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THE WEEKLY JOURNAL

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one dollar for the first, and twenty-live cents for each subsequent insertion.

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CP-All communications by mail must be post-paid to secure attention.

## The Address and Resolutions

OF THE

# Southern Rights and Co-operation Party,

LANCASTER DISTRICT,

September 16, 1851. THE COMMITTEE to whom was referred the

preparation of business for the Co-operation and Southern Rights Meeting at Lancaster C. H., on the 16th day of September, 1851, report the following Address and Resolutions:
George McC. WITHERSPOON, Ch'm.

#### ADDRESS.

The present position of South Carolina is dangers, difficulties and perplexities. We are termination, and success of which, we cannot foresee or conjecture. There are great issues tance party entire. at stake, and consequences involved, which require and demand the soundest judgment, and greatest political sagacity. The great question of slavery is a Southern question, and the whole South is equally interested; and to a combination and concert of action alone, may we look for success.

If South Carolina should secede alone, without the assurance of Co-operation on the part of the other States equally interested, the future will be one of darkness and uncertainty,the great Southern question will be jeopardized, and the fate of South Carolina herself become

It is to be regretted that the State of South Carolina is now divided into parties, and her unity destroyed; but the lines are now drawn, and duty must determine our : ction. We must been the policy of the United States! Her 081,917. It must be recollected, however, that see that the Commonwealth of South Carolina should suffer no detriment."

Up to the last session of the Legislature, the position of South Carolina was high and honorable, presenting an almost entire unanimity of sentiment and feeling, and an undivided front Will not the establishment of an independent South Carolina is a planting State. She pro- and let no son of hers, whether of the Co-operto a common enemy. We had no submission party among us. Resistance in concert with the other Southern States, was the universal sentiment of the State, and Southern Union formed the basis of action. Separate State Action was not entertained, and it was thought that no practical good could result from it.

The Legislature of South Carolina in 1848. had said : "That the time for discussion by the Slaveholding States, as to their exclusion from times overrides right, and we should be prepar- ing. Farmers generally produce just so much the Territory recently acquired from Mexico, has passed, and that this general assembly representing the feelings of the State of South Carolina, is prepared to co-operate with her sister States, in resisting the application of the principles of the Wilmot Proviso, to such Territory, at any and every hazard."

The Legislature of 1849, approved of the resolutions of Mississippi recommending a Convention of the Southern States to meet in Nashville "to consult in commen with a view to unity of action." And at the same time, empowered the Governor to call the Legislature together, in the event of the passage of the Wilmost Proviso, or any kindred measure, "in order to take such steps, as the rights, interests and honor of the State, and of the whole South shall demand." And also further, adopted a resolution approving of the course of those Southern Members of Congress, who refused to vote for a Speaker, at all tainted upon the subject of Slavery.

The Southern Members of Congress in the session immediately following our own, published an address directed to the people of the concert of action, and union, as the only hope. This Address was responded to with great nuanimity of feeling by the people of this State, and throughout many portions of the Southern States. This gave rise to the Southern Associations, which were originally intended to embody the whole South, and to produce Co-operation. That such was the purpose, the name itself would imply-Southern Rights Associations. The Nashville Convention met afterwards, composed of delegates from all the Southern States, except perhaps North Carolina, and that Convention recommend a Southern Congress; up to this point, Co-operation was | ded at the rushness and hardihood of a man,

the basis of action. The election of members of the last Legislature took place, and the only question dis cussed before the people, and which assumed a heated and partizan character, was the Bank question. The Legislature met,-the Bank question was dropped-and strangely that Legislature, without any expression of opinion by the people, passed a Convention Bill, and precipitated the election of delegates, by bringing on the election in February, before the peothe issue made, and before even the acts of United States has already been engaged in pute, precludes us from the sympathies of other And to the People of South Carolina—Lock MEAL AND GRITS. Always on hand, at MOERR'S. ple of the State knew what had been done, and ment; yet we see that the government of the Southern States, and the main question in dis-

and co operative resistance.

le opposed to it, or at least doubtful

sistance party on the other hand divide the single State Secession.

The friends of Co-operation urge this measure because they believe it to be more respectful to the other States interested, and a safer and more effectual remedy for their grievances; promising internal peace, and a protection against external violence. They are opposed to single State Secession because they believe the measure to be rash, less safe and effectual, and not the policy of the State.

What will be the effect of single State action? and before considering this, a single reflection will be sufficient, to show its rashness and want of success. The State is now distracted and divided upon the mode of redress: the and every day but widens the breach between necessarily increased far beyond the present one of fearful importance, full of trials, and the parties. The State will be, therefore, too requirement. New and additional officers of much unhinged for an extremity. This difficul- Government would be required, and to give now upon the eve of a revolution, the probable ty can be avoided by falling back on the Cooperation platform, and preserving the resis-

> manifested from the consequences resulting from the act itself. It is the part of bravery to contend where success is at all probable and dependent upon the act-more than this is estimate, for we do not believe, that an army as ness. There are extremities, however, in and navy adequate to give sovereignty, and to which rashness itself is commendable; but afford protection, could be raised. But how these should be extreme cases, and in the last would the funds be obtained? By levying an resort. If policy is allowable in war, much impost duty? Consider! The whole Foreign more should it be, before war is determined imports of South Carolina for the year 1848,

> When South Carolina determines to secede alone, she should be prepared for war and re- The whole imports of the State, to support the right to secode, and form an independent gov- exports furnish the best evidence of the wealth ernment; but will the government of the Uni. and true ability of the State. The exports, it ted States recognize that right? What has is true, at the same period, amounted to \$8, policy has been to extend her territory, and to our productions are chargeable with heavy Such was the policy in the annexation of Tex- | Cotton, the chief article of production, has conembittered feelings would exist. Might some-

But it is said that one State "must make the issue," and that that will force Co-operation. of the Cotton, which is sent off to market and This is most certainly a mistake, and contrary sold. The balance of the Cotton money, after in their primary assemblies were expressive of to all principles of human action. The slaveholding States are not ready for secession, and South Carolina has been warned of the fact, pends very much upon the price of Cotton .and of their unwillingness to act. To assert that South Carolina can force the other Southern States, will at once produce opposition on her to import more, expecting the other States their part. You cannot force individuals to act to buy from her, pre-supposes that the United against their will without the requisite power, neither can you force States, which are but a to accommodate South Carolina. The expecombination of individuals with like feelings, and governed by the same principles. The action of South Carolina will not force the other emerging from revolution may pay for a while, Southern States, but the subject of agitation from a high sense of pride and patriotism; but may, and it will do so, if allowed to have its time will bring complaints, and with it disconfull force, and be not divested by the precipi tate action of this State. Whatever tends to divide the South will be most fatal to our cause, when the war is ended, and peace established, and to prevent this, any sacrifice short of dishonor, should be made. The time for action is inauspicious-the South will not come up- it is our duty to examine, before hand, the cona revulsion has taken place. Let us therefore South, recommending in the strongest terms, not be too restive, but await the moving of the to be taken by surprise when the State has sewaters. The same principles which prompt ceded. For the want of time, some of these us to act, will operate upon them, and produce

the same effect. Even if the State should succeed in secession singly, and establish an independent government, how is she to sustain herself from the made on the Banks, and gold and silver depressure within and without? and this is the gravest consideration of the whole. Where is her war forces and her money resources to come from? Where is her strength for any emergency? She may have the resolution and determination, but what will that avail against an overwhelming power? We may be astounwho would voluntarily place himself in the position to fight against twenty, each individual of the twenty having the same ability with himself, but at the same time we could not admire his good sense. It South Carolina independent could enjoy a perpetual peace, then there would be no need of war forces; but experience proves that all governments have their wars and for our wrongs under the Constitution and disturbances, and it is not probable that South within the Government, will be cut off. Carolina would form an exception. War is not the policy of a republican form of govern- grievances, without the sympathy of the other

that body had been published and distributed. four wars since the war of the Revolution .--Here was a shifting of position. In consequence of this, and of the people not being involved in a war with the United States, or with formed of the issue made, the vote polled was any other formidable Government, what would a small one, and many voted for the separate be her condition and fate. Reason would State Action Candidates without making the point to the darkest picture in the book of time proper distinction between separate resistance | for a representation.

To be sovereign and Independent, a Gov-The people will do right provided they have crament should have the ability to protect and time to consider, and to determine for them- defend herself. And, that ability must rest, selves; but for the masses to be informed, and either upon actual power, or a moral and legal the public opinion formed, requires time. If intendment. The sovereignty of the States as the election for delegates had been postponed they now exist, is not dependant upon their until October, and time thus given, the State power actual; but on the moral and legal inwould not now have presented the false position in which she seems to be placed, viz., a ment, and under the Constitution. The power majority of the delegates elect in favor of sin- of the whole, which is the power actual, progle State Secession, and a majority of the peo- tects the parts, and hence the actual protection to their sovereignty. The States are sovereign Parties in this State may now be regarded so far as the Government of the United States as divided into resistance and non-resistance. is concerned; but in relation to Foreign Gov-The non-resistance party is small. The re- ernments, it is their aggregate sovereignty, which is regarded and felt. And this aggre-State; and is divided into Co-operation and gate of soverignty, gives them their power actual. Among the States themselves, they are Soverigns by compact.

Now what would be the war force, the actual power, to protect the sovereignty of South Carolina independent. The whole militia force of South Carolina, according to the Army Register in 1846, was 54,705, while the whole Militia force of the United States, was 1,914, 101; deduct South Carolina independent, and it would make her actual power to the United States, stand as one to thirty four very nearly. A difference too great to be overcome by the

most determined and resolute. Dismissing the consideration of the war force, where are the money resources? The question is now assuming a partizan character expenses of the new Government, would be them respectability, they must be paid as the officers of other Governments; and for the purpose of protection and defence, an army The effects of single State action will be and navy establishment must be supported. The State must be clothed with all the habiliments of Sovereignty, and the dressing paid for. And here we are at a loss to make any was the sum of \$1,485,299. It would take at the least calculation, the whole of that sum. rolution. It is true, the State may have the Government. But it may be said, that the allow no foreign Government a foot hold here. drawbacks, and that the enhanced price of as, and the claim to the whole of Oregon rested tributed largely for the last five years to swell more upon a title of policy, than a legal one, the value of the productions. The State of nor should be carefully guarded and preserved; ful, how long could we expect peace, and a interest; and these things, not the subject of from it. We do not believe, however, that S. freedom from those difficulties, which would | Foreign importation, such as Horses and Mules, | Carolina is committed to single Secession. If necessarily grow out of our commercial, and Hogs, Flour, and many other articles of dodomestic relations, and juxta and coterminous mestic importation. These must be deducted position, with a government whose connection from the Experts, to exhibit the true balance we had rended, and between which the most and ability of the State. This principle is illustrated in the every day's experience of farmcorn as is necessary to support the farm, and the expenses are chargeable upon, and paid out deducting all expenses, exhibits his true ability. And every one knows that this balance de-South Carolina could only import so much as her own people would need and consume. For States would make a treaty injurious to herself, dient must fail, and a resort to direct taxation become necessary. A heavy tax, a people

> will be mentioned, without dwelling upon them. A money pressure will follow, whenever it is known that South Carolina is going out alone-Confidence will be lost; a run will be manded. Debts due abroad will be forced, and

> tents and changes. The people will bear a

heavy tax to carry on a war of their own, but

heavy taxes do not suit, and they will not be

borne willingly. Unpleasant as it may be, yet

sequences of Single State Secession, and not

within the State there will be a gathering up. The transportation of the mails will be changed, and new provisions must be made to meet the emergency. The Government of the United States will have her own mail arrangements, and South Carolina must make hers. Letters and papers, going and coming from abroad, must pass through the United States Mail, and this will depend upon the pleasure of the United States.

Slavery will be circumscribed within the limits of South Carolina, and an excess of that population will follow, and with it, considerations of the first magnitude. And all redress

We cut loose without the redress of our

To get out alone is problematic, and to remain out will be trying. To get back, we never could consent to, without dictating our own terms. But it is said that South Carolina must act now, because the South will be getting weaker and the North stronger; and that before a great while, new States coming in, the Constitution will be altered by a constitutional majority and slavery abolished, and with it a train of horror and a tale of woe. But in the name of common sense how will the single Secession of South Carolina prevent it? Will not the single Secession of South Carolina. subtract from the power of the South in the Government one State? And if the Southern States submit or stand still until the act is consummated, will not South Carolina, surrounded on all sides but one by those States, be involved in the common ruin?

If we could gain any thing by the single secession of South Carolina, then there might be some propriety and justification for the attempt. But what will we gain? It will not restore our rights-it will not redress our grievancesit will not obtain satisfaction for our feelings violated and outraged-nor will it give security to the State and to the South upon the slavery question. It proposes to get away from the government of the United States, and virtually gives up every thing, to gratify a fretted and impatient feeling, and it does so by getting out the frying-pan into the fire.

That South Carolina in common with the

other Southern States, has been wronged, her rights violated and her feelings outraged, we all admit, and we are not disposed to submit to the one or to give up the other. We are for resistance, and effectual resistance-not, however for hurried and precipitate resistance, which may result in failure-but for a resistance which will be effectual to redress our grievances, and to dictate our own terms. A resistance which may carry the war into the enemy's country if necessary, and to demand redress. But when we say so, we must not be drawn off from the main question. Resistance to past aggressions must be kept in abeya nce to the greater question of slavery. That is the great question, and it is not peculiar to South Carolina alone, but to the whole South, and to unite the South, and to knit them together is demanded by every consideration of humanity and self defence. Without the union of the South, and a Southern confederation, we are a doomed people. Let us not expend our force, and weaken ourselves at home, in a vain and fruitless effort to draw off alone, to redress our grievances simply, but let us address our whole energies to unite the South .-Co-operation is the only effectual remedy. It will give us power to resist, not to stand away from, but to stand against the Federal Government, to demand justice, and to dictate terms.

If we believed that the honor of South Carolina demanded single secession, desperate and inefficient as the measure appears to us, we could say nothing-amid all her trials, her hoshe is committed to any policy, it is to Co-ope ration -- by which we understand, the procuring of joint action on the part of the Southern States; first of all, to give safety to the South upon the great question of slavery itself, and also to redress our wrongs-to demand justiceand if necessary, to form a Southern Confederacy. Up to the last session of the Legislature, the resolutions of that body, and of the people Co-operation. The Convention bill was not a move of the people, and the hasty election of delegates was not their fault. The people have not yet expressed their assent to the apparent position of the State. Whether they will do so is yet to be seen. We are desirous to know the sentiments of the People of the State. If a majority is in favor of separate State Secession, we strike, and go for South Carolina. Our opposition is ended, and we will sink or swim with the State, and in ascertaining that sentiment, let our acts be tempered by moderation and firmness-let truth be our object, and party strife discountenanced and discarded. The good of South Carolina and her welfare, all aim at. Let us not therefore, be led away by the rage and fury and of faction, and fight the battle of our enemies, by destroying ourselves.

The question now comes up, what is the Convention to do? We can but advise and express our opinion. We propose this. When the Convention meets, that an Address be submitted to the people of the Uniled States-to the Southern States, and to the People of South Carolina.

That the address to the People of the U. States should present our grievanees, stating distinctly, the irritated feelings of the People of South Carolina, their dissatisfaction, and their determination to use every means which will be effectual, to right themselves-that they do not now act, because it is not their policy. That without redress they proclaim their unalterable determination to use their utmost efforts to bring about a dissolution of the Union, and that nothing short of a Southern Confederacy will satisfy them-and to that end they will devote their whole energies.

To the People of the Southern States-that the great question is the safety of the institution of slavery and our own protection-that it is a common question and a common danger, and call upon them by every consideration of interest, self-defence and self-preservation, to unite together for common action; that S. Carolina is now ready to act in concert with them-t sat she had made the necessary preparation—that she has been induced to take her present position by the action of Virginia and Mississippi, and from what seemed to be the common purpose of the people of the Southern States, and for them now to come up and plant themselves by the side of South Carolina, and that then we will secede and form a South-

your wheels-stand where you are-study unanimity among yourselves—be ready, and when-ever the Southern States become united, and are ready to act, secede. Push up the resistence flag and never draw it down, until your rights are redressed, and the South safe. Let united action of the South be the watch-word, and carefully keep back every question of contingency, which may reflect upon the honor, the intelligence and integrity of the Southern States.

Let every thing necessary to this end be done, and the Convention adjourn.

## RESOLUTIONS.

Resolved, That we believe co-operation to be the only reasonable, practicable, and efficient remedy for our grievauces, the only true means of safety to the South, and way of escape from the dangers which threaten us from the unhallowed interference of Northern abolitionism.

Resolved. That the great question of agitation is one not peculiar to South Carolina alone, but to the whole South; and we have every confidence, in a community of interest and a sense of common danger ultimately producing co-operation; and that to provide at this time, in advance, for a contingent failure, would be unwise and impolitic, and a reflection upon the character and intelligence of the Southern States.

Resolved, That the single secession of S. Carolina at this time, would be unwise, and inexpedient, and that at any time, it is a measure desperate and uncertain-to be resorted to only in the last extremity and as a forlorn hope.

Resolved, That in vew of the apparent position of parties in South Carolina growing out of the hasty election of delegates to the State Convention, it becomes necessary for the people to ex-press their sentiment through the ballot box in the Southern Congressional election now pending, in order that the true sentiment of the State may be fairly and certainly ascertained; and that the friends of Co-operation and Southern Rights in this District, will pledge themselves to the support of Col. James Chesnut, jr. and Col. John S. Preston, the candidates of the Co-operation Party.

### Trusses.

large and well selected assortment of TRUSSES on

A hand and for sale by THOMAS J. WORKMAN.
At the old stand of James R. McKain.

# Corn! Corn!!

DEVEREUX'S Primest N. C. Flint Corn.
Meal, and Grits from the same.
ROB'T LATTA. For sale by Sept. 16

Cheese! Cheese! TUST received by the Subscribers, a few Boxes

of very fine new Cheese, which they recommeed to the notice of the public.

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WANTED to Hire a good Cook and Wash-

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Apply to Aug. 29, '51.

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Aug. 8 62 tf

A NEW supply of Sugar, Coffee, Bacon Lard and Corn.

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FRENCH BRANDY, Madeira Wine and Oli PORT WINE, for medical purposes. Just receive F. L. ZEMP.

Thompsonian Medicines.

NUMBER SIX, Composition, Lebelia, Gum Myrrh, Alcohol, Cavenne Pepper, Nerve Towder, Hemlock, Spiced Bitters, Golden Sal, Bayberry Powder, Bitter Root, Cholera Syrup, Thrd Preparation, Fresh and for sale by FRANCIS L. ZEMP.

Oils, Burning Fluid.

120 GALLONS of Lamp Oil at 88 cents per gallon
40 gallons Burning Fluid, at 88 cents per gallon
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BLACK Pepper, Red Pepper, Cinnamon, Nutmege, Mace, Allspice, Ginger, White Ginger, Cooper's Galatine, French Gelatine, Isinglass, Black Mustard Seed, White Mustard Seed, Cooking Soda, Washing Soda, lust received and for sale by

Just Received.

A FEW barrels fresh ground Baltimore FLOUR, of first quality.

Aug. 22. 66 JAMES McEWEN.

Extracts for Flavoring. very large assortment of Meakin's & Pres-

1 ton's, and of Roussels extracts for flavoring, among which may be found the Ext. of Lemon, Vanilla, Aromatics, Bitter Almonds, Cloves, Nutmeg. Mace, Orange, Thyme, Pcach, Allspice, Celcry, Tonka, Sage, Rose, &c., just received by THOMAS J. WORKMAN,

Camphene.

TENUINE Camphene, just received, and for THOMAS J. WORKMAN.

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BAINTS.

3000 lb. Fresh White Lead warranted pure, also a large supply of the Brands No. 1 and 2; Chrome Green; Chrome Yellow, dry and ground; Litharge; Red Lead, Umber, burnt and raw; Terra de Sienna, burnt and raw; Yellow Ochre; Venetian Red; Spanish Brown; Lamp Black, &c. &c.; on hand and for sale by

THOMAS J. WORKMAN.

At the old stand of James R. McKain.

Savon Parisiens.

beautiful Emolient Toilet Soap, from the celebrated Perfumery Establishment of Maugenet & Coudray; Old Brown Windsor Soap; Hauel's Persian Powder; Chi-Chan; Lily White and Eau Lustral; Meakim's Cachou Aromatise; Rose and Charcoal Tooth Paste; Flesh Balls and Toilet Powder, oc. oc., just received at

Z. J. DEHAY'S.

# Something Rich.

N the way of PERFUMERY-Lubin's Celebrated Extracts for the Handkerchief : consisting of Extrait Bouquet de Caroline, Jenny Lind, Rough and Ready, West End, Jockey Club, and

Also, Genuine French and German Cologne, Toilet Powder. Soaps, Cosmetics, Hair Brushes, &c. &c. Just received at Z. J. DEHAY'S. Aug. 26