

NORTH CAROLINA SENTINEL.

LIBERTY...THE CONSTITUTION...UNION.

VOL. XVI.

NEWBERN, FRIDAY, NOVEMBER 2, 1832.

NO. 819.

PUBLISHED

BY THOMAS WATSON.

TERMS.

Three dollars per annum—payable in advance. No paper will be discontinued (but at the discretion of the Editor) until all arrearages have been paid up. Remittances by mail will be guaranteed by the Editor.

MESSAGE

Of the Governor of South Carolina, to the Extra Session of the Legislature.

Fellow-Citizens of the Senate and House of Representatives,

In convening 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 under 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 judgment on the final proceedings of that Session, which claims to have fixed on a permanent basis, as far as it 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 selection may be taken as the exponent 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 estimable principles of constitutional liberty, which it will be one 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 United States. The necessity of providing for a large reduction of Federal taxation, consequent on the proximate extinguishment of a large public debt, the strong and well founded complaints of a respectable and patriotic portion of the States in this confederacy, the solid grounds on which, as a matter of constitutional right, these complaints rest, 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 sovereigns.

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 long labored, and of which you have so justly complained, they are reluctantly constrained to declare that these 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 act 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 bend the pecuniary interests and constitutional liberties of the people to a struggle for the executive power of the country. But apart from these extrinsic objections, the adjustment is intrinsically not a mutual, but an exclusive compro-

mise 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 sort of burden 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 exchangeable value of our products in a much more aggravated ratio. The law bears the impress of the legislation of an independent sovereignty to a feeble and distant colony, and establishes the revolting discrimination that the labour 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 on 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 woollen fabrics, salt and sugar, are burdened with a tax quite equivalent to an average of seventy-five 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 three fourths 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 domination of our burdens have been dispelled, a reduction, from the amount of duties levied in 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, these States which without possessing an interest in the Tariff, are made to feel that they have an interest in high taxation, when by an unjust provision of the Government, they receive more than they are made to pay.

Repugnant as this Act is to every principle of justice, we cannot indulge even the humiliating consolation that designed as it was in some respects, to subvert 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 as 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 authorised 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 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 favour 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 sanction of the Union 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 subscribing 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 tumultary 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 most perfect obedience. We owe no allegiance to any other power, except that which through a similar assemblage, So. Carolina thought fit to contract for us, and which in paying to the extent, 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 on 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 so empowered, let the whole subject of our rights, and our grievances be confided, 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 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 unhallowed 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 right,—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 the people whom you specially represent.

J. HAMILTON, Jr.

Columbia, Oct. 22, 1832.

From the Norfolk Beacon.

THE UNITED STATES BANK

A name at this time replete with all that is exciting in the political world. There has been a good deal said against this institution, and the peculiar situation in which it is now placed; and much more said in favor of it, and in detraction of those who have dared to raise their voices up against it. The simple inference, if nothing more was stated, would be, that the majority was in favor of a continuance of the Bank on the same terms as it now does or did exist. Yet this position I deem to be incorrect, for reasons that follow: there are a number of Branches of this institution scattered throughout the States, which Branches have their officers, their stockholders, and their creditors, in a greater or less degree, as may be the nature of the community among whom it is located; if of a mercantile turn the greater the number of its Creditors, if a Building mania seizes them, nearly equally as great will be the number—and so on for various purposes.—These Creditors, these stockholders and in particular these officers of the Bank are generally men of substance, and not unusually, the better informed of the community; and it is by this institution they derive their support, their property. Their numbers are but few; all that we have named in these 10,000,000, or for length of time, have gone on swimmingly, connected as it were by one common interest; the party of officers and stockholders enjoying the fruits of their Loans—the Borrowers the extra advance they may have derived above the Interest for the use of the monies of the Bank.

The present crisis however develops new positions in the two classes, a division in their interests, but like persons of a family constantly in a feud, when an enemy opposes they make common cause to repel him. The officer sees his salary about to drop from him, the stockholder must meet the loss of his 7 per cent, and must suffer a depreciation in the value of stock; for sooner or later every thing must find its level, and, on the other hand, the borrower is called upon to refund that which he is making use of as his own property, and which has given him a standing in society—(I speak of the commercial.) Reader, cast but one unprejudiced glance at these men, at their interests, these 10,000 among 13,000,000; you will see at once their motive for asperity against those who say their institution is unsound. The officer loses his support, the stockholder his wealth, the borrower his name of a wealthy man. Could any one suppose for a moment that among all this congregated talent, these men will let these securities, this wealth, and this name of wealth, fly from their grasp without a struggle? No! great indeed is the incentive; a greater at this time does not animate the breast of man. Money, wealth, power, all are at stake, and as dear as life is, equally great has been the struggle to retain the former, as would be that to sustain the latter. Can we then wonder at the missiles that have been hurled at the unoffending head of our President—the anathemas which have been pronounced against him, through nearly every newspaper in the country. Cease then to wonder at the little you see said in favour of our President's Veto on the Bill for a renewal of the Charter of the Bank, and at the much you see written against it. The writer of the above is of the democratic party—his views coincide (in all the cardinal points which have been agitated during the present administration,) with those of the present Chief Magistrate. It is not his intention to eulogize, at this time, the acts or merits of the man, they are too deeply engraven upon the hearts of his grateful countrymen to require it at his hands. But to return to my argument. I would, and I do not doubt, but that in the numbers of our party will be found but few who would desert the wretch who so far lost to honour, would insult the fallen; would put forth a hand to hurl the tottering man from power; even retort back upon him his malignity to those who have from a due regard to our Constitution, and the increasing corruption of the institution, staid its course.

This is a reason so little has been said in reply to those whose only patriotism is the accumulation of wealth. The friends of the administration feel perfectly secure in their strength, and as I before said, our party is not one to trample upon the fallen. They know who will become their political opponents by a change from the ranks of democracy, to be those only who are among the classes named as interested in the Bank—their number is small indeed, compared to the many. I will not here advert to

the soundness of the reasons on which the President thought proper to check the institution—they are generally known—I will not here advert to the untiring, unceasing exertions on the part of those interested, to hurl from his seat the man who dared in his open, honest integrity, to oppose them.—Reader, do not blush when I inform you, that the 10,000 interested men in the Bank of the United States, have formed the unholy design of displacing a Chief Magistrate of his country, whose patriotism will be indelibly stamped upon the brightest pages of American history, and placed there by the voices of 10 out of 13 millions of freemen who compose its inhabitants.

I will conclude with giving an anecdote which will shew the peculiarly overbearing character of this institution. The writer had occasion at one time to borrow about \$500 of one of the local Banks, as they are termed, of the Borough of Norfolk, and accordingly offered paper to that amount, containing three responsible names, the aggregate worth of which would probably amount to \$80,000. Strange to say, the paper was returned not discounted; an audience was had with the cashier, who related the following in substance,—"at our discount days I am asked by the Board of Directors what demands I will be able to meet during that week, to which I make a reply, naming the means in hand and those expected; to this amount only can we discount, let the paper offered over and above be ever so valuable; for this reason it is impossible for us to get our notes in circulation, the United States Bank returning them to us at the end of the week." Comment is unnecessary. When a mammoth undertakes to swallow up in this manner all its inferior competitors, easy indeed will be its opportunity of forming the only circulating medium, and of doing that which others will fear to do, making loans. If I hazard an opinion on the Bank itself, it will be that when the concerns of the Bank are closed, the holders of stock will receive something less than one half its cost originally, and that the longer the institution is continued, of less value would it become at any subsequent stoppage of its affairs; that it would at any other time, than the present create still greater distress, and consequently to satisfy the owners of stock we must perpetuate the charter to eternity. A. B. C.

From the New Hampshire Patriot.

Twenty-three Reasons why Henry Clay should not be elected President.

1. Because he sold the vote of the West in 1825, to Mr. Adams, for the office of Secretary of State.
2. Because he exhibited himself in the character of a bully by challenging 'honest' Gen. Klemmer to a duel to fight him.
3. Because when holding the second office in the nation, he challenged and fought a Senator for words spoken in debate.
4. Because he recommended in Mr. Adams' administration the Quixotic mission to Panama.
5. Because he prayed for "war pestilence and famine," in preference to the election of Gen. Jackson.
6. Because of his consistency in opposing the United States bank in 1811, as unconstitutional, monarchical, monopolizing, corrupting and inexpedient," and being undecided at Cincinnati in 1830, and in favor of it in 1831, after having received fees to the amount of \$30,000.
7. Because he sought a seat in the United States Senate after he had induced his friends to nominate him a candidate for the Presidency, and then disgraced himself and station by his billingsgate abuse of the President and the best men in the nation.
8. Because he is opposed to any adjustment of the tariff, for when that question is settled, he knows he has no hopes of success for the Presidency.
9. Because he says the President should march an army into Georgia, and open the doors of the Georgia State Prison, if they wade in the blood of the Georgians, striving thereby to excite a civil war.
10. Because he encourages for the same purpose the nullifiers of the South.
11. Because he and his party supported a nullifier and an anti-tariff man for President of the Senate, showing thereby their sincere attachment for principle to the Union and the tariff.
12. Because if elected, there will be a division of the Union before his term expires.
13. Because he showed the petulance of a schoolboy and the rage of a madman; in the Senate last winter, by brutal and malicious assaults upon men better than himself.
14. Because if elected, embezzlers, peculators, defaulters, and Toby Watkins men will all be restored to office, and again live on the plunder of the treasury.
15. Because he will reinstate the old federal party in office and their principles.
16. Because when Secretary of State, he appointed the King of the Netherlands to decide the Maine boundary question, and then assailed the President in vulgar invective for asking the Senate's advice about the decision of his own arbiter.
17. Because after the President to his knowledge had declined to appoint a national fast on constitutional grounds, he had the meanness to introduce a resolution into the Senate calling upon him to appoint one, that he might, as he said, be accused of versatility and inconsistency if he did, and a neglect of the wishes of Congress and the institutions of religion, if he did not.
18. Because he declares that the States are not "sovereign and independent, but mere local provinces, subject to the general government."
19. Because he contends that the people of one section of the country should be taxed to build roads and canals for another.
20. Because he wishes to destroy all foreign commerce.
21. Because he is opposed to masonry when with anti-masons, and in favor of it when with masons.