

SPEECH OF MR. CLEMENS.

(CONTINUED FROM FIRST PAGE.)
I expressly denied it. The Constitution was taken away from the States some of the highest and most essential attributes of sovereignty. They cannot coin money; they cannot emit bills of credit; they cannot punish treason against themselves; they cannot go to war; they cannot enter into compacts with other States. Nay, more, the Constitution and laws of the United States shall be the supreme law of the land, any thing in the constitution or laws of any State to the contrary notwithstanding. Now, who ever heard of a sovereignty with the laws of another power superior to its own within its own limits? The States are sovereign for some purposes, and for those purposes only. Whenever their sovereignty has been taken away by the Constitution, they are not sovereign; and this right of secession is one that has been taken away.

There is one point, Mr. President, upon which I must here be permitted to remark. These gentlemen, who are so exceedingly anxious to establish the peaceful right of secession are the exclusive chivalry of the land. With but few exceptions, they are all regular "free-soilers." Is it not a little singular that with these propensities for war and blood—with all these evangelical impulses—they should yet shrink from the assertion of a right unless their opponents will admit its peaceful nature? Sir, I know men in the ranks of the "missionaries" who, whenever they feel the heel of the oppressor upon their necks, will not stop to inquire whether they have the right to throw it off. Above all they will not beg him to remove it peacefully. The right of revolution, sir, is the manly right; and that right only do I admit.

We are told that authority for the right of secession is to be found in the resolutions of '98 and '99. So many men have sought to sustain absurd theories by referring to these resolutions, that I presume we ought not to be surprised, even at this last and weakest attempt of all. Nor in this age of progress is it wondered at that the wisdom of the disciple should far out-run that of the teacher. John C. Calhoun and George McDuffie examined the resolutions of '98 and '99 for the right of secession, and could not find it. They found, as they thought, nullification; but nullification is itself a denial of secession. We all know that some of the ablest efforts made by both of these great men was to establish that nullification was the rightful remedy. Sir, it was neither the Virginia nor the Kentucky resolutions which gave birth to secession. It has come down to us from a less respectable parentage. It began in that band of traitors who assembled in Hartford during the war of 1812 and 1814, for the purpose of separating the New England States from the rest of the Confederacy. It was then that the right of secession was first proclaimed, and it is in that latitude that some of its warmest supporters are yet to be found. I cannot forget the terms of a resolution adopted at Syracuse last spring, when the abolitionists were patting South Carolina on the back, and stimulating her to go out of the Union:

"Resolved, That, odious as are the governing principles of South Carolina, we cannot withhold from her the praise justly due for consistent maintenance of the right of secession by a single State—a right vital to liberty, and the only safeguard of the several sovereignties from a grasping centralization."
Sir, here is a singular concord of sentiment. Southern Rights clubs, South, and Abolition conventions, North, giving us the same definition of State rights, and teaching Democracy from the same horn-book. I repudiate the teachers, and deny the orthodoxy of the creed.

Mr. President, a friend has just made a suggestion to me, of which I gladly avail myself. The State of Louisiana was purchased from the French; it was paid for by taxes collected from the people of the whole republic. It was purchased, not on account of any supposed value of the territory, for at that day we supposed we had territory enough for all our wants, but to secure the navigation of the Mississippi. The people of some twelve or thirteen States are interested in maintaining that navigation free.—Suppose Louisiana should say to-morrow I am a sovereign State, and believe it to be my interest to go out of the Union; I will go out and levy a tax on all vessels navigating the Mississippi? What would be the answer of those States so directly interested? They should say: "We bought this territory; we were taxed to pay for it; the navigation of the Mississippi was a privilege which we regarded even at that day as indispensable to our prosperity; we cannot abandon it now without subjecting ourselves to the most ruinous consequences. If Louisiana should still insist upon her right as a sovereign State to do as she pleases, the answer on the other side would be very apt to be, 'provided you can.'"

Let us take the case of Pennsylvania or New York, whose local position is such as to divide the republic into two distinct parts. Does any one suppose that either of those great States would be permitted peacefully to leave the Union, and subject us to all the inconveniences of such a division? Sir, this doctrine of peaceable secession by a single State is as wild a vision as ever haunted the brain of a moonstruck politician. All rights, whether political or personal, are relative. All rights are to be exercised with reference to the amount of injury inflicted on others. No man has a right to burn down his house, if by so doing he endangers mine. No one State has a right to act as to jeopard the liberties of the

remainder. I refer, of course, to the peaceable right. The right of revolution, the right of resistance to oppression; is governed by no rules, and must be determined by the necessities of time.

I promised to refer to the opinions of the framers of the Constitution. I quote first an extract from the pen of Mr. Jay. It is in the second number of the Federalist:
"It is worthy of remark, that not only the first, but every succeeding Congress, as well as the late convention, have invariably joined with the people in thinking that the prosperity of America depended on its union. To preserve and perpetuate it was the great object of the people in forming that convention, and it is also the great object of the plan which the convention has advised them to adopt."

Mr. Jay here tells his countrymen, while urging the adoption of the Constitution, that its great object is to preserve and perpetuate the Union; and can it be conceived that men having such objects should have a mere rope of sand—that they should have sown in the Constitution itself the seeds of its own destruction? And unless we do give credence to an absurdity like this, what becomes of the constitutional right of secession? In the 41st number of the Federalist, Mr. Madison, after enumerating the evils of disunion, proceeds thus:
"This picture of the consequences of disunion cannot be too highly colored, or too often exhibited. Every man who loves peace, every man who loves his country, every man who loves liberty, ought to have it ever before his eyes, that he may cherish in his heart a due attachment to the Union of America, and be able to set a due value on the means of preserving it."

In the same number, in reference to create a prejudice against the Constitution, on account of the provisions in relation to the army, he says:
"The attempt has awakened fully the public attention to that important subject, and has led to investigations which must terminate in a thorough and universal conviction, not only that the Constitution has provided the most effectual guards against danger from that quarter, but that nothing short of a Constitution fully adequate to the national defence, and the preservation of the Union, can save America from as many standing armies as it may be split into States or Confederacies."

Where can we look for stronger evidence that it was the purpose of the framers of the Constitution to create a Government strong enough to preserve the Union? And how utterly irreconcilable with this object is the right of a single State to destroy it. Again, in the 43d number of the Federalist he quotes an article of the Constitution, as follows:
"The ratification of the conventions of nine States shall be sufficient for the establishment of this Constitution between the States ratifying the same."

And add:
"This article speaks for itself. The express authority of the people alone could give due validity to the Constitution. To have required the unanimous ratification of the thirteen States would have subjected the essential interests of the whole to the caprice or corruption of a single member. It would have marked a want of foresight in the convention which our own experience would have rendered inexhaustible."

Here we find Mr. Madison asserting the great truth, that to have required the unanimous ratification of all these States would have subjected the essential interests of the whole to the caprice or corruption of a single member. Can it be possible that those who, in the formation of the Government, were unwilling to subject their happiness to the caprice or corruption of a single member, should, when that Government was formed, subject it to any caprice? Will any man assert that men in their senses, much less men renowned for wisdom—men whose names history will perpetuate throughout all coming time could have been guilty of an inconsistency so glaring, a folly so inexhaustible?

I read now from the 41th number of the same work:
"The question, therefore, whether this amount of power shall be granted or not, resolves itself into another question: Whether or not a Government commensurate to the exigencies of the Union shall be established? Or, in other words, whether the Union itself shall be preserved."
Everywhere, throughout all his writings, the great object expressed is the preservation of the Union and the establishment of a Government strong enough for that end. Nowhere has he left it doubtful; nowhere has he intimated that one member of the Confederacy had any right to destroy the bonds which held us together, and jeopard the happiness of a whole people.

Let me now refer to his opinions of State sovereignty. They are to be found in the 45th number of the work from which I have been reading: "But if the Union, as has been shown, be essential to the security of the people of America, against foreign danger; if it be essential to their security against contentions and wars among the different States; if it be essential to guard them against those violent and oppressive factions which embitter the blessings of liberty, and against those military establishments, which must gradually poison its very fountain; if, in a word, the Union be essential to the happiness of the people of America, is it not preposterous to urge as an objection to a government, without which the objects of

the Union cannot be attained, that such a government may derogate from the importance of the governments of the individual States? Was, then, the American revolution effected, was the American Confederacy formed—the precious blood of thousands spilt; and the hard-earned substance of millions lavished, not that the people of America should enjoy peace, liberty, and safety, but that the governments of the individual States, that particular municipal establishments, might enjoy a certain extent of power, and be arrayed with certain dignities and attributes of sovereignty? We have heard of the impious doctrine in the Old World, that the people were made for kings, not kings for the people. Is the same doctrine to be revived in the New, in another shape, that the solid happiness of the people is to be sacrificed to the views of the political institutions of a different form? It is too early for politicians to presume on our forgetting that the public good—the real welfare of the great body of the people—is the supreme object to be pursued, and that no form of government whatever, has any other value than as it may be fitted for the attainment of this object. Were the plan of the Convention adverse to the public happiness, my voice would be, reject the plan. Were the Union itself inconsistent with the public happiness, it would be, abolish the Union. In like manner, as far as the sovereignty of the States cannot be reconciled to the happiness of the people, the voice of every good citizen must be, let the former be sacrificed for the latter. How far the sacrifice is necessary has been shown. How far the unsatisfied residue will be endangered is the question before us."

It is possible I may be asked what remedy Mr. Madison proposed in a case of intolerable oppression? He himself has furnished the answer. He understood well that it was possible for a case to arise in which it would become the duty of a State to resort to revolution, but he never dreamed of secession as a remedy. It never occurred to him that there could be such a thing as a peaceful withdrawal from the Union. The American revolution was fresh in his memory, and he understood no method of destroying a government but by force of arms. His remedy for oppression is plainly expressed in the forty-sixth number of the Federalist:
"But ambitious encroachments of the Federal Government on the authority of the State governments would not excite the opposition of a single State, or a few States only. They would be signals of general alarm. Every government espouse the common cause. A correspondence would be opened. Plans of resistance would be concerted; one spirit would animate and conduct the whole. The same combination, in short, would result from an apprehension of the Federal, as was produced by the dread of a foreign yoke; and unless the projected innovations should be voluntarily renounced, the same appeal to a trial of a force would be made in the one case as was made in the other."

These were the opinions of Mr. Madison. They are the opinions of every one of the sages to whose teachings we have been accustomed to look for advice in times of difficulty and danger. I need not recite to you, Mr. President, the views of General Jackson. They have been too recently read in hearing of the Senate. I need not repeat to you the opinions of any of the distinguished men who have now departed from amongst us. Sometimes, it is true, that in some of their writings they have used words which, by a forced construction, may give some plausibility to the doctrine of secession; but always, in tracing it out, you ascertain that when they speak of breaking up a government, they mean revolution.

Let us suppose, however, that the right exists. What is there in our present condition to justify a resort to it? The sun of heaven never shone on a happier land than this. There is not an individual in its wide limits who can specify a single essential right of which he has been deprived.—Here every man can seat himself beneath his own vine and his own fig-tree, and looking around him, may proudly exclaim:—All this is mine. There is not a monarch in all the earth who lays his hand upon the smallest article of property about me. When his little infant child lies upon his knee, when he feels its young breath, sweeter than the odor of rose leaves, fanning his cheek, how proud must be the reflections which swell his bosom as he remembers that he, too, will grow up with unshackled limbs; that to him, as to all others in this happy land, the road to every honor and every emolument is open, and that a day may come in the future when that little prattler shall sway the destinies of the mightiest nation on the globe. And for what are we asked to exchange all this? For what are we asked to give away this present peace—this present hope? For the march of armies and the roar of cannon.—For the hoarse drum and the pealing trumpet. For a night of storm and darkness, in which yell and groan, and prayer and curse, the death-shout, the shriek of the virgin and the wail of the infant, will rise, mingling up to Heaven. Let it be remembered, too, that we are invited

to this banquet of blood, to this scene of desolation and horror, by a Senator of the Union—by one who has taken an oath to support the Constitution which binds us together. Sir, I have heard before that there were men who could stain the Evangelists with blood. I have heard that there were those who, from envy, or hate, or avarice, could deliberately swear away the life of a fellow-being; and this is a crime which all mankind have held in undiminished horror. But what is it when you contrast its effects with the wide desolation disunion would produce? Brother arrayed against brother—the son raising a fratricidal hand against the father. Happy homes and smiling harvests giving place to wasted fields and smoking ruins—the church itself becoming a den of vice and immorality, and blasphemy of the living God rising even with the incense of the altar. Sir, I envy neither the head nor the heart of that man whose genius leads him to become a participant in scenes like these.

Mr. President, it was not my fortune to agree with those patriotic men who framed the compromise. I doubted its healing effects; but, even when differing from them, I respected their motives, and felt that Rome, in its proudest day, never assembled a Senate of loftier intellect or purer patriotism. But now, sir, when the work is accomplished, and its good effects are visible everywhere, I bow to their superior wisdom, and only ask the humble privilege of assisting to maintain it unimpaired.

It is no argument against the compromise that it has not been every-where acquiesced in, at once and without question. When the ocean has been agitated by a tempest, the waves do not subside in an hour. So it is with the human mind: when it has been excited and agitated by angry discussion, it requires time to dispel prejudices and remove animosities. Those prejudices and those animosities are dispersing far more rapidly than I anticipated, and every lover of liberty ought to congratulate the nation on the auspicious result. But a few months since, darkness and gloom hung over the land. The most sanguine among us looked forward to the future with dread and apprehension; but, thank God, the clouds are nearly dispersed; through that dark vista a messenger of peace has winged its glorious way, and thousands of rejoicing songs are already rising on the air. Yet a little longer and the land of Washington will be redeemed from anarchy; the eye of the pilgrim will again turn hither, not in doubt and terror, but in hope and joy, and from lip to lip, throughout the whole land, will swell the glad chorus, "Ho! triumph! Ho! triumph!" The Republic is safe, and the banner of the free once more floats beneath an unclouded sky.

Improved Cotton Gins.
Thankful for past favors the subscriber wishes to inform the public that he still manufactures Cotton Gins at his establishment in Stateburg, on the most improved and approved plan, which he thinks that the cotton gins on one of those gins of the late improvement is worth at least a quarter of a cent more than the ordinary gin. He also manufactures them on the most simple construction, of the finest finish and of the best materials; to wit, Steel Saws and Steel Plates Ribs. Case built, on the most improved and approved plan. He also repairs old gins and puts them in repair, or fits out at the shortest notice. All orders for gins will be promptly and punctually attended to.
W. J. FRANCIS,
Stateburg, Sumter Dist., S. C. Feb. 17, 1852

Iron.
Nails and English, Broad and narrow Bar, Square, Round and Oval; Hoop, Band and Boiler Iron. Cast, German and Distar Steel. Smith's Tools, Carpenters' Tools, Buggy Axles and Springs, Carriage Trimmings, Hollow Ware, Cut and Wrought Nails, always on hand and for sale low by
Feb. 24, 1852 PERRY MOSES. 18-4f

Yarn and Osnaburghs.
The above goods at wholesale or retail by
PERRY MOSES,
Agent of The DeKalb Manufacturing Co.,
Feb. 23, 1852 18-4f

BOOKS! BOOKS! BOOKS!!!
English, French, Latin and Greek School Books. Also Blank Books of all sizes, and Stationary for sale by
Feb. 23, 1852 PERRY MOSES. 18-4f

DRY GOODS.
Just received Bleached and Brown Sheetings and Furnishings; Marlboro Stripes; Plain Linens; Coloreds; Cottons and Laces; Hosiery; White, colored and black Kid Gloves; Cassimeres; Satinets; Kentucky Jeans; Flannels; Bleached, brown and Blue Jeans; Blue Denims; &c. &c. For sale low by
W. J. FRANCIS,
Opposite J. & M. Mosses' Law Office,
Jan. 20, 1852

Groceries! Groceries!!!
Will be received in a few days, a choice lot of Groceries, consisting in part of—
Old Government Java Coffee,
Prime Rio Coffee, (new crop)
Green Tea, in 1 lb and 2 lb caddies,
The best Baltimore Flour,
Sugar of various descriptions,
Prime Goshen Butter,
Best Baltimore Soap,
Prime Lard; No. 1 Mackerel,
No. 1 and Cuba Mackerel,
White Wine and Clear Vinegar,
Salt, Rice, Soap, Starch,
Pepper, Spice, Ginger, Cinnamon,
Fishes—Sperm, Adamantine and Tallow,
&c. &c.
For sale low for cash by
W. J. FRANCIS,
Opposite F. J. & M. Mosses' Law Office,
Jan. 20, 1852

SEGARS! SEGARS!!!
A very choice lot of Segars of the following brands:
2000 Rio Honda,
2000 Gold Leaf,
2000 Philadelphia,
2000 F. Pender,
2000 American Stars,
Fine chewing Tobacco,
Macebooy and Scotch Snuff.
For sale low for cash by
W. J. FRANCIS,
Opposite F. J. & M. Mosses' Law Office,
Jan. 20, 1852

Negro Shoes.
500 pr. Negro Shoes for sale low by
W. J. FRANCIS.

CIRCULAR.
The subscriber respectfully informs his friends and customers, that he is now receiving, at his old stand, No. 25 HAYNE STREET, (up stairs) from England, Germany, France and the Northern States, a complete assortment of Staple and Fancy Dry Goods, Gold and Silver Watches, Jewelry, &c. as per Catalogue annexed, which he is prepared to sell on reasonable terms, at Wholesale only, to the Country Trade. He respectfully solicits a call, being determined to sell as low as any House in the City.
E. G. BROWN.

CATALOGUE.
Silk and Straw Bonnets, Ribbons, Flowers and Silk Goods, including Cloves, Scarfs, Cravats, Together with a complete assortment of Millinery Goods, Dress and Cloak Trimmings, &c. Guns, Rifles, Revolving and other Pistols, Percussion Caps, Game & Shot Bags, Powder Flasks, Knives, Scissors, Razors, Gent's Travelling Medical Instruments, Writing Cases, Work Boxes, Fancy Stationery, Coats' Spool Cotton, Common do., Tapes, Buttons, Combs, Needles, Pins, Brushes, Colonges, Soaps, Perfumery, Inks, &c. &c.
And a general assortment of Fancy Articles, Gold and Silver Watches, Jewelry, Marine Time Pieces, French Mantel Clocks, Common Brass and Wood Clocks, &c. English and German Guns, Pistols, Caps and Traps, and various other articles too numerous to mention.
N. B.—Just received from Paris the most splendid assortment of Gold and Silver Jewelry ever offered in this market.
E. G. B. October 11, 1851. 5-6-1f

Through Fare from Charleston to New York \$20.
THE GREAT MAIL ROUTE FROM CHARLESTON, S. C.
LEAVING the Wharf at the foot of Laurens-st. daily at 3 p. m. after the arrival of the Southern cars, via WILMINGTON, and WELDON, N. C. PETERSBURG, RICHMOND, to WASHINGTON, BALTIMORE, PHILADELPHIA, and N. YORK.

The public is respectfully informed that the steamers of this line, from Charleston to Wilmington, are in first rate condition, and are navigated by well known and experienced commanders, and the railroads are in fine order, (the Wilmington and Weldon Road having recently been re-laid with heavy T Rail) thereby securing both safety and dispatch. A Through TICKET having already been in operation will be continued as a permanent arrangement from Charleston to New York. By this route travelers are in first rate condition, and are navigated by well known and experienced commanders, and the railroads are in fine order, (the Wilmington and Weldon Road having recently been re-laid with heavy T Rail) thereby securing both safety and dispatch. A Through TICKET having already been in operation will be continued as a permanent arrangement from Charleston to New York. 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