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COLUMBUS:

Wednesday Morning, May 14, 1851.

The Durability of the Union Considered.

The durability of the Union is now seriously questioned by men of all creeds and faith; even the Union men admit the possibility of a dissolution. Passing by several points that lie in the way to a full discussion of the durability of the Union, we take up for consideration the last proposition in the argument, believing as we do, that, if it can be established that there are no ligaments or bond of union between the North and the South beyond that of language and consanguinity, the continuance of it depends either upon the exercise of coercion, or upon the want of spirit to cast off an existing oppression. In other words, if there exists not mutual interests to be sustained, nurtured and protected; if there exists no reciprocity between the sections either in commerce or agriculture, it may be set down as an inevitable result of such relations, that sooner or later, a rupture must follow.

Those at all conversant with the history of the country are fully apprised that the Union as it has existed since 1817, has been to the South not a shield of protection to her institutions and her labor, but a continual tax both upon her forbearance and upon her industry. Her labor has been taxed to build up Northern manufactories, protect by bounties her fisheries, and enrich her marine-merchant service by excluding the employment of foreign vessels. She has paid beyond all that is just, because much the larger proportion in blood and treasure for every foot of territory acquired, whether by conquest or purchase, and has, as is notoriously known, been excluded by *fraud* or compromise from nearly the whole of it. It is clear then, that the Union, instead of being a blessing to the South, or in any valuable manner a protection to her institutions, is and must continue to be, an evil; and that the political power being in the hands of the oppressor, or tax-gatherer, it will be used, as the moral power of the administration now is, and will continue to be, against the institution of slavery; and that, to suppose such a state of things can exist forever, is to suppose that the sons and daughters of the South will continue to reproduce their kind, and as each generation comes forward on the stage of life, it will be instructed to submit to wrong because its progenitors did, and that finally, the South will submit to wear the Northern yoke.

But we pass on to the subject matter before us, and will only say in advance, that we shall draw for language, fact, and in some instances for our argument, on various sources, and shall not therefore, award more than a general credit to our aids. We do not pretend to follow any one political economist, nor shall we adopt opinions unsustained by the experience of the world.

The relation of Labor to Capital is one but little understood at the South. This is not strange when we say that Labor here is Capital; and that the relation which exists elsewhere, as between the white operative and the employer, does not exist here. Political economists class this relation under three heads—Serfdom, Slavery, or Service for Wages. The two former are moral, the latter, strictly Legal, or Labor is the execution of a Contract. The two latter we propose to examine, for it is they alone that fall within the scope of our article. All that is great in achievement; all that is glorious in art; all that is wise in law or in morals, proves that the best interests of humanity require, first, that Labor should be subordinate to, and controlled by, Capital; and second, that the interests of the *two* should by that very dependence be as closely as possible identified. Wherever the relation has been one of contract, the worlds history shows that Capital has held Labor in bond of hopeless, helpless, heartless dependence; that there has existed jealousy and a bitter strife, the weaker demanding its rights with impotent cursing, or enforcing them with revolutionary fierceness. France and England are rich with historical reminiscences of "Operative Strikes," and insurrectionary movements among their laboring classes.—Labor and Capital is not politically equal at the North, for Capital in a variety of forms is protected, and when Labor appeals to political power to protect it, it is either coerced by the law, or starved by Capital. The societies for the advancement of the working-men, and the various subterfuges sought by the operatives to protect themselves against the advance of Capital, have all proved nearly useless. There is no denying this proposition: Labor is the slave of Capital. When the man or woman *must sell their Labor*, the buyer, i. e. Capital, owns it. Capital *will make the most of the purchase*, i. e. it will obtain the Labor as cheap as it can, because there is necessarily no interest between Capital and Labor as we are now considering them. They are antagonistic: Capital seeks to obtain the most Labor for the least pay; Labor seeks the highest pay for the least service. The continual pressure of population upon the centres of luxury, wealth and industry furnishes Capital with unbounded supplies of men for Labor; in addition to this, and here is where Labor is rendered so powerless, machinery intervenes, and by an accelerated increase in production with less human labor, there is less demand for it, but there are as many mouths to fill, as many backs to clothe as ever; and yet the introduction of machinery has lessened the Price of Labor by lessening the demand for it. This is a continual contest; it is unceasing, and always to the disadvantage of Labor—this is an inexorable law. Capital selects Labor as the mechanic does his tool, to subserve a particular end or do particular work. As soon as the end is subserved or the work done, the tool is cast aside. There is no sympathy, because there is no interest, and so soon as Capital has exhausted or worn out the Laborer, and is of no further service, he is heartlessly cast upon the sympathies of the world, and must be sustained, or starve. This is heartless—cold, but it is real. In ten days in Cincinnati last winter we saw more human suffering, more misery and want, than has fallen under our notice during our entire residence in a slave State. The fact is, such misery, woe and want, are unknown here, and we now will show that they can never exist here.

In the South Capital and Labor are not antagonistic. Capital is Labor—Slaves stands to Capital not in the same relation that legal Labor does to Capital. There is a wide difference, and to a reflecting reader it will be unnecessary for us to go into detail. We assert then that Capital in the general acceptation of the term in the Slave States is Labor. Labor is subordinate to and is controlled by Capital—it never rises against capital, and is Capital in the field, work-shop or on the stand. It is Capital that increases without labor—or in other words, if it takes care of itself the increase in value nearly doubles itself in ten years. We will state a fact here but rarely noted among our political economists. The South has paid toward the necessary and extraordinary expenditures of the government nearly two-thirds; it furnishes the capital for about three-fourths of the commerce of the Union, and the Northern capitalists annually use 50 or 60 millions of Southern capital, for which the South loses beside the interest the full per-centage of what the North makes by being carriers, importers, jobbers and general commission agents for the South. This expenditure requires an enormous income. We buy all we consume, and raise nothing but cotton, tobacco, rice and sugar. It is evident to any man who will take the trouble to calculate the amount of our expenditures for domestic luxuries, the general liberality, the immense drains upon us for National purposes, and the continued and arbitrary exactions of the North, that our income from the natural sources of wealth would have been long since so completely exhausted, that we should have been at the feet of the North mere suppliants for mercy. Such continual drains upon a people's resources must soon exhaust them if they rely for their means of wealth alone on the produce of the soil. Rich as the south is in soil, prolific as are her valleys under a genial climate, she would have been beggared under any other institutions than those she possesses. Her institutions are continual sources of wealth to her in their natural expansion—the natural increase of slave property, its increased value, its increased capacity for labor, and the increased labor, all contribute to the general prosperity. It is this that has kept her beyond the grasp of the oppressor. The wealth of the North consists in her canals, railroads, and manufactories. All these were paid for mostly by Slave labor. Our wealth consists in slaves and land, the latter has not increased in value; the former has. It is the increase of that property as we contend, that has enriched the South.

We have said Capital was Labor at the South, and it is this fact that solves the problem of, "how may domestic tranquillity be the easiest attained?" The Hebrew commonwealth, in the progress of its Divine mission, spread into the proportions of a magnificent monarchy, and again shrunk into the insignificance of a scattered people, and the foundations of its slave institutions were unshaken. The kingdoms of Greece sprung struggling from their cradles, but in the perpetual strife which strengthened their manhood, the institution of slavery never perplexed their economy, nor escaped their control. The Roman governed the world, and his million of slaves never changed an Emperor, nor lost him a province. The American colonies raised the flag of rebelion against their father-land, then the most powerful on the globe, but slavery, as the history of that fierce struggle shows, threw no stop in their path to victory, but on the contrary, it aided in securing our liberties and a republican government.

In the ancient world, the relation of Labor and Capital took the shape of slavery, and what disturbance did it work? In modern times, it has taken the shape of service for wages, and what civil commotion, what parliamentary perplexity has it not wrought? What question so fearful to an English statesman as that of Capital and Labor? What so terrible to the French statesman as these "Social Organizations" of Labor against Capital? Without dwelling on these points, capable as they are of a variety of illustration, we must proceed to show the antagonism of the North to the South. At the North, the relation of Labor to Capital is voluntary service; at the South, it is involuntary service. At the North, Labor and Capital are equal; at the South, Labor is inferior to Capital. At the North, Labor and Capital strive; the one to get all it can;—the other to give as little as it may—they are enemies. At the South, Labor is dependent on Capital, and having ceased to be rivals, they have ceased to be foes.

The political majority of the North represents Labor. The political majority of the South represents Capital. The power of legislation is in the hands of the North, and it is for time to develope nothing but what all history demonstrates, to wit: that power but awaits the moment when it can be exercised quietly and efficiently. Free Hireling Labor hates Slave Labor, and Capital once within the legislative control of Hireling Labor, the institutions of the South will be forced to seek protection either under a system of taxation as oppressive as it will be unjust, or else fly to a defence against wrong by appealing to arms.

It requires but ordinary sagacity to trace the Future. If representation be adjusted according to the White Ratio, and the South be deprived, as she surely will be, of the three-fifths Slave Ratio, the foundations of her social and domestic organization is destroyed, her safety at the mercy of hostile interests, her capital the sport and victim of Hireling Labor, her Labor destroyed, her honor and liberty gone. Equality of rights and privileges can, in the nature of things, exist only where the participants of political power form a separate class, and the labor of the country is subjected to its capital. Socialism is at war with society, because of the shifting and changeable character of capital.—It is impossible to concentrate labor and adjust it equally among the people of a State. There are the busy bees and the drones, and unless the latter are provided for at the expense of the laborious there is antagonism, and if not at such expense there is still an unadjusted difficulty. The antagonism between the North and the South, is a natural one, and it can be destroyed only by destroying slavery itself.

Consumer and producer are now the great regulating terms of political results, and, although there never has been an age in which commercial interests have not entered as influencing elements into considerations of national policy, yet never has the world been so dictatorially governed by the power of trade. Facility of transport, and the immense capabilities of manufacturing invention have not merely stimulated traffic to unparalleled activity, but have knit the nations together by a chain work of universal extent, and exquisite sensitiveness—and not only so, but like the nervous system of the human frame, this subtle and all pervading conductor ramify as it may, spreads from one great centre—*The Cotton Trade.* The power which controls this trade, holds to a very great extent the fortunes of the world in its hand.

Now where has nature placed the great controlling power of American commerce? In the South, and as an unavoidable inference, does it follow that the industrial economy and the system of foreign relations of the nation, so far as based on commercial principles, should spring from, and be controlled by, the Cotton growing States. Why is it otherwise, but that in the nation there is *another section supported by interests antagonist to these*, in other words, a section which is in fact, a foreign power. We have shown that in the vital principle of political organization, the relation of Labor and Capital, the North and the South are *irreconcilably hostile*, that their social and political systems *cannot co-exist*—that the one in the nature of things wages internecine war against the other. Now we need not attempt to prove that cotton can be produced in quantities sufficient for the world's wants, only where Labor is at the absolute control of Capital, as in the relation of master and slave. Experience has decided that question if it has settled no other. What is the result? Why that throwing aside the variance in the systems of representation and taxation above noted—the North and the South are diametrically opposed to each other on those most essential political relations which govern the Capital, the Civilization, the National existence of the South. More than this—the vast extent and pre-eminent influence of the cotton trade divide the commercial nations of the world into two classes—those who produce cotton and those who manufacture it. They are, it is true, mutually dependent; but, according to that principle of selfishness which God has for wise purposes implanted in every breast, they each are bent on using the other at the lowest remuneration—each wishes to have the best of the bargain, and between foreign nations this is all right; this competition has served, and will continue to serve, wise purposes. What greater sympathy does the North feel for us as a cotton growing section than is felt by England? Does a cotton bale meet any more fraternal regard in the way of prices in New York than it does in Liverpool? What more sympathy is there between the southern planter and the abolition manufacturer of Lowell, than exists between him and the Manchester spinner? In fact the sympathy is less between the home than the foreign manufacturer. It is natural too—for the home manufacturer, not only under the name of countryman does he seek advantages, but with the endearing name of brother on his lips he warps the political power of a government framed for the purpose of meeting out its advantages equally, protecting all alike, to his own base purposes; unsatisfied with the legislation that taxes the produce of one section for the support of another, he would deprive his brother of the right to seize and possess his property when it had passed a defined line. Under the sanction of brother the South is to be enslaved; and if sympathy, fraternal feeling, or any feeling but that of cordial hatred can exist, then are we but a novice in the knowledge of those demonstrations which result in hostility.—What makes the one less a foreigner than the other? Both speak the same language; around both cluster historical associations, and between both there is a natural link of consanguinity. But one assumes, under the guise of brother, to meddle and to destroy.

It would be easy to illustrate, in a manner much more special, these sectional differences in social systems, and industrial pursuits. But we must avoid this because it runs too parallel with party history. But enough, surely, has been said to indicate the grounds upon which we may justly, and with no exaggeration, conclude that the Institutions of the two sections are diametrically opposed. If it can be proved that the government is with the Northern section of the Confederacy, the utter want of sympathy between that government and the South, is, as a consequence, established—the due relation between the two sections is broken, and we must seek for safety in the natural resources God has surrounded us with, or that our native genius may carve out, or our hearts resolve on.

There never yet was an honest feeling that did not spring from a correct thought. The sense of wrong is too strong for the elaboration of fancy sketches. We feel that we are weak—it cannot take a well man long to think out the same conclusion. We are divided, the politicians stand ready to sacrifice us upon the altar of party. The experience of the past twenty years has proved what concisely has been said, that the President "is a demagogue by position"—that the House of Representatives represent popular passions and interests—that in the Senate only is to be found the conservative element of government. Now the representative majority is largely Northern—the Presidential electoral majority is largely Northern—and since the admission of California, the Senatorial majority is Northern. Can a multiplication table work out results more certain? If the government obeys the popular spirit which creates and sustains it, what must it do *but reflect Northern sentiment*, sustain Northern interests, impersonate Northern power. Recent events have developed the fact that government is guided by Northern sentiment. Just at the time when sectional interests are more violently antagonist than at any previous period of our history—at a period demanding time for exasperated feeling and sectional prejudice to subside—just at the moment when passion is fiercest, government interposes its influence, exercises its authority, expends the money of the Nation, in shaping the political features of the organic law of California, so as to exclude one half of the citizens of the confederacy from domiciliating amid its gold placers with their property! This indicates the controlling sentiment of government, and when we consider the manifest injustice, the evident hypocrisy practiced on the South, the utter disregard of law, the corrupting influence resorted to, to achieve the exclusion of the South, we feel but too sensibly how little hope there is that things will better with time.

For argument sake, we will admit that the admission of California is right—that a savage greediness for gold is the purest of social bonds—that a State is admirably adapted to influence national legislation, where its heads are the shrewdest of speculators and its body the outcasts of every population under heaven. We will admit that Texas ought to pocket, in an extravagance of jockeying triumph, her ten millions, and chuckle at the market price of patriot blood and State pride—she may have more to spare at a similar price, and who dare say she has not found a liberal customer. We will admit that Virginia and Maryland are intruders in the District of Columbia, and if not acceptable, should be removed without even notice to quit; they gave the land to their Northern brethren—what more have they to do with it. We will admit, with Senator Foote, that the South has nothing at all to complain of, but as we do not know what we may have to censure, we earnestly ask every Southern man to take a list of the States and having separated the two sections, make the simplest of calculations, and then, with neither fear nor favor, answer the question: "What is the position of the South?" In case—and we may in argument imagine so improbable a thing—in case our rights should be attacked, where is our constitutional protection? The mournful but indignant echo from the past answers—where! If, then, the lessons of experience are worth the reading—if the political events of the last few months are not illusions—if the expression of outraged feeling all through our Southern land, be any thing but the wild ravings of wicked faction—*it is time for the South to act firmly, promptly, and forever.*

We shall resume this subject and show the "Value of the Union to the South."

From the New York Herald.

Our Southern Correspondence.

CHARLESTON, S. C., April 17, 1851.

Slavery—Northern sentiment and Religious Hostility vs. *Southern Opinion—Slavery in South Carolina—Prevailing Sentiment of Secession—Plan of Secession, Separately—Project of a Southern Confederacy and Free Trade—Combined plan of Secession—More Securities to be demanded—Ten Millions—The Case plainly Stated—Movements on the Subject—The Real Danger yet to Come, &c., &c.*

The danger of this Union—the immediate, hereditary, and continuing danger to this Union—is in the slavery question. It is not in the institution itself, but in Northern hostility, prejudice, and envy against Southern slaveholders; it is in that expanding, religious fanatical Northern sentiment that slavery is a curse, and ought to be extripated, even in blood and fire, if not to be rooted out by other means. There is the peril, and never has it more alarmingly developed itself than now. The late senatorial elections in Vermont, Ohio, New York and Massachusetts—the late letters of Wm. H. Seward and John Van Buren, taken in connection with the dislocated condition of the old political parties, and approach of the Presidential campaign of 1852, are quite sufficient to justify the apprehension that before that election comes, the Union may be dissolved—that a star will be missing from our federal system—and that nothing but Northern forbearance, and good faith, and implicit regard to the constitution (to a far greater extent than we have any expectations of witnessing)—nothing but some such resolution in Northern public opinion, will prevent the catastrophe of a rapid dissolution, beginning with the secession of South Carolina.

From the household altars of this people, we plead their position to this question of slavery and the Union.

It is the universal sentiment in the north, that slavery is a sin, a curse, a great evil, a great misfortune, and that it would be a great blessing to be rid of it and of the black race at the same time.—That is the universal sentiment at the north, excepting a few crazy amalgamationists, who would prefer the practical carrying out of their notions of human equality. But the conservatives of the north—they who are sincerely attached to the Union, and the spirit of the compact—very liberally, while lamenting the evils of slavery, admit that it is none of their business—that the south have it in their own hands; and that it is best to let the institution work out itself, rather than hazard the consequences of insurrection and civil war by abolition excitement. They farther admit the obligations of the constitution; and while regarding slavery with aversion, are ready to fulfil their stipulated duties to the south. That is the most favorable species in sentiment in the north, towards this "peculiar institution."

In a moral and religious view, then, the southern States, according to the universal sentiment of the north, are sustaining an evil, a curse, a crime, among them, which is only to be tolerated because of treaty stipulations, and because of the difficulty of removing the evil. The only safety of the south, then, is in the conservative portion of the northern people, whose political and commercial interest guarantee their obedience to constitutional obligations.

But the platform of the abolitionist, or rather the basis of their platform—that slavery is an evil and a sin—being thus universally admitted, we may see at a glance the power which it gives these traitors in propogating their incendiary designs; for how easy is it from admitting an evil, to proceed to measures to abolish it!—how natural and consistent it is to do so! This is the simple secret of the mysterious influence of Seward, John Van Buren, Chaplin, Fred Douglass, Lucretia Mott and all the piebald coteries of northern demagogues and old women, ambitious of exhibiting their rascality and their philanthropy togrther, on the most approved red republican doctrines of liberty, equality, and fraternity.

What has the south ultimately to hope of the north, when hostility to slavery is thus involved, fostered, and transmitted as a religious principle? On the other hand, what is the general opinion of slavery in South Carolina? Not that it is a necessary evil, but that it is a patriarchal, a Mosaic, and christian institution—a beneficial institution to the black race, and an advantageous institution to the white. Such was the opinion of Mr. Calhoun, repeatedly expressed in the Senate—such is the opinion of the State. The people of South Carolina hold that the negro is an inferior race, and incapable of self government—that Africa proves it—that the monuments of Egypt and the Bible prove it—that physiological science proves it—that Hispaniola and Jamaica prove it—and that the colony of Sibera will ultimately prove it, if left to itself. They hold that the true position of Sambo is slavery; that relation best developes his limited capacities, and is best adapted to his limited desires, and that his constitution is most admirably fitted for the sugar, rice, cotton and tobacco fields, fattening under a heat and malaria which are fatal to the white race; but that Sambo will not work without a master. These are South Carolina abstractions on the slavery question, abstractly considered.

Out of a population of 668,000, in round numbers, South Carolina possesses 384,000 slaves, an excess over the free population of some 50,000. Includlng the free negroes, the colored population probably exceeds the white by at least 75,000.—Hence the extreme sensitiveness of South Carolina to any intermeddling with slavery. She cannot but regard the abolition propagandists with alarm; for step, by step, the day may be anticipated when the outposts will all be carried, and the question will be brought to the issue of reducing the State to the condition of St. Domingo; for this condition of freedom to the slaves, thus giving to the free blacks a large majority in the State, would simply result in the extermination of one race or the other.

Coupled, then, with the policy of the federal government upon the tariff question, the finance and the navigation laws, we see in this thing of slavery the cause of this continual agitation of secession in South Carolina. It means something. The sentiment has been ripening since 1832. The State stood at that time in open resistance to the tariff; nor her submission secured until congress abated the extortions of the obnoxious law. When the tariff compromise, by a sort of delusive sliding scale, had run itself out, the whig protection act of 1832, which the proceedings in the north and in congress subsequently upon the negro question, have aggravated to a *causus belli*, and to the threshold of secession.

In all this there is plausible ground of serious complaint. The institution of slavery has to confront a religious sentiment, universal in the north, appealing for the abolishment of the evil. This sentiment is made the political hobby of vile incendiaries and desperate demagogues, without regard to consequences—the war upon slavery is renewed; there is no futuer prospects of security to the slaveholder; and what does he care for destruction out of the Union, if by remaining in it he is to be destroyed! Besides this, the federal government is involved in a heavy debt, incurred in the acquisition of territory from which the south is excluded. Northern manufacturing interests are appealing for protection—the south is threatened with the invidious discriminations of specifics, home valuations, and direct bounties for home manufactures; and in nothing is the suction upon the south to be modified, with any prospect of advantage to southern industrious interpreters, or local institutions.

But the south has acquiesced—all the south, except South Carolina, has acquiesced, submitted, "caved in" Mississippi, Georgia, and even old Virginia, have all confessed, and have received absolution. That awful big black cloud, black as thunder, which Jerry Clemens thought portended a considerable thunder-gust, has vanished—the panic of Gen. Foote has cooled down into the songs of consolation; and the spasmodic warnings of Colonel Downs have subsided into peace, and harmony, and concord, and all that.

"When shall we three meet again?
In thunder, lightning, or in rain!
In the midst of all the fun,
Or when the battle 's lost and won!"

But what can South Carolina do alone? What does she count upon? How is she to help herself out of the Union, and what is she to gain by it?

Listen, oh! incredulous citizens of the "rural districts" of the Mohawk and the Cenesee! We will state the case. Northern aggressions and provocations will continue, or we will suppose so,—a very rational supposition. Congress meets—the war on negro slavery is renewed—the abolition system of resistence to the fugitive Slave law continues, no prospect of improvement in northern feeling, South Carolina convention meets, pledged to secession by 147 to 27. They secede, declare the State out of the Union. The general government attempts to coerce the State to submission. There is war. Sympathisers come in from Georgia, North Carolina, &c., until the whole of the cotton section is involved. Or the federal government blockades the coast, a collision inevitably follows at sea, or in the harbor. And what is to be the shape of the contest, if, on the declaration of independence by South Carolina, Great Britain and the despotisms of Europe, jealous of our republican system to the last degree, acknowledge South Carolina's nationality, and proceed to trade with her accordingly upon a five or ten cent. ad valorem tariff.

There is but one conclusion, if South Carolina secedes: the charm is broken—the Union is gone. And what sort of a barrier will the Mississippi be to a separate southern confederacy, if founded upon free trade? The mouth of the river will be open, and there will be no necessity for Illinois to come down with General Douglas, and General Shields, and Colonel Bissell and Colonel Richardson, to open it. And how easy it is to believe that once set up, this Southern Confederacy will go on extending to Panama (including Cuba, if the north will drive them to it,) and carrying with them the culture of cotton, sugar, tobacco, rice, spices, cochineal, and tropical fruits, and a good market for negroes all the way down!

Such a republic, with Charleston as the great importing city, and New Orleans as the exporting city of the Atlantic section, and with the control of the passes of Panama, Nicaragua, and Tehuantepec, would be rather a formidable establishment to the Down-Easters. And God only knows what may happen. Without going so far, there is danger enough. There is quite enough to excite apprehensions in the fatuity of northern philanthropists, and red republicans, communists, levellers, agrarians and traitors of all stripes, from the incendiary parson down to the crazy infidel. The approach of the Presidential election does not mend the matter. Let the patriotic, Union loving men of the north ponder over this terrible state of things. South Carolina accords them, probably, not more than ten months' grace. In February next, the state convention meets upon secession.—It may meet earlier. The grand mass meeting in May of all the southern rights associations in the State will probably do something indicative of the policy to be adopted, whether to secede separately, or wait till one or more of the other cotton States are ready to unite in the movement.

There are two plans of secession on foot:

1.—The first is, that South Carolina do secede alone, and trust to consequences to bring up the other cotton States into the alignment.

2.—The second plan is not so pointed, but far more comprehensive and alarming. It is to hold off until Alabama, or Georgia, or Mississippi is ready: or until one or more of them shall have agreed with South Carolina upon some basis of action, and as far as we can understand it, upon the following plan:—

1.—Guarantees are to be demanded of the north for future security, and a new compromise is to be asked of Congress.

.2—The guarantees of security are to comprise an admission of the right of a State to secede, pledges of non-interference with slavery where it now exists, and of further securities for the return of fugitive slaves.

3.—The line of thirty-six thirty, as the dividing line of the State of Califoania, with the liberty admitted to the south to introduce their slaves into the gold country south of the aforesaid line. Furthermore, as the question of division rests with the State of California, that ten millions of dollars be proposed as indemnity to that State for the sacrifice of the territory south of thirty-six thirty—on the plan of the ten million Texas indemnity bill.

These guarantees and this compromise being agreed to, the trouble is over; the south will get a share of the gold region and the Pacific coast, and, with the right admitted to every State to secede at its own option, its exemption from future persecutions or aggressions will be secured.

But if these propositions are refused, then the States making such overtures of reconciliation, to secede from the Union.

Disunion may be madness; but with such method in it, the subject becomes hazardous under the existing state of the northern incredulity and extending fanaticism.

As to the right of a State to secede, it is certainly a tremendous question. It was one of the amendments Mr. Calhoun had in view to add to the constitution of the United States, in the form of a direct admission of the right of a State to secede, and prescribing the mode of secession. It is contended here, that without the admission of this right, the federal government will rapidly be developed into a consolidated despotism—that the Executive will go on absorbing the powers of the co-ordinate departments and the rights of the States, till all are swallowed up—that such a system would be certain destruction to the south, and cannot be contemplated without apprehension.

Admit the right of secession and the weakest State is safe against aggression from her neighbors or from Congress, or of public sentiment of an adverse section.

The line of thirty-six thirty for California, it is contended here, is correct, and that California will give it for the money, because she wants money, and does not care a fig about slaves being introduced into the country, because several thousand of them are already there, with their masters in the Legislature.

This is, we learn the basis of the combined plan. Southern rights Associations of Alabama are taking it up; Georgia and Mississippi are soon to take steps in the same direction. But we expect at the convention in this city in May, more definite developments. Here is the conclusion. The north will have to concede something more than the empty shell of the fugitive slave law to the south: or there are several of the cotton States who will keep aloof (from your national convention tickets,) and proceed to steps for walking out of the Union. If South Carolina delays, it will be to secure the advantage of a combined movement.

If the administration—Mr. Wessier especially—continues incredulous, it may as well give up the campaign and give us the Union. The compromises won't do. The south are going to ask for more, or South Carolina is going out of the Union.

W.

The Emancipation Law.

AN ACT to suppress the Slave Trade in the District of Columbia.

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That from and after the first day of January, eighteen hundred and fifty-one, it shall not be lawful to bring into the District of Columbia any slave whatever for the purpose of being sold, or for the purpose of being placed in depot, to be subsequently transferred to any other State or place, to be sold as merchandise. And if any slave shall be brought into the said District by its owner, or by the authority or consent of its owner contrary to the provisions of this act, such slave shall thereupon become liberated and free.

SEC. 2. *And be it further enacted,* That it shall and may be lawful for each of the Corporations of the cities of Washington and Georgetown, from time to time, and as often as may be necessary, to abate, break up, and abolish any depot or place of confinement of slaves brought into the said District as merchandise, contrary to the provisions of this act, by such appropriate means as may appear to either of the said Corporations expedient and proper. And the same power is hereby vested in the levy court of Washington county, if any attempt shall be made within its jurisdictional limits to establish a depot or place of confinement for slaves brought into the said District as merchandise for sale contrary to this act.

Approved, September 20, 1850.

THE SEASON.—It has been many years since the planter has had to encounter so disastrous a Spring as the present. The frequent and cold rains that have prevailed during the month of April, have rendered it certain that the stands of cotton will be bad. That which was planted early, and is now getting up, looks so bleached and sickly, that a large portion of it must die as soon as the hot weather sets in; and that which has been planted more recently, it is to be feared, will not get up, in consequence of the seed rotting in the ground. The snow of the 15th April, 1849, affected the planter but in a slight degree compared to the continued cold weather of the present season.

[*Fairfield Register.*

FRIENDSHIP.—Every man rejoices twice when he has a partner for his joy; a friend shares my sorrow and makes it but a moiety, but he swells my joy and makes it double. For as two channels divide the river and lessen into rivulets, and makes it fordable and apt to be drunk up by the first revels of the Siriar star; but two torches do not divide but increase the flame: and though my tears are the sooner dried up, when they run on my friend's cheeks in the furrows of compassion, yet, when my flame hath kindled his lamp, we unite the glories and make them radiant, like the golden candlesticks that burn before the throne of God, because they shine by numbers, by unions, and confederations of light and joy.

☞The editor of the Monticello *Journal* in giving an account of the meeting between Gen. Foote and Judge Smith, speaks of the latter gentleman as follows:

"Judge G. W. L. Smith followed Gen. Foote in a speech that produced a decided sensation.—It was regarded by many as the best speech of the occasion, and certainly it produced the greatest effect on the audience. It was full of lucky hits and potent ridicule. He hammered the great compromiser soundly. The distinguished Senator lost his dignity repeatedly, under the stinging ridicule and loud laughter that followed it. He got on his feet often, deprecating and objecting. We predict that Gen. Foote will never invite Smith to accompany him again on such a campaign. The speech of Judge Smith, we say with candor gave us the victory. We believe this is generally admitted."

TOUGH STORY—'You are rather a crooked character, Mr. Jones.'

'Rather, sir, but not so crooked as a tree I once knew. It was the tallest butternut I ever saw. Standing close to it one day in a thunder storm, I saw a squirrel on one of the topmost branches.—The lightning struck the same branch about three feet above him, the squirrel started, the lightning had to follow the grain, and the squirrel went straight down. So confounded crooked was the tree, sir, that the squirrel, by the watch, got to the bottom precisely three minutes before the lightning.'

'That's a lie, sir,' exclaimed the landlord

'A lie! True sir, as any story ever was. I afterwards cut the tree down, and made it into rails for a hog pasture. The hogs would crawl through twenty times a day, and so thundering crooked were them rails that every time the hogs got out, they found themselves in the pasture again.'

SPONGE TRADE OF KEY WEST.—The sponge trade is creating quite a sensation in a our midst. A large number of our citizens are engaged in procuring it, and are reaping a handsome reward for their labor. The sponge is cured and brought into market, and sold to our merchants for New York consumption, where they are manufacturing a beautiful article of cloth from it. The discovery was only made some six months ago that it was valuable for such a purpose, and now the article commands in this market, from ten to twelve cents per pound, and a first-rate article, well cured and attended to, will bring even more. There is always a demand for it, and it would not surprise us to see it, at no distant day, one of the principle commodities of our section.—*Key West Gazette.*

A great race took place over the Metaric course at New Orleans, on the 12th inst. The purse was $500, three mile heats, and the time the quickest ever made in the United States. There were four competitors, viz: Charmer, Maria Hoods, Florin and La Reine. The victory was awarded to Charmer, who led in the 2d and 3d heats. Time—5 38¼, 5 35, 5 43½. Florin won the first heat, and was distanced on the second, and La Reine was distanced on the first heat.