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BY JAMES A. HOYT.

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EDITOR AND PROPRIETOR.

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deductions made to those who will advertise by the
year.

Conventions Documents.

Declaration of the Causes which Justify the Secession of South Carolina from the Federal Union.

The following report of the Committee,
of which Mr. Memminger was Chairman,
was adopted by the Convention:

The State of South Carolina having de-
termined to resume her separate and equal
place among nations, deems it due to her-
self, to the remaining United States of
America, and to the nation of the world,
that she should declare the causes which
have led to this act.

In the year 1765, that portion of the
British Empire embracing Great Britain,
undertook to make laws for the govern-
ment of that portion composed of the thir-
teen American Colonies. A struggle for
the right of self-government ensued, which
resulted, on the 4th July, 1776, in a De-
claration by the Colonies, "that they are,
and of right ought to be FREE AND IN-
DEPENDENT STATES; and that, as free
and independent States; they have
full power to levy war, conclude peace,
contract alliances, establish commerce, and
to do all other acts and things which in-
dependent States may of right do."

They further solemnly declared that
whenever any "form of government be-
comes destructive of the ends for which it
was established, it is the right of the peo-
ple to alter or abolish it, and to institute a
new government." Deeming the Govern-
ment of Great Britain to have become de-
structive of these ends, they declared that
the Colonies "are absolved from all allegi-
ance to the British Crown, and that all
political connection between them and the
State of Great Britain is and ought to be,
totally dissolved."

In pursuance of this Declaration of Inde-
pendence, each of the thirteen States pro-
ceeded to exercise its separate sovereignty;
adopt for itself a Constitution, and
appointed officers for the administration
of government in all its departments--
Legislative, Executive and Judicial. For
purposes of defence, they united their
arms and their counsels; and, in 1778, they
entered into a League known as the Ar-
ticles of Confederation, whereby they
agreed to entrust the administration of
their external relations to a common
agent, known as the Congress of the Uni-
ted States, expressly declaring, in the first
article, "that each State retains its sov-
ereignty, freedom and independence, and
every power, jurisdiction and right which is
not, by this Confederation, expressly de-
legated to the United States in Congress
assembled."

Under this Confederation the War of
the Revolution was carried on; and on
September, 1783, the contest ended, and a
definitive treaty was signed by Great
Britain, in which she acknowledged the in-
dependence of the Colonies in the following
terms:

"ARTICLE I. His Britanic Majesty ac-
knowledges the said United States, viz:
New Hampshire, Massachusetts Bay,
Rhode Island and Providence Plantations,
Connecticut, New York, New Jersey, Penn-
sylvania, Delaware, Maryland, Virginia,
North Carolina, and Georgia, to be FREE,
SOVEREIGN AND INDEPENDENT
STATES; that he treats with them as
such; and for himself, his heirs and suc-
cessors, relinquishes all claims to the gov-
ernment, property and territorial rights
of the same, and every part thereof."

Thus were established the two great
principles asserted by the Colonies, name-
ly: the right of State to govern itself;
and the right of a people to abolish a Gov-
ernment when it becomes destructive of
the ends for which it was instituted. And
concurrent with the establishment of these
principles, was the fact, that each Colony
became and was recognized by the mother
country as a FREE, SOVEREIGN AND
INDEPENDENT STATE.

In 1787, deputies were appointed by the
States to revise the Articles of Confedera-
tion, and the 17th September, 1787, these
deputies recommended, for the adoption
of the States, the Articles of Union,
known as the Constitution of the United
States.

The parties to whom this Constitution
was submitted were the several sovereign
States; they were to agree or disagree,
and when nine of them agreed, the com-
pact was to take effect among those con-
curring; and the General Government as

the common agent, was then to be invest-
ed with their authority.

If only nine of the thirteen States had
concurred, the other four would have re-
mained as they then were--separate sov-
ereign States, independent of any of the
provisions of the Constitution. In fact,
two of the States did not accede to the
Constitution until long after it had gone
into operation among the other eleven;
and during that interval, they each exer-
cised the functions of an independent na-
tion.

By this Constitution, certain duties were
charged on the several States, and the ex-
ercise of certain of their powers restrained,
which necessarily implied their continued
existence as sovereign States. But, to re-
move all doubt, an amendment was ad-
ded, which declared that the powers not
delegated to the United States by it to the
Constitution, nor prohibited by it to the
States, are reserved to the States respec-
tively, or to the people. On 23d May,
1788, South Carolina, by a Convention of
her people, passed an Ordinance assenting
to this Constitution, and afterwards alter-
ed her own Constitution, to conform her-
self to the obligations she had under-
taken.

Thus was established, by compact be-
tween the States, a Government, with de-
fined objects and powers, limited to the
express of the grant, and to so much more
only as was necessary to execute the power
granted. This limitation left the whole
remaining mass of power subject to the
clause reserving it to the people, and ren-
dered unnecessary any specification of re-
served rights. We hold that the Govern-
ment thus established is subject to the two
principles asserted in the Declaration of
Independence; and we hold further, that
the mode of its formation subjects it to a
third fundamental principle, namely: the
law of compact. We maintain that in
every compact between two or more par-
ties the obligation is mutual; that the failure
of one of the contracting parties to per-
form a material part of the agreement en-
tirely releases the other, and that where
no arbiter is provided, each party is re-
mitted to his own judgement to determine
the fact of failure, with all its consequen-
ces.

In the present case, the fact is estab-
lished with certainty. We assert that 15
of the States have deliberately refused for
years past to fulfill their constitutional ob-
ligations, and we refer to their own stat-
utes for the proof.

The Constitution of the United States,
in its 4th Article, provides as follows:
"No person held to service or labor in
one State under the laws thereof escap-
ing into another, shall, in consequence of
any law or regulation therein, be discharg-
ed from such service or labor, but shall be
delivered up, on claim of the party to
whom such service or labor may be due."

This stipulation was so material to the
compact, that without it that compact
would not have been made. The greater
number of the contracting parties held
slaves, and the State of Virginia had pre-
viously declared her estimate of its value
by making it the condition of her cession
of the territory which now composes the
States North of the Ohio river.

The same article of the Constitution
stipulates also for rendition by the several
States of fugitives from justice from the
other States.

The General Government, as the com-
mon agent, passed laws to carry into effect
these stipulations of the States. For
many years these laws were executed.
But an increasing hostility on the part
of the Northern States to the institution of
slavery has led to a disregard of their ob-
ligations, and the laws of the General Gov-
ernment have ceased to elect the objects
of the Constitution. The States of Maine,
New Hampshire, Vermont, Massachusetts,
Connecticut, Rhode Island, New York,
Pennsylvania, Illinois, Indiana, Ohio, Mich-
igan, Wisconsin, and Iowa, have enacted
laws which either nullify the Acts of Con-
gress, or render useless any attempt to
execute them. In many of these States
the fugitive is discharged from the service
or labor claimed, and in none of them has
the State Government complied with the
stipulation made in the Constitution. The
State of New Jersey, at an early day,
passed a law for the rendition of fugi-
tive slaves, in conformity with her
constitutional undertaking; but the
current of anti-slavery feeling has led her
more recently to enact laws which render
inoperative the remedies provided by her
own law, and by the laws of Congress. In
the State of New York, even the right of
transit for a slave has been denied by her
tribunals; and the States of Ohio and
Iowa have refused to surrender to justice
fugitives charged with murder, and with
inciting servile insurrection in the State
of Virginia. Thus the constitutional com-
pact has been deliberately broken and dis-

regarded by the non-slaveholding States,
and the consequence follows that South
Carolina is released from its obligation.

The ends for which this Constitution
was framed are declared by itself to be "to
form a more perfect Union, establish jus-
tice, insure domestic tranquility, provide
for the common defence, promote the gen-
eral welfare, and secure the blessings of
liberty to ourselves and our posterity."

These ends are endeavored to accomplish
by a Federal Government, in which each
State was recognized as an equal, and had
separate control over its own institutions.
The right of property in slaves was re-
cognized by giving to free persons distinct
political rights, by giving them the right
to represent, and burthening them with
direct taxes for three-fifths of their slaves;
by authorizing the importation of slaves
for twenty years; and by stipulating
for the rendition of fugitives from labor.

We affirm that these ends for which this
Government was instituted, have been
defeated, and the Government itself has
been made destructive of them by the ac-
tion of the non-slaveholding States. Those
States have assumed the right of deciding
upon the propriety of our domestic insti-
tutions; and have denied the rights of
property established in fifteen of the
States and recognized by the Constitution;
they have denounced as sinful the institu-
tion of slavery; they have permitted the
open establishment among them of soci-
eties, whose avowed object is to disturb
the peace and to cloign the property of
the citizens of other States. They have en-
couraged and assisted thousands of our
slaves to leave their homes; and those
who remain, have been incited by emissar-
ies, books, and pictures to servile insur-
rection.

For twenty-five years this agitation has
been steadily increasing, until it has now
secured to its aid the power of the com-
mon Government. Observing the forms
of the Constitution, a sectional party has
found within that article establishing the
Executive Department, the means of sub-
verting the Constitution itself. A geo-
graphical line has been drawn across the
Union, and all the States North of that
line have united in the election of a
man to the high office of President of
the United States, whose opinions and
purposes are hostile to slavery. He is
to be entrusted with the administration
of the common Government, because he
has declared that that "Government, can-
not endure permanently, half slave, half
free," and that the public mind must rest
in the belief that slavery is in the course
of ultimate extinction.

This sectional combination for the sub-
version of the Constitution, has been aid-
ed in some of the States, by elevating to
citizenship, persons who, by the supreme
law of the land, are incapable of becoming
citizens; and their votes have been used
to inaugurate a new policy, hostile to the
South, and destructive of its peace and
safety.

On the 4th March next, this party will
take possession of the Government. It
has announced that the South shall be ex-
cluded from the common Territory; that
the judicial tribunals shall be made sec-
tional, and that a war must be waged
against slavery until it shall cease through-
out the United States.

The guarantees of the Constitution will
then no longer exist; the equal rights
of the States will be lost. The slaveholding
States will no longer have the power of
self-government, or self-protection, and
the Federal Government will have become
their enemy.

Sectional interest and animosity will
deepen the irritation, and all hope of reu-
dy is rendered vain, by the fact that
public opinion at the North has invested
a great political error with the sanc-
tions of a more erroneous religious be-
lief.

We, therefore, the people of South Car-
olina, by our delegates, in Convention as-
sembled, appealing to the Supreme Judge
of the world for the rectitude of our in-
tentions, have solemnly declared that the
Union heretofore existing between this
State and the other States of North Amer-
ica, is dissolved, and that the State of
South Carolina has resumed her position
among the nations of the world, as a free,
sovereign, and independent State; with
full power to levy war, conclude peace,
contract alliances, establish commerce,
and to do all other acts and things which
independent States may of right do.

And, for the support of this declaration,
with a firm reliance on the protection of
Divine Providence, we mutually pledge to
each other our lives, our fortunes, and our
sacred honor.

A young lady shouldn't be un-
happy because she isn't quite as tall as she
would like to be. It is a very easy thing
to get "spliced."

ATTEMPTED REINFORCEMENT OF FORT SUMTER.

We copy the following particulars of the
late abortive attempt to reinforce the gar-
rison at Fort Sumter, from the Charleston
Mercury of Thursday last:

The first gun of the new struggle for
independence (if struggle there is to be)
has been fired, and Federal power has re-
ceived its first repulse.

About 7 o'clock yesterday morning, our
citizens were started by the firing of heavy
guns in the direction of Sullivan and Mor-
ris Islands. It was at once surmised that
the steamship *Star of the West*, which
had been reported by the special tele-
graphic correspondents of the *Mercury* as
having left New York with reinforcements
and stores for Major Anderson, had at-
tempted to pass the battery on Morris
Island. Our reporters were immediately
despatched to the entrance of the harbor,
and after visiting all the fortifications now
occupied by our troops, the following facts
were elicited:

PARTICULARS OF THE AFFAIR.

Yesterday morning, shortly after "re-
veille," the sentries on Morris Island re-
ported a steamship standing in for the
ship channel. The long roll was imme-
diately beat, and all the troops were
promptly under arms, Lieutenant-Colonel
J. L. Branch, of the Regiment of Rifles
commanding. These comprised the Vigil-
ant Rifles, Capt. Tupper (90 men); the
German Riflemen, Capt. Small (90 men);
the Zouave Cadets, Lieut. Cliechester (45
men); and a detachment of 49 from the
Citadel Cadet Corps. The last named
body were at once marched to the bat-
tery, commanding the ship channel, which,
at this point, passes within from one half
to three quarters of a mile of the beach.
At 7 o'clock, when the *Star of the West*
had reached a point within range of the
guns, Major Stevens fired a shot across
her bows, as a signal for her to heave to.
After waiting three or four minutes no
diminution in the speed or change in the
course of the steamer could be noticed. A
moment after, the United States flag was
run up at her foremast. The *Star of the
West* continuing thus defiantly to pursue
her course towards Fort Sumter, the or-
der was given to the men at the Morris
Island guns to open fire. Five rounds
were accordingly discharged in quick suc-
cession. Two of these are reported to
have taken effect; one forward and the
other abaft the wheel. At the sixth dis-
charge the *Star of the West* rounded to
and steered outward towards the bar. At
the same time, the ensign which she dis-
played immediately after the warning
gun, was lowered. Three more shots were
fired from Fort Morris and three from
Fort Moultrie; one of these latter, it is
thought, took effect.

A gentleman on the Island reports that
after the *Star of the West* had cleared the
bar and proceeded a considerable distance
beyond a steam propeller, of about 350
tons burthen, joined her, apparently as a
tender, and they steamed off together in
an E. N. E. direction.

This terminated the first attempt of
the Federal Government to reinforce the
great stronghold of coercion in our har-
bor. The approach of the *Star of the West*
to Fort Sumter, taken in connection with
the facts that her clearance was for New
Orleans, and that her troops were smuggled
aboard outside of the harbor of New York,
proves clearly enough that the President
has chosen the coercive policy, and that
his officials will not hesitate to promote its
success.

THE NEGOTIATIONS.

About ten o'clock, a boat bearing a
white flag came from Fort Sumter to-
wards the city. On its arrival at the
wharf it was found to contain Lieut. Hall,
of the garrison of Fort Sumter, with des-
patches for the Governor of the State.
The presence of this officer in the city,
owing to the events of the morning, gave
rise to considerable excitement, and specu-
lation was rife as to the object of his vis-
it. During his interview with the Gov-
ernor the public curiosity rose to the high-
est pitch, but it was two o'clock before the
purport of his communication was made
public. When the people learned that
Major Anderson had sent to inquire wheth-
er firing at Morris Island was sanctioned
by the Governor, that the Governor had
replied in the affirmative, and that Major
Anderson had thereupon signified his in-
tention of cutting off all communication by
water between the city and our forts, the
expressions of indignation were deep
and universal. The most active meas-
ures were immediately set on foot to
strengthen the forces at the various points
about the harbor, and people were every-
where discussing how the threatened af-
front and injury should be resented. On
his return Lieut. Hall was escorted to
his boat by General Suber and Lieutenant
Gibbes.

Thus matters stood until half-past 6
o'clock, when the white flag was again
seen coming from Fort Sumter. This
time the communication of Major And-
erson, brought by Lieut. Talbot, was of a
less menacing character. It briefly stated
that he designed deferring for the present
the course indicated in his note of the
morning, until the arrival from Washing-
ton of the instructions he might receive
from his Government, and asked safe con-
duct for his bearer of despatches.

ECCENTRICITY OF GENIUS.--Some ten
years ago there lived on the St. Charles
road, nine or ten miles from St. Louis, a
family by the name of Stringer. The old-
est son, Jacob, or Jake Stringer, as he
was called, was a most eccentric genius,
and took every occasion to show his odd-
ness. One day, while sitting before the
fire, whittling a shingle, his mother said
to him: "Jake, I want you to go down to
the store, (about half a mile distant,) and
get a quarter's worth of tea, and a quar-
ter's worth of sugar and a quarter's
worth of soap. Now, mind what
I tell you, Jake, and be quick about it."
Jake roused himself up, brushed the
whittlings from his lap, and started forth
on his errand, clothed in his fustian
breeches, and vest of the same material,
and a thick woollen shirt, without any
coat. He did not return that day, and
his mother waited long and anxiously
for her tea, sugar, and soap, but in
vain. Ten years passed by, and
no tidings were heard of the errand boy.
As the family were sitting down at their
Thanksgiving dinner, the door opened,
and in came a tall, moustached, good-
looking man, with some bundles in his
hand. It was Jake Stringer. All of the
family sprung to their feet in astonish-
ment, but the mother and Jake were per-
fectly cool. "Mother," said Jake, "here's
your tea, sugar, and soap." "Lay them
down on the table, and eat your dinner,"
said Mrs. Stringer. "You ought to be
whipped, Jake, for being gone so long."

A GRACEFUL COMPLIMENT TO A WIFE.

The following neat and beautiful reply
was made by the late Daniel O'Connell,
in response to a toast given in compli-
ment to his wife, who was the object of
his long and affectionate attachment--
It was given at a political meeting. The
English language could not furnish any-
thing more touchingly tender and grace-
ful:

"There are some topics of so sacred
and sweet a nature that they may be
comprehended by those who are happy,
but they cannot be possibly described by
any human being. All that I shall do is
to thank you in the name of her who was
the disinterested choice of my early
youth; who was the ever-cheerful com-
panion of my manly years; and who is
the sweetest solace of that "scur and yel-
low leaf" age at which I have arrived.
In her name I thank you; and this you
may readily believe, for experience, I
think, will show to us all that man cannot
battle and struggle with the malignant
enemies of his country, unless his nest at
home is warm and comfortable--unless
the honey of human life is commended by
a hand that he loves."

TRUE LIFE.--The mere lapse of years
is not life. To eat and drink and sleep;
to be exposed to darkness and to light;
to pace around the mill of habit, and turn
the wheel of wealth; to make reason our
book-keeper, and turn thought into im-
plements of trade--this is not life. In all
this, but a poor fraction of the conscious-
ness of humanity is awakened, and the
sanctities still slumber which make it
most worth while to be. True love,
knowledge, beauty, goodness and faith
alone can give vitality to the mechanism
of existence. The laugh of mirth, which
vibrates through the tears which freshen
the dry wastes within; the music that
brings childhood back; the prayer that
calls us near; the doubt which makes us
meditate; the death which startles us
with mystery; the hardship that forces
to struggle; the anxiety that ends in
trust--these are the true nourishments
of our natural being.

A HAPPY FIRESIDE.--Home is the resi-
dence, not merely of the body, but of the
heart; it is a place for the affections to
unfold and develop themselves; for chil-
dren to love, and learn, and play in; for
husband and wife to toil smilingly to-
gether, and make life a blessing. The object
of all ambition should be to be happy at
home; if we are not happy there, we can-
not be happy elsewhere. It is the best
proof of the virtues of a family circle to
see a happy fireside.

Men of wit are rarely the captives
of beautiful fools.

One often meets dead men in
their walks--ghosts of their former selves.

WILLIS ON SOUTHERN SOCIETY.--In a
recent leading article for the *Home Jour-
nal*, Willis thus laments over the "es-
trangement of the South":

Politics, trade and sectional differences
quite out of the question (and "News"
knows these branches of the question are
sufficiently discussed in the other papers,) we
are sustaining a great social loss in
the estrangement of the South. In all
the larger and more refined circles of our
American society--at Saratoga and New-
port, in our gayeties of the cities, and on
our routes of fashionable travel and resort
--the Southerners are unquestionably the
class most sought and admired as "the
nicest people." It would be hard to find
a cultivated "society man," probably,
anywhere at the North, who does not
number many of his most valued friends
and pleasantest acquaintances in this
class. Explain it by what social alchemy
you please, too, the infusion of the South-
ern amalgam in any alembic of politeness
at the North, exceedingly improves the
metal--partly, no doubt, from the corrective
given by the South to the more angu-
lar angular and calculating qualities of
the North. The American travellers who
shine most at foreign courts and in for-
eign society, are from the South. They
are, in fact, our country's natural patri-
cians. And--abused though they are, at
a distance, by some of the Northern
newspapers as an offensive "oligarchy"
--the tribute of preference and admira-
tion is paid to them, by these very
Northerners, at this very time, whenever
they come personally in contact. And so,
with all the "momentous issues" of seces-
sion left to more gregarious discussion,
may we not fairly own, that, individually,
Northern men are regretting exceedingly
the social estrangement of the South?

Beautiful things are suggestive of
a purer and higher life, and fills us with a
mingled love and fear. They have a gra-
ciousness that wins us, and an excellence
to which we involuntarily do reverence.
If you are poor, yet pure and modestly
aspiring, keep a vase of flowers on your
table, and they will help to maintain
your dignity, and secure for you consid-
eration and delicacy of behaviour.

It was Goethe, who said this beautiful
thing: "The longer I live, the more cer-
tain I am that the great difference between
men, the great and insignificant, is en-
ergy--invincible determination--an honest
purpose once fixed, and then victory--
That quality will do anything that can
be done in the world, and no circumstance,
no opportunity, will make a two-legged
creature a man without it."

Time wears slippers of list, and his
tread is noiseless. The days come softly
dawning, one after another; they creep
in at the windows; their fresh morning
air is grateful to the lips that part for it;
their music is sweet to the ears that lis-
ten to it; until, before we know it, a
whole life of days has possession of the
citadel, and Time has taken us for its
own.

If we work upon marble, it will perish;
if we work on brass, time will efface it;
if we rear temples, they will crumble into
dust; if we work upon immortal minds--
if we imbue them with high principles,
with just fear of God and of their fellow-
men, we engrave on these tablets some-
thing which no time can efface, but which
will brighten to all eternity--Daniel
Webster.

The most beautiful may be the most ad-
mired and adressed, but they are not al-
ways the most esteemed and loved. We
discover great beauty in those who are
not beautiful, if they possess genuine truth-
fulness, simplicity, and sincerity. No de-
formity is present where vanity and affecta-
tion are absent.

THE OLD MAN'S SECRET.--An aged cler-
gyman, who had not known one day's
illness, was asked his secret. "Dry feet
and early rising" was his reply; these
are my only two precautions.

An exchange advertises for com-
positors "who won't get drunk," and
adds that "the editor does all the getting
drunk necessary to support the dignity
of the establishment!"

Use the best language in your common
conversation at home, and you will soon
acquire the habit of using it on all occa-
sions.

Why is a thief in a garret like an hon-
est man! Because he is above doing
wrong.

Society, like the shaded silk, must be
viewed in all situations, or its colors will
deceive you.

Reflection is a flower of the mind,
giving out wholesome fragrance.

The lady who fell back on her
dignity came near breaking it.