish in the conflict. The result has been a beneficial modification of the Tariff of 1832, even before the time appointed for that act to go into effect; and within a few months after its enactment accompanied by a provision for a gradual reduction of the duties to the revenue standard. Though the reduction provided for by the Bill, which has just passed, is, neither in its amount or time when it is to go into effect, such as the South had a right to require; yet such an approach has been made towards the true principles on which the duties on imports ought to be adjusted under our system, that the People of South Carolina are

convinced that under the operation of this system the labor and capital of the plantation states must forever be tributary to the manufacturing states, and that we should in effect be reduced to a condition of colonial vassalage, South Carolina felt herself constrained, by a just regard for her own rights and interests, by her loss of liberty, and her devotion to the Constitution; to interpose in her sovereign capacity for the purpose of arresting the progress of the evil, and maintaining, within her own limits, the authorities, rights and liberties pertaining to her as a sovereign state. Ardently attached to the Union of the States, without which the Union itself would cease to be a blessing; and well convinced that the regulation of the whole labour and capital of this vast confederacy by a great central Government must lead inevitably to the total destruction of our free institutions, they did not hesitate to throw themselves fearlessly into the breach, to arrest the torrent of usurpation which was sweeping before it all that was truly valuable in our political system.

Whereas, the Congress of the United States, by an act recently passed, has made such a reduction and modification of the duties upon foreign imports, as amounts substantially to an ultimate reduction of the duties to the Revenue Standard; and