

From the Norfolk Argus.
THE CONSTITUTIONAL RIGHTS OF SECESSION.

Has a State a right to secede from the Union, or in other words, is it a constitutional right? This is an important question when viewed in relation to the responsible position likely to be taken by South Carolina.

We do not design to discuss it at this time, but we simply propose to give high authority in support of the claim. The power has always been contended for in Virginia since the memorable resolutions of 1798, as is clear from the exposition of them by the celebrated report drawn by Mr. Madison. In defending the third of these resolutions, which asserts the doctrine of State interposition, the committee say "that they have scanned it not merely with a strict but with a severe eye, and they feel confidence in pronouncing, that in its just and fair construction, it is unexceptionably true in its several positions, as well as Constitutional, and conclusive in its inferences." What were the positions of the third resolution? 1st. That the powers of the Federal Government were limited to the plain sense of the instrument constituting the compact. 2d. That in case of a deliberate, palpable and dangerous infraction of the compact, the State has the right to interpose to arrest the progress of the evil, by maintaining within its respective limits the authorities, rights and liberties appertaining to it.

This inference says the report "is constitutional and conclusive." Mr. Jefferson maintained the same doctrines in the famous resolutions drafted by him and adopted by the Legislature of Kentucky in 1799. Mr. Alex. Hamilton in one of his papers in the "Federalist," admits that if the Federal Government should oppress the States, the State governments would be ready to check it by virtue of their own inherent sovereign powers. "It may safely be received as an axiom in our political system (says Mr. Hamilton), that the State governments will, in all possible contingences, afford complete security against invasion of the public liberty by the national authority—Project of usurpation cannot be masked under the pretences so likely to escape the penetration of zealous bodies of men, as of the people at large.—The Legislatures will have better means of information. They can discover the danger at a distance, and possessing all the organs of civil power and the confidence of the people, they can at once adopt a regular plan of opposition, in which they can combine all the resources of the community.

Nathaniel Macon, for thirty years a member of the Senate of the United States from the State of North Carolina, and of whom John Randolph of this State said that he was the purest and wisest man who had ever taken part in the councils of the nation, in a letter in reply expresses the following opinion: "there can be no doubt that the United States are in a deplorable situation, and that the publication of the opinion you desire would be useless. It has never been a secret, and always stated to those who wanted to know it. In the year 1824 the Constitution was buried in the Senate—the Senators who were then present will, it is believed, recollect the fact—and never afterwards quoted by me while I continued in the Senate. The opinions of Gen. Washington, Mr. Jefferson, and Gov. Clinton, are known, but not respected, I have never believed that a State could nullify and remain in the Union, but have always believed that a State might secede when she pleased and this right I have considered the best guard to public liberty and to public justice that could be desired; and it ought to have prevented what is now felt in the South, oppression. When Confederacies begin to fight, liberty is soon lost, and the government is soon changed. A government of opinion, established by sovereign States, for special purposes, cannot be maintained by force. The use of force makes enemies, and enemies cannot live in peace under such a government."

These are the views deliberately expressed by the patriots and sages of by-gone days—men who made the science of our complex machinery of government their study and two of whom assisted in the formation of the present Constitution. Whether secession will lead to civil war between the General Government and the seceding State, rests entirely with the stronger power. There is no necessity for it unless the Federal Government shall choose to consecrate its usurpations by the blood of those it shall have attempted to oppress. The measures is not resorted to by the retiring State with a view to resort to force. All she asks, is the privilege to peacefully withdraw from a league, the compact of which has been violated, and which has become to her a grievance too intolerable to be longer borne.

SECESSION IN NEW-YORK.

The Courier and Enquirer has a queer fancy; it assimilates the relation of South Carolina and the Federal Government to that of Hungary towards Austria, and considers the obligations of the President to put down secession as binding as it was on old Austria to subdue the gallant Magyars. The Courier and Enquirer is consistent in its views. It looks upon all efforts to disturb and overthrow the existing government as highly criminal. It does not however, follow those hypocritical journals which display great enthusiasm in behalf of the Hungarians, and Irish, but regards the Cubans who struggle for liberty as plunderers and robbers. When the doctrines of the Courier and Enquirer are to be carried into operation, we trust Col. Webb will receive that Brigadier's commission which he sought so vigorously during the Mexican war. Here is the manifesto of the Courier and Enquirer, with the comments of the Express.—N. O. Delta.

The Courier, noticing the Secession Convention in South Carolina, says they must now begin to act, and cease talking, and that now they will shrink from their own doings. This is a strong Government, the Courier is sure, that it can put down all its domestic enemies. We quote:

"The idea that this nation, the lustiest and the proudest the sun ever shone upon, is going to fold its arms and quietly suffer itself to be dismembered and destroyed is supremely ridiculous. The weakest and meanest government that has a footing on earth would not submit to it. Self-preservation is as instinctive in nations

as in individuals, and as sure to call out every energy; and there is no kind of vitality that is a hundredth part so hard to extinguish as national vitality. It requires a multitude of internal diseases, or a host of external violences, to destroy it. The cancer and the gangrene, the fire and the sword, may do their worst upon it for years and for generations—yet, as in the case of the old Roman Empire for centuries—and still lives and lingers, and recoiling from the very thought of annihilation, it now and then rallies its flagging energies into an effort worthy of its palmist days. Look at old Austria, poor, weak, superannuated, and almost drivelling in the world deemed her. A domestic blow was aimed at its existence, and beset with innumerable difficulties, and for a time baffled and beaten, she speedily mustered strength, and hurled her enemies prostrate at her feet. If an empire, worn down by age, sick with ceaseless wrong, and saddened by the prospect of a future which at best must be dark and dangerous, is capable of such an effort to save it from destruction, what may not a Republic like ours, full of vigor and youth, cheered by a consciousness of right, and urged on by the sure promise of a destiny such as the world never before imagined, do to the same end and with the same motive?"

Upon this the Express says: "Unfortunate comparison! When the 'Austria' of the United States pounces upon its 'Hungary,' it would be a luckless day. The Courier forgets that this is a government of opinion, not of force—and that unless we have opinion in the South to maintain the Union force cannot maintain it. To command that opinion, we Northern men must do our duty to the constitution—in full obey its injunctions, at least respect its compromises. We cannot conquer the South. Indeed, we will never try. Knots of traitors can and must be put down, but whenever the North is to be brought into a battle field against the whole South, we are for a dissolution of such a mockery of a Union."

SECESSION—THE UNION OF THE SOUTH.

We have maintained that by secession, South Carolina will not be de-Americanized,—we go a step further, and assert that she will be more than ever Southernized by that act.

Suppose that secession does not result in a Southern Confederacy, (which we are by no means prepared to admit,) in what way will it separate South Carolina from Georgia, North Carolina and the other Southern States? So far as Government is concerned—all those functions of government concerned in the regulation of internal affairs, in giving security to life, liberty and property—those States are now as distinct and separate from each other as England and France. They lay and collect their taxes; they make laws and enforce them, over the whole domain of civil rights and the whole catalogue of crime, without concert or connection with each other. The Union between South Carolina and her sister States consists in this—"the citizens of each State shall be entitled to all the privileges and immunities of citizens in the several States." Here is the great bond which in our daily intercourse binds us together. We are indeed bound together, through the General Government, to give mutual aid in defence against the aggressions of foreign nations. But aggressions by foreign nations are of rare occurrence—and would never occur at all in the case of States whose great interests are a desirable element in the trade of all the civilized world, were they not implicated with other States having conflicting interests.

But by seceding from the Union, South Carolina will in no way disturb the relations of the others with foreign powers or with each other. If these relations are changed at all, it will only be towards herself. Will secession so affect these relations as to separate South Carolina from the rest of the Southern States, or to divide the latter among themselves? This cannot happen, unless secession creates barriers against the local and commercial intercourse between them. But South Carolina will erect no such barriers. On the contrary, it will be her policy to remove any that exist, and by every means in her power to draw the Southern States closer to her and closer to each other. Every privilege and immunity which now exists, will be assured to the people of the other Southern States coming within her jurisdiction. She can do more. By increasing the value of these privileges and immunities, she can allure the people of the Southern States to exercise them to an extent they have never done before. If by laying a light duty of 7 to 10 per cent. on imports, our intercourse is not promoted, the remedy is very easy. We can abolish the custom house altogether, declare absolute free trade with all the world, and collect whatever money we need to carry on our government by direct taxes. It can be demonstrated that the General Government takes by indirect taxes, from every man, woman and child in South Carolina, not less than five dollars a head, nearly the whole of which is spent in other States.—One half that sum will be more than sufficient to support the government of South Carolina as a separate State, whilst the whole will be expended among her own people.

Will the other Southern States be alienated from South Carolina by this policy? Admit that the world shall suddenly be stricken with scruples, and that not a dollar's worth of our merchandise shall be smuggled across the borders, how will our relations towards the other Southern States be changed for the worse? If a merchant in Savannah or Mobile, instead of going farther to New York, thinks proper to import his goods from Charleston, he will pay the same duties on them in his own port, which must have been already paid if he had bought them in a city of the United States. In both cases the duty, say 30 per cent. is levied, and no more. But there will be advantages which Charleston will have over Northern Cities.—Free trade will ensure to Charleston the absolute monopoly of all the interior trade of South Carolina, and will thus secure the basis of a perfect system of marine transportation. Free Trade will make Charleston the depot of goods for the whole continent. It will be nearer and cheaper for the Southern Merchants, to purchase the goods as they are wanted, and pay the duty on them only when they are wanted,

than to have the burden of the duties exacted at New York, lying for a long time on them. Trouble and time are of themselves taxes—and distance renders intermediate agencies necessary.

Under such a policy South Carolina will not only import for the South, but most probably for the West Indies and the whole Southern continent. And we ask will South Carolina thus separate herself from the other States? On the contrary, will they not be more united to her, and more united amongst themselves, than they have ever been? The truth is, the General Government, by its usurping and aggressive policy, has disunited the Southern States, and made them tributary to the North. Instead of importing and exporting for themselves, the North imports for them. New York has been eagerly, and not without success, seeking to become the great market for the export of cotton, as she is for the imports which it buys. To liberate the South from this thralldom; to unite her people in the enjoyment of their own resources and the defence of their own institutions; and to make South Carolina finally more intimately united with them all, is the grand object of secession. If the statesmen of South Carolina are only true to these great objects before them, it is not in the power of mortal man to prevent their consummation.—Charleston Mercury.

GENERAL QUITMAN.

In contradicting the federal slander that General Quitman had any connection with the late abortive Cuban expedition, we stated that a dinner and public reception awaited him at Jackson, on the 14th instant. We learn from the Mississippi on the 16th that this was all his most ardent admirers could have desired, and must have been most gratifying to the feelings of the gallant veteran. At Vicksburg he was made the guest of the city, and was received by a committee with the usual ceremonies, and escorted by procession to the railroad depot, amid the roar of cannon and the clang of music.

At the various depots, many persons had collected to pay due respect to the late Chief Magistrate of the State; but at the town of Clinton, the reception was enthusiastic beyond description.

His arrival at Jackson, on Tuesday evening, was announced by the firing of cannon, which mingled its tones with the greetings of the people. A very large concourse had gathered at the depot, and as the cars came up, three times three "cheers for Quitman" rent the air. Here many a hearty shake of the hand bespoke love and admiration for the veteran soldier, who, three months ago, was forced to lay aside the robes of office with which a grateful people had invested him, and in the custody of the United States Marshal, to appear before a distant tribunal to answer a groundless charge. A procession was formed which escorted him to his lodgings, and was dismissed after again giving three "cheers for Gen. Quitman," and "three cheers for the Hon. W. McWillie," who had joined the procession.

On Wednesday, all arrangements having been made, a vast procession conducted him to the scene of festivity to which he was invited, and there the reception speech was made to him, breathing the warm attachment of a brave people, and to which he responded in a most satisfactory manner, if we may judge from the brief epitome of the Mississippian:

"For nearly two hours, the old hero and statesman riveted the attention of his vast auditory. It was due to himself and to the multitude who surrounded him, that he should devote a portion of his remarks to the proceedings which had been the remote occasion of this imposing demonstration. After expressing in affecting terms the deep sense of gratitude that swelled his bosom for the continued confidence and approbation which had been so signally manifested by his fellow-citizens, he alluded to the prosecution against him by the Government, and again declared that he had no participation whatever in the Cuban expedition—that he perpetually refused to participate in it, notwithstanding the repeated and urgent solicitations that were made to him. He said there was not a scintilla of evidence against him, and those who pursued him with such bitterness well knew it. The chief motive that influenced them was the humbling of a sovereign State before the majesty of the central government, by forcing its chief executive officer to the alternative of resigning, or permitting its dignity to be lowered in his person. The slander in connection with the State arms was also denounced in becoming terms. He next adverted to his own position as the all-absorbing topic of the day, and corrected the false and unwarrantable constructions which had been placed upon his published documents by the so-called 'Union' leaders. He discussed the momentous question at issue at considerable length. Suffice it to say, that it was replete with facts and arguments; and when he closed, all felt that they had listened to the counsels of a true hearted patriot; and exulted in the fact, that not a stain rests upon a single feather in the plume that waves over his brow."

After the dinner, Hon. W. McWillie was called out.

"He is a man to whom the popular heart beats; and he was greeted, as he well deserved, with boisterous applause. He rendered a satisfactory account of his stewardship; and the response 'well done' was repeatedly given. He so dwelt at considerable length upon the wrongs of the South, and her duty at this trying period of her history, when her institutions are threatened with overthrow, and when the central government, controlled as it is by anti-slavery spirit, reaches forth its iron arm to reduce the Southern States to mere dependencies. His speech was listened to with marked attention, and produced a most happy effect. Notwithstanding the lateness of the hour when Col. McWillie concluded his remarks, loud calls were made for Gen. G. W. L. Smith, Hon. George Poindexter, Attorney General Glenn, and E. C. Hooker, all who made speeches, all uttering the sentiments of determined resistance to tyranny and fanaticism, and unwavering devotion to the rights of the South."

The Mississippian says the "occasion was one long to be remembered by the friends of

the South. Large delegations were in attendance from several of the adjoining counties. The whole number of persons in attendance is variously estimated at from two to four thousand. Some say more. It was truly a glorious day; and we can never recur to it during the contest which will be waged between the advocates of State and Southern Rights and the Consolidationists, without having our faith and confidence renewed and brightened."—South Carolinian.

THE CAMDEN JOURNAL.

THO. J. WARREN, Editor.

FRIDAY EVENING, MAY 30, 1851.

Our Cotton Market.

There has been very little Cotton offering during the week, and the business may be considered as nearly over. We quote at 5 to 8 $\frac{1}{2}$. Corn is very scarce, at \$106 from the wagons.

The Editor is necessarily absent from his post this week, which will account for the imperfections in this issue.

We are glad to learn that Dr. Shannon is rapidly recovering from his wounds, and that he is considered entirely out of danger by his physicians.

Weather and Crops.

Our exchanges from all directions, complain of dry and warm weather, and in many places the crops are badly injured by it. In our own vicinity, we learn they have materially suffered, and the oat crop (a very important one) will be very short.

We observe that the Columbia papers have nominated Col. John S. Preston of Richland, and Col. James Chesnut, jr. of Kershaw, as proper persons to represent this Congressional District in the Southern Congress. In a previous number of our paper, we expressed the opinion, and gave our reasons for believing that Lancaster and Kershaw were entitled to the representatives in this Congress. Since then, we have seen no reason to change our opinion, and without any desire to dictate, or any wish to create divisions as to who shall represent us, we again suggest the names of James H. Witherspoon Esq. of Lancaster, and Col. James Chesnut jr. of Kershaw.

Southern Congress.

We learn from the South Carolinian, that the necessary writs of election for delegates to the Southern Congress will shortly be issued. The election, as ordered by the Legislature at its last session, will take place on the second Monday and Tuesday of October next—the usual time for the election of members of the Legislature.

Methodist Church South.

It appears from statistics recently published, that the membership of the Methodist Church South is 514,601; of which 375,520 are whites, 135,594 colored and 3,487 indians. There are 20 annual conferences, 1,582 traveling preachers, 118 superannuated and 3,955 local preachers.—The increase in the membership last year was 10,071, in the travelling connection 44, on the superannuated list 14, and 57 local preachers.

For the Journal.

BOSTON AND THE SOUTH.

ME-SRS. EDITORS: As the season of the year has returned when our merchants will be again going North to purchase goods, for the Fall and Winter trade; it may not be amiss at this time, to throw out a few hints, as to where they ought to go for that purpose. In a Communication which you were good enough to publish for me some six or eight months ago, I endeavoured to impress upon my fellow citizens, the truth, that through the rockers was the only sure way to touch the hearts of our Yankee Brethren (?) of Massachusetts and New England generally; that truth I think has been within that time, fully developed in Boston: first in the case of Shadrach who was forcibly rescued (not from "the burning fiery furnace," but from his rightful owner), and more lately in the case of Sims, who was recovered at a cost of about \$5000, which has had the happy effect of making many Southern Merchants withdraw their patronage from that hot bed of fanaticism, and bestowing it upon New York, where, up to this time, the Law has been respected. The Boston Post a month or two since said, "It is estimated that more than a million of Dollars in Sales has been lost to Boston, this Season, on account of the impression among Southern Merchants that Boston would not sustain the Compromise Measures."

Now is it not ridiculous for the Post to call what is a fixed fact, an impression? Does the Editor of the Post not know that Boston will violate, and has violated this Law instead of sustaining it? he does! What then is our duty in the premises?

I will endeavour to show:—New York, a much larger Commercial City, has no Wendell Phillips, Charles Sumner, Theo. Parker, or other Puritanical fanatic such as are to be found in Boston; let our Merchants go there, until such time as they can import from Europe, or the several States are prepared for manufacturing at home, at the same time I will not recommend New York to the entire exclusion of Philadelphia, but Connecticut and Massachusetts must be avoided as a pestilence.

Maryland, though nominally a Slaveholding State, I am fearful cannot be depended upon in case of an issue between the two sections, her Senators were too conspicuous in their advocacy of the California and Texas spoliation Bills.

But to return to Boston. A late number of the Commonwealth the Abolition organ, in commenting on the case of Sims says: "There can be no doubt in the mind of any sane man, that the repetition of such scenes as we are now witnessing, will lead to an organization of the people which will effectually resist the execution of this unconstitutional law by the same weapons as are now used to enforce it." Merchants of the South, can you any longer trade as you have traded, with your enemies? I hope not.—If you can exercise the *lex talionis* in the other way, withdraw your patronage, and they may yet "make a virtue of necessity" and yield us our rights; their pocket nerves may yet compel them to "assume a virtue if they have it not."

In conclusion, Mr. Editor, I hope that every Southern Paper will hold up to the community in which it circulates, the perfidy and fanaticism of the people of Boston, as unworthy of the confidence or patronage of the South, and as far as possible dissuade our Merchants from going there for business or pleasure; they can do as well in Baltimore, which is nominally slaveholding, and Philadelphia and New York, which so far have at least respected the Law. More anon. X. D. X. May 30, 1851.

Arrival of the Canada.
REACTION IN COTTON.

HALIFAX, May 26, midnight.

The steamship Canada has arrived from Liverpool. Cotton had advanced 1-4 a 3-8, on account of the heavy demand and the reduced supply. The sales of the week were 46,000 bales.

The English Ministry would probably resign, and Lord Stanley would take the Premiership. Advice had been received from the Cape of Good Hope, which state that Gen. Sir Henry Smith was compelled to fall back, and that the aspect of the war was unpromising. In France, Cavaignac's chances for the Presidency were improving. Among his supporters is Emile Girardin. There are indications of disturbances in the Italian States.

Destruction of the Wheat.—The wheat in the centre and southern portion of the States most seriously injured by the late frost, especially the early sowing. Thousands of acres may be seen, red at top, yellow at bottom, and wholly suspended in its growth. It has commenced sprouting from the root, and will throw up new heads probably if the weather should be favorable, and make perhaps a half crop but not of perfect grain. Late sown wheat promises well.—Ohio Statesmen 19th.

The Texas papers announce the death of Governor Smith a prominent citizen of the State. He was one of the earliest settlers of the most active, zealous, and influential advocates of the separation of Texas from the Government of Mexico; and was elected Governor of the Provisional Government in September, 1835. Subsequently, under the Republic, he filled the office of Secretary of the Treasury, during the administration of Gen. Houston.

Mexican Claims.—The Treasury Department at Washington have paid over two millions of dollars to the claimants against the republic of Mexico, and have nearly a million and a quarter still to pay.

BANK OF WADESBOROUGH.—We learn from the Argus, that on the 28th ult., a meeting of the Stockholders of the Bank of Wadesborough was held at their Banking House when the following Directors were chosen:—W. R. Leak, S. W. Cole, Jos. Modley, Geo. W. Little, Purdie Richardson, Jos. White, and Nelson P. Liles.

W. R. Leak was elected President, and H. B. Hammond Cashier. Thos. S. Ashe is the Bank's Attorney, and Nathan Beverly, Notary Public.

Some newspaper correspondent asserts that there is a project on foot at Naples to extinguish the fires of Vesuvius by digging a canal from the bottom of the crater, which is several thousand feet below the level of the sea, to drain off the burning lava into the sea, or the sea into the crater, at an expense of \$2,000,000. An excellent project in either event; for if the sea does not put out Vesuvius, Vesuvius will warm the sea, and then boiled fish will be cheap.

Lord Chief Justice Dunham has addressed a long letter to the London Law Review, in favor of the examination of parties to a suit, as witnesses. "I have," says this distinguished jurist, "urged and aided all the doubts which occurred to me as to the expediency of the change proposed and have ultimately come to a clear and decided opinion that the change will be beneficial or rather that it is necessary for the discovery of the truth and the promotion of justice, and will greatly tend to prevent the crime of perjury and ultimately to extinguish unjust litigation."

Cotton Factories of New England.—The depressed state of the Cotton manufacture of New England, is seen by the receipts of Cotton at Boston, which have fallen off nearly one half in two years. The receipts from Jan. 1, to May 15, in 1849 were 160,976 bales; during the same time in 1850, they were 157,724 bales, and in 1851, 95,936 bales.

MARRIED.—On Thursday morning by the Rev. G. D. Bernheim, Mr. JOHN R. FERRIS of Camden, to Miss MATILDA A. BERRY of Sumter.

In Laurensville, S. C., on the 19th inst., by the Rev. S. Townsend, Mr. JOSEPH J. LYONS of Abbeville, to Miss SALLIE GODFREY of Laurensville, S. C.