

From the Boston (Mass.) Statesman.

GREAT MEETING IN PANEUIL HALL.

The meeting of the citizens of this city and its vicinity, friends of the Union of the States, to take into consideration the late proceedings of the Legislature of South Carolina, express their opinions thereon, and to respond to the late Proclamation of the President of the United States, was a very crowded assembly.

The meeting was organized by calling the Hon. Charles Wells, Mayor, to the Chair, and the appointment of Messrs. Ward and Sturgis, as Secretaries.

The Hon. Thomas H. Perkins; offered the following Resolutions:

Resolved, That the members of this meeting have read with high gratification the recent Proclamation of the President of the United States.

Resolved, That in the present situation of public affairs, when the integrity of the Union, and of the Constitution, are seriously menaced, the issuing of such a Proclamation is, in the judgment of this meeting, a wise, timely, and patriotic act.

Resolved, That we recognize in the Proclamation, the unequivocal manifestation of a decision, by the President, to uphold the Government, and to maintain the regular and just authority of the laws, by the exercise of such constitutional and legal powers, as are, or may be vested in the Executive for that purpose.

Resolved, That in our opinion, the Proclamation exhibits in a full, clear and forcible manner, the true principles on which the Constitution and Government of the United States rest; and on which alone they can be successfully maintained and administered; and contains a powerful and impressive appeal to the good sense and enlightened patriotism of the People. We hold these political truths, which we conceive to be expressed in the Proclamation to be undeniable; that the Government of the United States was ordained and established by the people of the United States; that its leading object was to form *among them* a more perfect Union, and to create, for the common good of the whole, a more efficient Government than had existed under the Confederation; that the Government of the United States extends, though with limited and special powers, over the people of all the States; and that to the full extent of these powers the people of the United States is a GOVERNMENT, and not a league; that it owes duties to individuals; and, on the other hand, that individuals owe respect and obedience to its laws; that the Constitution itself declares what overt acts shall be considered *treason* against the United States, thereby affirming the sovereignty of the United States and the allegiance due to its Government by the people; that the Government of the United States, not being a league or confederacy between States, but a Constitutional Government, operating directly upon individuals, and rightfully claiming their obedience, no State has power to withdraw the allegiance of the People from that Government, or to sanction disobedience to its laws; that the Constitution contemplates no such possibility as the secession of a State from the Union; that it establishes a government, which the people may all times alter and amend at their pleasure, but which is designed to be perpetual, without limitation of time, and with no such self-destroying principle as a right reserved to any portion of the people to withdraw their allegiance from it, at their own will; that secession is, in its very nature, destructive of the Constitution; that it is revolutionary; an act done, if done at all, not under the Constitution, but in defiance of it, and only to be justified by causes, which would justify revolution in other cases;

That there is no power reserved to a State so preposterous as that of annulling a law of Congress, thereby subjecting the will of the whole people to be controlled by that of part; nor of deciding the question, between the Government of the United States and those who are subject to its laws, whether such laws be constitutional; That the Constitution also declares, that the Judicial power of the United States shall extend to all cases arising under the Constitution and acts of Congress; and that the Judiciary Act, coeval with the Government, has prescribed a proceeding by which all such Constitutional questions are to be finally decided by that Judiciary; and according to which such questions have been so finally decided throughout the whole history of the Government. These truths, so essential to the preservation of the Government, and its just powers, appear to us incapable of contradiction.

Resolved, That the Ordinance passed by the late Convention of South Carolina, purporting to annul the acts of Congress, on the assumed ground that they are unauthorized by the Constitution of the United States, is an assumption of power, which is truly described in the President's Proclamation, as being "incompatible with the existence of the Union, contradicted expressly by the letter of the Constitution, unauthorized by its spirit, inconsistent with every principle on which it was founded, and destructive of the great object for which it was formed."

Resolved, That the said Ordinance, in declaring that no appeal shall be allowed from a State Court, to the Supreme Court of the U. States, nor the copy of any record permitted or allowed for that purpose, and that persons claiming such appeal shall be punished, commands direct disobedience and resistance to an act of Congress of more than forty years standing and operation, and the constitutionality of which has never been called in question.

Resolved, That we are constrained to consider these proceedings of South Carolina as being disloyal to the Constitution, and decidedly revolutionary; that we have seen with infinite pain a majority of the people of so respectable a State led into the adoption of such false opinions and such unlawful courses; a State which has always possessed, does now possess, and we hope will long continue to possess her full share of influence in the public Councils, to whose complaints the National Legislature is always ready to listen, as to those of other States; and which we hope and believe, will always find in the assembled Representatives of the whole country a spirit of justice and conciliation; and we would fain cherish the hope, that their own sober reflections, the disapprobation of the people of other States, and the solemn and affectionate warning of the President may yet recall the people of that State to a sense of duty and patriotism, and thereby prevent occurrences which would fill every true American bosom with the deepest mortification and grief. We trust in a Gracious Providence yet to save our beloved country from the disgrace and the horrors of a civil war.

Resolved, That acting upon the principles now by him so solemnly and forcibly declared, we will cordially support the President of the United States, in every constitutional measure necessary for the execution of the laws and for maintaining the integrity of the Union; that we still fervently pray the Divine Goodness to avert the necessity of resorting to force; but that, in our judgment, it is a matter of absolute duty, on the part of the President of the United States, if forcible resistance be made to the laws, to see, nevertheless, that the laws be duly executed; that in this great and sacred cause, laying aside all personal preferences, we will act cheerfully and devotedly under the guidance of the constituted authorities of the government; that we will go for the country, and with the country, against disunion, disorganization, and nullification: and that whosoever is commissioned by the people to bear up the standard of the Union, we shall be ready to rally in the cause of the Constitution under that banner, which led our fathers, through years of suffering and of blood to independence and glory, and which has commanded for us their posterity the respect of the world.

The Resolutions were seconded by Franklin Dexter, Esq., who, with Messrs. Webster, Otis, Adams and Austin addressed the meeting in their support. Upon the conclusion of Mr. Austin's remarks the question was then called for, and THE RESOLUTIONS WERE PASSED UNANIMOUSLY.

Charles P. Curtis, Esq., then offered the following Vote, which was carried by acclamation:

Voted, That a copy of the proceedings of this meeting, signed by the Chairman and Secretaries, be transmitted to the President of the United States.

From the N. C. Star.

At a numerous and respectable meeting of the citizens of Robeson county, friendly to the Union and opposed to Nullification, convened at the Court House in Lumberton on the 14th day of December, 1832, the following preamble and resolutions were unanimously adopted:

We, a portion of the citizens of Robeson county, believing it to be the unalienable right of a free people peaceably to assemble and express their opinions upon all subjects of a political nature, having witnessed with the most heart-felt regret, the proceedings of the late convention of our sister State of South Carolina, for nullifying and resisting the laws of the general government, and, as we honestly believe, tending to annihilate those hallowed principles which have, for the last half century, supported the grandeur of our national edifice—believing that those proposed measures are at variance with the purity, the honor and the very existence of the Federal Union, threatening revolution and bloodshed, with all the attendant train of horrors incident to civil war; and believing it to be the duty of every citizen "to frown indignant upon every attempt to alienate one portion of the Union from the other."

Therefore Resolved, as the opinion of this meeting, that we view the assertion of

a right by the Convention of South Carolina, and all laws made in pursuance thereof, to nullify the acts of the general government, as unauthorized by the Constitution of the United States, inconsistent with the preservation of the Federal Union, tending to weaken the bonds by which we exist as a nation, subversive of civil order and calculated to produce results which should be deprecated by every true American.

Resolved, That we cherish for our brethren of South Carolina the warmest feelings of fraternal regard—but that we view nullification as a political heresy, and that we will, "for weal or woe," be found struggling for our country and the supremacy of her laws.

Resolved, That we regard the Congress of the United States as the only proper medium, through which a redress of grievances, complained of in the Southern States, of the operation of the Tariff laws, may be found.

Resolved, That we estimate the Constitution of the United States as the bulwark of our liberties, the ark of our political safety—and as such we will support the Chief Magistrate of the nation in all necessary measures for its preservation, maintenance and defence, and for the Union of the States.

Resolved, That we deprecate the idea of a Southern Convention, as tending to encourage sectional prejudices, and calculated to impair the integrity of the Federal Union.

Resolved, That we believe the Tariff laws to be unequal in their operation and oppressive to the Southern States. But, that we highly approve of the modification of the last session of Congress, and firmly rely on the wisdom and patriotism of that enlightened body for such further modification as will give satisfaction to every portion of our beloved country.

Resolved, That we view the present as an eventful crisis in the history of our government; that "united we stand, divided we fall;" and that all those citizens who have enjoyed the blessings of liberty should rally around the Constitution, and shield it from the infliction of a blow which threatens its destruction.

Resolved, That we will not yield our political support to any citizen who shall declare his opinion in favor of nullification or a disunion of the States, or who shall lend his influence to excite in the minds of the people a doctrine which may have a tendency to overthrow a government universally admitted to be the best calculated to ensure the happiness of its citizens.

The communication, which follows, from our Representative, Hon. R. Boon, is copied from the Indiana Democrat. It will be perceived on perusal, that Governor Noble is accused of perverting his official influence for political effect. His Excellency's message has been in the hands of all our readers, and of course they are able to judge of the accuracy of the charges:

To NOAH NOBLE—GOVERNOR AND COMMANDER-IN-CHIEF OF THE STATE OF INDIANA.

Sir—You have thought proper in your late message to the Indiana Legislature, to arraign the three Representatives in Congress, from the state of Indiana, before their constituents, for their having voted for the postponement of Mr. Clay's famous bill, which passed the Senate of the United States, at the last session of Congress. And not being content with the opportunity afforded you of interposing your "official influence," between the people and their representatives in Congress, you have disgraced the office you hold as Governor, by officially misrepresenting important facts, with a view no doubt, to operate upon the election of a U. S. Senator, then pending before the Indiana Legislature.

You have officially stated to the Legislature and the reading community, that Congress had "positively refused" their assent to the measure proposed for graduating and reducing the price of the public lands!

Now sir, the truth is, a bill passed the Senate of the U. S. some two years since, to reduce and graduate the price of the public lands, and was sent to the House of Representatives for concurrence therein. But did not receive the final action of the House of Representatives during that session, in consequence of the press of other business on the calendar which had precedence.

At the last session of Congress, I reported a bill to graduate and reduce the price of the public lands, which was twice read and referred to a committee of the whole on the state of the Union, and now remains among the unfinished business of the last session, subject to the final action of the House during the present session of Congress so that Congress has not "positively refused" to assent to this measure, as stated by you, with such unblushing confidence.

Not have you been less fruitful in misrepresentation in reference to Gen. Tipton's having given his support to Mr. Clay's bill to divide the proceeds arising from the sales of the public lands among the several states of the Union, and which seems to lay so near to your heart. You have stated officially that Gen. Tipton supported this bill, and you tell the people that the three Representatives from Indiana voted with the "enemies" of the measure, and thereby defeated the project. It is true, that I did oppose the measure, and in doing so, I have no doubt but I acted in strict accordance with the feelings and interest of a large majority of my constituents. But it is not true, as stated by you, that this bill received the support of Gen. Tipton. The truth is, Gen. Tipton opposed this bill throughout; and told me that he would resign his seat in the Senate, rather than vote for the bill! So that you stand convicted before the reading community of having officially misrepresented two important facts,

intended no doubt, for political effect—for I should do you perhaps, great injustice, were I to impute it to your ignorance. So much then, for the *party zeal* of an *executive* officer in attempting to use his *official* influence in putting down the friends of one political creed with a view to elevate those of a different creed upon the ruins of the vanquished.

When you were a candidate for the office of Governor which you now hold, and which was conferred on you by the friends of Gen. Jackson, you was then, a "no party" man. But no sooner were you clothed with your *royal* robe, than you began to show yourself in your *true* colours—and now to cap the climax, you have interposed your "*official*" influence, between the people and their Representatives in Congress, and that too with the additional sin of having *officially mistated* important facts! Oh! shame, where is thy blush?

R. BOON.

Washington, Dec. 17, 1832.

not one, except at the will and by the suffrages of the President!! The fact is pronounced. Right or wrong, constitutional or unconstitutional, the laws passed by Congress must be obeyed, under the penalties of treason! Although one half of the States may declare them palpably unconstitutional, and, also, oppressive and destructive, there is no remedy except under the penalty of treason! The States have no power to interpose. The majority may make the Constitution what they please. Not knowing what they did, the States have deprived themselves of all rights, except those of unlimited submission. It is acknowledged that the constitution is formed by a compact between the States: and yet we have here a republican President, in utter contempt, as it were, of his own acknowledgment, avowing the abominable principles that however the compact may be violated by the majority, the minority are still bound by it. This is the republicanism of a man, who once avowed himself an admirer of the principles of Jefferson! Well did the elder Adams say, that republicanis meant any thing or nothing!!

"Under the doctrine of this metamorphosed republican, there is no possible hope for the south, but what depends upon the pity and compassion of the majority. As long as the manufacturers and their friends shall say, keep on the tariff, add or diminish the duties at their will and pleasure, so long will Andrew Jackson, the republican, force it on the south at the point of the bayonet! It matters not whether it be constitutional or otherwise: whether it be a palpable violation of the compact made by the States, it is still a law of Congress, and Andrew Jackson will enforce it, although he knows it will drench in blood the fair fields of his "native State!"

"Are the people of the United States prepared to sanction this doctrine? Are those of the south—and our brethren of the Union party, particularly—are they prepared to sanction that part of the Proclamation which denounces the pretension to the right of secession? It is their very strong hold. Without that principle, they could not exist, as a distinct party, a single day. They must melt down into nullifiers or real submission men. We have never thought them the latter."

We republish these effusions to show the form and pressure of the times—to convince our fellow-citizens that we are in a momentous crisis, and that the line of demarcation ought to be promptly and boldly drawn, between the friends and enemies of the Union.

Louisville Adv.

The following sentiments were given at a celebration had in Concord, N. H. consequence of the recent triumph of the democracy:—

Andrew Jackson. "And the rain descended, and the floods came, and the wind blew and beat upon the house, and it fell not, for it was founded on a rock."

Martin Van Buren. "The stone that the builders rejected, the same shall become the head of the corner."

In 1825, one, of Mr. Carroll's grand daughters was married to the Marquis of Wellesley, then Viceroy of Ireland; and it is a singular circumstance that one hundred and forty years after the first emigration of her ancestors to America, this lady should become Vice Queen of the country from which they fled, at the summit of a system which a more immediate ancestor had risked every thing to destroy; or, in the energetic and poetical language of Bishop England, "that in the bud from which his father's father fled in fear, his daughter's daughter, now reigns as queen."

Business at the South.—We every day see letters from different parts of S. Carolina, announcing the decline of business owing to the general conviction that a violent convulsion is near at hand. Merchants and Factors in Charleston direct their friends not to draw upon them on any terms, and the business men here look with suspicion on any transactions with that City and refuse them. People are sending their property from the State to Georgia or the North, and one letter last week assured us there was not a single country merchant in Charleston. A great many negroes, this week and the last, have passed through this country from South Carolina.—Between this place and Louisville a few days since a gentleman informs us, he met at least 300 negroes, moving with their owners to seek some more tranquil spot in the West. We notice those things to show our fellow-citizens what they have escaped by refusing to be thrown into the ranks with S. Carolina in her mad crusade against the laws of our common country. These things forebode a political convulsion, and every man's good sense assures him that no one State will be thus allowed to bully the common government and interrupt the tranquillity of all the rest.

Georgia Courier.

North Carolina. Governor Swan was induced into office on the 13th inst. In his inaugural address he holds the following language:

The dangers which threaten us may be traced to that system of legislation which assumes the power in Government to dispense the bounties of Providence with a more impartial hand, than they are distributed by the laws of nature. I look for redress to the patriotism, the wisdom, the prudence and forbearance of the President, of Congress, and the American people. I rely with humble confidence in the hope that that Providence which has guided and guarded us for more than fifty years, which has preserved us through the perils of two wars, with the greatest belligerence of Europe, will yet sustain us, and that our glorious stripes and stars will continue for ages, un-diminished and un-tarnished, the emblem of a free, a united, and a happy people.