(Continued from first page.)

on their having formed in this sovereign capacity a compact which is called the Constitution, from which because they made it, they have the right to secede. Both of these positions are erroneous, and some of the arguments to prove them so have been anticipated.

The States severally have not retained their entire sovereignty. It has been shown that in becoming parts of a nation, not members of a league they surrendered many of their essential parts of sovereignty. The right to make treaties—declare war—levy taxes—exercise exclusive judicial and legislative powers—were all of them functions of sovereign power. The States, then, for all these important purposes, were no longer sovereign. The allegiance of their citizens was transferred, in the first instance, to the Government of the United States—they became American citizens, and owed obedience to the Constitution of the United States, and to laws made in conformity with the powers it vested in Congress. This last position has not been, and cannot be denied.—How then can that State be said to be sovereign and independent, whose citizens owe obedience to laws not made by it, and whose magistrates are sworn to disregard those laws, when they come in conflict with those passed by another? What shows conclusively that the States cannot be said to have reserved an undivided sovereignty, is: that they expressly ceded the right to punish treason—not treason against their separate power—but treason against the United States. Treason is an offence against *sovereignty*, and sovereignty must reside with the power to punish it. But the reserved rights of the States are not less sacred, because they have for their common interest made the General Government the depository of these powers. The unity of our political character (as has been shown for another purpose) commenced with its very existence. Under the Royal Government we had no separate character—our opposition to its oppressions began as *United Colonies*. We were the *United States* under the confederation, and the name was perpetuated, and the Union rendered more perfect, by the Federal Constitution. In none of these stages did we consider ourselves in any other light than as forming one nation. Treaties and alliances were made in the name of all. Troops were raised for the joint defence. How, then, with all these proofs, that under all changes of our position we had, for designated purposes and with defined powers, created National Governments—how is it, that the most perfect of those several modes of union should now be considered as a mere league, that may be dissolved at pleasure? It is from an abuse of terms. Compact is used as synonymous with league, although the true term is not employed, because it would at once show the fallacy of the reasoning. It would not do to say that our Constitution was only a league; but, it is labored to prove it a compact, (which in one sense it is) and then to argue that as a league is a compact, every compact between nations must of course be a league, and that from such an engagement every sovereign power has a right to secede. But it has been shown, that in this sense the States are not sovereign, and that even if they were, and the National Constitution had been formed by Compact, there would be no right in any one State to exonerate itself from its obligations.

So obvious are the reasons which forbid this secession, that it is necessary only to allude to them. The Union was formed for the benefit of all. It was produced by the mutual sacrifices of interests and opinions. Can those sacrifices be recalled? Can the States who magnanimously surrendered their title to the Territories of the West, recall the grant? Will the inhabitants of the inland States agree to pay the duties that may be imposed without their assent by those on the Atlantic or the Gulf, for their own benefit? Shall there be a free port in one State, and onerous duties in another? No one believes that any right exists in a single State to involve all the others in these and countless other evils, contrary to the engagements solemnly made. Every one must see that the other States, in self-defence, must oppose it at all hazards.

These are the alternatives that are presented by the Convention: A repeal of all the acts for raising revenue, leaving the Government without the means of support; or an acquiescence in the dissolution of our Union by the secession of one of its members. When the first was proposed, it was known that it could not be listened to for a moment. It was known if force was applied to oppose the execution of the laws, that it must be repelled by force—that Congress could not, without involving itself in disgrace and the country in ruin, accede to the proposition; and yet, if this is not done in a given day or if any attempt is made to execute the laws, the State is, by the Ordinance, declared to be out of the Union. The majority of a convention assembled for the purpose have dictated these terms, or rather this rejection of all terms, in the name of the people of South Carolina. It is true that the Governor of the state speaks of the submission of their grievances to a convention of all the States; which he says, they "sincerely and anxiously seek and desire." Yet this obvious and constitutional mode of obtaining the sense of the other States on the construction of the federal compact, and amending it, if necessary has never been attempted by those who have urged the State on to this destructive measure. The State might have proposed the call for a General Convention to the other States; and Congress, if a sufficient number of them concurred must have called it. But the first Magistrate of South Carolina, when he expressed a hope that, "on a review by Congress and the functionaries of the General Government of the merits of the controversy," such a Convention will be accorded to them, must have known that neither Congress nor any functionary of the General Government has authority to call such a convention, unless it be demanded by two thirds of the States. This suggestion, then is another instance of the reckless inattention to the provisions of the Constitution with which this crisis has been madly hurried on; or of the attempt to persuade the people that a Constitutional remedy had been sought and refused. If the Legislature of South Carolina "anxiously desire" a General Convention to consider their complaints, why have they not made application for it in the way the Constitution points out? The assertion that they "earnestly seek" it is completely negatived by the omission.

This, then, is the position in which we stand. A small majority of the citizens of one State in the Union have elected delegates to a State Convention: that Convention has ordained that all the revenue laws of the United States must be repealed, or that they are no longer a member of the Union. The Governor of that State has recommended to the Legislature the raising of an army to carry the secession into effect, and that he may be empowered to give clearances to vessels in the name of the State. No act of violent opposition to the laws has yet been committed, but such a state of things is hourly apprehended, and it is the intent of this instrument to PROCLAIM not only that the duty imposed on me by the Constitution "to take care that the laws be faithfully executed," shall be performed to the extent of the powers already vested in me by law, or of such others as the wisdom of Congress shall devise and entrust to me for that purpose; but to warn the citizens of South Carolina, who have been deluded into an opposition to the laws, of the danger they will incur by obedience to the illegal and disorganising Ordinance of the Convention,—to exhort those who have refused to support it to persevere in their determination to uphold the Constitution and laws of their country, and to point out to all the perilous situation into which the good people of that State have been led, and that the course they are urged to pursue is one of ruin and disgrace to the very State whose rights they affect to support.

Fellow citizens of my native State!—let me not only admonish you, as the first Magistrate of our common country, not to incur the penalty of its laws, but use the influence that a Father would over his children whom he saw rushing to certain ruin. In that paternal language, with that paternal feeling, let me tell you, my countrymen, that you are deluded by men who are either deceived themselves, or wish to deceive you. Mark under what pretences you have been led on to the brink of insurrection and treason on which you stand! First a diminution of the value of your staple commodity, lowered by over production in other quarters, and the consequent diminution in the value of your lands, were the sole effect of the Tariff laws. The effect of those laws are confessedly injurious but the evil was greatly exaggerated by the unfounded theory you were taught to believe that its burthens were in proportion to your exports, not to your consumption of imported articles. Your pride was roused by the assertion that a submission to those laws was a state of vassalage, and that resistance to them was equal, in patriotic merit, to the opposition our Fathers offered to the oppressive laws of Great Britain. You were told that this opposition might be peaceably—might be constitutionally made—that you might enjoy all the advantages of the Union and bear none of its burthens.

Eloquent appeals to your passions, to your State pride, to your native courage, to your sense of real injury, were used to prepare you for the period when the mask which concealed the hideous features of DISUNION should be taken off. It fell, and you were made to look with complaicency on objects which, not long since, you would have regarded with horror. Look back at the arts which have brought you to this state—look forward to the consequences to which it must inevitably lead! Look back to what was first told you as an inducement to enter into this dangerous course. The great political truth was repeated to you, that you had the revolutionary right of resisting all laws that were palpably unconstitutional and intolerably oppressive—it was added that the right to nullify a law rested on the same principle, but that it was a peaceable remedy! This character which was given to it, made you receive, with too much confidence, the assertions that were made of the unconstitutionality of the law, and its oppressive effects. Mark, my fellow citizens, that, by the admission of your leaders, the unconstitutionality must be *palpable*, or it will not justify either resistance or nullification! What is the meaning of the word *palpable* in the sense in which it is here used?—that which is apparent to every one; that which no man of ordinary intellect will fail to perceive. Is the unconstitutionality of these laws of that description? Let those among your leaders who once approved and advocated the principle of protective duties, answer the question, and let them choose whether they will be considered as incapable, then, of perceiving that which must have been apparent to every man of common understanding, or as imposing upon your confidence, and endeavoring to mislead you now. In either case, they are unsafe guides in the perilous path they urge you to tread. Ponder well on this circumstance, and you will know how to appreciate the exaggerated language they address to you. They are not champions of liberty, emulating the fame of our Revolutionary Fathers; nor are you an oppressed People contending, as they repeat to you, against worse than colonial vassalage. You are free members of a flourishing and happy Union. There is no settled design to oppress you. You have indeed felt the unequal operation of laws which may have been unwisely, not unconstitutionally passed; but that inequality must necessarily be removed. At the very moment when you were madly urged on to the unfortunate course you have begun, a change in public opinion had commenced.—The nearly approaching payment of the public debt, and the consequent necessity of a diminution of duties, had already produced a considerable reduction, and that too on some articles of general consumption in your State. The importance of this change was understood, and you were authoritatively told, that no further alleviation of your burthens was to be expected, at the very time when the condition of the country imperiously demanded such a modification of the duties as should reduce them to a just and equitable scale. But, as if apprehensive of the effect of this change in allaying your discontents, you were precipitated into the fearful state in which you now find yourselves.

I have urged you to look back to the means that were used to hurry you on to the position you have now assumed, and forward to the consequences it will produce. Something more is necessary. Contemplate the condition of that country of which you still form an important part! Consider its government, uniting in one bond of common interest and general protection so many different States, giving to all their inhabitants the proud title of AMERICAN CITIZENS, protecting their commerce, securing their literature and their arts, facilitating their intercommunication, defending their frontiers, and making their name respected in the remotest parts of the earth! Consider the extent of its territory, its increasing and happy population, its advance in arts, which render life agreeable and the sciences which elevate the mind! See education spreading the lights of religion, humanity, and general information into every cottage in this wide extent of our Territories and States! Behold it as the asylum where the wretched and the oppressed find a refuge and support! Look on this picture of happiness and honor, and say—WE, TOO, ARE CITIZENS OF AMERICA: Carolina is one of these proud States: her arms have defended, her best blood has cemented this happy Union! And then add if you can, without horror and remorse, this happy Union we will dissolve—this picture of peace and prosperity we will deface—this free intercourse we will interrupt—these fertile fields we will deluge with blood—the protection of that glorious flag we renounce—the very names of Americans we discard. And for what, mistaken men!—for what do you throw away these inestimable blessings—for what would you exchange your share in the advantages and honor of the Union? For the dream of a separate independence—a dream interrupted by bloody conflicts with your neighbors, and a vile dependence on a foreign power. If your leaders could succeed in establishing a separation, what would be your situation? Are you united at home—are you free from the apprehension of civil discord, with all its fearful consequences? Do our neighboring republics, every day suffering some new revolution, or contending with some new insurrection—do they excite your envy? But the dictates of a high duty oblige me solemnly to announce that you cannot succeed.

The laws of the United States must be executed. I have no discretionary power on the subject—my duty is emphatically pronounced in the Constitution. Those who told you that you might peaceably prevent their execution, deceived you; they could not have been deceived themselves. They know that a forcible opposition could alone prevent the execution of the laws, and they know that such opposition must be repelled. The object is disunion; but be not deceived by names; disunion, by armed force is TREASON. Are you really ready to incur its guilt? If you are on the heads of the instigators of the act be the dreadful consequences—on their heads be the dishonor, but on yours may fall the punishment—on your unhappy State will inevitably fall all the evils of the conflict you force upon the Government of your country. It cannot accede to the mad project of disunion of which you would be the first victims—its first Magistrate cannot if he would, avoid the performance of his duty—the consequence must be fearful for you, distressing to your fellow citizens here, and to the friends of good government throughout the world. Its enemies have beheld our prosperity with a vexation they could not conceal—it was a standing refutation of their slavish doctrines, and they will point to our discord with the triumph of malignant joy. It is yet in our power to disappoint them. There is yet time to show that the descendants of the Pinkneys, the Sumpters, the Rutledges, & of the thousand other names which adorn the pages of your revolutionary history will not abandon that Union to support which, so many of them fought, and bled and died. I adjure you as you honor the memory—as you love the cause of freedom, to which they dedicated their lives—as you prize the peace of your country the lives of its best citizens, and your own fair fame, to retrace your steps—Snatch from the archives of your State the disorganizing edict of its Convention, bid its members to re-assemble and promulgate the decided expressions of your will to remain in the path which alone can conduct you to safety, prosperity, and honor; tell them that compared to disunion all other evils are light because that brings with it an accumulation of all; declare that you will never take the field unless the star spangled banner of your country shall float over you—that you will not be stigmatized when dead, and dishonored and scorned while you live, as the authors of the first attack on the Constitution of our country!—Its destroyers you cannot be. You may disturb its peace, you may interrupt the course of its prosperity; you may cloud its reputation for stability; but its tranquillity will be restored, its prosperity will return, and the stain upon its national character will be transferred, and remain an eternal blot on the memory of those who caused the disorder.

Fellow citizens of the United States! The threat of unlawful disunion—the names of those, once respected, by whom it is uttered—the array of military force to support it—denote the approach of a crisis in our affairs on which the continuance of our unexampled prosperity, our political existence, and perhaps that of all free governments may depend.—The conjunction demand a free, a full, and explicit enunciation, not only of my intentions but of my principles of action; and as the claim was asserted of right by a State to annul the laws of the Union and even to secede from it at pleasure, a frank exposition of my opinions in relation to the origin and form of our government, and the construction I give to the instrument by which it was created, seemed to be proper. Having the fullest confidence in the justness of the legal and constitutional opinion of my duties which has been expressed I rely with equal confidence on your undivided support in my determination to execute the laws—to preserve Union by all constitutional means—to arrest if possible by moderate but firm measures, the necessity of a recourse to force; and, if it be the will of Heaven that the recurrence of its primeval curse on man for the shedding of a brother's blood should fall upon our land, that it be not called down by any offensive act on the part of the United States.

Fellow citizens! The momentous case is before you. On your undivided support of your government depends the decision of the great question it involves, whether your sacred Union will be preserved, and the blessings it secures to us as one People shall be perpetuated. No one can doubt that the unanimity with which that decision will be expressed, will be such as to inspire new confidence in republican institutions, and that the prudence, the wisdom, and the courage which it will bring to their defence will transmit them unimpaired and invigorated to our children.

May the Great Ruler of Nations grant that the signal blessings with which he has favored ours, may not, by the madness of party or personal ambition, be disregarded and lost, and may His wise Providence bring those who have produced this crisis to see the folly, before they feel the misery of civil strife; and inspire a returning veneration for that Union which, if we may dare to penetrate His designs he has chosen as the only means of attaining the high destines to which we may reasonably aspire.

In testimony whereof, I have caused the Seal of the United States to be hereunto affixed, having signed the same with my hand.

Done at the City of Washington this 10th day of December, in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and thirty-two, and of the Independence of the United States the fifty-seventh.

ANDREW JACKSON.

By the President,
EDWARD LIVINGSTON,
Secretary of State.

INFORMATION WANTED.

I am very desirous of knowing if my brother-in-law, Abel N. Jump, carriage maker, is living or dead,—any information respecting him left at this office, or directed to the subscriber near Milford, Kent County, Del. will be very thankfully received.

JAMES C. HUTCHINSON.

Dec. 1 1832

The Editors of the different papers throughout the United States will confer a great favour by giving the above a few insertions.

FALL GOODS.

WM. H. & P. GROOME,

HAVE just received and are now opening a very extensive and complete assortment of

FRESH GOODS

SUITED TO THE SEASON:

AMONG WHICH ARE

Cloths of various colours and qualities, Cassimeres and Cassinetts, Baizes and Flannels, Blankets, Merinoes and Circassians, a great variety, Bombazines, Lindseys and Kerseys, Merino, Cashmere, Thybet & Circassian Shawls, long & square, a large assortment, Berage, Crape Lisse & other fancy handk'fs, Irish Linens & Lawns, Domestic Muslins, Cotton Yarn, &c.

—ALSO—

GROCERIES, Viz:—

Fresh

TEAS,

Old L. P. Madeira, Sicily do, Sherry and Lisbon, Port and Teneriffe — Wines. Old Dupoys Brandy—very superior, O. Monongahela whiskey; Sperm Oil & Candles, Cheese—very nice, Buckwheat Flour, Fresh Bunch Raisins, Family Flour, Powder and Shot

LIKEWISE

A GENERAL ASSORTMENT OF

HARDWARE, CUTLERY, CASTINGS QUEENSWARE, CHINA, GLASS, &c.

among which, are complete sets of

DINING AND TEA CHINA, BRASS ANDIRONS, SHOVEL AND TONGS, LOOKING GLASSES, KNIVES AND FORKS, CAST-STEEL AXES, SPADES & SHOVELS, NAILS, SPIKES, &c.

All of which will be offered on reasonable terms for cash or in exchange for Kerseys, Lindsey and Feathers.

Nov. 3.

A BOY WANTED.

THE subscribers wish to engage in their Store a smart active boy of good moral habits, about 14 or 15 years of age that can write a good hand, is well acquainted with arithmetic and who can come well recommended for industry and an amiable disposition.

Applications will be received until the first of January next, but to save trouble none need apply but such as have the above qualifications.

Wm. H. & P. GROOME.

Easton, Dec. 1. 3t

REMOVAL.

SAMUEL MACKEY

RESPECTFULLY informs his friends and the public that he has removed his store to the stand formerly occupied by Green & Reardon, next door to the store of the late William Clark, and directly opposite the Court House. He has just returned from Philadelphia and Baltimore, and is now opening a handsome assortment of

Dry Goods and Groceries

Suitable to the present and approaching season;

Selected by himself with great care from the latest arrivals at Philadelphia and Baltimore, and solicits his friends to give him a call at his new stand and view his new assortment of GOODS, which he assures them will be sold very low for CASH.

Easton, Oct. 20.

REMOVAL.

MISS MARY BROWN,

RESPECTFULLY informs her friends and the public generally that she has removed her

MILLINERY AND FANCY STORE

to the house formerly occupied by T. P. Smith Esq. she invites her former customers and friends, to call and view her new assortment of fashions and goods and flatters herself that her attention to her business in all its varieties of Mantua and Bonnet Making will be pleasing to the public.

Easton, Oct. 27

NEW SADDLERY.

THE subscriber takes the liberty of informing his friends and the public generally, that he has just returned from Baltimore, with an elegant assortment of

SADDLERY,

Consisting of *BRIDLE BITTS & STIRRUPS, plated and brass*, of various patterns, and every other kind of *plate* necessary for his line of business, of the latest fashions from England—likewise an elegant assortment of

LEATHER,

with which, from the attention he has paid to its selection, he confidently expects to be able to execute his work with neatness and dispatch, and to give general satisfaction. He invites his customers and the public in general to call and examine for themselves, next door to the post office. He will sell low for CASH.

The public's obedient servant,
JOHN W. BLAKE

Oct. 6 cow3t

SYLVESTERS' OFFICE,
No. 113 Baltimore, Street.

SYLVESTER,

Known as the "all and ever lucky Sylvester has sold within three months FOUR PRIZES of

30,000

2 of $25,000 and $20,000.

And not a week passes but SYLVESTER sells the Capitals, and pays them in Specie on demand.

☞Orders sent by mail to SYLVESTER will meet with the most prompt and confidential attention.

UNION CANAL LOTTERY,

CLASS NO. 21, for 1832.

To be drawn

On SATURDAY Dec. 21, 1832.

20,000 10,000 100 of 1,000.

Tickets $10—Lowest prize $12.☞

1	$20,000
1	10,000
1	5,000
1	3,000
100	1,000
16	500
56	100
&c. &c amounting to	366,880

$5 REWARD

IS offered to any person or persons that will give to the Editor of this paper, full and sufficient evidence of the guilt of the person or persons, who have injured and killed certain Cows belonging to citizens of this town.

Nov. 3.

AN OVERSEER WANTED.

THE subscriber wishes to employ for the next year a good Overseer, who is either a single man, or has only a small family; also, immediately, a middle aged, steady woman, who is a good Seamstress, and House-keeper.

C. GOLDSBOROUGH,

Shoal Creek, Nov. 24, 1832. 4w

EVANS' HARRIS.

THE Subscribers to Evans' Harris in Dorchester, Queen Anns and Caroline counties are informed that the work is now ready for delivery at this office.

JUST RECEIVED and for sale at this Office EVANS' HARRIS.

Aug. 18.

For Sale or Rent.

THE subscribers will sell or rent their Tan Yard in Easton, possession will be given immediately.—Apply to the Editor, with whom the terms are left.

HOLLYDAY & HAYWARD.

COLLECTOR'S NOTICE.

ALL persons holding taxable property in Talbot county will please take notice, their taxes for the present year are now due; the time allowed for the collection of the same being limited the subscriber cannot give any indulgence; therefore I hope persons will endeavour to settle the same as speedily as possible, the subscriber or his deputy will be through the districts and attend also at Eas on every Tuesday for the collection of the same.

PHILIP MACKEY, Collector
of Talbot County Taxes.

Sept. 22

GENERAL
Agricultural and Horticultural
Establishment.

COMPRISING,

A Seed and Implement Store, a General Agricultural Agency, and the Office of the AMERICAN FARMER, at No. 16 South Calvert Street Baltimore: in connexion with a Stock and Experimental Farm, Garden and Nursery in the vicinity.

The subscriber, proprietor of the above named establishment, respectfully informs Farmers, Gardeners, and the public generally, *and dealers paticularly*, that he is prepared to execute orders in any or all of its departments; and he solicits those who feel interest in his plan to furnish him with their addresses (free of expense to him,) on receipt of which he will forward to them an extra number of his paper, the American Farmer, containing a full description of his establishment, and a priced Catalogue of Seeds, &c. for sale. In every village in the Union a quantity large or small of

Choice Garden Seeds,

would find a ready and *profitable* sale, and the Advertiser has prepared his Seed Store specially with a view to supply dealers *on very liberal terms* for cash or acceptance in Baltimore, with first rate seeds, papered & labelled, put up in boxes expressly for country dealers. He ventures to affirm, that for those who desire any of the articles comprised in his extensive establishment, there is not in the United States a more eligible place than this to apply for them, as it is a repository in which are concentrated or may be procured on short notice, from all parts of our country (and not a few are from remote parts of the earth) a vast variety, many of which are very rare and valuable, of Seeds, Plants, Trees, Roots, Vines, Domestic Animals, Books, Implements, and last, though not least, a constant fund of timely and important information on almost every subject interesting to a cultivator of the soil. This last is imparted weekly to subscribers, for a small annual contribution, through the columns of the American Farmer, in which are indicated also, by advertisement and otherwise, the supplies of choice commodities, both animal and vegetable, as they are received at the establishment. The subscriber is agent also for the principal Nurseries and Gardens in the Union;—and for several celebrated breeders of fine cattle, sheep and other domestic animals;—also for the United Society of Shakers, at New Lebanon, N. Y. a full assortment of whose celebrated Garden Seeds fresh and genuine, may at all times be had from him wholesale and retail, on the best terms. Address

I. IRVINE HITCHCOCK.
Baltimore, Md.

Baltimore, Dec. 1

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