## PROCLAMATION

BY THE GOVERNOR OF SOUTH CAROLINA.

WHEREAS, the President of the U lited States hath issued his Proclanation concerning an "Ordinance of the People of South Carolina, to nullify certain acts of the Congress of the United States," laying "duties and imposts for the protection of domestic manufactures."

And WHEREAS, the Legislature of South Carolina now in session, taking into consideration, the matters con-tained in the said Proclamation of the President, have adopted a Preamble and Resolution to the following effect,

" WHEREAS, the President of the United State has issued his Proclamation denouncing the pro-ceedings of this State, calling upon the citizens thereof to renounce their primary silegiance, and threatening them with military coercion, onwar-ranted be the constitution, and utterly inconsist-ent with the existence of a free State, be it there-

Resolved, That his Excellency the Governo Resolved, That his Excellency the Governor be requested, forthwith, to issue his Proclamation warning the good people of this State against the attempt of the President of the United States to seduce them from their allegiance, exhoring them to diaregard his vain menaces, and to be prepared to sustain the digney, and protest the liberty of the State, against the arbitrary measures proposed by the President."

Now I, ROBERT Y. HAYNE, Governor of South Carolina, in obedience to the said Resolution, do hereby issue this my Proclamation, solemnly warning the good people of this State against the dangerous and pernicions doctrine promulgated in the said Proclamation of the President, as calculated to mislead their judgments as to the true character of the government under which they live, and the paramount obligation which they owe to the State, and manifestly intended to seduce them from their allegiance, and by drawing them to the support of the violent and unlawful measures contemplated by the President, to involve them in the guilt of REBELLIOS. I would carnestly admonish them to beware of the specious but false dectrines by which it is now attempted to be shewn that the several States have not retained their entire sovereignty, that " the allegiance of their citizens was transferred in the first instance to the government of the United States," that eign and independent whose citizens owe obedience to laws not made by it;" that "even under the royal government we had no separate character," that the Constitution has created "a national gevernment" which is not "a compact between Sovereign States" that a state has wo RIGHT To SECEDE"-in a word, that ours is a NATIONAL GOVERNMENT IN which the ple of all the Buttes are represen ted, and by which we are constituted "ONE PEOPLE" -and "that our representatives in Congress are all representatives of the United States and not of the particular States from which they come"-doctrines which approof the very foundation of our polititical system-annihilate the rights of the States and utterly destroy the liberties of he citizen.

what the bare statement of these propositions demonstrate, that such a Government as is here described, has not a single feature of a confederated republic. It is in truth an accurate delineation, drawn with a bold hand, of a great consolidated empire, - "one and indivisible," and under what ever specious form its powers may be masked, it is in fact the worst of all despotisms, in which the spirit of an for which our fathers fought and bled, as a willing sacrifice. Such was not the government, which the great and patriotic men who called the Union intrament which the fathers of the reoblican faith, led on by the Apostle American Liberty, promulgated and Ar constully maintained in 1798, and which they produced the great po-I dea levolution effected at that ausous era. To a government based principles, South Carolina has not ler a voluntary party, and to such

It requires no reasoning to shew

The records of our history, do indees, afford the prototype of these senande l opinions of those, who, when Constitution was framed, were in of a firm National Government. e relation to the Union, that

an absolute supremacy over

sequence of the principles thus au- table destruction of the liberties of the DER COLOUR OF THAT INSTRUMENT. thoritatively announced by the President, as constituting the very basis of our political system, that the Federal Government is unlimited and supreme; being the exclusive judge of the extent of its own powers, the laws of Congress sanctioned by the executive and the Judiciary. whether passed in direct violation of the Constitution and rights of the States, or not, are "the supreme law of the land." Hence it is that the President obviously considers the words "made in pursuance of the constitution of the State, and in pursuance of the constitution of the State, and of arrest ting the progress of usurpation within consequently unlimited power, in no man or consequently unlimited power. the words "made in pursuance of the ting the progress of usurpation within consequently unlimited power, in no man or Constitution" as mere surplusage; her own limits, and when, as in the and therefore when he professes to recite the provisions of the Constitution and protection—constitutional and unon the subject, he states that our "so- constitutional objects have been so State has a natural right in cases not within that the laws of the United States, its possible to draw the line of discrimina- their own authority all assumption of power under it are the supreme law of the consider the whole as a system uncon- this right they would be under the dominion land," and speaks throughout of "the stitutional in its character, and to leave exercise the right of judgment for them, explicit supremacy given to the laws it to those who have "woven the web, and that in case of acts being passed by Con of the Union over those of the States" to unravel the threads." South Coroli- gress "so palpably against the Constitution as supreme, while it was necessary to the political history of our country, in supvalidity of a treaty that it should be port of her position "that the Constitumade in pursuance of the Constitution. tion of the United States is a compact States all powers whatsoever, it would be Such, however, is not the provision of between sovereign States—that it creexpressly provides that "the Constitu-ing a single feature of nationality in which shall be made in pursuance there- several States as distinct political laws of any State to the contrary not-ing its own citizens, and not those of withstanding."

solemn treaties, even after they had ment of the Federal Government. That the Executive possesses this

ight of deciding finally, and exclusively as to the validity of acts of Congress, will hardly be pretended-and that it belongs to the Judiciary, except so far as may be necessary to the de cisions of questions, which may incidentally come before them, in "cases of law and equity," has been denied by none more strongly than the President himself, who on a memorable occasion refused to acknowledge the binding authority of the Federal Court, and claimed for himself and has exercised the right of enforcing the laws, not according to their judgment, but his own understanding of them. And yet when it serves the purpose of bringing odium upon South Carolina, "his native State," the President has no hesitation in regarding the attempt of a State to release herself from the control of the Federal Judiciary, in a matter affecting her sovereign rights,

as a violation of the Constitution. It is unnecessary to enter into an elaborate examination of the subject. It surely cannot admit of a doubt, that arbitrary government is suffered to by the Declaration of Independence, pervade institutions professing to be the several Colonies became "free, free. Such was not the government, sovereign and independent States," and our political history will abunand offered up their lives and fortunes dantly shew that at every subsequent change in their condition up to the formation of our present Constitution, the States preserved their sovereignty. to being in the plenitude of their wis-doms framed. Such was not the gov-our system, that the States exist only as members of the Union-that before the Declaration of Independence, we were known only as "United Colonies"-and that even under the articles of confederation, the States were considered as forming "collectively ONE NATION"-without any right of refusing to submit to sany decision of down to us as a light to our feet and a lamp Congress"-was reserved to the Presiament she will never give her dent and his immediate predecessor. To the latter "belongs the invention, and upon the former, will unfortunately fall the evils of reducing it to prac-

South Carolina holds the principles now promulgated by the President (as they must always be held by all whe in I the States should stand in claim to be supporters of the rights of the States) "as contradicted by the aies did towards the mother letter of the constitution-unauthoris-The journals of the conven ed by its spirit-inconsistent with evethe secret history of the de- ry principle on which it was foundedtill shew that this party did destructive of all the objects for which to secure to the Federal Gov- it was framed"-utterly incompatible with the very existence of the States-3. . . by giving them a negative & absolutely fatal to the rights & liberupon their laws, but the same history ties of the people. South Carolina has also teaches us that all these propositions were rejected, and a Federal to Congress and the World the princi-Government was finally established, ples which she believes to constitute administer the government, and not the constitution, states, and leaving the constitutional compact on the footing of all other more at this time, than berein the excessed powers delegated to it, stop nothing short of despoism—since the discretion of those who administer the government, and not the constitution, would be the measure of their powers delegated to it, stop nothing short of despoism—since the discretion of those who administer the government, and not the constitution, would be the measure of the powers delegated to it, stop nothing short of despoism—since the discretion of those who administer the government, and not the constitution, would be the measure of their powers delegated to it, stop nothing short of despoism—since the discretion of those who administer the government, and not the constitution, would be the measure of their powers delegated to it, stop nothing short of despoism—since the discretion of those who administer the government, and not the constitution, would be the measure of their powers delegated to it, stop nothing short of despoism—since the discretion of those who administer the government, and not the constitution, would be the measure of their powers delegated to it, stop nothing short of despoism—since the discretion of those who administer the government, and not the constitution, would be the measure of their powers delegated to it, stop nothing short of despoism—since the discretion of those who administer the government.

It is the natural and necessary con- never be subverted without the inevi- ALL UNAUTHORIZED ACTS DONE UN the Constitution. That instrument ates a confederated republic, not havtion, and laws of the United States its foundation-that the people of the of, shall be the supreme law of the communities ratified the Constitution, land, any thing in the Constitution or each State acting for itself, and bindany other State, the act of ratification Here it will be seen, that a law of declaring it to be binding on the States Congress, as such, can have no validi- so ratifying the States are its authors, y unless made "in pursuance of the their power created it-their voice Constitution." An unconstitutional clothed it with authority-the governact is therefore null and void, and the ment which it formed, is composed of only point that can arise in this case their agents, and the Union of which is whether, to the Federal Government, it is the bond is a Union of States and or any department thereof, has been not of individuals-that as regards the exclusively reserved the right to decide foundation and extent of its powers, authoritatively for the States this quest the government of the United States is tion of Constitutionality. If this be so, strictly what its name implies, a Redeto which of the departments, it may ral Government—that the States are be asked, is this right of final judgment as sovereign now as they were prior given? If it be to Congress, then is Congress not only elevated above the other departments of the Federal Constitution is a confederation in the nature of a treaty—or an ernment, but it is put above the Consti- alliance by which so many Sovereign tation itself. This, however, the Presi- States agreed to exercise their sovedent himself has publicly and solemnly reign powers conjointly upon certain denied, claiming and exercising, as is objects of external concern in which known to all the world—the right to they are equally interested, such as refuse to execute acts of Congress and war, reace, commerce, Foreign Negotiation, and Indian Trade; and upreceived the sanction of every depart- on all other subjects of civil government, they were to exercise their

Sovereignty separately.

For the convenient conjoint exercise of the sovereignty of the States, there must of nades nity be some common agency or functionary. This agency is the Federal Government. If represents the confederated States, and execompact. The powers of this government are wholly derivative. It possesses no more inherent sovereignty, than an incorporated town, for any other great corporate body-if is a political corporation, and like all sorpo rations, it looks for its powers to an exterior source. That source is the States.

South Carolina claims that by the Declaration of Independence, she became and has ever since continued a free, sovereign, and Independent State.

That as a sovereign State, she has the inherent power, to do all those acts, which by the law of nations, any Prince or Poten That like all indepen ate may of right do. dent States, she neither has, nor ought she to suffer any other restraint upon her sove reign will and pleasure, than those high moral obligations, under which all Princes and States are bound before God and man to perform their solemn pledges. The inev itable conclusion from what has been said therefore is, that as in all cases of compact between independent sovereigns, where from the very nature of things, there can be accommon judge or umpire, each sovereign "to judge as well of infrac tions, as the mode and measure of redress, so in the present controversy, between South Carolina and the Federal Government it belongs solely to her, by her delegates in solemn convention assembled, to decide whether the federal compact be violated and what remedy the State ought to pursue. South Carolina therefore cannot, and will not yield to any department of the Federal Government, a right which enters into the essence of all sovereignty, and without which, it would become "a bauble and a

Such are the doctrines which South Caro line has through her Convention solemaly promulgated to the world, and by them she will stand or fall: such were the principles promulgated by Virginia in '98, and which then received the sanction of those great men, whose recorded sentiments have come to our path. It is Virginia and not South-Carolina, who speaks when it is said that she "views the powers of the Federal Gov ernment, as resulting from the compact, to which the states are parties, as limited by the plain sense and intention of the justrument constituting that compact—as no further valid than they are authorized by the grants enu-merated in that compact; and that in case of a deliberate, palpable and dangerous exercise of other powers, not granted by the said compact; the states who are parties thereto, ave the right, and are in duty bound, to interpose, for arresting the progress of the evil, and for maintaining within their respec tive limits, the "authorities, rights and liber

ties, appertaining to them."

It is Kentucky who declared in '99, speak ing in the explicit language of Thomas Jef ferson, that " the principles and construction opntended for by members of the State Le islatures (the very same now maintained by the President, that the general government is the exclusive judge of the extent of the States, and Icaving the constitutional compacts of the footing of all other more at this time, than barely to precompacts between "parties having no common superior."

States, and Icaving the constitutional that it is deemed unnecessary to do instrument being sovereign and independent, have the unquestionable right to judge of the infraction, and, THAT A NULLIFICA solutions in the band writing of Mr. Jeffer son, lately published by his grandson.

of the act is the rightful remedy; that every CIAL COMPACT in express terms declares mixed up together, that it is found im- the compact [curus non faderus] to nullify of Constitution, and the Treaties made tion-she has no alternative, but to by others within their limits, and that without absolute and unlimited, of whomsoever might -as if a law of Congress was of itself na insists, and she appeals to the whole to amount to an undisguised declaration, that the compact is not meant to be the measure of the powers of the general government, but that it will proceed to exercise over the void and of no force, and that each should take measures of its own for providing that neither such acts, nor any other of the general go vernment not plainly and intentionally autho rized by the Constitution, shall be exercised within their respective territories

It is on these great and essential truths. that South Carolina has now, acted. Judging for herself as a sovereign State, she liss pronounced the Protecting System, in all its branches, to be a "gross, deliberate, and pal pable violation of the Constitutional compact," and having exhausted every other means of redress, she has, in the exercise of her sovereign rights as one of the parties to that compact, and in the performance of a high and sacred duty, interposed for arrest ing the evil of usurpation, within her own li mits, by declaring these acts to be "null, void, and no law, and taking measures of her own, that they shall not be enforced within

South Carolina has not "assumed" what could be considered as at all doubtful, when she asserts "that the acts in question were in reality intended for the projection of manufactures;" that their "operation is un-equal;" that "the amount received by themgreater than is required by the wants of the government;" and finally, " that the prothe government," and finally, "that the pro-ceeds are to be applied to objects unautho-rized by the Constitution." These facts are notorious; these objects openly avowed. The President, without instituting any inquisition into motives, has himself discovered, and publicly denounced them, and his officer of finance is even now devising measures in tended, as we are told, to correct these ac knowledged abuses.
It is a vain and idle dispute about words

to ask whether this right of State interposi

tion may be most properly styled a Constitutional, a sovereign, or a reserved right. calling this right constitutional, it could be ver have been intended to claim it as a right granted by, or derived from the Constitution, its letter and its spirit; it being not only dis tinctly understood, at the time of ratifying the Constitution, but expressly provided in the instrument itself, that all sovereign rights, not agreed to be exercised conjointly. hould be exerted separately by the States. Virginia declared, in reference to the right sserted in the Resolutions of 198, above quoted, even after having fully and accurately e-examined and re co-sidered these result tions, "tist she found it to be her indispen able duty to adhere to the same, as founded n truth, he consonant with the Constitution, and as conducive to its welfare," and ar tadison himself, asserted them to be per ectly "constitutional and conclusive." It is wholly impaterial, however, by what same this right may be called, for if the Constitution be "a compact to which the states are parties," if "acts of the Federal dovernment are no further valid than they re authorized by the grants enumerated in hat compact," then we have the authority Mr. Madison himself for the inevitable proclusion that it is "a plain principle illus rated by common practice, and essential to the unture of compacts, that when resort can let had to no tribunal superior to the authority of the parties, the particular themselves must be the rightful judge in the last resort.

ty, to decide in the last resort, whether the compact made by them be violated; and, compact made by them be violated; and, consequently, that as the parties to it, they must themselves decide in the last resort, such questions as may be of sufficient magnitude to require field interposition."

If this right does not exist in the several States, then it is clear that the discretion of Congress, and not the Constitution, would be the measure of their powers; and this, says Mr. Jefferson, would amount to the "acizing the rights of the States and consolidating them in the hands of the general government, with a power assumed to bind the States not only in cases made federal, but in all cases whatsoever, which would be to surrender the form of government we have chosen, to live

under one deriving its power from its own

whether the bargain made has been pursued

or violated." The Constitution, continues

or violated." The Constitution, continues Mr. Madison, "was formed by the sanction of the States, given by each in its stovereign capacity: the States then being parties to the constitutional compact, and in their sovereign capacity, it follows of necessity, that

here can be no tribunal above their authori-

will."

We hold it to be impossible to resist the irgument, that the several States as sovereign parties to the compact, must possess the power, in cases of "gross, deliberate and pulpable violation of the constitution, to judge each fur itself, as well of the intraction as the mode and measure of of the intraction as the mode and measure of redress," or our is a Consollarin Govern.
MENT " without limitation of powers,"—a submission to which Mr. Jeffer on has solemnly promission to which Mr. Jefferson has solemnly pronounced to be a greater evil than distunion itself.

If, to borrow the language of Madison's report,

"the deliberate exercise of, dangerous powers
patpably withheld by the Constitution, could not
justify the parties to it, in interpossing even so far
as to arrest the progress of the evil, and thereby to
PRESERVE THE CONSTITUTION TIMELE, as well as
to provide for the safety of the parties to it, there
would be an end to all relief from usurped power, and a direct subversion of the rights speci-fied or recongnised under all the State Constitu-tions, as well as a plain denial of the funda-mental principle on which our independence itself was declared."

of the States, is that it may be abused. But the denger is believed to be altogether imaginary. So long as our Union is telt as a blessing—and this will be just so long as the federal government shall confine its operation within the acknowledged limits of the Charter—there will be no temptation for any State to interfere with the barmonious operation of the system. There will exist the strongest motives to induce for bearrance, and none to prompt to aggression on either side, so soon as it shall come to be universally felt and soknowledged that the States do not stand to the Union in the relation of degraded and dependant colonies, but that our bond of unions in formed by mutual sympathies and common inferests. The true answer to this objection has interests. The true answer to this objection has been given by Mr. Madison when he says— "It thes not follow, however, that because the

States, as sovereign parties to the constitutional compact, must ultimately decide whether it has been violated, that such a decision ought to be in-ferposed, either in a hasty manner, or on doubt-ful and inferior occasions. Even in the case of ordinary conventions between different nations, it always laid down that the breach must be both wilful and material to justify an application of the rule. But in the case of an intimate and consti-tutional union, like that of the United States, it is evident that the interposition of the parties, in their sovereign expanity, can be called for by occasions only, deeply and essentially affecting the vital principles of their political system." that the danger is Experience demonstrates

often as may be necessary.
It is maintained by South Carolina that accordng to the true spirit of the Constitution it becomes Congress in all emergencies like the present, either to remove the evil by logislation, or peaceably to their respective abodes within to solicit of the States the call of a Convention; a limited time." On reading these two sec

But it seems that South Carolina receives from the President no credit for her sincerity, when it is declared through her Chief M. gistrate, that it is declared through her Chief M. gistrate, that it is declared through her Chief M. gistrate, that it is the sincerely and anxiously seeks and desires; the submission of her grievances to a convention of all the States. "The only alternative (says the President) which she presents, is the repeat with the provisions of this act, does not very of all the acts for raising revenue; leaving the government without the means of support, or an acquiesence in the disvolution of our Union." The laws of the United States have certainly South Carolina has presented no such alternative hear forcibly obstructed by combinations. in for the express purpose of making known that So. Ca. asks no more than that the Tariff should be reduced to the revenue standard; and has distinctly expressed her willingness, that "an amount of duties substantially uniterm, should be levied upon pretested, as well as neprotected articles; sufficient to raise the revenue and Navy, is exactly co-extensive with that necessary to meet the demands of the government, for constitutional purposes." He would have found in the Exposition, put first by the Convention itself, a distinct appeal to our sister States, for the call of a Conventions and the expression of an entire willingness on the part of South Carolina, to submit the controversy to that l her views, he would have found,

should be made thought proper to include, in relation to South Carolina, the proceedings of her citizens and constituted authorities. He had noticed, only to give it countenance, that miserable slander which imputes the noble stand that our people have tak-en in defence of their rights and liberties, to a States. The sampless they have made, and dif-liculties and trials through which they may have yet to pass, will leave no doubt as to the disinter-rested motives and noble impulses of patriotism they have been induced to separate their own personal interests from those of the people of South Carolina, and have consented to abaution their duty to the State, no one knows better than the President himself, that they might have been honored with the highest manifestations of publie regard, and perhaps instead of being the obents of virapenation; might even now have been basking in the sunshine of Excentive favor. This topic is alluded to, merely for the purpose of guarding the people of our sister States against the latal delusion that South Carolina has assumed her present position under the in-flatence of a temporary excitement, and to warn them that it has been the result of the slow but them that it has been the result of the slow but steady peogress of public opinion for the last ten years: that it is the act of the people themselves, taken in conformity with the spirit of resolutions repeatedly adopted in their primary assemblies; and the solema determination of the Legislature, publicly aumounced more than two years ago. Let them not so far deserve the markets on this subject, as to persevere in a course, which must in the end inevitably produce a dissolution of the Union, under the vain expectation that the great body of the people of South Carolina, listening to the conneils of the President will sekupula edge their error or retrace their steps; and still of their rights, by the intimation of the danger of domestic discord, and threats of lawless violence. domestic discord, and threats of lawless violence. The brave men who have thrown themselves into the breach, in defence of the rights and liberties of their country, are not to be streen from their haly purpose by auch means. Even immerited obliquy, and death itself, have no terrors for him who feels and knows that he is entered. rors for him who feels and knows that he is engaged in the performance of a sacrat doty. The people of South Carolina are well aware that however passion and prejudice may obtain Jaca season the mastery of the public min I, reason and justice must sooner or later reassert their empire; and that whatever may be the event of this content, posterity will do justice to their raptives, and to the spotless purity, and devoted patriotism, with which they have entered into an ardinus and most unequal conflict, and the unfaltering courage with which, by the bleasing of Heaven, they will maintain it. of Heaven, they will maintain it.

The only plausible objection that can be urged forth the militia, and even the military and eaval against this right, so indispensable to the salety forces of the Union, against the State of South of the States, is that it may be abused. But this Carolina, her constituted authorities and citizens, semblance of authority to excente any of the threats which be has thrown out against the goo-people of South Carolina. The Act of 49 Feb. reary, 1795, gives the President authority to call forth the Militia in case of invasion " by a foreign nation or Indian Tribe." By the 2nd section of that Act, it is provided that "whenever the Laws of the United States shall be opposed, or the execution thereof obstructed in any State, by combinations too powerful to be suppressed by the ordinary course of judicial proceedings, or by the powers vested in the marshals by this Act, it shall be lawful for the President of the United States to call forth the Militis of such State, or of any other State or States, as may be necessary to suppress such combinations, and to

The words here used, though they might be supposed to be very comprehensive in their import, are restrained by those which not that a state will resort to her sovereign rights too frequently or on light and trivial occasions, but that she may shrink from asserting them as indigment of the President to use the military. force hereby directed to be called forth, the President shall forthwith, by Proclamation cor mend such insurgents to disperse and retire to solicit of the States the cell of a Convention; and that on a failure to obtain by the consent of three fourths of all the States an amendment giving the disputed power, it must be regarded is never fiaving been intented to be given. These principles have been distinctly recognized by the President himself in his message to Congress at the commencement of the present acts at the commencement of the present acts and they seem only to be impracticable about the state, and its others yielding obedience to its commands, cannot possibly audities when asserted by South Carolina, or inations against the authority and laws of made amplicable to be existing conveyors with the Union, to be dispersed by an Executive the Federal government.

But it seems that South Carolina receives from them would be a gross and pulpable violation. south Carolina has presented no such alterna-tives. If the President had read the documents of any sort, and it is certainly worthy of ob-which the Convention caused to be Jorwarded to servation that the command extended to the people is not that they should disperse but

tribund. Even at the very moment when he him to employ for the same purpose, such was including in these unjust and jujurious in- part of the land or naval force of the United pubitions upon the people of South Carolina, States as may be necessary, having first ob-and their late highly respected third Magis served all the prerequisites of the law in that trate, a resolution had astually been passed respect." Here then it is seen, that unless trate, a resolution had actually been passed through both branches of our Legislature, demanding a call of that very Consection, to which the declares that she had no desire that an appeal all constitutional obligations, and to trample the should be made It does not become the dignity of a Sovereign authority whatever to use force against the State, to notice in the spirit which might be con- State of South Carolina, and should he at sidered as belonging to the occasion, the unwar-tempt to do so, the patriotic citizens of this rantable imputations in which the President has State, know too well their own rights, and have too sacred a regard to their duties, to hesitate one moment, in repelling invasion, come from what quarter it may. Could they be deterred by the thrests of lawless vio imputes the noble stand that our people have taken hi defence of their rights and liberties, to a
faction instigated by the efforts of a lew ambitions leaders who have got up an excitement for
their own personal aggrandizement. The motives and characters of those who have been subjusted to these unfounded imputations, are heyould the reach of the President of the United
States. The sampless they have made, and difgone from among us, and been gathered to their fathers, leaving as a legucy their solemn injunction that we should never abandon this contest until we shall have obtained "a fresh understanding of the burgain," and restored the liberties for which they fought and bled. Others still linger among us, animating us by their example, and exhorting us to maintain that "soleme Ordinance and Declaration." which they have subscribed with their own names, and in support of which they have pledged their lives, their fortunes and their sacred honor."

The annula which record the struggles of reedom, show us that Rulers in every age and every country, jealous of their power, have resorted to the very same means to extinguish in the bosom of man that noble instinct of Liberty which prompts him to resist oppression. The system by which Tyrants in every age have attempted to obliterate this sentiment and to crush the spir it of the people, consists in the skilluism ployment of promises and threats, in alternate efforts to encourage their hopes and excite their fears to show that existing evils are exaggerated, the danger of resistance great-and the difficulties in the way of success in superable; and finally to sow dissentions among the people by creating jealousies and exercing a distruct of those whose counsels and example may be supposed to have an important bearing on the success of their

These, with animpted appeals to the lov alty of the people, and so imposing array of military force, constitute the means by which the people have in every age been reduced to slavery. When we turn to the pages of our own history, we find that such were the measures resorted to at the commencement of our own glorious revolution, to keep our fathers in subjection to Great Britain; and such are the means now used to induce the people of Carolina to "retrace their steps," and to remain forever degraded colonists governed not in reference to their own in terest but the interests of others,

of Heaven, they will maintain it:

The whole arguments, so far as it is designed at this time to enter into it, is now disposed of and it is necessary to advert to some passages in the Proclamation which cannot be passed over in silence. The President distinctly intimates that it is his determination to exert the right of putting down the opposition of South Carolina to the Tariff, by force of Arms. He believes himmelf invested with power to do this under that provision of the Constitution wich direct that provision of the Constitution wich direct than "to take care that the laws is is inthfully excepted." Now if by this it was only meant to be asserted that under the laws of Congress now of force, the President would feel himself bound to aid the elvil tribunals in the manner therein prescribed, supposing such laws to be constitutional, no just exception could be taken to this assertion of Executive duty. But if, as is manifestly intended, the President sets up the claim to judge for himself in what manner the laws are to be enforced, and feels himself et liberty to call