

The Constitutionalist,

PEOPLE'S ADVOCATE AND STATE GAZETTE.

"THE LIBERTY OF THE PRESS—THE SHIELD OF FREEDOM—THE SCOURGE OF TYRANTS"

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RALEIGH, N. C. OCTOBER 15, 1833.

VOLUME 2--NUMBER 47

The Constitutionalist

Published every Tuesday morning, at Three Dollars per annum, one half payable in advance, or Three Dollars and fifty cents if not paid until the termination of the year.
Advertisements inserted at 50 cents per square, for the first insertion, and 25 cents for every subsequent one.
Letters addressed to the Editor on business connected with the establishment, must be post paid, or they will not be taken out of the office.

DOCTRY.

From the Token and Atlantic Souvenir for 1834.

WHY DON'T HE COME.

BY H. P. WOOD.
The ship has anchored in the bay!
They've dropped her weary wings and some
Have named the boats and come away;
But where is he? why don't he come?
Among the throng with busy feet,
My eye seeks him it cannot find;
While others haste their friends to greet,
Why, why is he so long behind?
Because he made me dry my cheek,
I shed it when he went from us—
I shed it with lips that could not speak,
And now, how can he linger thus?
I've felt a brother's parting kiss,
Each moment since he turned from me,
To look to only is the bliss
Of meeting him—where can he be?
I've read the rose he bade me read—
I've learned the song he bade me learn,
And nursed the bird, that he might hear
I sang to him at his return.
I've smiled many a lovely flower,
I've heard dear picture to wreath,
While doing fancy, hour by hour,
Has made it smile and seem to breathe.
I wonder if the flight of time,
Has made the likeness now untrue,
And if the sea or foreign clime
Has touched him with a darker hue.
For I have watched it until the sun
Has made my longing vision dim,
But cannot catch a glimpse of one
Among the crowd that looks like him.
How slow the heavy moments pass,
While thus he stays where, where is he?
I hear him leap forth—haste, brother, haste!
I mean to meet and welcome thee!
Then lovely one, the mournful tale,
That tells why he comes not, will make
Thy heart to bleed, thy cheek look pale!
Death finds not the too strong to break!
The bird will wait his master long,
And ask his morning gift in vain;
Ye both must never forget the song
Of joy, for sorrow's plaintive strain.
The face whose shade thy tender hand
Has wreathed with flowers, is changed! but see,
Nor stun, nor stir of foreign land
Has wrought the change for where is he?
When 'till the solemn deep, that took
His form as with their sad farewell
His brethren gave the last, last look,
And lowered him down—that deep must tell:
But ocean cannot tell the whole—
The part that death can never chill,
Nor floods dissolve—the living soul,
Is happy, bright, and blooming still,
And nobler songs than e'er can sound
From mortal voices greet his ear:
Where sweeter fairer flowers are found
Than all he left to wither here.
This, this is why he does not come,
Whom thy fond eye has sought so long:
Woe will thy days have filled their sum;
Then find him in an angel throng.

Miscellaneous.

From the Nat. Intelligencer.

TALLMADGE COLONIZATION SOCIETY.—We have just received with an address delivered by the Hon. Elisha Whittelsey, one of the Representatives in Congress from the State of Ohio, before the above society, on the 4th of July, which we have read with much pleasure. Mr. Whittelsey gives a concise and very interesting history of the rise and progress of the Parent Colonization Society, and ably defends it against the various objections made in England, by certain English advocates, from this country, to its present and future views of this Society. The following is an extract from the Address:
"When speaking of the inhumanity of the slave trade, and the evils it has entailed on the country, those of the present generation are apt to lay the blame exclusively to the inhabitants of the Southern States; whereas, it will be found on examining the early history of those States, that a very heavy imposition upon them against their consciences and entreaties, by that very government whose professed policy it now is, when slave labor no longer enriches her, to cut asunder the tie that binds his slave to his master. I have dwelt longer on the origin of slavery in this country, and on the measures of the British Government, than I should otherwise have done, if I had not lately seen a letter written by an American, in England, giving an account of the proceedings of a meeting of an Anti-slavery association, in which he says, (I cite the sentiment not having the paper before me, I do not know that I use the exact words,) he was ashamed of his country, and hid his face, for fear he should be recognized as an American. I do not envy the feelings of any American, who has thus spoken of his country in the face of the world—the country that gave him birth, and to whose institutions he is indebted for whatever he possesses. Ashamed of his country! Yes, of that country that is unrivaled in her free institutions—her prosperity—in her enterprises—and in her march of intellect. Ashamed of that country, whose free institutions are models for those who are regaining their liberty by disputing 'the divine right of Kings!' If he was ashamed of his country, because slavery is tolerated here, and she had been reproached for it by Englishmen, why did he not avail himself of the occasion to stand forth in defence of his country's honor, and trace the evils of slavery to the Brit-

ish Government, which forced them upon us against our remonstrances and humble petitions? Why did he not crimson the cheeks of a British audience, by advertising to a treaty made by their Government with Spain, in 1713, stipulating to import 144,000 negroes to be held in perpetual slavery? If he had done this, it would have been time for him afterwards to have proclaimed he was ashamed of his country, and have hid his face in view of her dishonor!"

"If the position has been maintained, that the Colonization Society merits your confidence, little need be said in opposition to immediate abolition. Two objections exist against it. 1st. It is not practicable; and 2d. if it was, it is not expedient. It is not practicable without the consent of the slave-holding States, which cannot under any circumstances be obtained, either by persuasion or force. I have touched on the condition of the States before the constitution was formed, and we all know the General Government was established by the people of the respective States; each State surrendering a part of its sovereignty, for the general benefit of all of them. We have seen that the interest the master had in his slave was guaranteed to him by the constitution, and that the value of this property at this time amounts to more than five hundred millions of dollars. The holders of this property would not generally surrender it at once, because in very many cases bankruptcies must inevitably follow; but more weighty objections exist with them; which are, that the slaves are in a better condition than they would be if they were suffered to remain in this country; and that both castes, in the proportion they exist in the Southern States, could not live together in a state of freedom."

"The abolitionists demand, that the entire value of the property invested in slaves shall be immediately sunk to the owners. And when is this demand made? After the slave holders have borne on the principle of representation, their proportion of the debt incurred by the revolutionary war, and the late war with Great Britain. It seems to me it would have been more magnanimous more in accordance with the principle of justice and good faith, if the demand had been made when, if it had prevailed, the Slave Holding States would have been obliged to have discharged these debts according to the rates of the white population. Do they propose to give any compensation for this sacrifice of property? or to grant any equivalent, so that the States shall be placed on a footing of equality, as they were before the Union was formed? I have heard of none. All must perceive the loss falls on one portion of the United States."

"If there was no other impediment in the way than the amount of property that is invested you could not prevail on the Southern States to emancipate their slaves at once. We should not do it, if we were in their situation. If persuasion will not effect the object, force will then be recommended; and when this shall be exercised in a matter clearly without the Constitution, the Union will be dissolved of course.— This will be the inevitable result, and still the slaves will be held in serfdom. It was from our firm conviction that this would follow, that I was led in the fore part of this address, to admonish you to pause before you became identified with a party whose predominance will dispense with the celebration of this national anniversary."

"Two new confederacies may be formed; and the people of the Northern one may, in their zeal for the freedom of the blacks, distribute inflammatory publications, portraying the blessings of liberty and the inhumanity of slavery; and they may furnish them with the implements and munitions of war, and excite them to rise upon their masters and to carry on an exterminating massacre, regardless of age and sex. That the war would be one of extermination to one or the other party, there can be no doubt. If the blacks prevailed, would the Northern confederacy unite with them? No one believes she would. They would be in possession of the South, and of the Southwestern portion of the United States, contiguous to Cuba and the West India Islands, where the blacks are supposed also to be free. In this event, stranger things have taken place, than that the blacks, with the aid of their countrymen on the contiguous islands, should gain possession of the Northern confederacy."

"But suppose I am too much alarmed—is there not some good reason to apprehend the experiment will not succeed as well as the abolitionists anticipate? Will it not be prudent for us to wait, and see what the result will be, if the experiment shall be tried in the British West India Islands? Is the British Government eager to enlighten the ignorant—to do justice, and to relieve the oppressed?"

"Let her commence at home, by instructing the brilliant, but ununiformed children of the peasantry in Ireland; let her restore Ireland to her rank as a nation; or let her give to Irishmen the same political rights possessed by Englishmen. Ireland! oppressed and degraded Ireland! might well demand a portion of the sympathy that is awakened in the bosoms of Englishmen in behalf of suffering humanity."

"It is in vain for you to attempt to shut your eyes against seeing, that the scheme of abolition, if persisted in, and shall predominate in the States, must inevitably lead to a dissolution of the Union. A dark cloud blackened our political horizon during the past year which threatened the destruction of the only free and enlightened Republic. You all felt the danger, and you rejoiced when you saw it had ceased to exist. Although the pretended grievance was urged in common by all the Southern States, still there was a division of opinion as to the

proper remedy, and those who were the advocates of nullification were in a lean majority.— It will be otherwise on the question of immediate abolition. No love of country, no attachment to the Union, will disunite them; but all will prefer a separation to the immediate emancipation of their slaves."

"They would hope in that event, to be able, by their own strength, or by seeking the protection of some foreign power, to save their lives from carnage, and their property from pillage and conflagration, which they think, and know, would inevitably follow an immediate and general emancipation."

The Petersburg, (Va.) Intelligencer speaking of Mr. Whittelsey's Address, says, "We have been much gratified at the manly and sensible tone which characterizes the Address. A zealous and eloquent advocate of the Colonization Society, Mr. Whittelsey yet refuses to give the sanction of that respectable association to the bold and reckless schemes of abolition, which have been lately openly professed. He points out, in the most forcible manner, the miscellaneous effects which must result from the agitation of that subject; a question in which the South has too vital interest to permit the improper interference which misguided zealots seem determined to attempt."

AMERICAN PORTRAITS.

The following sketches of distinguished Americans are taken from a work lately published by Mr. Hamilton, the author of Cynil Thornton and lately of the British army:

PRESIDENT JACKSON.—We found the President had retired with a headache, but in a few minutes he appeared, though from the heaviness of his eye, evidently in a state of considerable pain. This, however, had no influence on his conversation, which was spirited and full of vivacity. He informed us that he had been unwell for several days and having the fatigues of a levee to encounter on the following evening, he had retired early, in order to recruit for an occasion which required the presence of all his bodily powers. When this subject was dismissed the conversation turned on native politics, the Indian question, the powers of the supreme court, and a recent debate in the Senate, which had excited considerable attention.

Of the opinions expressed by this distinguished person it would be unparadise were I to say any thing; but I heard them with deep interest, and certainly considered them to be marked by that union of boldness and sagacity which is generally supposed to form a prominent feature of his character. General Jackson spoke like a man so thoroughly convinced of the justice of his views, that he announced them unhesitatingly and without reserve. This openness might be increased, perhaps, by the knowledge of my companion being a decided supporter of his government, but sincerity is so legible both in his countenance and manner, that I feel convinced that nothing but the strongest motives of state policy could make him hesitate, under any circumstances, to express boldly what he felt strongly.

MR. CALHOUN.—My visit to Washington brought with it the advantage of forming acquaintances with many distinguished individuals, of some of whom I would willingly be permitted to record my impressions. First, in the ranks is Mr. Calhoun, the Vice President of the United States. This gentleman was formerly a candidate for the Presidency, but resigned his pretensions in favor of General Jackson. Subsequent differences, however, with that eminent person, have produced a separation of their interests, and it is not generally supposed that he has much chance of succeeding at the next election. Mr. Calhoun is about the middle height, spare, and somewhat slouching in his person. His countenance, though not handsome, is expressive, and enlivened by a certain vivacity of eye which might redeem plainer features. His head is large, and somewhat disfigured by a quantity of stiff, bristly hair, which rises very high above his forehead. In conversation he is pleasant, and remarkably free from that dogmatism which constitutes not the least of the social sins of the Americans. Mr. Calhoun evidently disregards all graces of expression, and whatever be the subject of discussion, comes directly to the point. His manner and mode of speaking indicate rapidity of thought, and it struck me, with full confidence in his own high talents, Mr. Calhoun would probably find it more agreeable to carry truth by a coup de main than to await the slower process of patient induction. It is evident, indeed, that the Vice President is no ordinary person. His mind is bold and acute, his talent for business confessedly of the first order; and, enjoying the esteem of his countrymen, there can be little doubt that he is yet destined to play a conspicuous part in the politics of the Union.

EDWARD LIVINGSTON. Mr. Edward Livingston, the Senator for Louisiana, shortly after my departure from Washington, became Secretary of State. Bred to the N. York bar, he early took his station in the very first line of his profession. As a philosophical lawyer, he stands not only unrivalled, but unapproached. His experience in public life has been very great; and his high talents, extensive knowledge and amiable character, have deservedly acquired for him the admiration and esteem of a people not prompt in the payment of such tribute.

Mr. Livingston's fame, however, is not American, but European. The criminal code which he has framed for Louisiana, is confessedly a magnificent specimen of philosophical legislation, and places the reputation of its author on a secure and permanent foundation. From this

code the punishment of death is excluded, and Mr. Livingston is a warm advocate for its removal from the statute books of other states.

The labors of Mr. Livingston in the compilation of his code were for many years unwearied and assiduous. Men of more limited knowledge, and inferior powers, would have been unfit for such a task. Men of less enthusiasm would have shrunk from it in dismay. Mr. Livingston, fortunately for himself and his country, braved all difficulties, devoted to it the whole energies of his mind, and brought it to a happy completion.

Animated by the zeal of a philanthropist he made himself acquainted with the laws of all nations, and the contents of every treatise on crime and punishment which could be discovered in Europe. He maintained and extensive correspondence with the most eminent political philosophers of the age, and among others, with Bentham; by whose enlightened advice he professes to have largely profited.

One incident in the life of Mr. Livingston is worthy of record, as affording a fine illustration of the character of the man. His labors connected with the code were already far advanced, when his whole papers were destroyed by fire. This happened at ten o'clock at night, and at seven on the following morning, with unbroken spirit, he began his task! Few men are endowed with such buoyancy of spirit, and indomitable perseverance.

In person, Mr. Livingston is rather above the middle height. His countenance, though without elegance of feature, is peculiarly pleasing, from the benevolence of its expression, unusual at his years, which lights upon his eye when he discourses on any interesting subject. His manners are those of a finished gentleman; yet rather, I should imagine, the spontaneous result of an innate and natural delicacy of thought and feeling, than of intercourse with polished society. To the courtesy and kindness of this eminent individual, I feel deeply indebted. It is with pleasure, that I now give public expression to those sentiments of admiration and respect, which I shall ever entertain for his character and talents.

DANIEL WEBSTER.—The person, however, who has attracted my attention most strongly the attention of the whole Union, is undoubtedly Mr. Webster. From the Gulf of St. Lawrence to that of Mexico, from Cape Sable to Lake Superior, his name has become, as it were, a household word. Many disapprove his politics, but none deny his great talents, his unrivalled facility of arguments or his power, even still more remarkable, of rapid and comprehensive education. In short, it is universally believed by his countrymen, that Mr. Webster is a great man; and in this matter I certainly make no pretension to singularity of creed. Mr. Webster is a man of whom any country might well be proud. His knowledge is at once extensive and minute, his intellectual resources very great; and, whatever may be the subject of discussion he is sure to shed on it the light of an active, acute, and powerful mind.

I confess, however, I did meet Mr. Webster under the influence of some prejudice. From the very day of my arrival in the United States, I had been involuntarily familiar with his pretensions. Gentlemen sent me his speeches to read. When I talked of visiting Boston, the observation followed, "And there you will see Mr. Webster." When I reached Boston, I encountered cordiality on all hands. "You are very unfortunate," said my friends, "Mr. Webster set out yesterday for Washington." Whenever at Philadelphia and Baltimore, it became known that I had visited Boston, the question "Did you see Mr. Webster?" was a sequence as constant and unvarying as that of the seasons.

The result of all this was that the name of Webster became invested in my ear with an adventitious cacophony. It is not pleasant to admire upon compulsion, and the very pre-eminence of the gentleman had been converted into something of a bore. To Washington, however, I came, armed with letters to the unconscious source of my annoyance. The first night of my arrival I met him at a ball. A dozen people pointed him out to my observation, and the first glance riveted my attention. I had never seen any countenance more expressive of intellectual power.

The forehead of Mr. Webster is high, broad and advancing. The cavity beneath the eyebrow is remarkable large. The eye is deeply set, but full, dark and penetrating in the highest degree; the nose prominent, and well defined; the mouth marked by the rigid compression of the lips by which the New Englanders are distinguished. When Mr. Webster's countenance is in repose, its expression struck me as cold and forbidding, but in conversation it brightens up; and when he smiles, the whole impression it communicates is at once changed. His voice is clear, sharp and firm, without much variety of modulation; but when animated, it rings on the ear like a clarion.

As an orator, I should imagine Mr. Webster's forte to be in the department of pure reason. I cannot conceive his even attempting an appeal to the feeling. It could not be successful; and he has too much knowledge of his own powers to encounter failure. To debate his very countenance must tell. Few men would hazard a voluntary sophism under the glance of that eye, so cold, so keen, so penetrating, so expressive of intellectual power. A single look would be enough to wither up a whole volume of bad logic.

In the Senate, I had, unfortunately, no opportunity of hearing Mr. Webster display his great powers as a debater. During my stay the

subjects on which he happened to speak were altogether of inferior interest. In the Supreme Court, he delivered several legal arguments, which certainly struck me as admirable, both in regard to matter and manner. The latter was neither vehement nor subdued. It was the manner of conscious power, tranquil and self-possessed.

Mr. Webster may be at once acquitted of all participation in the besetting sins of his age and country. I even doubt, whether, in any single instance, he can be fairly charged with uttering a sentence of mere declamation.—His speeches have nothing about them of gaudiness and glitter. Words with him are instruments, not ends; the vehicle, not of sound merely, but of sense and reason.—He utters no periods of noise and fury, like the voice of an idiot, signifying nothing; and it certainly exhibits proof, that the taste of the Americans is not irretrievably depraved, when an orator like Mr. Webster, who despises all the state and petty tricks of his art, is called by acclamation to the first place.

In conversation, Mr. Webster is particularly agreeable. It seems to delight him, when he mingles with his friends, to cast off the trammels of weighty cogitation, and merge the lawyer and the statesman in the companion; a more pleasant and instructive one I have rarely known in any country. As a politician, the opinions of Mr. Webster are remarkably free from intolerance. He is one of the few men in America who understand the British constitution, not as a mere abstract system of laws and institutions, but in its true form and pressure, as it works and acts on the people, modified by a thousand influences, of which his countrymen in general know nothing.

MR. VAN BUREN.—Mr. Van Buren, then Secretary of State, and now V. President, possesses, perhaps, more of the manner which in England would be called that of the world, than any other of the distinguished individuals whom I met in Washington. He is, evidently, a clever man, with a perfect knowledge of character and the springs of human action. Neither his conversation, nor his manner are marked by any thing of official reserve. Indeed, when the whole business of the Government is conducted by committees of the Senate and Representatives, an American Secretary of State can have few secrets, and those not of much value. The opponents of the ministry, however, accuse Mr. Van Buren of being a man-governer in politics—a charge, I presume, to which he is obliging only in common with his brother statesman, of whatever party, for, where independence is impossible, finesse is necessary. But, on the detail of party politics I say nothing; I only know that the Secretary of State is a gentleman of talent and information, of agreeable manners, and in conversation, full of anecdote and vivacity.

In looking over the September number of the "Colonizationist and Journal of Freedom," published at Boston, we find a curious statement of the means taken by the Abolition Society to excite the prejudices of the coloured people against emigration to Africa, or any other country.

The apostle of the Abolitionists, Mr. Garrison, it seems has travelled the country, making speeches to the blacks in the cities of the middle & northern States, declaiming in the most inflammatory manner against the project of colonization, telling them that "it is time to resolve upon death rather than transportation," and urging them "to abandon all thoughts of colonizing themselves in Africa, Hayti, Upper Canada, or elsewhere." This is the ravings of a man of unsound mind. The condition of the free blacks in this country, especially in the northern and middle States, is so little to be envied, that he can be no friend to their interests who labours to prejudice them against seeking to improve it by emigration. This very class, we have no doubt, is better off in the slave-holding States. The free blacks have fewer political privileges there, but they are treated with more kindness, and consequently they actually, a portion of them at least, sustain a more respectable personal character. The feeling of aversion occasioned by the different natural characteristics of the two races, is not so strong there as it is with us. The Colonization Society ought to be regarded as the best friend of the free coloured population. It aims to relieve them from the state of degradation, to which they are confessedly reduced, not by idly setting itself to oppose an ancient, universal, and inveterate feeling, but by furnishing them with the means of establishing in the original country of their race, and amid from the influences which prevail here, a system of institutions copied from our own. The Abolitionists, on the contrary, would keep every black within the limits of the country—would increase their physical for the purpose of increasing their moral strength,—and labouring to break down the barriers between the races, and to put them not merely on the footing of civil, but of the most perfect social equality. Let any man of common sense judge which of these different results is the most likely to be effected or the most desirable. This conspiracy of the abolitionists against our present social organization, this plot to bring about the physical deterioration of our race, by mingling it with one destined by nature for a different climate, and separate community, ought to call forth the most decisive and general reprobation.—N. Y. Ec. Post.

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