

Can it be possible that all the defences of freedom which we have hitherto had, are indifference to the slaves?—as said Garrison. No!—the defence of the Constitution is the defence of liberty—of self-government which no man can excuse himself on account of the arduous nature of the service. The press have been misled—they have listened too closely to those who “prudently smooth things to go by,” and now, to wear them off their dagger—to speak no dangerous truths, and sheep how infinitely the dangers of notification exceed the importance of the evils for which it is proposed as a remedy—is an arduous duty, but one to which no real lover of his country can hesitate to devote himself.

Now can we doubt that the exasperation of the people will moderate, and that they will decide upon the question of secession with more calmness, seeing that the great excitement which now prevails, arises principally from a theoretical dispute. The new theory of the South Carolina politicians that the planter pays the duty, has done more to provoke the public mind than all other causes together. It will be a most melancholy fact if a system of taxation, constitutional government, which has done so much, and promises so far for the happiness of mankind, should fail a sacrifice to a speculation—and to an erroneous speculation. That the idea is erroneous, and that the error is easily detected, few, except those who have embraced the doctrine as a matter of fact, will be willing to deny.

The argument is that the planter is the producer of the manufactures for which his crop is exchanged, and the fallacy of the opinion consists in considering the merchant as the agent of the planter. It is just as reasonable to assume that the planter is the agent of the merchant. If there were no duties on foreign manufactures, the planter would sell his crop as he now does, and for no greater price. The merchant would sell his goods for a profit as he does now; but no one goods would come into market at less cost, having no duty to pay, the price would be less; and in this way the planter in common with every other consumer would gain; but he would have no more inducement to turn merchant, than because goods would be cheap, than to do so now, because they are high. The possession of cash has no more tendency to make one a merchant, than the possession of so much money or of any thing else that may be sold or exchanged. If the protecting duties were abolished the European merchant would bring more goods to Charleston, and the northern merchant less; but free trade would no more convert planters into merchants, than the restrictive system, into manufacturers. In the same way by assuming that the merchant is the agent of the planter, the conclusion is drawn, that a duty on imports is equivalent to a duty on exports. It is true that if a person under the protecting system were to pay an export duty on his cotton and import his goods duty free—the result would be the same as if the duty had been paid upon the goods. But this does not prove that a duty on imports is equivalent to a duty on exports; for in the case supposed, the cotton is sold as if it was free—and the goods though free as if the protecting duty had been actually levied upon them.

But if the system was changed, and exports were taxed, and goods admitted duty free, cotton would fall in price to the extent of the duty imposed, and goods in proportion to the duty taken off. In the case arising from cheap goods he would only share with the rest of the community. The objections to the protecting system are abundantly sufficient to justify vigorous and unceasing opposition—but to resort to a justification of revolution amounts to the wildest extravagance of opinion. Should we be called abolitionists of the Earth because we are unwilling to overturn the government? With as much reason may the hewer be reproached with the encouragement of crime, because every offence is not visited with equal severity of the law.

Our obedience has been challenged to nullification as a duty which protection imposes. We admit the principle in all things lawful—and shall not forcibly obstruct the constituted authority of the State as long as we are protected by the law. It is not so, however, that we owe all allegiance exclusively to the State alone for protection. We have been protected by the United States in peace and in war. Nor is the Union less efficient in the protection of the citizens, though it operates silently, by preventing those series of proscription, confiscation and new made treasons, of which till now we have happily been ignorant, and of which indeed we never heard till the Unchristianity was in danger.

We do not believe that a majority of the good people of this State approve of secession, or meditate violence agains the fellow citizens of the Union. We shall therefore not interfere to prevent the legislative regulations of nullification, from being executed by their constitutional and legal means as the authorities may see fit to employ; Protesting always against their injustice and invoking in our behalf the protection of our fellow citizens, and their moral detection of tynged mortals who be driven to the commission of treacherous citizens by any thing save the hideous oppression.

Your Committee therefore recommend the adoption of the above resolution and protest hereewith reported.

REMONSTRANCE AND PROTEST

OF THE UNION AND STATE RIGHTS PARTY,
OF THE STATE OF SOUTH CAROLINA,
TO THE UNITED STATES CONVENTION OF DELEGATES,
Held at Washington, D. C., on the 21st day of November, 1860.

1st. Because the friends of South Carolina, who voted for the Constitution, under the belief that these states would share the benefits of a confederated and consolidated government, are now prostrate, without a voice in the Convention.

2d. Because the friends of South Carolina, who voted for the Constitution, passed on the 4th of December, 1860,

3rd. Because it has disfranchised and proscribed nearly one half of the Freemen of South Carolina for an honest difference of opinion by declaring that those whose consciences will not permit them to take the test oath shall be deprived of every office civil and military.

4th. Because it has trampled under foot the great principles of *Liberty secured to the citizen*, by the Constitution of this state in depriving the *Freemen of this country of the right to an impartial trial by Jury*, thereby violating that clause of the constitution intended to be *perpetual* which declares “The trial by Jury as heretofore used in this state, and the liberty of the press shall be forever inviolably preserved.”

5th. Because it has violated the independence guaranteed to the *judiciary*, by enacting that the Judges shall take a revolving test oath, or be arbitrarily removed from office, thereby depriving them of the privilege of trial by impeachment, which by the constitution of the state is intended to be secured to every civil officer.

6th. Because the Ordinance has directly violated the *Constitution of the United States*, which gives authority to Congress to collect revenue, in forbidding the collection of any revenue within the limits of South Carolina.

7th. Because it has violated the same *Constitution*, in that provision of it which declares that no preference shall be given to any Port over any other in the United States, by enacting that goods shall be imported into the Ports of South Carolina without paying any duties.

8th. Because it violates the same *Constitution* and tramples on the rights of the citizen, by depriving him the privilege of appeal in cases to *Law and Equity* arising under the *Constitution and Laws of the Union*.

9th. Because it has virtually destroyed the *Union*, by carefully preventing the General Government from enforcing their laws through the civil tribunals of the country, and then enacting that if that Government should pursue any other mode to enforce them, then this *STATE* shall be no longer a member of the *Union*.

10th. Because the *tyranny and oppression* inflicted by this *Ordinance*, are of a character so revolting and the effects anticipated from it so serious that the *commerce and credit* of the state are already seriously affected, and will soon be prostrated; and its peaceful and industrious citizens are driven from their homes to seek tranquillity in some other state.

The *Union Party of South Carolina in Convention assembled*, so far as is possible and solemnly protest against the project of a *standing army*, proposed by the *Democrats* in power, as dangerous to the *liberties of the people*. They would respectfully ask their fellow citizens, whether such an army must not be made by inadequate to protect the *Confederate Party*, against the *People of the rest of the United States*, should they resolve to coerce them. What other object therefore can such a force accomplish than to serve as an instrument of *TYRANNY*, over their Fellow *Citzns*?

This *Convention* doth further protest, against any effort by a system of *Conscription* to force the citizens of the state from their fire side, and their homes, to take up arms, and incur the pains and penalties of treason, in support of a doctrine which the people were assured was *pacific* in its nature, and utterly inconsistent with any kind of danger to the *Constitution of the Union*.

Silently remonstrating, as they hereby do, against the above mentioned grievances, *The Union Party*, would further express their *FIRM DETERMINATION*, to maintain the principles which have ever been the rule of their conduct; and while on the one hand, they will continue their unflinching opposition to the protective Tariff, so on the other they will not be driven from the enjoyment of those inalienable rights which by inheritance belong to every *American Citizen*. Discarding therefore all notion of lawless or insurrectionary violence, they hereby proclaim their *determination*, to protect their *rights* by all legal and constitutional means, and that in doing so, they will continue to maintain the *character of peaceful citizens*, unless compelled to throw it aside by *intolerable oppression*.

THOS. TAYLOR, President.

UNITED STATES.

“We Liberty, such as the fibers of heaven,
I, far from you, with a thousand voices, and the crew
The tyrants down, or die in incisive buck.”

CONGRESS

In a debate which occurred in the House of Representatives on the 14th ult, on a motion to refer to a select committee that part of the President’s Message relating to the exercise of a大使 I present Mr. Stewart of Penn, considered it was one of the most able, lucid and sound arguments he had ever seen, and trusted that the people of all parties, would rally around it in support of the President, and sustain him in every rational measure to enforce the laws and preserve the *Union*.” Mr. Daniel of Kent, did not approve of the doctrines of the proclamation—*but* they appeared to be the very essence of consolidation. So strong the president recommended peace and harmony, Mr. D. went with him. But if any one of the states chose to go out from the confederacy, to God’s seems let it go in peace. Let them part in harmony with good feelings.” The discussion was closed by the following, by issuance, on the part Mr. McDowell, that he should take occasion to bring before the House the subject of that part of the Presidents Message, the doctrines of which he desired were calculated to lay lower the abominations of the country.

After the withdrawal of that part of the Message relating to the *Union* was in an omission from Mr. McDowell’s report to propose to the committee to send for persons and papers, and to make them available to the House and Branches. After debates, the following was agreed to in a concurred in:

The Committee of Second Readings of the House, in consideration of the Report of the Select Committee on the *Ordinance of Secession*, did, on the 21st instant, pass the following resolution:

“That the Committee do report a bill to the House,

subject of the Tariff, and are preparing a bill for the reduction of the duties on imports.

Among the bills reported to the House of Representatives is one to provide for building three steam batteries, for the transportation of provisions, munitions &c, and for laying vessels of war, and another proposing to appropriate for the gradual increase of the Navy five hundred thousand dollars annually for six years and after the 3d day of March 1863, when the present appropriation for that purpose will expire.

Mr. Poindexter offered the following resolutions:

Resolved, That the Secretary of the Treasury be directed to report to the Senate, with as little delay as practicable, a detailed statement of the articles of foreign growth or manufacture, on which in his opinion, the present rate of duties ought to be reduced, specifying particularly the amount of reduction on each article separately, so as to produce the result of an aggregate of the revenue six millions of dollars on such manufactures as are classed under the general denomination of protected articles; and that he also append to such report an enumeration of articles deemed to be “essential to our national independence in time of war,” and which therefore ought in his opinion to be exempted from the operation of the proposed reduction of duties.

TARIFF DUTIES.—The Senate proceeded to take up the orders of the day. The following resolution, offered by Mr. Smith, on Thursday, being under consideration:

Resolved, That the Secretary of the Treasury be directed with as little delay as may be, to furnish the Senate with the project of a bill for reducing the duties levied upon imports, in conformity with the suggestions made by him in his annual report.

Mr. Tyler said that he had been chiefly instrumental in prevailing on the Committee of Finance to adopt the resolution now before the Senate. It has been adopted without opposition, and seemed to meet the entire approbation of all the members, save one. Under these circumstances it has come before the Senate. He intended it for good. He thought a speedy action on the subject of the tariff was indispensably necessary—that it was due to the country—to the condition of the finances, and demanded by the fearful crisis into which our affairs had been unfortunately plunged.

A great crisis had arrived, and definitive action—powerful, well-sustained, and efficient action was necessary to save the country. The subject could not be blotted—and he, for one, resting upon the principles on which he had all his life acted, was ready for action. He was not for shedding blood in civil strife, but for prompt legislation which would heal the wounds of the country. He found himself, however, differing with some of those with whom he commonly acted, and without whose aid the resolution could not be carried. Some objected for one cause, and some for another. He hoped that these objections would yield to better reflection, and that those who agreed in the main, would not differ about unessential. For the present, he declined to press the subject, and moved to lay the resolution on the table.

On motion of Mr. Barringer, it was

Resolved, That the Committee on the Post office & Post Roads be instructed to enquire into the expediency of establishing a mail route from Hillsborough N. C. by Longs Mills, Troy’s Store, Hone Factory, to Ashborough, N. C.

Mr. Walker submitted the following, which was laid on the table one day.

Resolved by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled; (two thirds of both Houses concurring) That the following be proposed to the states as an amendment to the Constitution of the United States, to take effect from and after the ratification of the same by the Legislatures of three fourths of the states, viz: No Senator or Representative shall, during the time for which he was elected, be appointed to any civil office of trust or profit under the authority of the United States.

GREENSBOROUGH:

WEDNESDAY, JANUARY 2, 1861.

“Troops would march, or save a sinking land,
At first, none aid you, and few understand.”

12^o We are requested to say, the Rev. William Anderson will preach in the Methodist Church in this place, on Saturday night and Sunday, the 13th and 14th inst. and.

12^o The Rev. Peter Dowd, will preach, on the first Sunday in February next, at Linne Ridge Meeting House, in Randolph County, near the road leading from this place to Ashborough, on a funeral occasion.

12^o We are now engaged in making out, and shall shortly forward to every man militia of this state, for advertising, subscription or job printing, the amount of our demand against him. Large claims are coming against our empty pockets; and we must be prepared to meet them. We wish to make this warning. If every man will, for this one time, pay with his best, immediately on the receipt of his bill, we will pay every copper we use in this world,—say in a stock of provisions and paper for the ensuing year, and promise never to tax another man while we live. Now just accept our basterdy; and we will show you that it is abundantly possible for a prince to tell the truth.—*ad*

—*ad*—

LITERATURE.—We have but little room now, to make remarks touching and concerning the proceedings of the Legislature; but we cannot resist the inclination to say what we please, which will be found in manner and form following, to wit:

Mr. Murchison’s resolutions on the subject of amending the Constitution are well enough for my taste, we can see; and Mr. Montgomery’s amendment must have been induced by policy rather than a sense of justice. If the colored people are to become your subjects, as subjects of course, in this country, then under the Constitution, they are to be taxed without being represented.

The House had the politeness to call in their chamber to the Presid next day, and those same Electors were polled enough to do a session in the Government House, on the ground that no session required by law to assemble and give the vote of the city of Raleigh, and this session thus having been adjourned, was situated beyond the limits of Raleigh. We presume these sage gentlemen are advocates for strict construction!

We much regret that the full session of the State of freehold to every citizen under law in this State, has been indefinitely postponed. This is the reason why in which they seem desirous to transact great business. When a measure is proposed, the first inquiry is, whether it will promote the interest of the people. If it is so found to be, it is at once postponed without further ceremony! But if, on the other hand, it happens to be some trifling thing, it must be evenly debated two or three weeks, and if it is not so rejected, according to the whim or caprice of the House.

Ralph Freeman, we believe, will be under the necessity of saving his preaching for another session, than less *holier* than the present. He has got licensed him to preach, but the Legislature repealed his former licensing rights, and told him he should not obey that rash *Wanderer* or that.

We like Burton’s preamble and resolution in regard to the 32d section of the Constitution. This section goes to recognise a national or state religion, than which nothing can be more abhorrent.

Mr. Hagan’s resolution on the subject of elections, seems to answer the purpose pretty well. The strange conduct of the sheriff in Salisbury, and the still more strange decision of the Legislature on the subject in concern, seems to render it necessary that the powers and duties of sheriffs, in regard to elections, should be more accurately understood and defined.

The ghost of some negro seems to be floated across Mr. Seawell’s diseased imagination! This effect was a temporary mental alienation, under the influence of which he introduced a bill to regulate the conduct of slaves, free negroes and mulattoes! As it is, indeed, the height of consummate foolishness, to be forever legislating on this delicate subject, in relation to which we already have too many laws, unless they were better adapted to the purposes for which they were enacted.

It is, indeed, a hard case, that a man must be denied the privilege of emancipating his own son from slavery! We see Mr. Burnside “gentleman of color,” has prayed for such a privilege, but we will pray to him. The Legislature will never let any body doubt, that they can fonder.

The act to repeal the Quaker law passed the Senate, but has been laid on the table in the House of Commons. We should like to know what business these wise Commissioners had, to lay such a bill aside instead of passing it into a law at once. They might as well have repealed the law this session; for it shall be done, and that before long, too!

We perceive that Mr. Willie Alison Walker has managed to get his name, before the Legislature, hung to a prayer, that an increase of allowance be made by law to witnesses in behalf of the State, attending courts out of the county in which they reside. Mr. Walker’s patriotic motive in presenting this petition, will show that he is sincere in this application. He is under subpoena to attend the Superior Court in this county, to testify, and the truth to say, of and concerning, &c. No wonder he wishes to be better paid. We have willing witnesses enough now; without inducing swarers to volunteer their services, by offering premiums!

Mr. Doherty happened to be on the other side of the fence, and got frightened at Soocells negro ghost; & to prevent such ideal beings again from being generated in the brain, he has introduced a bill relative to licensing slaves the art of war, by permitting them to attend masters, &c. Now Mr. Doherty would half do for a nullification why, we understand the *Natives* in South Carolina are drilling their slaves on nights and Sundays, to aid them in practically demonstrating the *peacefulness* of nullification as a remedy.

The resolutions introduced by Mr. Monk, on the subject of a convention of all the States, are neither very good, nor yet particularly bad. We have no objection to such a convention, but we cannot see any necessity for such a movement, at this time.

Mr. Daniel must have been very anxious to let the Legislature know that he could count *six*, or he never would have long *precarily* that number of resolutions to the tail of the above. It is very fortunate that he did not make a miscount; for there is nothing in the resolutions that would warrant a belief that he was *capable* of counting correctly. Jackson himself admits the tariff to be unconstitutional; and it has never been denied until lately. The Legislature of South Carolina once decidedly *unanimously*, with the exception of one dissenting voice, that the tariff was not only unconstitutional, but expedient and politic.

While Mr. Clayton’s resolution relative to free schools well enough not to quarrel much with it, let us should have thought fully as well of him if he had suggested some plan himself, instead of picking the subject upon a committee, who will probably never have leisure or inclination to report on the subject.

The House of Commons, we perceive, has refused to pass the bill which was passed through the Senate, especially now prohibiting the importation into this State, of bills under five dollars, &c. This was the language

