

for moderating the excitement, as much as possible.

As to my own opinions and views, (allow me to declare, I state them solely because you seem to desire them), they are in perfect union with those of my fellow citizens, on the character of the laws complained of. I believe them to be unwise, unjust, unconstitutional. But at the same time cannot hide from myself that, there are other considerations growing out of the subject that ought not to be disregarded. They were adopted, after a long deliberation, with all the forms and sanctions of legislative proceedings by a decided majority. That the majority ought to rule is a principle on which all our institutions are bottomed. It is just as much the duty of the minority to obey, as it is that the majority shall govern, according to the specific power granted in the constitution.

Whether the powers delegated to congress, have been exercised properly, are questions to be decided by reason not by mere force. A difference of opinion will arise, on almost every subject: few indeed, if any of them, ought to be made questions for dissolving the union, and after all to what can we appeal with so much propriety as to the sense of the majority. Let us suppose the worst, that the tariff laws are unconstitutional, and that they will be persisted in by the majority who have passed them; are we not still bound to exercise our best reason, in deciding whether it is such a case that dismemberment of the union alone can remedy; and, if so, whether it shall be resorted to. Let us not deceive ourselves, this in fact is the end, and the only one, to which resistance by the legislature leads. Is it expedient to follow it? I think not. Is there a discreet citizen of Union district, can one be found in the state who will prefer to take his musket and shoot down twenty three Kentuckians and Yankees, (the destruction of life must be in this proportion, or it will be against us) rather than make his own coarse woollen cloth? for it would seem that the increased duties on hemp, iron, molasses and sugar, excite but a small share of our anger, our own representatives having voted for them. This may be a coarse way of stating the case, but strip it naked and it is a fair one.

But a very important inquiry remains to be settled, before we urge the legislature to resistance. Ought we not to be clearly satisfied that the legislature itself can remedy the evil? I believe the case does not warrant such an appeal, and what is still worse, if attempted will not better our situation. I therefore prefer to suffer while suffering is tolerable, rather than encounter evils much more terrible. I have seen no project yet suggested that, to my mind, promises success, in any attempt to coerce congress into our views. We of the south are all convinced, that this system of "protection" is unwise and injurious to the general interest. We have first discovered this truth, not because we are wiser than the rest of the union, but because it was first made to bear heavily upon us. The last law on the subject, is of wider and more general operation. Surely it is prudent to wait, until there shall have been ample time to produce the same conviction, among others equally interested with ourselves. At all events, I believe it better to confide yet longer in the generous truth, that "error of opinion may be tolerated while reason is left free to combat it." We were not sparing of our censures, when New England meditated resistance to the embargo. We believed Massachusetts recreant to virtue and love of country, when she withheld her militia, during the war. There was not a man among us who did not pronounce the Hartford convention a traitorous association; indisputably it becomes us to look well to it, that we do not tread in the very foot-steps which we have denounced with so much bitterness. Let us not forget that, at the very time when New England thus acted, the administrators of the general government, having exhausted its funds, had, not wherewith to keep in the field the troops stationed on our sea board, for its defence. Of this dreadful truth, gen. Pinkney advised the then governor of South Carolina; how did its legislature act? Did it embarrass congress with reproaches, or upbraid the executive with the failure of its most important constitutional duties? No: it magnanimously advanced without a dissenting voice, the estimated amount of the internal taxes for the ensuing year, before even the law was passed for imposing them!! Who is there among us, that is not to the present, proud of this transaction, notwithstanding, a portion of this very debt is still mainly withheld, and for which, the legislature have in vain petitioned? Deplorable indeed will be the act, which shall first subtract from the moral force and beauty, of so bright an example. I have said, I cannot see, should the legislature be driven to take the remedy into its own hands, how it can better our situation. I take it will be granted, no one will contend that it will be bettering the case, to be at open war with the rest of the union. If there be any body so deluded and frantic with passion, as to think otherwise, to such one I do not appeal. Let us suppose

the next step short of war—that we have withdrawn from the union and that the general government will not resort to open war to prevent it, are there not other and ample means by which it could enter into the unprofitable contest, "of who shall do the other the most harm," making our own government to us, what that of every weak and feeble state has been to its citizens or subjects, a very curse? Suppose our delegation withdrawn from congress, the custom houses taken into our own hands, and all our seaports declared free, (my eyes have been nearly blistered by looking on such a project on paper). It appears to me that any man who is wicked enough to conceive such a project, must have wit enough to see, how easy it would be for congress to prevent every possible circumstance of supposed advantage from accruing to us.

These projects, weak as they are, furnished the most efficient resistance by the legislature.—With infinite respect for the suggestor, I consider the attempt to tax domestic goods as published in a speech in the Telescope, still weaker. Of success, from such means of coercion, I utterly despair. That which you have suggested, as being most favorably entertained in your district, namely associations for non-consumption of eastern and western articles, I think better of, only because it may keep the two governments, state, and United States, from direct conflict—It will only array (bad enough God knows) section against section. Such a course, if executed, would probably have a sensible effect in opening the eyes of those who have had too much success, in legislating a goodly portion of the profits of our labour to their own benefit. But it is, to say the least, much to be apprehended that resolutions for such objects would be badly executed, and if obeyed at all, would be, for a certain time, only by the virtuous. I cannot, therefore, think favorably of any project, that shall tend directly or indirectly to dismember the union; or that may, without more time for conviction, render hostile, any portion of that family, among whom union and harmony alone can give strength and prosperity. Dreadful must be the times, and severe indeed the sufferings of our people, that shall warrant an appeal to the elements of passion and discord for relief. My advice, therefore, is, to abstain from every act that will add to the present excitement, confident that the good sense of the people at large will, with moderation and justice on our part, remedy our evils better and sooner than we can ourselves; most of all, I implore you not to urge the legislature to entertain any discussion on the subject whatever. In addition to such a course of moderation and loyalty, I consider it perfectly consistent and moral that we should, with settled and persevering determination, do every thing, individually, that is legal, to take ourselves out of the operation of all the tariff laws that have been, or may be enacted. All that the legislature or volunteer associations can do, with any probability of success, may be better done, and ought to be, by individuals.—We have ample means to reach the interests of the friends of the tariff, if we will but use them. It has been satisfactorily ascertained that there are brought into this state over the Saluda mountain road alone, from the west, one and a half millions worth of live stock annually. If we abstain from purchasing these, can it be doubted that the reaction will extend to every fire side in the west of the mountains. At least, our old friends there, might be induced to remember, (the delusion incident to the presidential contest being over) that they have deserted us for new, not better friends, even for those who, to say the least, have been as uniformly opposed, as we have been as friendly, to their admission into the family of states. Our influence in New England is of the same nature, but stronger, because, to a much larger amount. No people on earth, have been so distinguished for shrewdness in discovering their own interest; and perhaps never harder to drive from it; touch this and our cause is safe. Let us then manufacture our own cloths, and be wise enough to wear them. Let us raise our own horses, mules, cattle and hogs; if by these measures, we shall become more economical and industrious and thereby relieve ourselves from debt and embarrassment, we shall have ample reason to rejoice and may wait with patience and good faith, the time when the high duties on hemp, iron, sugar and molasses and all the other evils of the "policy of protection" shall convince the other portions of the union that the true inherent character of their system, is a tax on the many, for the benefit of the few and wealthy. This is the resistance I approve and will practice, to the utmost of my ability. It is a resistance by which we can live and profit; which the laws warrant; which our consciences justify, and which, I believe, will soonest repeal the obnoxious laws of which we now so justly complain.

I have thrown, most hastily, these ideas together, to comply with your wishes, I hope they may be received in good part. Most respectfully, your fellow citizen.

DAVID R. WILLIAMS.

We have been requested by several of people desperately bent, through the wicked influence of one man, on the ruin and annihilation of the Southern portion of the Union. There were no hopes, Mr. McDuffie said of a change in the system. We were tenfold more insulted, more injured, more disgraced and contumely by a majority of Congress, than our forefathers were by the Ministers of Great Britain, at the breaking out of the Revolution.—He said the people of the South, although represented in Congress in theory were not so in fact: but were actually in a worse condition than they would be if they had not even the appearance of it. That our representation in that body, at present, is precisely that suggested by the British Government at the beginning of the Revolution and was rejected with scorn and indignation."

Fayette County Meeting.
To take into consideration the proceedings in the Southern States against the Tariff.

LEXINGTON, September 8, 1828.

At a respectable meeting of the citizens of Fayette County at Mr. Giron's Room. (the Court House being occupied by the County Court) agreeably to notice, on Monday the 8th September 1828, at 12 o'clock, A. M.

JOSEPH ROSS, Esq. was called to the Chair, and JAMES L. BONLEY appointed Secretary.

On motion RESOLVED, That Messrs. Robert Wickliffe, Richard H. Chinn, Richard Estton, Richard Higgins and James Rogers be appointed a Committee to prepare an Address and Resolutions in relation to the proceedings in the South relative to the Tariff, and that said Committee report the same at 3 o'clock this evening, until which time this meeting is adjourned.

9 o'clock P. M.—MR. WICKLIFFE, from the Committee appointed for that purpose, reported the following Address and Resolutions, which were read and unanimously adopted, and then the meeting adjourned.

ADDRESS.

When the formation of a Combination, and the raising of the necessary funds to overturn the present Administration of the National Government (were it as pure as the Angels that sit at the right hand of the Throne of God) had been publicly and impiously avowed by some of their distinguished partisans; and when they had selected, as their instrument, a fortunate Military Partisan, who had, upon all occasions where the Laws or Constitution of his country presented a difficulty to the exercise of power, substituted his own will for the Constitution and his mandates for law; we were prepared, on the completion of their plan, to look for scenes of violence and *disorder*; but we confess our surprise, that such scenes of violence should commence such treasonable views be manifested, before they have consummated their purpose—We had just grounds to believe, that policy, if not principle, would have restrained them, until the Presidential conflict had terminated. In this, we have been deceived. The time of the canvass is the time for threats, and attempts at intimidation, not only of individual security, but of the security of our Union. In our own State, we have been warned by a distinguished partisan of General Jackson,

"If Mr. Adams shall be re-elected by the People of the United States, that the next congress will be the last that will ever sit at Washington City."

This oracular threat was uttered and circulated with a view to intimidate, before our last Gubernatorial Election. And, simultaneous with this threat by this Kentucky leader, we find distinguished members of this same party, in South Carolina and Georgia, exciting, at public meetings, by most intemperate and inflammatory speeches, the people to open resistance and rebellion against the National Government; denouncing our confederation as more oppressive than the Monarchy of Great Britain, and inviting to a dissolution of the Union. Among the individuals thus engaged, we discover the name of George McDuffie; who, at a public meeting at Columbia, in South Carolina, on the 20th of June last, at which the Governor of the State presided, holds the following language, (when speaking of the South):

"A government (that is the National Government) formed for her protection and benefit, determined and resolved to push every matter to her utter ruin and annihilation; taxed ten millions of dollars per annum; her commerce destroyed; her staples depressed to nothing; her citizens in debt; and her government regularly and progressively increasing these unbearable evils, to enrich a set of mercenary politicians;—who regularly barter and sell the interest of this country, at every renewal of the Presidential election—It was nothing more than the selling and buying of the Presidency. The people of one portion of the Union was corrupted, bought and sold by the money of the other part, with a desperation and depravity never before exhibited. None but a coward could any longer bear such a state of things. He had no doubt, that the State had the Constitutional power to lay a tax on the consumption of such manufactured goods as they choose to select. He would lay a heavy duty on Northern manufactured goods. That the commerce of the western States was but trifling in any other articles than hogs, mules, horses and cattle. Yet Kentucky was unanimous in voting for the Tariff.—She had done all that she could do to destroy our commerce and to ruin the market of our staples. It was high time she too should be made to feel the effects of the low price of our productions. No necessity on earth should induce a Carolinian to buy a hog, horse, mule or cow from that country. It was madness in us any longer to carry on such a disadvantageous commerce, and more especially with a

wicked influence of one man, on the ruin and annihilation of the Southern portion of the Union. There were no hopes, Mr. McDuffie said of a change in the system. We were tenfold more insulted, more injured, more disgraced and contumely by a majority of Congress, than our forefathers were by the Ministers of Great Britain, at the breaking out of the Revolution.—He said the people of the South, although represented in Congress in theory were not so in fact: but were actually in a worse condition than they would be if they had not even the appearance of it. That our representation in that body, at present, is precisely that suggested by the British Government at the beginning of the Revolution and was rejected with scorn and indignation."

After shouts of applause for these sentiments, the orator concluded his address with the following toast:

"Millions for defence, but not a cent for tribute."

And may we not here inquire, who is this Orator, that so unsparingly denounces the Union and the majority of the last Congress that passed the Tariff, that deprecates the commerce and resources of the West; that recommends a non-intercourse with the people of Kentucky; that falsely charges them with being the dupes of one man wickedly bent on the ruin of the South. He is no less a character than the Chairman of the Committee of Ways and Means, appointed to the high and honorable station by the Jackson Speaker of the last session of Congress. He is the protege and intimate friend of John C. Calhoun. He is, in fine, no other than an ambitious aspirant for office, desperately bent upon pushing his political fortunes to the highest point, by every means within his power and at every hazard. Mr. McDuffie having thus boldly taken the lead in recommending rebellion and disunion, a non-intercourse with Kentucky, and an impost or tax upon the manufactures of other states, amounting to prohibition on the part of the state of South Carolina, it becomes important for the good people of these United States to know how far he has been seconded by the partisans of General Jackson elsewhere, and at other times, that a due estimate may be made of the future from the past. The following is an extract from the Colleton Address to the People of South Carolina:

"What course is left to us to pursue? Our Northern and Western brethren are not—cannot be ignorant of the system they advocate, or of the powers they claim for the General Government. They full well know, because like us they must feel, that it lifts them to prosperity, while it sinks us into ruin. We have done by words all that words can do. To talk more must be a dastard's refuge.

"What course is left to us to pursue? If we have the common pride of men, or the determination of freemen, we must resist the impositions of this Tariff. We stand committed. To be stationary is impossible. We must either retrograde in dishonor and in shame, and receive the contempt and scorn of our brethren, super-added to our wrongs, and their system of oppression, strengthened by our toleration; or, we must, "by opposing, end them." To the very last vote in Congress, we have kept this dreaded alternative, from our minds, still clinging to the vain hope, that some kindred feelings—some sense of constitutional justice, some spirit of forbearance and compromise, such as influenced our fathers when acting together, and the framers of this Constitution, would rescue us from this bitter emergency. But it has come, and we may not shrink in meeting it.

"In advising an attitude of open resistance to the Laws of the Union, we deem it due to the occasion, and that we may not be misunderstood, distinctly but briefly to state without argument, our constitutional faith. For it is not enough that imposts laid for the protection of domestic manufactures are oppressive; and transfer in their operations millions of our property to Northern capitalists. If we have given our bond, let them take our blood.—Those who resist these imposts must deem them unconstitutional, and the principle is abandoned by the payment of one cent, as much as ten millions."

And the following resolution was adopted at one of their Public Meetings:

"Resolved, That the adhesion of the State of South Carolina to the Union, should depend upon the UNCONDITIONAL REPEAL by the present or next Congress of the TARIFF LAWS of 1816, 1824, and 1828, so far as they conflict with the Constitutional rights of our citizens."

An Anti-Tariff meeting was held by the citizens of Newberry District, to devise measures to defeat the existing duties laid by Congress for the protection of American Manufactures. It was

"Resolved, 1st. That any Tariff imposed by the congress of the United States for purposes other than revenue, or the regulation of trade, by retaliatory or countervailing duties, is unconstitutional."

Resolved, That the late Tariff is a Tariff of protecting duties, and as such is not only unconstitutional but impolitic."

Resolved, That for the purpose of defeating as much as possible the views and objects of the friends of the Tariff, and to protect ourselves from its ruinous effects, we will strictly adhere to the following regulations:

1st. We will neither purchase or consume any article the growth or manufacture of any of the Tariff States, if such article, or a substitute for it can be obtained in any of the Anti-Tariff states."

"We will particularly abstain from purchasing or consuming the following articles, the growth, produce or manufacture of any of the Tariff States, viz: All articles manufactured of cotton, wool, flax or hemp, and all Distilled Spirits, except such specific articles as the Committee of Vigilance may at any time exempt. We will not purchase, use or consume any kind of live stock or provisions brought into the State from any other State, &c."

At a meeting of the citizens of Sumpter district, it was among other things

"Resolved, That Congress does not possess the power to adopt a system of Internal Improvement, and that they solemnly protest against all appropriations for such purposes."

So much of the public meetings is given as a specimen of the spirit that animates the partisans of General Jackson when assembled in the South.—The same sentiments have been used by the party on similar occasions in South Carolina and Georgia. A few extracts from the Jackson Prints will further display the malignancy of the movers in this scheme of war and disunion, and their peculiar malice against the reputation and interest of the people of Kentucky. One writer says,

"We do not wish disunion now, we wish to force the decision on those who oppress us by the Tariff whether we shall remain united."

Another, in speaking of the Tariff, says,

"When did that people ever live possessing the least pretension to Civil Liberty, who have been goaded by such insults and such wrongs, and did not spring to the canon's match and the Musket to redress them?"

Another proposes to send a deputation to Congress to demand of them to repeal the Tariff, or compel them of the South to obey it, and then, if they are denied justice, to say to Congress what the partisans said when their arms were demanded of them, "Come and take them." This party in the South, in relation to this spirit of excitement, like every other set in motion by the Combination, appear to keep it up by Dinners, &c. As a specimen of the spirit attempted to be diffused at these festivals held in honor and worship of the many toasts and sentiments delivered and drank with loud cheers and acclamations.

1st. "The Battle of the 28th of June, and the Tariff of June '28; let New England beware how she imitates the Old."

2nd. "The 30th of June, the day on which forbearance and patience ceased to be virtues."

3rd. "The Rattle Snake of the South, warned by its rattles, let the foe beware!"

4th. [At the celebration of the 4 of July last, by the Orator of the Day.] "The Hemp of Kentucky, better suited for cravats for Kentuckians and Tariffites than for the covering of South Carolina Cotton."

[Concluded next week.]

ADMINISTRATOR'S SALE.

NOTICE is hereby given, that we shall expose to sale at public vendue, at the court house door, in Lawrenceburg, on the fourth Saturday in October next, all the right, title, interest, claim and demand of the heirs of Jesse B. Lord, late of Dearborn county, deceased, in over and to the certificate for the south west quarter of section No 3, and south half of fraction No 4, in township No 6, of range No 3, west, &c. &c. in the county of Dearborn; which certificate is sold to save the land from forfeiture. By order of the court of Probate of Dearborn county.

FREDERICK UTZ, } Adm'r.

CATHARINE UTZ, } Adm'r.

October 1, 1828. 59-Sw.

NOTICE.

ALL persons indebted to Doctor Jabez Percival by book account or note, are requested to call and make immediate payment or give a judgment and save cost, as no further delay can be given.

Z. T. PERCIVAL, Agent
Lawrenceburg Sept. 27th 1828 59-Sw.

One Cent Reward!!

THE above reward, but no charges, will be paid for the apprehension and delivery of LEVI SWAN, an intendant apprentice to the co-operating business, who absconded from my employment on the 18th inst. Said Levi is about 14 years old—dark hair & complexion; had on when he went away blue jeans clothes, & a fur hat worn trusting him.

WHALAN GIBSON.

Harrison Ohio, Sept. 25, 1828. 59-Sw.

Flour, Corn Meal, Pork, Beef, Chickens, Potatoes, Wood, and most kinds of country produce, will be received at this Office in payment of papers or other debts, until the first January next, at the highest cash price.

Sept. 14. GREGG & CULLEY.