

# The Sumter Banner.

DEVOTED TO SOUTHERN RIGHTS, DEMOCRACY, NEWS, LITERATURE, SCIENCE, AND THE ARTS.

JAS. S. G. RICHARDSON, Editor.  
WM. J. FRANCIS, Proprietor.

"God and our Native Land."

TERMS—Two Dollars Per Annum  
In Advance.

VOL. IV.

SUMTERVILLE, S. C. JUNE 26, 1850.

NO. 35.

## Terms.

Two Dollars in advance, Two Dollars and Fifty cents at the expiration of six months, or Three Dollars at the end of the year.

No paper discontinued until all arrears are paid, unless at the option of the Proprietor.

Advertisements inserted at 75 cts. per square, (14 lines or less,) for the first and half that sum for each subsequent insertion.

The number of insertions to be marked on all advertisements of they will be published until ordered to be discontinued, and charged accordingly.

One Dollar per square for a single insertion. Quarterly and Monthly Advertisements will be charged the same as a single insertion, and semi-monthly the same as new ones.

All Obituary Notices exceeding six lines, and Communications recommending Candidates for public offices or trust—or puffing Exhibitions, will be charged as Advertisements.

All letters by mail must be paid to insure punctual attendance.

Rev. FREDERICK RUSH, is a travelling Agent for this paper, and is authorized to receive subscriptions and receipt for the same.

## Political.

### ADDRESS

#### SOUTHERN CONVENTION.

To the People of Delaware, Maryland, Virginia, North Carolina, South Carolina, Georgia, Florida, Alabama, Mississippi, Tennessee, Kentucky, Louisiana, Texas, Missouri, and Arkansas.

Fellow Citizens.—In obedience to the commands of those we represent, we have assembled together to confer with each other concerning your relation with the general Government and the non-slaveholding States of the Union, on the subject of the institution of Slavery. We deem it proper to lay before you as briefly as the subject will permit, the result of our deliberations and councils.

In order that your condition may be understood, and the conclusions at which we have arrived be justly appreciated, it is necessary briefly to refer to a few past transactions.

It is now sixteen years since the institution of Slavery in the South began to be agitated in Congress and assailed by our sister States. Up to that time, the people of the Northern States seem to have respected the rights reserved to the Southern States by the Constitution, and to have acted under the conviction, that the subject of Slavery being beyond the legislation of Congress, all agitation with respect to it on the part of Congress, was equally forbidden by the Constitution. But at this time, a portion of the people of the North, began to assail, in Congress, the institution of Slavery, and to accomplish their object of dragging it into the vortex of congressional agitation, they claimed the right of petitioning Congress upon all subjects whatsoever. As a petition is only the first step in legislation, it was clear that a right to petition a legislative body, must be limited by its powers of legislation. No one can have a right to ask of another to do that which he has no moral or legal right to do.—Nor can any tribunal have the power to receive and consider any matter beyond its jurisdiction. The claim therefore to present petitions to Congress on the subject of Slavery, was considered by the Southern Representatives generally, as an attempt indirectly, to assume jurisdiction over the subject itself, in all parts of the Union. The object of Slavery in the States; but our assailants framed the petitions presented, chiefly against Slavery in the District of Columbia and our Territories, and against what they call the internal Slave trade—that is, the transmission of slaves from one Southern State to another. Conscious of the fatal tendency of the agitation of Slavery in Congress, to destroy the peace and stability of the Union, an effort was made, supported by a large portion of the Northern Representatives, to suppress it by a rule in the House of Representatives, which provided, that all petitions on the subject of Slavery, should be neither considered, printed or referred. This rule was assailed by the people of the Northern States, as violating that clause of the Constitution which prohibits Congress from passing laws to prevent the people from peaceably assembling and petitioning for a redress of grievances. In December, 1841, this rule fell before the almost unanimous voice of the North; and thus the unlimited power of introducing and considering the subject of Slavery in Congress, was asserted. In the meantime, the course of the Northern people showed clearly, that the agitation

of Slavery in Congress was only one of the means they relied on to overthrow this institution throughout the Union. Newspapers were set up amongst them, and lecturers were hired to go abroad to excite them against Slavery in the Southern States. Organizations were formed to carry off slaves from the South, and to protect them by violence from recapture. Although the Constitution requires that fugitive slaves, like fugitives from justice, should be rendered up by the States to which they may have fled, the legislatures of almost every Northern State, faithless to this treaty stipulation between the States, passed laws designed and calculated entirely to defeat this provision of the Constitution, without which the Union would have never existed, and by these laws virtually nullified the act of 1794, passed by Congress to aid its enforcement. Not content with the agitation of Slavery in political circles, the Northern people forced it also into the religious associations extending over the Union, and produced a separation of the Methodist and Baptist churches. The result of all these various methods of assailing Slavery in the Southern States, was, that it became the grand topic of interest and discussion in Congress and out of Congress, and one of the most important elements of politics in the Union. Thus an institution, belonging to the Southern States exclusively, was wrested from their exclusive control; and instead of that protection which is the great object of all governments, and which the Constitution of the United States guarantees to all the States and their institutions, the Northern States, and Congress under their control, combined together, to assail and destroy Slavery in the South. The Southern States did nothing to vindicate their rights and arrest this course of things. The Mexican war broke out; and instead of that patriotic co-operation of all sections of the Union, which would have taken place in the better days of the Republic, to bring it to a just and honorable conclusion, in the very first appropriation bill to carry it on, the North endeavored to thrust in the subject of Slavery. Throughout the war, they kept up the agitation; thus clearly manifesting their determination that the General Government in none of its operations, internal or external, shall be exempted from the introduction of this dangerous subject. The war closed with honor; and an immense territory was added to the United States. Their previous threats were realized; and the non-slaveholding States immediately claimed the right to exclude the people of the Southern States from all the territory acquired, and to appropriate it to themselves. If this pretension arose from a mere lust of power, it would be hard to bear the superiority and mastery it implies. It would degrade the Southern States from being the equals of the Northern States, to a position of colonial inferiority. But when your exclusion is not from a mere lust of power, but is only a further step in the progress of things, aiming at the abolition of Slavery in the States, by the extension and multiplication of non-slaveholding States in the Union, the pretension is seen to be as alarming as it is insulting. The Southern States, in their Legislatures set forth with great unanimity the rights in our territories belonging to them in common with the Northern States, and declared their determination to maintain them; and finding in the Northern States no disposition to abate their demands, the Convention in which we are assembled, has been brought together to take counsel as to the course the Southern States should pursue, for the maintenance of their rights, liberty and honor.

Such is a brief, but imperfect statement of past transactions; and they force upon us the question, in what condition do they place the Southern States? And first, what is their condition in Congress? The time was when your Representatives in Congress, were neither offered, nor would they endure, reproach in your behalf. But for many years past, they have heard you in Congress habitually reviled by the most abominable epithets on account of the institution of Slavery. If their spirits are yet unbroken, they must be chilled by a sense of humiliation at the insults they daily receive as your representatives. You are arraigned as criminals. Slavery is dragged into every debate, and Congress has become little else, than a grand instrument in the hands of abolitionists to degrade and ruin the South. Instead of peace and protection, aggression and insult on the South characterize its proceedings and councils. And what is your condition in respect to your sister States? Where is that respect and comity, which (due from all nations toward each other) is more especially due from States bound together in a confederacy, and which was once displayed in all their intercourse; instead of respect and sympathy—denunciation and hostility, on account of your institution of slavery, have for years past

characterized the communications addressed to you by the Northern States. And what is your condition in the Union? The non-slaveholding States stand combined not only to wrest from your common property, but to place upon your front, the brand of inferiority.—You are not to extend, on account of your institutions, but they are to increase and multiply, that the sin and shame of slavery, may by their philanthropic agency, be extinguished from amongst you. But the worst feature of your condition is, that it is progressive. As low and humiliating as it now may be, it is destined, if not arrested, to a lower deep." Every effect is a cause; and the spirit of fanaticism brooks no delay in the progress it creates. If you were to yield every thing the North now requires—abolish slavery, in the District of Columbia—submit to be legislated pirates for conveying slaves from one State to another, let trial by jury and the writ of *Habeas Corpus*, wrest from you in the Northern States every fugitive slave, give up your territories to swell Northern arrogance and predominance, would things stop there? These are all means aiming at one great end—the abolition of slavery in the States. Surrendering one of these means you will but inflame the power by which another will be exacted—and when all are conquered, will the evil be arrested? In fifty years, twenty new non-slaveholding States may be added to the Union, whilst some which are now slaveholding, may become non-slaveholding States. There then, will be no need as now, openly to put aside the constitution to reach their object. If they will deign to do it, the non-slaveholding States will then have the power by two thirds in Congress and three fourths of the States, to amend the constitution, and then have its express sanction to consummate their policy.—Your condition is progressive.

If from the past transactions we have narrated, we learn our condition in the Union—they teach us also that our past policy, of non-action and submission to aggression cannot bring us peace and safety. When the doors of Congress were thrown open to agitation on the subject of slavery, if the Southern States had moved with energy to avert a state of things unconstitutional itself, and surely tending to bring the slaveholding and non-slaveholding States into collision—although late, it might not have been too late to stop subsequent encroachments upon our rights. But the Southern States were passive; and their forbearance has had the effect of inspiring the Northern people with the belief either that we value a union with them more than we value the institution of slavery, or that we dare not move from a conscious inability to protect ourselves. You have ungenerously stood still whilst your supporters and defenders of the Constitution in the Northern States, in their efforts to protect you from the agitations of slavery in Congress, have been politically annihilated or have turned your faces. You have tamely acquiesced—until, to hate and persecute the South, has become a high passport to honor and power in the Union. You have unwisely stood still, whilst year after year the volume of anti-slavery policy and sympathy has swollen into unanimity throughout all the non-slaveholding States, and the sections of the Union now face each other in stern collision. You have waited until the Constitution of the United States is in danger of being virtually abolished—or what is worse, of becoming what the majority in Congress think proper to make it. That great principle on which our system of free government rests—of so dividing the powers of Government—that to a common Government, on those powers should be granted, which must affect all the people composing it, equally in their operation—whilst all powers over all interests local or sectional, should be reserved to local or sectional governments; is in danger of being uprooted from their Constitution. Local and sectional interests absorb the time and business of Congress, and thus, a sectional despotism, totally irresponsible to the people of the South—constituted of the Representatives in Congress from the non-slaveholding States—ignorant of our feelings, condition and institutions—reigns at Washington. These are the fruits of your past forbearance and submission.

If we look into the nature of things, such results will not seem to be either new or strange. There is but one condition, in which one people can be safe under the dominion of another people; and that is when their interests are entirely identical. Then, the dominant, cannot oppress their subject people, without oppressing themselves. The identity of interest between them, is the security for right government. But as this identity can scarcely ever exist between any two people, history bears but one testimony as to the fate of a subject people. They have always been compelled to minister to the prosperity and aggrandizement of their masters. If this has always been the case under the

ordinary difference, of interests and feelings which exist between States, how much more certainly must the experience of history be realized, between the people of the Northern and Southern States. Here is a difference of climate and productions throughout a territory stretching along the whole belt of the temperate zone, affecting the pursuits and characters of the people inhabiting it. But the great difference—the one great difference—the greatest which can exist among a people is the institution of slavery. This alone sets apart the Southern States as a peculiar people—their independence as to their internal policy, is the condition of their existence. They must rule themselves, or perish. Every colony in the world where African slavery existed with one exception, has been destroyed; and if this has been the case under the old and effete governments of Europe, will it not prevail under the dominion of the restless people of the Northern States? They do not practically recognize the inferiority of the African to the Caucasian races. They do not realize, because the circumstances of their condition do not compel them to realize, the impossibility of an amalgamation between the races. Exempt from the institution of slavery, it is not surprising that their sympathies should be against us, whilst the dogma on which they profess to build their system of free government—the *absolute rule of the majority*—leaves no barrier to their power in the affairs of the General Government, and leads them to its consolidation. Religion too false or real—frés their enthusiasm against an institution, which many of its professors believe to be inconsistent with its principles and precepts. To expect forbearance from such a people, under such circumstances, towards the institution of slavery, is manifestly, vain. If they have been false to the compact made with us in the constitution, and have allowed passion and prejudice, to master reason, they have only exemplified that frailty and fallibility of our nature, which has produced the necessity of governments, and which, if unchecked, ever produces wrong. The institution of slavery having once entered the popular mind of the non-slaveholding States, for action and control, the rest is inevitable. If unrestrained by us, they will go on until African slavery will be swept from the broad and fertile South. The nature of things therefore, independent of experience, teaches us that there can be no safety in submission.

To submit to evils, however great, whilst they are endurable, is the disposition of every people—especially of an agricultural people, living apart, and having no association in their pursuits. But the responsibility of preserving a free government rests with all its members, whatever may be their pursuits, and not alone with those who have the power or the will to destroy it. A minority, by submission, may as much betray the constitution, as a majority by aggression. The constitution does not protect a majority; for they have all the powers of the government in their hands and can protect themselves. The limitations of a constitution are designed to protect the minority—those who have no power, against those who have it. Hence, the great motive and duty of self-protection is peculiar to a minority, independent of that faith to the constitution which they owe in common with the majority. They must protect themselves and protect the constitution; and if they fail in this double duty, they are at least as culpable as those who, in aggression upon their rights, overthrow the constitution. And the public opinion of the world is in conformity with these views. The oppressor is hated—but the unresistingly oppressed is despised. More respect follows the tyrant than the slave who submits to his power. The Southern States, therefore, although a minority, are not exempt from the responsibility of preserving the constitution, and, in preserving it, to protect themselves.

In what way shall they preserve the constitution and protect themselves? As a general rule, it is undoubtedly true, that when, in a government like ours a constitution is violated by a majority, who alone can violate it in matters of legislation, it cannot be restored to its integrity through the ordinary means of the government; for these means, being under the control of the majority, are not available to the minority. It is for this reason that frequent elections of our rulers take place in our system of free government, in order that the people, by their direct intervention, may change the majority. But this resource cannot avail us in the violations of the constitution, which now press and harass the South. By changing their representatives, how can the people of the South affect the majority in Congress and restore the constitution? Their representatives are true; and have done all that men can do, to preserve the constitution from the aggressions of the majority. Removing them, and putting other representatives in Congress, could have no effect in

restoring the constitution. It has been broken by the representatives of the people of the Northern States, who sustain them in their violations of the constitution. It is clear that the ballot box of the South is powerless for its protection. And the same causes which induced the violations of the constitution by the Northern majority, prevents its restoration to its integrity. Throughout the Northern States, there has been no indication of any change in their policy. On the contrary, the majority against the South is greater in the present Congress than in the last, following the usual course of every successive election for years past. Nor have we seen in the action of the States, with few exceptions, any proof of a returning sense of justice to us, or of reverence for the constitution. Several of them, lest false inferences might be drawn as to their position have taken care lately to reiterate in the most offensive forms their former declarations against our rights; and when a great Senator, representing one of them, anxious for the perpetuation of the Union, has ventured to advocate something of justice to the South, he has been rebuked by the Legislature of the State he represents, and virtually denounced for his fidelity to the constitution. This resource, then, under the ordinary operations of the constitution, is of no avail. And how is it with the present Congress, the only other source of redress in the usual administration of the constitution? For six months it has been in session, and during this whole period of time slavery has been the absorbing topic of discussion and agitation. Yet nothing has been done to heal the discontents which so justly exist in the South, or restore a bleeding constitution. All we have received has been bitter denunciations of our institutions by many members of Congress, and threats to coerce us into submission. Although nothing has been done, a report has been made by a committee of thirteen members, which is now pending in that body; and as the measure it proposes has been pressed upon the South with every other measure, we deem it proper to lay before you a brief consideration of the matter it contains.

This report embraces four distinct measures: 1st, The admission of California as a State, with the exclusion of slavery in her constitution. 2d, Territorial governments to be erected over the Territories of Utah and New Mexico, with nearly one half of Texas to be added to the latter. 3d, The prohibition of the slave trade in the District of Columbia; and 4th, Provisions for the re-capture of fugitive slaves in the non-slaveholding States. To understand whether these measures are consistent with our rights and worthy of our acceptance, each of them must be considered separately.

The South is excluded by the bill from the whole of that part of California lying on the Pacific, including one hundred and fifty thousand square miles of territory; and if this is done by the legislation of Congress, the mode in which it is done is of no importance. California belongs to the United States, and all action by the individuals in that territory, whether from the United States, or from the rest of the world, appropriating the soil to themselves or erecting a government over it, is of no validity. They cannot constitute a people in no proper sense of the term; but are citizens of the States or countries from which they have come, and to which they still owe their allegiance. When therefore, Congress attempts to carry out and confirm the acts of these individuals, erecting California into a State and excluding slavery therefrom, it is the same thing as if Congress had originally passed a law to this effect, without the intervention of these individuals. The exclusion of slavery from California is done by the act of Congress, and by no other authority. The constitution of California becomes the act of Congress; and the Wilmot proviso it contains, is the Wilmot proviso passed and enforced by the legislation of Congress.—Here then, is that exclusion from this territory by the act of Congress, which almost every Southern State in the Union has declared she would not submit to, plainly and practically enforced by this bill. A free people cannot be satisfied with the mode in which they are deprived of their rights; a sovereign State will disdain to enquire in what manner she is stripped of her property, and degraded from an equality with her sister States. It is enough, that the outrage is done. The mode is of little consequence. There is, therefore in the mode of extending the Wilmot proviso over the territory of California presented by the bill, nothing to mitigate the indignation of the Southern States, or to baffle their determination to redress the wrong, if inflicted.—They are excluded from the whole territory of California, a territory extensive enough to contain four large States.

If the constitution proposed by California contained nothing about slavery, would the North allow her to enter the Union?—Such were the territorial bills proposed for California at the last Congress, but she rejected them, because the South was not excluded from this territory, in express terms. The inhabitants of this territory, have been left without any civil government, solely because the South would not consent to be legislated out of them with her institutions; and now that this object is accomplished by the constitution presented by California, these conservatives—

these advocates of law and order—are eager to admit her, without right or precedent, into the Union. We are aware of the inconveniences the inhabitants of California may have suffered for want of a civil government established by Congress; and therefore, are prepared to yield much on account of the circumstances in which they have been placed.

The next measure is in perfect keeping with this first feature of "the report." It takes from Texas, territory sufficient for two large States, and adds them to New Mexico. What the bill contains with respect to slavery will be of little consequence for it is designed that next winter New Mexico thus constituted, shall follow the same example of California, and be admitted as a State with a Constitution excluding slavery from its limits—for without such exclusion she cannot hope to be admitted by the non-slaveholding States into the Union. The effect will be that territory, over which slavery now exists, equal to two States, will be wrested from the South, and will be given up to the non-slaveholding States. The pretext is, that there is some doubt as to the boundaries of Texas. Texas by her laws, when she was admitted into the Union, had one boundary towards the West, and that boundary was the Rio Grande. Congress in the resolutions admitting her into the Union recognized this boundary, by laying down a limitation between her slaveholding and non-slaveholding States—(being the Missouri Compromise line of 36 deg. 30 min. parallel of North latitude)—through that part of her territory, her right to which is now questioned. Her boundary of the Rio Grande is her source alone gave her this country; and was thus recognized and ratified by the resolutions of annexation. To vindicate the boundary for Texas as a member of the Union, the Mexican took place; and in the treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo, it was finally vindicated and settled, by a clause in the treaty, designating the Rio Grande as the boundary between Mexico and the United States.—"Thus by the laws of Texas, by the legislation of Congress, and by the solemn treaty of the United States, the Rio Grande is the western boundary of Texas. Yet the pretension is set up, that her territory does not extend to within three hundred miles of the Missouri Compromise line, where Congress in receiving her into the Union determined that her territory should be divided between the slaveholding and non-slaveholding States. Texas is the only State in the Union which has the solemn guarantee of the Government from the United States in every possible form to her boundaries. Yet this is the Government which disputes them; and under the pretext that they are very doubtful proposes to take from her nearly one-half of her territory. It is by virtue of such pretensions, that by the bill two States are to be taken from the Southern and given to the Northern States; and thus wrong is aggravated by compelling us to pay for it through the Treasury of the United States. It is undoubtedly proper, that Texas should be quieted as to her boundaries but she should be quieted by a law of Congress, plainly acknowledging them. If, after her boundaries are settled, the General Government, to carry out the purposes of the Constitution, or good faith to fulfill all the obligations, the annexation of Texas to the Union requires, should think proper to purchase any territory from Texas, the arrangement may be unobjectionable. But any arrangement concerning her territories, which leaves a shade of doubt as to the right of the people of the South to enter any portion of the Territory, which according to the terms of annexation are now free to them, neither Texas nor the General Government have any right to make. The Government of annexation constitute the compact of Union between Texas and the other States of the confederacy—and this compact secures irrevocably to the people of the slaveholding States the right of entering with their property all her territory lying South of 36 deg. 30 min. North of that line, they are excluded. The bill in the Senate makes no provision for carrying out these terms of the compact, but leaves in doubt the right of the Southern people, throughout all the territory proposed to be purchased; whilst many who support the bill declare that in effect it excludes entirely the people of the Southern States from all the territory purchased.—The least evil therefore the bill can bring to the people of the Southern States on entering it, will be contention, harassment and litigation.

But you will have a very inadequate conception of the importance of the territory taken from Texas by the bill, if you confine your views to Texas. If you will look at the map of the United States, you will perceive that the territory proposed to be surrendered by Texas lies throughout its whole extent along the Western frontier of the Indian territory. This is now a slaveholding country; and must be considered as a part of the South. Place along their whole Western boundary two non-slaveholding States, and how will the Indian territory be able to maintain a support to slavery? If the agency of Congress is used, to abolish directly slavery in the Indian territory, this end can be easily accomplished by the very means now in operation against slavery in Southern States, which the Indian will have but little power to resist. The effect will be, that the Indian territory, large enough for two more States, will be controlled by the non-slaveholding States. Thus by these two points in the report the South will lose four large States in California—two in Texas and two in the Indian territory. Nor is this all. The non-slaveholding States will be brought to the Western boundary of Missouri and Arkansas, along their whole extent, and will bound Texas on her whole Northern and Western frontier.—Thus the Southern States will be hemmed in by the non-slaveholding States on their whole Western border—a policy which they have declared essential to the end of abolishing slavery in the Southern States.

What can compensate the South for such enormous wrong and spoliation?

But this is not the end of your concessions by this report. We must not only yield to the interests, but the prejudices of the Northern people. Slavery existed in the District of Columbia when Congress accepted the cession of the territory composing it from the State of Maryland. No one can suppose that Maryland, a slaveholding State now, could have designed to give Congress any power over the institution of slavery in this territory. Independent of wrong to the people of the District, to emancipate their slaves, it would be an intolerable evil to have a District between them, where emancipation prevails by the authority of Congress. Congress, in the bill reported as a part of the so-called Compromise, now begins the work of emancipation by declaring that if any slave is brought into the District for sale, he shall be liberated and free. If a slave is liberated because he is brought into said District, it is not difficult. The power to emancipate the slaves in the District of Columbia is thus claimed and exercised by Congress. Many of the ablest men of the South have denied that Congress possesses any such power, whilst all agreed, until lately, that for Congress to interfere with this institution, whilst slavery existed in Maryland and Virginia, would be a gross breach of faith towards these States, and an outrage upon the whole South. How long will that facility which yields to the prejudice against the buying and selling of slaves be able to resist the greater prejudice which exists against the holding of slaves at all in the District of Columbia? For all these sacrifices to the interests and prejudices of the people of the North to accomplish their aim, what do they propose to amend it. To understand the extent of the concessions the South receives on this point, we must look to the rights the Constitution confers.

The framers of the Constitution were perfectly aware that the General Government could have but little power to secure to them their fugitive slaves in the non-slaveholding States. The whole internal police of a State, and by this chiefly could slaves be re-captured. The Constitution therefore, not relying on the legislation of Congress alone, requires that a fugitive slave, escaping into a non-slaveholding State, shall be "delivered upon claim of the party" to whom he belongs. Fugitive slaves are put on the footing of fugitive criminals, and are to be delivered up by the State authorities. If these authorities do not enforce the requirements of the Constitution, and aid in the recapture and recovery of fugitive slaves, Congress can do but little to enforce them. The bill providing for the co-operation of the few officers of the United States Government in a State, is practically quite insufficient to accomplish this aim. We can therefore in such a State as Pennsylvania, to recover fugitive slaves? Yet if Congress does all that it can do, by legislation, to enforce the Constitution, it only does its duty to the South. There can be no concession or favor to the South, in giving her only what she has a right to have under the Constitution—unless, indeed, the Constitution for her has no existence.

The bill then, is, in the first place, quite adequate to restore to us our fugitive slaves, and in the second place, gives the South nothing but what she is entitled to.—If this was all, there would be nothing in the bill for which we should concede anything to the North. But it is not all.—Under the pretext of bestowing on us a benefit, it perpetrates a usurpation on the reversed rights of the States. It provides that a slave may arraign his master, by the authority of laws made by Congress, before the courts of the States and of the United States, to try his right to his free condition. If Congress can legislate at all between the master and slave in a State, where can his power be stayed? It can abolish slavery in the States. Thus a power is assumed in that bill, which virtually extends the jurisdiction of Congress over slavery in the States. And this is a benefit to the South. Under the guise of a benefit, the bill transfers to the North, a power worse than useless in its usurpation.—Such are the various measures which constitute this compromise.

We do not believe that those in the South who at an early day expressed a willingness to support it, had well considered its import or even contemplated supporting it, without material amendments. We fully appreciate and fully honor the motives of those who would restore tranquility to the country, nor shall we impugn in any form those who have assisted to frame or who have yielded a support to these measures. Why the non-slaveholding States do not support these measures, we are unable to understand, unless it be, that a haughty fanaticism, inflated with success, disdains accomplishing its objects by indirection. If these measures, however, were really a compromise in which the South had equal gains with the North, it would be of doubtful expediency for the South to propose it. There is no time in Congress during this controversy, the South has proposed the Missouri compromise, which has been three times rejected by the North. Twice she has proposed a compromise by which she consented to leave it to the courts of the United States to determine her rights. Instead of requiring sternly their recognition by Congress, fifteen sovereign States have consented to be carried into the courts of the country, and there to submit their sovereign rights in a territory belonging to them, to a final arbitrament. Their humiliation did not win the respect or confidence of the North and the proposition was twice rejected.

The South, in our opinion, might accept one other compromise, not because it is co-extensive with our rights, but because it has been twice sanctioned by those who have gone before us. If the North offers the Missouri Compromise, to extend to the Pacific Ocean, the South cannot reject it.

(Continued on Fourth Page.)