

From the August 1851 Convention.
ADDRESS OF THE CONVENTION OF
SOUTHERN RIGHTS ASSOCIATIONS
OF SOUTH CAROLINA

Differences of opinion will, and do exist, in the South, as to the extent and degrading character of the hostile action of the Federal Government upon the rights of the Southern people, and also as to whether any course for redress should be adopted, and if so, what course. While candid minds, even in the North, frankly admit that great injustice has been done the South, there are intelligent Southern men, of such obliquity of mental vision, or so devoid of those nice sensibilities which render a free people jealous of their rights and their honor, and quick to resent a wrong, who honestly contend that the Southern people have nothing to complain of; no wrongs to redress; no ground on which to demand reparation for past injustice. Others, taking council of their timidity, and anxious for repose and quiet, however inglorious, while admitting that injustice has been done the South, are willing to submit, for fear of greater practical evils. Others, again, politicians by profession, knowing and appreciating full well all the enormity of the wrongs, and the sure tendency of events under continued submission by the South, to repeated and redoubled outrage, have a personal interest in quieting excitement, in lulling to a false security, and in persuading the people to be content with things as they are.

In South Carolina, these distracting influences exist to but little extent, and her people are in a condition to view the subject in its true bearings. Differences do exist, of a grave character, as to the proper remedy, but opinion, in South Carolina, is unanimous as to the wrong.

The Address put forth by her Convention of Southern Rights Associations, is entitled to great weight and consideration throughout the Union, as a truthful index of the sentiment of that State. It is entitled to especial consideration throughout the Southern States, because it declares, in impressive terms, the resistance of South Carolina to separate her destiny from that which awaits her Southern sisters.

The following passage deserves long to be remembered and may hereafter be suggestive of bitter regrets on the part of the Southern people:

"We wish that the necessity for separate action by South Carolina, which we have contemplated, may be averted. We confide in the gallant spirits whom we address. There may be some hope of the assembling of a Southern Congress, to devise measures of redress and relief, upon which some of the injured States may unite. We have heretofore been willing to sacrifice much for Southern Union. We still are. We do not desire to lead, but to follow. Propose any effectual measures for vindicating our common rights, and providing for our common safety, and we will heartily unite with you in carrying them."

Had the entire South, been as South Carolina is, a unit as to the grossness of the fraud sought to be perpetrated upon her in depriving her of her share of the acquired territories, and in denying to her the right of ever extending the arena of slavery beyond its present limits, the fraud would not have been consummated. Were the South now united as South Carolina is, wrong perpetrated could be, even at this late day, in a measure, undone—the division line of 36 30 would be run through California to the Pacific, and all South of that line would be open to the South and her slave institutions.

But there is no such Union of the South, and no immediate prospect of it. The great majority of her people are willing to submit to the fraud and the injustice. Virginia and Georgia have so solemnly decided, and the same decision is virtually made in nearly all the other slaveholding States.

The Address further says: "In all these proceedings, we think that the citizens of South Carolina have evinced all proper anxiety to avoid the appearance of arrogance or dictation, to act in concert with the citizens of the other Southern States, and to do nothing separately." And now, strongly as we have expressed our belief that there is no hope for the South in the existing Union, we are prepared to give a trial, fairly and in good faith, to any effectual plan which may be proposed by any sister State of the South, for obtaining redress for the past and security for the future, without a dissolution of the existing Union, if there be a possibility of such a consummation.

In the face of the notorious willingness of the majority to submit it is vain to call on any body of men in the other Southern States, to propose an effectual measure of vindication. The Southern people have resolved not to vindicate their violated rights. They have accepted that miserable lumbag called the Fugitive Slave Law, the utter inefficiency of which has already been exhibited in a way which proved the complete triumph of Abolitionism over the Constitution, as an equivalent. It is a law, which, if worth any thing, the South was already entitled to the Constitution, without paying for it. The law will stand for years upon the statute book as a solemn mockery of the South; for as long as it will take five thousand dollars, to recover a slave worth one thousand dollars, the Northern people will have no adequate motive to repeal the law. The only motive to repeal it would be to put a wanton insult upon the humbled and degraded South, as was the case when they applied the Wilmot Proviso to the Oregon territory—a territory where Slavery would not have gone even had this outrage not been committed.

As it seems a settled matter, that South Carolina will not get the co-operation of any Southern State in a measure of vindication, the next question for her to decide is: "Will she secede alone from the Union?"

She, as a sovereign State, has the right, and as an intelligent State, has the capacity to decide this question for herself.

The whole South should rise up as one man and maintain this right for her, and insist that no steps should be taken by the Government, from which South Carolina secedes if she decides to do so, to embarrass her in its exercise, or to cripple and retard her prosperity out of the Union.

The oldest sympathies of humanity would be revealed to, to shield a lid, his printed

but comparatively feeble nation, from ungenerous hostility, and from oppressive legislation against her commerce and her institutions.

In the South she should look for this sympathy, not from the characteristic magnanimity alone of her people, but from the commonest dictate of interest and self-preservation; for if South Carolina were allowed to be made a victim by anti-slavery hostility, her fate would in time become the fate of the other Southern States. They should remember that anti-slavery hates not South Carolina alone, but slavery and that hatred will show itself in deeds as well as words, when it gets, as it evidently must, the entire mastery of this Government.

Separate secession is a question of policy for South Carolina. We see in it a formidable and appalling array of difficulties, and we conceive it would be no dishonor to that State to avoid them. The Federal Government would not shed the blood of her citizens, but would victimize her by hostile legislation.

It would do this not by the votes of Southern members of Congress, Mr. Clay and a few such apostates to the South excepted. But there would be Northern anti-slavery votes enough in Congress to do this, and the anti-slavery section of the Union would find in Millard Fillmore, and abolitionist and slavery later in heart, a willing instrument to carry out the atrocious schemes of oppression.

If South Carolina elects to remain in the Union, and, true to her past history, continues to fight against anti-slavery encroachments, contesting inch by inch her friends in the South will increase, until more than one Southern State will be in full sympathy with her. This union of Southern States will check the abolitionists, and save our institutions in the Union, or it will produce a Southern Confederacy which will be sufficiently strong to protect itself. Either result will be creditable alike to the sagacity and spirit of South Carolina.

MASSACHUSETTS SENATOR.

On the 24th ult., Charles Sumner was elected a Senator to Congress from the State of Massachusetts, for six years from the 4th of March, 1851. This is another signal triumph of the "higher law" doctrine of the North, and one of more fearful interest to the South than any that has yet taken place, because it was a contest—a regular "stand up fight," between the Constitution and "Higher Law." The latter has triumphed, and Massachusetts has said by the act, that the Constitution will be no barrier in carrying out her fanatical purposes of Abolition. Will our neighbor of the Watchman notice this fact, and tell its readers if Sewardism is waning at the North or not; or will it say, as in the case of Fish, that he is no Abolitionist, but a very conservative man? Here are Sumner's deliberate sentiments, deliberately expressed:

CHARLES SUMNER IN STATE CONVENTION.
"We demand, first and foremost, the instant repeal of the fugitive slave bill."

"We demand that Congress receive into the Union no new slave State."

"And yet one thing further must be done: The slave power must be overturned, so that the federal government may be put openly, actively, and perpetually on the side of freedom."

"And still further, as if to do a deed which should make Heaven weep—all earth amazed—this same Congress, in disregard of all the cherished safeguards of freedom, has passed a most cruel, inhuman, devilish law, to secure the return into slavery of those unfortunate Londoners who are found sheltered by our fire-side."

"Into the immortal catalogue of national crimes this law has now passed, drawing with it, by an inexorable necessity, its authors also, and chiefly him who, as President of the United States, set his name to the bill, and breathed into it that final breath without which it would have no life."

"Other Presidents may be forgotten, but the name signed to the fugitive bill will never be forgotten. There are depths of infamy as there are heights of fame. Better far for him had he never been born; better far for his memory and for the good name of his children had he never been President."

"Sir, I will not dishonor this home of the pilgrims and of the revolution, by admitting—nay, I cannot believe—that this bill will be executed here. Individuals among us, as elsewhere, may forget humanity in a fancied loyalty to law; but the public conscience will not allow a man who has trodden our streets as a free-man to be dragged away as a slave. The fugitive slaves of the United States are among the heroes of our age."

FROM THE COLUMBIA TELEGRAPH.

Let the first business of the State Convention be to notify our co-States, that it is the intention of the State of South Carolina, to leave the Federal Union. This notice might be served on the Governors of the States, who would doubtless present it to their Legislatures for consideration. The Legislatures would all declare their opinions on the question of the right to secede.

By this course, we would ascertain what States recognize the right to secede, and what States deny it. The question whether we would be permitted to depart in peace, or whether we should be required to cut loose by the sword would in a great degree be settled. We should then better know what to do in the way of preparation. It is of the greatest importance to know whether secession is to be a work of war, or one of peace. Until this is settled, our people will not unite with the same interest and zeal, in making the preparation that may be necessary to carry us out of the Union. Indeed it may not require any preparation to withdraw, as many of our wisest men believe, and therefore the funds and labor thus expended, would be lost.

The momentous question of State Sovereignty, would then receive a profound and deliberate discussion, and a practical consideration by all the co-States, a consideration under circumstances of the deepest interest. The grave question, is our Government practically, whatever it may have thought to be in theory, a mere democracy—a Government in which a majority shall rule, regardless of the checks of the Constitution? The States that refuse to meet us in the Southern Congress, will be forced to

meet this question. The "Old Dominion," the once proud leader in the advocacy of the State Sovereignty—the "Old Dominion" that from her numerous resolutions on this point, is entitled at least to the name of the State of Resolutions, will have an opportunity of indulging in this, her excellent nature, by adding another, to her already ponderous stock of Resolves.—She will have an opportunity of completing her political figure of a beautiful beginning, although of a mongrel middle, with a noble finish. And the balance of the Southern States cannot evade this question, but must march up to it and say whether their property, their liberty and their lives, shall be subject to the will of a heathen majority.

It would appear decent in our State to notify her copartners that she intends to quit the concern, and it would moreover, argue that we believed we had a right to secede peacefully.—The notice should be served on the co-States, and not on the Federal Government. The compact was made with the States, and from the co-partnership entered into with them, we propose to withdraw; and when we shall have withdrawn, the Federal Government can no longer rightfully operate upon our citizens, as it received its authority from the State to operate upon them. The Federal Government ceases to exist rightfully over South Carolina, the instant after she declares herself to be out of the Union. She has no more right to control the citizens of this State than those of Great Britain, and the citizens of this State owe her no more allegiance than our ancestors did, after they had established their independence and sovereignty.

As we should be entitled to a share of the public property—our share of the investment and the profits of the copartnership—it is also our duty to call on the co-States for settlement. With them we made the bargain, and with them we should propose to settle, and not with the Federal Government. And when we notify them of our intention to withdraw, it might seem advisable to notify them of our desire to have our share of the public property delivered over to us, or its value in money, as it might serve to fortify our State, and purchase or build a navy.

J. F. G. MITTAG.

COTTON POWER OF THE SOUTH.

The New York Herald, in drawing a comparison between the political power of the North and the cotton power of the South, remarks:

"Does any one doubt the extent of the cotton power, or of its ability to tear up, even to the smallest fibre, the cancerous root of abolition, let him only study the true nature of the infliction which the withdrawal of the Southern trade from Boston has put upon Boston during the past season. That city could have better afforded to have given the entire product of the gold mines of California, for the past year, to the abolitionists, that to have had their action and agitation. It has cost them more, and will cost them still more, now that they have elected Sumner. The retaliation of the South is a fearful one, but it is proper. When men break their political faith—all the pledges of the compact and constitution under which they have agreed to live—they cannot expect that honest and high-minded men will represent them. On the contrary, they must expect that they will have no communication with them. This is now the case. The divisiveness of the whole South is aroused by the avowed determination of sections of the North to assail their rights, as defined by the constitution. That divisiveness is something stronger and deeper than the moek morals which originated the anti-masonic excitement, and which failing in that, has now taken up the abolition cause for political effect. It is an abiding and sincere sense of honor and justice—and it will array that tremendous cotton power, which can move the world, and even revolutionize it, in such hostility against political presumption, that many Northern cities will be made to suffer. The instinct of a great people, in such a case, as our southern neighbors will show, will be beyond the common ways and means which might be devised to cripple enemies. They will see where they can benefit those who are opposed to them, and they have the spirit to cut all benefit, off, if not by individual skill, animated by warm feelings, then by a chivalrous and solemn league, which, knowing its power, can bend a large portion of the world to its will, at the cost of only slight retrenchments and sacrifices."

"If, in view of this subject, any one doubts the power of the South to touch the pocket (which is the soul) of those who are arrayed against her interests let him remember the thousands upon thousands of Southern families who pour, during the summer months, millions of dollars into the lap of the North. Last summer they avoided the infected districts of the North and during the present season they will not be found, we venture to say, carrying their wealth for distribution into Western New York, where abolition conventions and free soil-hot-houses are as plentiful as potato hills. Neither will they extend their journeys into New England. The soil of these places can have no charms for them. The people will be disagreeable to them. They will not wish to associate, much less spend their money, with those who, through the ballot box, would sneakily rob them of their rights and property, as guaranteed to them by the constitution. On the contrary, despising the spirit of every section which has devoted itself to undermining their security, and to steal their goods from them, they will have too high a sense of personal comfort and relaxation, to distribute their wealth among their foes. No—the cotton power will show what it is—a power beyond political power—beyond the money power of the North—patient as well as valiant in the chivalrous spirit of protecting itself, and forming a compact of intentions which will confine its power of benefiting the country to those sections of which are ready to maintain inviolate the sacred compromises of the constitution."

"With her to win the sword on high, And swear for her to live, with her to die."

In Alabama, we have many substantial friends, unflinching advocates of secession and State sovereignty. The Louises County Chronicle, is a faithful sentinel at the post of duty. The Montgomery Atlas, has been for a length of time, the stern and inflexible advocate of Southern Rights, and we are highly gratified to learn that it will in future, be published under the name of the "Atlas and Secession Banner," by Messrs. Cragin & Co. It will advocate the policy of Secession, as a remedy for Southern wrongs, so says the Chronicle. And we are glad to find that there are yet a few presses in Alabama, who are not afraid to assume the proud position of Resistance to Federal usurpation.

We have a few thoughts yet left on hand, which we intend to submit, on the practicability and necessity, of our citizens building that PLANK ROAD; when we have leisure to transcribe them into our columns. In the interim, we beg that our people will take into consideration, the importance of the enterprise. Should the State secede, that is no reason why the Road should not be built—but rather a stronger inducement for its construction. The gentleman who told us a few days ago he was willing to give as a donation three hundred dollars towards its construction, and pay his Tolls besides talks the way to suit us.

Hon. Joseph A. Woodward.

The Southern Standard, (Columbus Mi.) of the 10th inst., says: The Hon. Joseph A. Woodward member of Congress from the 1st district, South Carolina, spent a day in our city during the present week. He has friends residing in an adjacent

THE CAMDEN JOURNAL.

THEO. J. WARREN, Editor.

TUESDAY EVENING, MAY 29, 1851.

TO ADVERTISERS.

As the circulation of the Journal has been steadily increasing within the past sixteen months, and particularly since the first of January last, the paper affords a good advertising medium, and as an inducement to merchants and others, we have determined to contract for yearly advertising as heretofore.

Our Cotton Market.

The receipts since our last have been very light, and the principal sales at 6 to 9 cents.

Corn and Fodder are very scarce, and high, the former, commanding from the wagons, \$1 to \$1.06, and the latter \$1.50 to \$1.75.

CHARLESTON, May 19.

The sales on Saturday footed up 700 bales, the market continuing depressed, and at the irregular decline of $\frac{1}{2}$ to $\frac{3}{4}$, as reported on Friday, prices ranging from 7 to 9 $\frac{1}{2}$.

Brigade Encampment.

The Encampment of the 5th Brigade commenced on Tuesday. A large number of Officers and Sergeants are in attendance. The whole is under the Command of Brigadier General Chandler.

A writer in the South Carolinian, of Saturday last, under the signature of "A Disunionist," in the course of some strictures upon the proceedings of the late convention of the southern rights associations, says "Kershaw is nearly unanimous against separate state action."—meaning we suppose, that the People of our District are nearly unanimously opposed to that measure. Now, we have no means of knowing where or how "A Disunionist" obtained his information, but that he has misstated the position of Kershaw, there is not the least doubt. We are free to admit that a large number of our influential citizens are opposed to immediate separate state action, but that there is any approach towards unanimity in that sentiment, we most emphatically deny. The only test that has been made in Kershaw was the election of Delegates to the state convention, when the separate state action ticket was elected.—Taking that election as a test, (and we believe it a fair one) the voice of Kershaw is for separate state action. True, the vote was a small one, but the presumption is fair, that at least one half of those who did not vote are in favor of separate action—at all events, we have as good a right to claim them for our side, as "A Disunionist" has to claim them for his, until they express an opinion, and when that opinion is expressed, we have no fears of the result.

The writer further says, that he knows that in all of the Districts except six, some of the delegates to the state convention are opposed to separate state action, and that in Charleston, York, Abbeville, Chester, Lexington and Kershaw, the entire delegations (or nearly so) are opposed to that measure. His assertion in regard to other Districts may be correct—we will only speak for Kershaw, and will let our delegates to the state convention speak for themselves. In answer to queries addressed to them previous to their election, two replied, that after waiting a reasonable time for co-operation without obtaining it, they were for separate state action. The other thought the "argument was exhausted," and South Carolina ought to act alone.

Thus it will be seen, that as far as our delegation are concerned, and so far as the sentiments of our people have been expressed, "A Disunionist" has placed Kershaw in a wrong position.—We assure our friends that there are no submissionists in Kershaw, and whatever mode of resistance the State in her sovereign capacity may adopt, we will be found with her.

Secession in Alabama.

It is gratifying to know that we have at least, a few friends, firm, tried, and true, in some of the counties in the adjoining States. Those who know how to appreciate South Carolina, in the midst of a crooked and perverse generation; those who, regardless of the idle slang and vile abuse of her traducers, are willing

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ing county with whom he will spend a few days and it is then hoped he will visit our city, and should time and convenience permit, there are many who would be delighted to hear him speak.

Right.—That objectionable paragraph in the Methodist Discipline relating to slavery has been expended in a new edition of the work, published in pursuance of a resolution passed by the South Carolina Conference at its last annual session. The purified edition is for sale by John W. Stoy, Agent, Charleston.—South Carolinian.

Cuba.—The Boston Advertiser learns from a good source that the Cuban authorities have ordered the Spanish men-of-war not to capture or molest any suspicious vessel they may fall in with at sea, but to watch them, and, if any attempt be made to land an armed force, to attack and show them no quarter.—1b.

NEW POST OFFICE.—A new post office has been established at Branch Island, Pickens District, and Mr. Joseph Tenny appointed postmaster.—1b.

During the absence from Washington, of the President, and Messrs. Webster, Crittenden and Hall, who are gone to attend the celebration of the completion of the New-York and Erie Rail Road, Messrs. Corwin, Stewart and Conard are left in charge of the general executive duties, and those appertaining to their respective departments.

Rhode Island.—The Legislature adjourned after a session of four and a half days. Among the acts passed was one restoring Thomas W. Dorr to his civil rights and privileges.

Commerce of Boston.—The value of exports last week to foreign ports was, American products, \$203,374 66; foreign products, 62,260 58.

The Senate of Massachusetts has passed a bill providing for the call of a Convention to revise the Constitution of the State. The measure is not expected to pass the House of Representatives.

A Mr. James Muffie is exhibiting at Baltimore, a machine invented by him, for walking on the water. The Clipper says that the *modus operandi* is simple, and thinks it will prove successful on trial. An experiment is to be made with it in Baltimore Bay, on the 29th inst.

PICKENS C. H., May 10.

On the 9th inst., Mrs. Mary Gaines, an aged widow, and for many years a member of the Methodist Church, committed suicide by hanging herself with a hank of thread to the beam of a loom. Mrs. G. had been for some time partially deranged in mind.

Mortality in Cities.—The deaths in New York during the week ending May 10, were 402; of these 90 were by Diseases of the Lungs, and 41 by Typhus Fever.

In Baltimore, for the week ending May 12, the deaths were 74, of which 12 were by Consumption.

The following is a comparative view of the deaths during the week in the cities of New York, Baltimore and Charleston, and the proportion to their population respectively:

	New York	Baltimore	Charleston
Population	517,813	169,925	13,014
Deaths	402	74	10
Proportionately 1 in	1,283	2,113	1 in 1301

GEORGETOWN, May 10, 1851.—The citizens news received this morning by the Charleston papers, that the report and resolutions of the Committee of 21 had been adopted with such great unanimity by the Convention, was confirmed by our delegerator who arrived in the Gen. Clinch this afternoon. Their account of the entire proceedings was indeed most gratifying. The memory of the oldest inhabitant does not bring to mind any news more joyfully received by our entire population, and a salute of fifteen guns informed our country neighbors that the Convention had done its duty, notwithstanding the powerful influences brought to bear against the only practical course left us to pursue.

As the letter of Mr. Polinsett bears date in this district, it is proper to say that he is not authority with us, never will be.

[Georgetown Observer.]

Bounty Land Claims.—Those who have claims for Bounty Lands under the late act will find it necessary to exercise some considerable degree of patience. The number of applications received in a day have run up as high as 1500. They now average about 400 a day. There are 100,000 applications on file which have not been touched. The number of warrants which the department have found it practicable to issue is about 200.

The Cotton and Tobacco Crops.—Telegraphic despatches from Nashville, Edgeville, Eastport and other portions of Tennessee, give unfavorable reports of the cotton and tobacco crops; the severe frosts have seriously injured them, and many of the plants already up are thought to have been killed.

DIRECT IMPORTATION OF MEDICINES.—Messrs. Dawson and Blackman, as will be perceived by advertisement, have received direct from the well known house of Mander, Weaver and Mander, at Wolverhampton, England, a large assortment of Medicines, which they are offering at their Store 17 Broad-street. We understand, is the first direct importation of the kind made to this port for many years, and we learn that Messrs. D. and B. have made arrangements for future supplies regularly from the same quarter.—Charleston Mercury.