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## POLITICAL.

Extract from Mr. Calhoun's Book on Government.

When the Government of the United States was established, the two sections were nearly equal in respect to the two elements of which it is composed; a fact which, doubtless, had much influence in determining the Convention to select them as the basis of its constitution. Since then, their equality in reference to both, has been destroyed, mainly through the action of the Government established for their mutual benefit. The first step towards it occurred under the old Congress of the confederation. It was among its lost acts. It took place while the Convention, which formed the present Constitution and Government, was in session and may be regarded as contemporaneous with it. I refer to the ordinance of 1787, which, among other things, contained a provision excluding slavery from the North-Western Territory; that is, from the whole region lying between the Ohio and Mississippi rivers. The effect of this was, to restrict the Southern States, in that quarter, to the country lying South of it; and to extend the Northern over the whole of that great and fertile region. It was literally to restrict the one and extend the other; for the whole territory belonged to Virginia, the leading State of the former section. She, with a disinterested patriotism rarely equalled, ceded the whole, gratuitously, to the Union—with the exception of a very limited portion, reserved for the payment of her officers and soldiers, for services rendered in the war of the revolution. The South received no equivalent. Similar arrangements were made to deliver up fugitive slaves. It is probable that there was an understanding among the parties, that it should be inserted in both instruments; as the old Congress and the Convention were then in session in the same place; and that it contributed much to induce the Southern members of the former to agree to the ordinance. But be this as it may, both, in practice, have turned out equally worthless. Neither have, for many years, been respected. Indeed, the act itself was unauthorized. The articles of confederation conferred not a shadow of authority on Congress to pass the ordinance—as is admitted by Mr. Madison; and yet this unauthorized, one-sided act (as it has turned out to be,) passed in the last moments of the old confederacy, was relied on, as a precedent, for excluding the South from two-thirds of the territory acquired from France by the Louisiana treaty, and the whole of the Oregon territory; and is now relied on to justify her exclusion from all the territory acquired by the Mexican war—and all that may be acquired—in any manner, hereafter. The territory from which she has already been excluded, has had the effect to destroy the equilibrium between the sections as it originally stood; and to concentrate, permanently, in the Northern section the two majorities of which the Government of the United States is composed. Should she be excluded from the territory acquired from Mexico, it will give to the Northern States an overwhelming preponderance in the Government. In the meantime, the spirit of fanaticism, which had been long lying dormant, was roused into action by the course of the Government—as been explained. It aims, openly and directly, at destroying the existing relations between the races in the Southern section; on which depend its peace, prosperity and safety. To effect this, exclusion from the territories is an important step, and hence, the union between the abolitionists and the advocates of exclusion, to effect objects so intimately connected. All this has brought about a state of things hostile to the continuance of the Union; and the duration of the Government. Alienation is succeeding to attachment, and hostile feelings to affection; and these, in turn, will be followed by revolution, or a disruption of the Union, unless timely prevented. But this cannot be done by restoring the Government

to its federal character; however necessary that may be as a first step. What has been done cannot be undone. The equilibrium between the two sections has been permanently destroyed by the measures above stated. The Northern section, in consequence, will ever concentrate within itself the two majorities of which the Government is composed; and should the Southern be excluded from all territories, now acquired, or to be hereafter acquired, it will soon have so decided a preponderance in the Government and the Union, as to be able to mould the Constitution to its pleasure. Against this, the restoration of the federal character of the Government can furnish no remedy. So long as it continues, there can be no safety for the weaker section. It places in the hands of the stronger and hostile section, the power to crush her and her institutions; and leaves her no alternative, but to resist, or sink down into a colonial condition. This must be the consequence, if some effectual and appropriate remedy be not applied. The nature of the disease is such, that nothing can reach it, short of some organic change—a change which shall so modify the Constitution, as to give to the weaker section, in some one form or another, a negative on the action of the Government. Nothing short of this can protect the weaker, and restore harmony and tranquility to the Union; by arresting, effectually, the tendency of the dominant and stronger section to oppress the weaker. When the Constitution was formed, and the impression was strong, that the tendency to conflict would be between the larger and smaller States; and not

by its failure, done much to disturb the whole system, and to bring about the present dangerous state of things. Indeed, it may be doubted, whether the framers of the constitution did not commit a great mistake, in constituting a single instead of a plural executive. Nay, it may even be doubted, whether a single chief magistrate—invested with all the powers properly appertaining to the executive department of the Government, as is the President—is compatible with the permanence of a popular government; especially in a wealthy and populous community, with a large revenue and a numerous body of officers and employees. Certain it is, that there is no instance of a popular government so constituted, which has long endured. Even ours, thus far, furnishes no evidences in its favor, and not a little against it; for, to it, the present disturbed and dangerous state of things, which threatens the country with monarchy, or disunion, may be justly attributed. On the other hand, the two most distinguished constitutional governments of antiquity, both in respect to permanence and power, had a dual executive. I refer to those of Sparta and of Rome. The former had two hereditary, and the latter two elective chief magistrates. It is true, that England, from which ours, in this respect, is copied, has a single hereditary head of the executive department of her government; but it is not less true, that she has had many and arduous struggles, to prevent her chief magistrate from becoming absolute; and that, to guard against it, effectually, she was finally compelled to divest him, substantially, of the power of administering the government, by transferring it, practically, to a body of responsible ministers. She had, indeed, a council of State, unless supported by a majority of the two houses of Parliament. She has thus avoided the danger of the chief magistrate becoming absolute; and contrived to unite substantially, a single with a plural executive, in constituting that department of her government. We have no such guard, and can have none such, without an entire change in the character of our government; and her example of course, furnishes no evidence in favor of a single chief magistrate in a popular form of government like ours—while the examples of former times, and our own thus far, furnish strong evidence against it. But it is objected that a plural executive necessarily leads to intrigue and discord among its members; and that it is inconsistent with prompt and efficient action. This may be true, when they are all elected by the same constituency; and may be a good reason, where this is the case, for preferring a single executive, with all its objections, to a plural executive. But the case is very different where they are elected by different constituencies—having conflicting and hostile interests; as would be the fact in the case under consideration. Here the two would have to act, concurrently, in approving the acts of Congress—and, separately, in the sphere of their respective departments. The effect, in the latter case, would be, to retain all the advantages of a single executive, as far as the administration of the laws were concerned, and, in the former, to insure harmony and concord between the two sections, and, through them, in the government. For though no act of Congress could become a law without the assent of the chief magistrates representing both sections, each, in the elections, would choose their candidate, who, in addition to being faithful to its interests, would best command the esteem and confidence of the other section. And thus, the presidential election, instead of dividing the Union into hostile geographical parties, the stronger struggling to enlarge its powers, and the weaker to defend its rights—as is now the case—would become the means of restoring harmony and concord to the country and the government. It would make the Union a union in truth—a bond of mutual affection and brotherhood; and not a mere connection used by the stronger as the instrument of dominion and aggrandizement—and submitted to by the weaker only from the lingering remains of former attachment, and the fading hope of being able to restore the government to what it was origi-

nally intended to be, a blessing to all. Such is the disease—and such the character of the only remedy which can reach it. In conclusion, there remains to be considered, the practical question—Shall it be applied? Shall the only power which can apply it be invoked for the purpose? The responsibility of answering this solemn question, rests on the States composing the stronger section. These of the weaker are in a minority, both of the States and of population; and, of consequence, in every department of the government. They, then, cannot be responsible for an act which requires the concurrence of two-thirds of both houses of Congress, or two-thirds of the States to originate, and three-fourths of the latter to consummate. With such difficulties in their way, the States of the weaker section can do nothing, however disposed, to save the Union and the government, without the aid and co-operation of the stronger section; but with their aid and co-operation both may be saved. On the latter, therefore, rests the responsibility of invoking the high power which alone can apply the remedy; and, if to do so, of all the consequences which may follow. The Result in South Carolina. We have looked with some attention at the speculation of Northern papers on the recent election in South Carolina. We find that they generally regard it as the end of Southern resistance to the compromise, and, in fact, as a final overthrow of the right of secession, and all practical resistance to Federal usurpation. All this is a mistake. We never supposed that South Carolina was a party to a distribution of the public lands to actual settlers; and this policy has been sanctioned by Mr. Webster. This will destroy the value of the public domain; and although its worst effects will be visited on the South, it is also an act of spoliation on the sea-board States of the North. But whatever may come—whether the decline and fall of the Union can be averted, or whether it proceed with a slow or rapid progress—it is the duty and interest of all who have principle and property, to resist and retard its abuses. The pursuit of an honest policy, and its vindication by such abilities as the Southern party possesses, will always exert a potential effect on public affairs. The change of a few thousand votes in Georgia, Alabama, and Mississippi, will bring them all to the side of South Carolina, together with Florida, Texas, and Arkansas. And when these States make an honest demand of the Federal Government, that demand will be respected. As for the labor and time which the struggle will require, they are the price which must always be paid for the attainment or preservation of rights, and are not too high a price. Some men may faint by the wayside, or sink down in sullen despair, or go over to the enemy. But we have an inexhaustible supply of recruits in the young men of the South, who are generally taking the right side. There is a very wide spread conviction at the South of the necessity of doing something to preserve and restore her fortunes. Some are for commercial and manufacturing movements—others for territorial acquisition—for Cuba and for the Sierra Madre. We shall have occasion, from time to time, to examine these plans. Perhaps it is not unfavorable that a variety of minds in a common object, and prepare them to adopt finally that which argument and events shall demonstrate to be the most effectual.—Southern Press.

Intercourse with persons of decided virtue and excellence is of great importance in the formation of a good character. The force of example is powerful; we are creatures of imitation, and, by a necessary influence, our tempers and habits are very much formed on the model of those with whom we familiarly associate. Two new papers have been established in Mexico—one to advocate the other to oppose, the independence of Cuba.

### Direct Trade—Southern Independence.

As a step towards the social and political independence of the South, a direct trade with the consumers of our produce is that to which our attention and energies should be devoted. We see no reason why Southern Cotton and Rice should be subjected to heavy tolls by being first shipped to New-York and Liverpool, to be consumed elsewhere. And yet, thousands of bales of Cotton, and any quantity of Rice, are now shipped first to New-York, thence to Liverpool, and thence to the consumers of Europe. At each removal, the ship-owners must be paid at our expense. The wharf owners, commission merchants, and speculators in New-York and Liverpool, must have profits, and all these fall on the producer. The returns too are made to us in the same round-about way. Tea from China probably purchased our exports, come to us through New-York or Boston, and there pay profits and expenses. Java Coffee must needs leave Amsterdam, for Liverpool, and finally reach us through New-York, with all the accumulated expenses and profits, which go into the pockets of British and Northern ship-owners and merchants. Thus, in a hundred ways we contribute to our own impoverishment, and without an effort to remedy the matter, we pour out our wailings and complaints over our hopeless dependency. It becomes us to strike for independence, political, social, and commercial. The first without the last would not be worth a fig. We would still be the same overseers to the merchants and ship-owners of the North. We are glad to learn that efforts are being made to put an end to this state of dependence. Among others, Mr. C. F. Taylor, the U. S. Consul at Amsterdam, is a direct trade at Amsterdam, the interest of three to five per cent. Hollanders have any amount of shipping which carry at a low freight.—Amsterdam commands the trade, requiring thousands of bales of Cotton, and a considerable quantity of Rice. And yet, with all her facilities, articles go to her through New-York and Liverpool. The object of Mr. Taylor, we understand, is to secure reliable correspondents in Charleston and other Southern ports; the merchants, on the other side, being willing to advance all the capital that may be necessary; and to establish a line of packets, or even of steamships, for the purposes of this direct trade.—We heartily wish success to the enterprise. If rightly managed, it must tend greatly to our advancement, and enable Charleston to become, as she should be, the great centre of supply for the numerous articles which are purchased by our exports. Some of our houses here already import direct the Rio and Cuba Coffee necessary to our market. We see no reason why Java Coffee, also, should not be so imported.—And though we may not yet be able to supply the demands at Amsterdam for Cotton yarns, we may at least send them the Cotton and Rice they consume, without subjecting it to the heavy expenses consequent upon a passage via New-York and Liverpool.—Southern Standard.Randolph's Duel with Clay.

The night before the duel, Mr. Randolph sent for me. I found him calm, but in a singularly kind and confiding mood. He told me that he had something on his mind to tell me. He then remarked: "Hamilton, I have determined to receive, without returning Clay's fire; nothing shall induce me to harm a hair of his head; I will not make his wife a widow, or his children orphans. Their tears would be shed over his grave; but when the soil of Virginia rests on my bosom, there is not in this wide world one individual to pay this tribute upon mine." His eyes filled, and, resting his head upon his hand, he remained sometime silent. I replied: "My dear friend, (for ours was a sort of posthumous friendship, bequeathed by our mothers,) I deeply regret that you have mentioned this subject to me; for you call upon me to go to the field and see you hot down, or to assume the respon-

sibility, in regard to your own life, in sustaining your determination, to throw it away. But on this subject, a man's own conscience and his own bosom are his best monitors. I will not advise, but under the enormous and unprovoked personal insult you have offered Mr. Clay, I cannot dissuade. I feel bound, however, to communicate to Col. Tattnall your decision." He begged me not to do so, and said he was very much afraid that Tattnall would take the studs and refuse to go out with him. I, however, sought Col. Tattnall, and we repaired about midnight to Mr. Randolph's lodgings, whom we found reading Milton's great poem. For some moments he did not permit us to say one word in relation to the approaching duel; and he at once commenced one of those delightful criticisms on a passage of this poet, in which he was wont so enthusiastically to indulge. After a pause, Col. Tattnall remarked: "Mr. Randolph, I am told you had determined not to return Mr. Clay's fire; I must say to you, my dear sir, if I am only to go out to see you shot down, you must find some other friend." Mr. Randolph remarked that it was his determination. After some conversation on the subject, I induced Col. Tattnall to allow Mr. Randolph to take his own course, as his withdrawal, as one of his friends, might lead to very injurious misconstructions. At last, Mr. Randolph, smilingly said: "Well, Tattnall I promise nothing, if I see the devil in my eye, and that with malice prepounded, means to take my life, I change my mind." A remark I knew he made more to dissipate the anxieties of his friend.

On hanging him his pistol, Tattnall sprang the hair trigger. Mr. Randolph said: "Tattnall, although I am one of the best shots in Virginia with either pistol or gun, yet I never fire the hair trigger; besides I have that black skin glove on my hand, which destroys the delicacy of my touch; the trigger may fly before I know where I am." But from his great solemnity, to his friend Tattnall, indeed, upon hearing the trigger.—On taking this position, the fact turned out, as Mr. Randolph anticipated; his pistol went off before the word, with the usual delay.

The moment this event took place, General Jessup, Mr. Clay's friend, called out that he would instantly leave the ground with his friends, that occurred again, he once exclaimed it was over, and begged that he be allowed to go on. Being given, Mr. Clay went out effect, Mr. Randolph his pistol in the air. Mr. Clay saw that Mr. Randolph had thrown away his life, and gush of sensibility, he instantly proached Mr. Randolph, and said with an emotion I saw never before: "I trust in God, my dear sir, you are untouched and safe, but I would not for a thousand worlds, if I were not a Christian, I should have been a witness of your death." For eye and hand, says some, Tattnall No, according to some, Tattnall was