

Western Carol

It is even wise to abstain from laws, which however wise and good in themselves, have the semblance of inequality which find the wisdom of legislation is especially seen in grafting laws on conscience.

TRY JOHN BEARD JR.

SALISBURY, ROWAN COUNTY, N. C., MONDAY

TERMS

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SALISBURY, AUG. 22.

Southern editors, and the leaders of party, seem to be disposed to wince away the restraints of all northern influence, and although they may profess themselves on the side of ruin, they seem determined to give but little heed to any suggestions of their brethren. As to the great question of slavery, which is so anxiously agitated at the present time, no suggestion can be made in regard to the removal of this evil, other than that which slaveholders believe will perpetuate the curse, without exciting southern jealousy and eliciting the severest censures. This does not look like patriotism, benevolence, and conciliation; but it partakes largely of the spirit of discord, dissension, and destruction.

The existence of slavery itself to be a great evil—an evil which materially affects the triumph of correct political, moral and religious sentiment in our country. It is a curse, a blot on the face of our people, and it should be a like interesting to the christian and patriot, and every individual should look well to it that he may be prepared to act as humanly, justly, and expediently, shall dictate. The people will sleep no longer on this subject. Europe is extensively agitating the question of immediate emancipation, and preparing herself to throw off from her neck this yoke of despotism, and to sweep from her land this terrible scourge. If the people of the east can rid themselves of slavery, we can do it also, and the only point to settle is, how it shall be effected? If our southern brethren are determined to cry out "oppression," let what will come, then the partial remedy for their complaints must be found as has been the case before, in the stability, decision, and firmness of our chief magistrate.

Nullification exists, and always will exist in some shape or other, till its leaders are taught, by some powerful and effectual means, the inconsistency of their course, the rockiness of their principles, and the folly of their presumption.

The above is from the Newburyport (Massachusetts) Advocate. The Editor seems to think it a great grievance that the Southern people should wish to recede from Northern influence upon a question of vital importance to Southern interests, and Southern security and peace. He forgets, if he ever knew, that the Constitution fixed a restraint upon Northern influence, in relation to the subject of slavery. But it is not surprising that Northern men should take such a view of the Constitution, and of the rights of the States, when men among us, advocate the doctrines of consolidation, which divide the States of their reserved rights, abrogate the Constitution, and place the dignity of the South, at the mercy of a Northern majority. "The existence of slavery," he says, "is felt to be a great evil." etc.

Is it a greater evil now, than when the Constitution was adopted? That instrument was framed under a knowledge of the existence of slavery, and recognized it as a law. Who can believe that the slaveholding States would have acceded to the Union, if a clause had been inserted in the Constitution, providing for the immediate abolition of slavery? But that which could not be effected by consent then, a party in the country now attempts to accomplish by virtue of construction, by the supreme, magic influence of a majority's right! The "Advocate," points to the example of England, as one proper to be followed by this country in relation to slavery.

This is in good keeping with the old principles of the consolidation party: in their opinion the "bulwark of the Christian religion," as the patriotic Gov. Strong called her, when his country was engaged

in war with that same nation, "can do no wrong;" but whatever she does, is a fit example for our Republican government. This thorough Jackson Editor sees in the "stability, decision, and firmness of our chief magistrate," a Sovereign remedy for all southern political diseases. We presume it was the discovery of President Jackson's skill in such cases, that caused the University of Massachusetts to dignify his excellency, with the appropriate title of Doctor. But we will tell the "Advocate," and his abettors and coadjutors, that the South, unless she proves recalcitrant to herself under the "corrupting influence of Treasury paper," will always have an antidote to Doctor Jackson's ill timed "stability, decision, and firmness," in the more sovereign remedy of Nullification.

From the N. Y. Courier & Enquirer. Letter on Slavery, in the last number of the New England Magazine. It is in vain that Mr. Webster, and the leading politicians of New England, deny that there is any intention in that quarter to interfere with the question of slavery in the South, when we every day see evidences that this interference is perpetually at work, operating on public opinion, by means of letters, addresses, orations, sermons, and indeed by appeals to popular feeling through every channel of communication. We have heretofore frequently spoken in commendation of the New England Magazine, as one of the best periodicals of this country; but we cannot refrain from stigmatising with utter reprobation a passage in a letter published in the last number. It purports to be addressed to a gentleman of North Carolina, and couples a positive denial of any intention to uphold the doctrine of "immediate and unconditional emancipation," with the following very frank avowal:

"My own private feelings you know—they are those of utter abhorrence of a system which violates the laws of Nature, and the laws of God; and were the slaves of the South now in general insurrection, and in open war with the whites, and were I forced to choose one side or the other, I would join the insurgents, and strike with them for the rights of man."

We regret to see such sentiments avowed by a writer who is evidently a person of education and talents. In our opinion, they are only worthy of the vulgar har-brained fanatics, who in pursuit of a favorite project disdain all rational calculations of consequences, and are content to wade through oceans of blood, in the hope of reaching a promised land that recedes as fast as they pursue. Here, forsooth, is a philanthropist who would join a mob of infuriated slaves, in one general indiscriminate massacre of white men, women, and children, under the pretext of "striking for the rights of man!" It is with mingled sorrow and indignation we see such inhuman sentiments coming abroad under the mask of philanthropy, and as auxiliary to the violation of "the laws of God and Nature." We had thought that the laws of God enjoined upon us the love of our neighbor; the doing to others as we would wish to be done by; and a fulfillment of all the obligations due to our country and countrymen; and that the laws of Nature were simply those imposed on man by his natural wants and the necessity of supplying them. As to the former, the Scriptures tell us that the Patriarchs, the chosen of the Most High, the objects of his almost exclusive protection and bounty, possessed numerous slaves; and as to the latter, there never was a nation under heaven that did not in its most early stages of existence sanction the practice of slavery.

Before the adoption of the system of exchanging prisoners of war, the only alternative was slavery or death; and hence all history, sacred and profane, sustains the fact of the existence of slavery in the earliest periods of time, and when nations approached nearest to a state of nature. Yet, seeing, as they every day see, the effects of slavery, in the shape of insurrection, insubordination, and massacre among their slaves; and feeling, as they every day feel, the consequences of the eternal interferences between the master and the slave, the Southern Planters are still taunted with the imputation of folly or hypocrisy for expressing their indignation at such cruel tampering with their lives and property, and their apprehensions of its consequences. "Gentlemen," say such philanthropists as the one we have quoted, "Gentlemen, we neither wish you to do us wrong, nor do we intend you the least harm, though you are certainly living in the daily violation of the laws of God and Nature. You are, it is true, our countrymen and brothers; we are your friends, and the friends of the Union—but still, if it comes to the point, we will with great pleasure defend the rights of man," by assisting the negroes to exterminate you. But for all this, nothing can be more ridiculous than the fuss you make about our interference with your domestic policy.

Is this the way to preserve the Union, and seal the bond of brotherhood between the States? Do the people of the North and East expect to get credit for not mean-

ing to interfere directly with the rights of the Planters of the South, while they are perpetually at work indirectly, undermining their security, sowing the seeds of dissension, and stimulating the blacks to outrage and murder? What flows naturally, may inevitably, from the language of the writer of the letter in the New England Magazine? If slavery is contrary to the laws of God and Nature, then the Negro is authorized by the laws of God and Nature to resort to any measures, no matter how bloody and desperate, to free himself from bondage. He is justified in the sight of God and man in exterminating the whites. Such are the inevitable results of this system of reasoning on a subject more momentous to the future destiny of this country than all others combined. If touched at all, it should be by grave, temperate, philosophical reasons, instead of mad-headed zealots, who handle firebrands as if they were playthings; who sport with opinions, whose ultimate consequences will sever this great confederation into atoms, and lay waste the most glorious prospect that ever dawned on the hopes of mankind.

From the United States Telegraph. Mr. JEFFERSON—NULLIFICATION. A correspondent in the Globe of Thursday last, has made an important discovery in relation to Mr. Jefferson's remedy for violations of the Constitution, as a precedent he drafted in relation to the assumption by Congress of the power to make roads and canals. It has been an unfortunate discovery for the pro-unionists, and is directly and strongly in favor of our principles. It shows that Mr. Jefferson had, in 1825, the same idea of the rights and remedies, that he had in 1793.

In the paper drafted by Mr. Jefferson, after declaring the power assumed to be "a palpable violation of the Constitution," it proceeds to say:

"That they (the General Assembly,) value too high the blessings of their Union, as to foreign nations, and questions arising among themselves, to consider every infraction as to be met by actual resistance; and that they owe every other sacrifice to themselves, their federal brethren, and to the world at large, to pursue with temper and perseverance the great experiment, which shall prove that man is capable of living in society, governing itself by laws self-imposed, &c. We proceed (he adds) to make it the duty of every citizen, until the legislature shall otherwise and ultimately decide, to acquiesce in those acts of the federal branch of our government which we have declared to be usurpations, and against which, in point of right, we do protest as null and void, and never to be quoted as precedents of right." "We do therefore enact," &c. "that the said laws shall be obeyed as if passed by the legislature," &c.

Now is not this directly in accordance with all our principles? Has any Nullifier ever contended, that "every infraction of the Constitution" should be followed by State interposition and actual resistance? No! No one has been mad enough to do that. We claim that a State must exercise a proper judgment, a proper discretion, as to what cases constitute a proper object for "actual resistance."

Mark the words which Mr. Jefferson uses—"actual resistance." Every case is not to be met with "actual resistance." The violations in regard to internal improvement formed one of these cases, which were not to be met with "actual resistance." But the very fact of stating that "every case of usurpation of power" is not to be followed by "actual resistance," leads to the inevitable conclusion that there were usurpations which ought to be followed by "actual resistance," and that the legislature is to judge of what are such cases.

Now this is all that we want. And to this point does Mr. Jefferson arrive, as well in this document as in that of the Kentucky resolutions.

The nullifiers do not think, any more than Mr. Jefferson did, that the usurpation in relation to internal improvement, in 1825, or even now, requires the "actual resistance" by the States. They hope to be able to keep it confined within safe bounds, without "actual resistance," but if the necessity of the case should require it, the States are bound to have recourse to it; and we have not the slightest dread of leaving the decision of the case to their wisdom and patriotism. We are convinced that they will not nullify them, without good and sufficient cause; and we are also well convinced that if the necessity of the case, requires it, that their nullification will be just as efficacious as the nullification of the alien and sedition law in '99, and the nullification of the tariff in 1832.

The correspondent of the Globe has been truly unfortunate in his selection of an example to operate against our principles. We beg our readers to attend particularly to one sentence of Mr. Jefferson's remarks, which alone upsets all conclusions hostile to our principles. Mr. Jefferson says:

"We proceed to make it the duty of our citizens UNTIL THE LEGISLATURE SHALL OTHERWISE, and ultimately decide," in "these usurpations."

Suppose that Mr. Jefferson had lived until the burthen and inequalities of the internal improvement system had made it the duty of the State Legislature of Virginia to "otherwise and ultimately decide" that the laws were no longer to be obeyed, as being founded on usurpations, and being null and void. What would he have thought of a proclamation declaring them traitors, and devoting him and them to the halter?

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FROM THE VIRGINIA TIMES. THE SECRET OUT.

Our readers will remember the sudden and under the existing circumstances, the sinister termination of the controversy between the State of Georgia and the Cherokee Missionaries, during the last winter, and the suspicious enlargement of Worcester and Butler from prison by Mr. Lumpkin, the complaisant Governor of Georgia. The case involved the "sovereign rights of Georgia," and the process of the Supreme Court of the United States had been nullified by that State, and the treaty with the Indians officially set aside by the intervention of the State authorities. An appeal, however, was taken by the Missionaries, and the State cited to appear before the Federal Court—thus presenting a case involving the right of a State to protect its citizens and soil against the power of the Federal Government—or, in other words, the doctrine of Nullification.

In this state of things, South Carolina, acting on the example set by Georgia, passed her Ordinance of Nullification, and put the internal tariff under her feet. The two cases, though differing in character, and circumstances, presented nevertheless, the very same principles—and the adjudication of the one was, in all intents and purposes, an adjudication of the other.

Thus stood the two States in precisely the same attitude towards the General Government, when, to the surprise of all, the Cherokee case was suddenly dismissed, and the whole controversy amicably adjusted! The shifting of the stones excited the attention of the whole country, and led to various speculations. As to ourselves, we are firmly persuaded that it was the result of a despicable intrigue, and for the worst objects. We stated, at the time, our impressions, and expressed the decided opinion that the movement was intended to get Georgia out of the way, in order that Jackson, or they who made him their instrument, might strike a mortal blow at South Carolina. Georgia was a Van-Buren State—the traitors Forsyth and Wayne, had underwritten for it—and, therefore, the case was to be loosened from her neck, in order that it might be more securely fastened around that of South Carolina. A rival of Mr. Van Buren lived in this State, and he was to be got rid of—and to effect this object, that detestable earwig, Van Buren, had inflamed Jackson's passions so violently against him, that nothing but the blood of the peaceful citizens of South Carolina could appease them. We speak of acknowledged facts—of matters of history. War was openly declared by the internal proclamation—and men and arms sent to sustain oppression by force, to sanctify injustice and murder? And all this merely to appease the private feelings of Jackson, and to minister to the corrupt ambition of Van Buren. It could not, by any possibility, have been on account of the principles or acts of South Carolina, because Georgia had not only avowed the same principles, and performed the same acts, but had so acted under the approving smiles of Jackson, and the encouraging plaudits of every kennel press from the Globe down to the Richmond Equivocal.

These were our opinions of the strange—the mad proceedings of Jackson last winter—and of the extraordinary part in the force which was allotted to Georgia to perform. We well know how completely

was contended for? The laws were obeyed, until the "State" uttered a word upon "actual resistance." Georgia has gone farther than Mr. Van Buren, and she has resolutely refused to "actual resistance." Mr. Jefferson refers the momentous question to the legislature of the State. South Carolina has said, we wish for a more solemn authority—we will not act without the highest capacity, through a Convention. What Mr. Jefferson would have been willing to do in relation to the tariff if he had lived until 1832, it is impossible to say; but if he considered the usurpation of 1825, in relation to internal improvement, of so alarming a nature, as to require their being declared by the legislature of Virginia "null and void," although accompanied by a proviso, that they should still be obeyed, "UNTIL the legislature declared otherwise," we cannot but think that he would have been doubly alarmed at the great claims put forward from '29 to '32, to regulate the whole labor of the south, in subordination to the interests of the north. No man at the south, who has formed a correct opinion of Mr. Jefferson's character, can doubt that he would have been one of the first to rescind her from the degradation of such a situation. And what would he have thought of the proclamation, and of making war upon a sovereign State?

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FROM THE CHARLESTON MERCURY.

On which side is liberty most safe?—The main argument of the consolidationists is, that the same means by which an unconstitutional act may be resisted, may be used against a constitutional act of Congress, and that "a Government which cannot execute its laws ceases to be a Government." They are so careful of the federal Government, that they prefer that it should be unrestricted in any violation of the Constitution, rather than, by recognizing a mode of restricting it, we should subject it to the risk of being at any time interrupted in the exercise of its just authority. The proposition which they would establish, and to establish which all their arguments tend, is, in fact, that a government, which is subjected to no im-

posed by any other government, with one which is unlimited.

The act you would resist," say they, "is unconstitutional—but if you pronounce it so, and proceed to nullify it, you might hereafter take the same course against a constitutional act. Therefore you ought to submit, and suffer the Government to decide on its own limits, and judge of its own acts." We reply, if the Government must cease to exist whenever it is restrained from violating its charter, that it ought to be annihilated: that if it can impose an unconstitutional act, the people are not free; that if it cannot co-exist with the power of the States to protect their rights, it had better be abolished, because we can be free without a federal Government, and a government had better be without power than a people without liberty.

The consolidationists object to a State being placed over the federal Government, by granting to it the right to adjudge its acts; and we object to the annihilation of the limits of the Constitution and the reserved rights of the States, by making the Government sole judge of the constitutionality of its own acts, with the power of executing its acts. We contend that the federal Government had better be weak than the States defenceless—that if the States cannot apply the check, there is no check—that the charter is then a mockery—the creature independent of its creator, the agent of its principals, and the Government consolidated, irresponsible, and unlimited; and that a government which can do right, enforce all imaginable acts of legislation by the sword, is a pure despotism. Under such a government the States hold their rights as President Jackson kindly concedes them to hold the right of secession, to be exercised, viz, only by permission of the federal Government; for he tells us that secession can only be "allowed" in cases of great misrule and oppression, at which he insists the government committing the misrule is the sole judge. The Government, according to him, have a right to enforce any act by arms, and forcibly to prevent secession, as long as it does not confess itself guilty of perjury and oppression. When it pleads guilty it will permit secession. What an inestimable right to a State!—And to the same ponency are all the reserved rights of the States reduced, so that we allow the federal Government to be the judge of the extent of its own powers.

Which is the most dangerous to liberty, the enforcing power thus claimed for the Government in all cases, or the resisting power claimed for the State against what it conceives to be usurpation?

We hear a great deal in New York of excursions to the country to enjoy the best of the season, and recruit the system by a short relaxation from the turmoil of the city and the drudgery of business. Would you know of what this relaxing and relaxation consists? I'll inform you. The traveler goes through his business at three o'clock, and after literally snatching a hasty dinner, he commences packing his trunk with the thermometer at 83, and himself and all about him in a state of excitement bordering on insanity. By dint of worry and scolding he gets his wardrobe in a portable condition and by giving the hackman a dollar extra he arrives at the steamboat at three o'clock, before her departure. After attending to various necessary arrangements respecting his baggage, &c. &c. he finds time to reflect that all his arrangements have been satisfactorily made, and that he is fairly under way on his tour of pleasure. "Is true, that is just what I had in mind, confusion and fatigue; but he thinks nothing of that when it occurs to him that he has selected the very fastest boat on the river, that he is seeing the country at the rate of sixteen miles an hour, and if no accident occurs, that he will arrive at Albany twenty-nine minutes sooner than any other boat. On touching the wharf at Albany a dozen of stage agents make their appearance and the sounds of "Travellers for Saratoga," "Travellers for Lake George," "Travellers for Niagara," are heard in every direction. The last sound strikes the ear of our tourist for pleasure, and he enquires, "How many days are you in reaching Niagara?" "Four, sir, we go through by day light." Another agent steps up and says, "We run the Telegraph, sir; it goes day and night at the rate of seven miles an hour, carries only six inside, and reaches Niagara in 45 hours—our fare is of course something higher."—Our traveller looks delighted—"I care not whether your fare is more or less, yours is the line for me—I am travelling for pleasure, and will go with you if you start immediately." In ten minutes more his baggage is in the Telegraph—in less than twelve hours after leaving New York he is rolling on the western turnpike—in a few hours afterwards he commences his sleeping, which is defiance of the dust and heat, the showers of rain and dews of night, continues with little or no interruption until, at the experi-