

afflictive to the race professing to benefit, because their bondage is necessarily made more stringent and oppressive, when it is seen that, in the event of their escape, there is no hope of recovery. And then, in the aggrieved party, there is left ranking a sense of wrongs unredressed, of intolerable insult of a broken covenant—all tending to excite and foster a wish to separate forever from, and cease from all intercourse with, a people who cannot or will not be held to any compact, however sacred. And in that case we could not blame them. It would be the sentiment of every honorable and generous heart, in tending to them the right hand of friendship and fellowship, when parting words were said. Would to God we might still dwell together in unity, as we once did. But it cannot be; madness and faction are in the ascendant, and rule the hour; we have nothing to accuse you of; God's law and man's law are with you; but separate we must. We succumb to the master-spirits amongst us, who have had revelations of a higher law. Go, and the blessings of Heaven go with you.

And then—what then? America, lately the admiration, the pride, the hope of the great and good in every clime, become the scoff and jeer of the world; all faith in the ability of republics to fulfil the ends of government extinguished forever; our Union gone; our strength, our peace, our glory, departed like a gorgeous but transient vision; and henceforward our tale will be told in the wars and fightings which make up the burden of vulgar history.

In none of the political agitations through which our country has hitherto passed, have I ever feared for the stability of the Union; for none of them sprung from interests or passions purely sectional, like that by which we are now convulsed. But at length the very crisis which the anxious mind of Washington foresaw—which he dreaded more than any other, and which he strove to avert by solemn and repeated warnings—is imminent danger of being brought upon us by a few factious, aspiring men, who avail themselves of the honest blunders of weak and ill-directed consciences to compass their own selfish ends. Yet this dangerous point will be safely turned, if we will but do our duty with faithful and resolute hearts. The battle for the Union must be fought, not on the cotton fields of the South, but here on the soil of New England. The enemy in this case is a band of disunionists at home. Let law triumph here, and the immediate danger will have passed. Let those who love the Constitution and laws of our country, stand by them, and plead for them, and act for them, uphold them; and it may yet be well with us for many years to come.

That our confederacy can long, very long, stand the tug and strain to which it is likely to be subjected in the growing impotence of law, it would, perhaps, be too sanguine to expect. It may be wanting in some of the essential elements of stability, the great calamity. Whenever it comes, it will come too soon. Let us not hasten it by any want of faithfulness on our part to the conditions of the compact, nor, by weakly yielding to the clamors of a few "men of perverse minds, and destitute of the truth," allow this fair heritage to be given up as a prey to the unimaginable miseries of disunion, anarchy, and civil war, the end of which no human mind can foresee.

Judge Cranch on the "Right of Secession."

A correspondent of the New York Express has communicated to this paper the following paper, just written by Chief Justice Cranch, of the District of Columbia. It is a brief argument upon an important public question which is now causing much anxiety both at the North and in the South. It is written with great ability, and though not intended for publication, we are sure it will meet with public acceptance.

The Alleged Grievances of S. Carolina.

By Chief Justice Cranch.

Since the elaborate discussions which have been had, both in and out of Congress, in relation to the complaints of South Carolina, it has become manifest that she has only one pretended grievance to complain of against the United States; and that is, that the balance of political power has changed, and South Carolina finds herself in a minority, so that she can no longer wield the power of the United States in the accomplishment of her particular views. She finds that, as a part of the United States, she has duties to perform under the Constitution and Laws which she may be compelled to perform while she continues in the Union. She therefore threatens to withdraw, and claims a right to re-assume the position she occupied before she adopted the Constitution of the United States, and even before the old Articles of Confederation; that is, to be an independent sovereign State without control. This she claims to be, and as such to be capable of forming new associations, domestic and foreign, for the maintenance of her independence. The question then arises, Can she do so?

The grievance is that she can no longer wield the power of the United States because she is in the minority. She demands present protection from the acts of the majority, and security for the future. There never was a time when she was a perfectly independent sovereign State. She never had the power to form foreign alliances or to raise and maintain armies and navies. She had no such power under the Royal Government; and if she had, she transferred with all her rights, of war and peace, and her right to form foreign as-

sociations, to the Congress of the Confederation; but, however that may be, her grievance is, that, according to the great republican rule and maxim, without which there can be no republican Government, she is bound to submit to the will of the majority, constitutionally and lawfully expressed. If she repudiates that maxim, as in practice she proposes to do, what sort of Government will it be? It must be a minority Government; and what is a minority Government but a Government by a minority?

There is no provision in the Constitution by which South Carolina can repudiate or abandon the Union. The doctrine of Republicanism is, that the majority can do no wrong, in the same sense in which it is said in England that the King can do no wrong, and for the same reason; because there can be no legal remedy. The ultimate sovereignty resides in the majority. Republicanism also supposes that the majority will exercise its power discreetly, and for the public good; and, if the minority should be of opinion that it is not so exercised, their remedy is only at the ballot-box or by revolution. But revolution can only be justified by insufferable injuries. Such injuries have not yet been inflicted; nor, by the Constitution and Laws of the United States, as construed by the Judiciary, can they be inflicted by the United States. The complaint is what the lawyers call *quasi timor*. South Carolina pretends that she fears that Congress will do what it has not the power to do, and she claims to have security for the future. She is not content to wait until Congress shall threaten to do her some great and insufferable injury, but upon a suggestion only that as the balance of political power in the United States is changed, or is about to be changed, the new majority may disregard the Constitution and Laws, and trample upon the rights of the minority. Alarmed at the possibility of such a course of proceeding, she now rushes madly from the Union, and plunges into the abyss of political anarchy, without a reasonable hope of thereby obtaining relief from the evils which she anticipates. In a proxy of fear she throws away her only shield against the fanaticism of the North, which is the most powerful foe with whom she is contending.

For this she has no color of right under the Constitution, nor under the Virginia resolutions of 1798, drawn up by Mr. Madison, the father and advocate of the Constitution. The question which drew forth those resolutions was, whether a portion of the people of the United States less than a majority could decide and declare for itself an act of Congress to be unconstitutional, and therefore refuse to obey it; and to that extent the resolutions go, and no further. They do not say that by such refusal the Union is dissolved, or that the recusant portion of the United States may therefore withdraw from the Union, and abandon the Constitution which its friends, and Mr. Madison at the time, and for a moment entertained the thought that every State, as soon as she found herself in a minority at the ballot box, had a right to withdraw from the Union. The remedy for the passing of an unconstitutional act of Congress is, by those resolutions, supposed to be the right to refuse to execute it; the right of nullification only, not the dissolution of the Union; and even this right of nullification does not arise, according to terms of the resolution, but in the case of a deliberate, palpable, and dangerous breach of the Constitution, by the exercise of powers not granted to it. It must be a case not of a light and transient nature, but of a nature dangerous to the great purposes for which the Constitution was established. "I must be a case, moreover, not obscure or doubtful in its construction, but plain and palpable. Lastly, it must be a case not resulting from a partial consideration or hasty determination, but a case stamped with a final consideration and deliberate adherence." These are stated in the resolutions themselves, (of 1798,) not as justifiable grounds of a dissolution of the Union, but as grounds of resistance of some unconstitutional act; a resistance not incompatible with the existence and integrity of the Constitution. No such case, however, has yet occurred, and it is by no means certain that it ever will occur. If the fanatics of the North should ever obtain the majority in Congress, and should pass a law abolishing slavery in the United States, there can be no doubt that it would be vetoed by the President, who is bound by the Constitution (Art. 2, Sec. 3) and his oath to "take care that the laws be faithfully executed;" and there is no probability that such an unconstitutional law can be supported by two-thirds of both Houses of Congress, or by the Supreme Court of the United States. South Carolina, therefore, has no reasonable ground to apprehend the evils and injuries which she seems to fear, much less to make her fears a ground of complaint against the United States; whereas the Constitution and Laws of the United States are the only barrier against the horde of fanatics who are seeking to overturn the country.

What madness, therefore, is it to surrender that barrier, in the hope of forming a new Government strong enough to put down these fanatics, control the slaves, compete with the Government of the United States, and maintain its own respectability as one of the nations of the earth!

A dissolution of the Union can give South Carolina no indemnity for the past nor security for the future. Every thing which Congress can constitutionally do for the protection of the peculiar institutions of the South has been done, and

there is no reason to doubt that all laws which may be constitutionally passed for the accomplishment of that object will be executed in good faith, even if it should be necessary to call out the entire military force of the United States for that purpose. Nothing that South Carolina can do will dissolve the Union. If she should refuse to perform the duties required of her by the Constitution, as a portion of the United States, and her Senators and Representatives should withdraw themselves from their respective chambers, and if the State should refuse to appoint the time, place, and manner of choosing Senators or Representatives, or should fail to attend the session of Congress, so that no quorum should be formed, and should refuse to appropriate money for the support of the Government, so that "the wheels of Government should be stopped," yet the Union would not thereby be dissolved. The Constitution and Laws would remain, and the President must "take care that the laws be faithfully executed;" and for this purpose, and to enable the marshal to discharge this duty, the Judiciary also will remain in the full exercise of all its powers; and, although Congress may not be able, for want of a quorum, to make new laws, the old ones would not thereby be abrogated or repealed.

I conclude, therefore, that it is not in the power of South Carolina to dissolve the Union; and if she could, it would be unjust to do so, after having enjoyed the full benefit of it for more than half a century.

Washington, June 6, 1851.

ANOTHER PLANK OF THE PLATFORM.

1. Resolved, That we still adhere to the principles of the Democratic faith as illustrated by the administrations of Jackson and Polk, &c. &c.

So resolved the late Democratic convention at Newbern. One of the principles illustrated by Jackson was that "Nullification is treason," and in his proclamation against Nullification Gen. Jackson said:—

"The Constitution of the United States forms a Government, not a league, and whether it be formed by compact between the States or in any other manner, its character is the same. Each State having expressly parted with so many powers as to constitute jointly with the other States a single nation, cannot from that period possess any right to secede, because such secession does not break a league but destroys the unity of a nation, and any injury to that unity is not only a breach which would result from the countenance of a compact, but is an offence against the whole Union. To say that any State may at pleasure secede from the Union, is to say that the United States are not a Nation. Secession, like any other revolutionary act, may be morally justified by the extremity of oppression, but to call it a right, or to assert a right, or to receive those who are willing to assert a right, but would pause before they made a revolution, or incur the penalties consequent on a failure."

Again, "they (meaning the nullifiers) know that a forcible opposition could alone prevent the execution of the laws, and they know that such opposition must be repelled. Their object is DISUNION, but be not deceived by names; disunion by armed force is TREASON."

Again: In his message to Congress on the same subject Gen. Jackson said:—

"The State of South Carolina has forced the General Government to decide the new and dangerous alternative of permitting a State to obstruct the execution of a law within it, or seeing it attempt to execute a threat of withdrawing from the Union. In my opinion, both purposes are to be regarded as revolutionary in their character and tendency, and subversive of the supremacy of the laws and of the integrity of the Union; THE RESULT OF EACH IS THE SAME."

Again: "The right of the people of a single State to absolve themselves at will and without the consent of the other States, from their most solemn obligations, and hazard the liberties and happiness of the millions composing this Union, CANNOT BE ACKNOWLEDGED."

Such were the views of Gen. Jackson on secession. He said it was the same as Nullification, and that was treason. In endorsing the principles of Gen. Jackson the Newbern convention endorsed the principle that secession is treason; and yet they nominated an avowed secessionist as their candidate for Congress! And the President of the convention talked of taking his market and going to help South Carolina maintain her secession movement!

Verily, Verily, Democracy, as illustrated in this Congressional District, is a piebald concern.

North State Whig.

The New Postage Law.

INSTRUCTIONS OF THE POSTMASTER GENERAL.

The Postmaster General has issued a series of instructions to Deputy-Postmasters in relation to the new Postage Law, which goes into operation after the 30th instant. The present five and ten cent postage stamps will not be received for postage after the 30th instant, but persons holding them can have them redeemed by the Postmaster from whom they were purchased, or by the nearest Postmaster authorized to sell them, at any time between the 1st of July and the 30th September.

New stamps, for twelve and three cents, and one cent, are to be issued; and one or more of the principal offices, in each county, will be supplied with them, from which other offices can obtain them, by pre-paying for the amounts required.

A postmaster may not refuse to mail and forward a letter as prepaid because the stamp upon it was not purchased at his office. If the stamp be genuine, and has not been used before in payment, it must be respected.

Postage stamps may be used in the prepayment of postage on letters to foreign countries, in all cases where such prepayments can be made in money.

There are various other instructions given in relation to the duties of postmasters, but as these officers will be furnished with copies of the directions, we omit them; and proceed to give entire the Decisions under the new Postage Act, made by the Postmaster General, after consulting with the Attorney General. They are as follows:

The postage on all bound books and on all other printed matter, except newspapers and periodicals published at intervals not exceeding three months and sent from the office of publication to actual and bona fide subscribers, must be pre-paid.

If the amount paid and marked on such printed matter is not sufficient to pay the whole postage due, the excess of weight beyond that paid for, is to be charged with double the rate which would have been charged if prepaid, and the postage on such excess collected at the office of delivery. If, by the neglect of a Postmaster, such matter is sent without any payment, the double prepaid rate must be collected on delivery. Postage must be charged on all letters, newspapers, and other matter according to the distance on the route by which they are forwarded; and this (unless otherwise directed by the sender) must be the route by which they will soonest reach their destination, although that may not be the shortest route.

On all letters to and from Great Britain (and the Continent of Europe, when sent through England) the rates of postage and modes of rating will be the same as heretofore, except as to letters to and from California and Oregon, in respect to which special instructions will be hereafter given.

On all letters to or from the Continent of Europe, not sent through England, the United States inland and sea postage will in all cases be combined, and will be twenty cents the single rate, without regard to the distance the same are carried within the United States. The mode of rating will be the same as heretofore. [Full tabular statements in regard to the rates of postage, both foreign and inland, will soon be published.]

Subscribers to periodicals, to obtain the benefit of the provision in regard to pre-payment, must pay the full quarterly amount, when there are several numbers to be delivered during the quarter. If, by reason of any increase in the size of the periodical, or otherwise, it shall appear that the whole quarter's postage was not so paid in advance, the subscriber will lose the benefit of pre-payment, and the numbers received during the whole quarter will be charged with the double unpaid rate, and the subscriber will be credited with only the amount paid in advance.

Under the provisions of the 2d section of the new postage act, no newspaper other than those published weekly only, are entitled to circulate free of postage in the counties where published. The office of publication is the office where the newspaper is printed.

In determining newspaper postages, the distances are to be computed from the office of publication, and not from the county line of the county in which the paper is published; and the distance is also to be computed over the route on which it is carried.

Newspapers published weekly only, in a county adjoining the Canada line, may be sent free to Canada, provided they do not leave the county of publication until they cross the line into Canada.

Newspaper publishers may send and receive their exchange newspapers to and from Canada free of charge.

A newspaper is not a periodical within the meaning and intent of the provision which requires the postage on periodicals to be paid in advance, and declares that the postage thereon shall be one-half of the rates previously specified in the second section of the act. All subscribers to newspapers were and still are required by the provisions of the thirtieth section of the act of March, 1825, to pay one quarter's postage in advance; but by so doing they are not entitled to have the postage reduced below the established rates.

Payments in advance on newspapers and periodicals can only be made by the subscribers at the post office where they are to be delivered. The postage on newspapers, periodicals, and other matter, not chargeable with letter postage, when sent out of the United States, must be pre-paid at the full rate. Publishers may pre-pay postage on their issue, but can have no deduction of postage on account of such pre-payment. When a periodical is published only quarterly, the actual and bona fide subscriber for such a periodical may pay in advance and have the benefit of the advance payment, provided he pays to the postmaster at the office where he is to receive the periodical, before its delivery. If a periodical is published less frequently than quarterly, the post-

age must be pre-paid and at the full rate.

Letters mailed before the first day of July, though delivered after, will, in all cases, be charged with postage at the rates in force at the time of the mailing thereof.

N. K. HALL, Postmaster General.
Post Office Department, June 11, 1851.

President Fillmore and Secretary Graham.—The Raleigh Register, nominates Mr. Fillmore for the Presidency, and the Secretary of the Navy, the Hon. W. A. Graham, for the Vice Presidency.

In our opinion, a better ticket could not be nominated. None but the ultra *ern* be found, who have a word of complaint to utter against Mr. Fillmore, since he has been in the Chief Executive chair.

The leading men of the country of both parties have applauded his course during the late fearful exigencies through which we have passed. He has firmly stood by the constitution. Old Jackson himself could not have behaved more manfully.

The Hon. W. A. Graham is a man of the same type. Always cool, calm, considerate, he weighs well before he speaks or acts; and then like the rock in the ocean, he defies the storm. But such is his remarkable good sense, that he is always right; and enlightened public opinion sustains him. Some of the best whig blood of the Revolution flows in his veins; and North Carolina may well boast of him, as one of the purest and ablest men she has ever produced.

San (Ala.) Reporter.

A Sharp Business Transaction.—Female Rogue.

A few days since, a lady, having every appearance of respectable gentility about her, stepped into Stewart's fashionable dry goods store in Broadway, New York, and purchased a shawl, prized at four hundred dollars, and presented a \$1,000 bill on the Bank of America to pay for it. The clerk being suspicious of the bill, stepped over to the Bank and inquired of the Cashier, who pronounced it genuine. The change was accordingly given her and she took the purchased shawl, and had proceeded as far as the door, when she stepped back and remarked that she had better not take it until she had consulted her husband. The \$1,000 bill was then handed her, and she returned the shawl and the change she had received, and left the store. Presently she came back and said she had concluded to take it, and laying down a \$1,000 note, received again her change, took the Cashmere under her arm and disappeared. After the lady had gone, it was discovered she had changed the bill, and in place of the genuine note had put off upon the clerk a counterfeit upon the same bank, leaving Mr. Stewart minus a valuable shawl and six hundred dollars in money.

New Haven Journal, June 10.

Herald relates the following case of elopement:

A lady at San Francisco, on the morning of the sailing of the Tennessee, was quietly seated, reading over the list of passengers who had engaged passage for Panama, when to her astonished sight there appeared the name of her husband in the list! Could she believe her own eyes? She knew that her husband's trunk was packed and that he had informed her "he was obliged to go to Sacramento on business which would detain him a few days." Startled and convinced by the truth, thus manifested to her, she concluded to open his trunk, where she found \$8,000 in hard cash. This she divided—taking \$8,000 and leaving \$5,000, the "lion's share," which was exceedingly generous on her part. In due time the affectionate husband bade her good bye, telling her he would be back in three or four days, and little suspecting that she was not only cognizant of his silyness, but that out of his means she had provided amply for herself. He left—went on board the Tennessee, came to this city, and is now on his way to New York, whilst his deserted wife is rejoicing to think that she has so easily got rid of such a contemptible wretch as his conductor proves him to be.

Disunion.—The Southern Rights party, as they call themselves, in Alabama, have, it seems, adopted the following as their platform:

- 1st.—The "right" to dissolve the Union at pleasure.
- 2d.—The necessity of dissolving it sooner or later.
- 3d.—The duty to dissolve it.
- 4th.—The obligation to assist any other State to destroy the Union, whenever called upon.

The Society for the Suppression of Gaming held its first anniversary meeting, in New York, on Friday night, when the annual report was submitted by the Rev. L. Burleigh. We learn from it the startling fact, that the ascertained number of gambling houses in the city of New York is more than six thousand. It was stated by S. P. Hanscom, Esq., of Boston, that this city is rapidly becoming the chosen resort of gamblers from all quarters.

The Oldest Sovereign of Europe is Ernest, King of Hanover. On the 5th of June he completed his 80th year. He is the only surviving son of George the Third, and was formerly known as the Duke of Cumberland. He, instead of Victoria, acceded to the throne of Hanover on the death of his brother, William the Fourth, in June, 1837, on which day the thrones of England and Hanover were separated.—the prevalence of the Salic law preventing the accession of females.



SAN FRANCISCO IN RUINS!

We are informed, by a Telegraphic despatch from New Orleans, (says the National Intelligencer,) that the steamer Alabama arrived at that place on Friday last, (the 13th inst.) coming by the way of Acapulco, with two weeks' later accounts from California.

The leading item of news is the occurrence of another terrible conflagration at San Francisco, which is reported to have laid in ashes property to the amount of fifteen millions of dollars! The fire commenced in Clay street, quickly consuming a dozen blocks, and spreading to other parts of the city, the greater part of which was reduced to a heap of ruins. Hunter, George, Main, Centre, and El Dorado streets are burnt out. A portion of the shipping lying at the wharves was also consumed. The Custom-House is amongst the buildings destroyed, as were most of the principal Hotels, viz the Exchange, the Union, the National, the City, the New World, Parker's, Delmonico's, &c.

The utmost consternation prevailed during the fire, and thousands were turned out of house and home, having lost their all. It was feared that many lives were lost.

In view of this dreadful calamity, business was almost entirely suspended at San Francisco, and measures were about to be adopted for the relief of the sufferers.

The news from the mines continues to be of a favorable character. New discoveries were daily made, and the prospects of the miners are represented as highly flattering. The quartz-crushing machines were reaping a rich reward, and in some instances the average per man was from \$30 to \$50 per day.

Lynch law, we are sorry to say, was still in the ascendant in some localities, and several new examples had been made.

Four Days Later From Europe.

Advices from England, by the steamship Humboldt, are to the 4th of June, and from Paris to the 3d.

The Exhibition was visited on the 2d inst. by nearly 50,000 persons. The Queen was present.

The U. S. frigate St. Lawrence sailed from Southampton, on the 3d inst., for New York. She was to touch at Lisbon, to land the Hon. Mr. Huddock, the American Charge d'Affaires to Portugal, who was also the bearer of a treaty between the two countries.

St. Lawrence gave a grand entertainment on board, on the day previous to her departure, to the Mayor and corporation of Southampton, as a return for the hospitalities extended to them.

France.—The President, Louis Napoleon, made a speech at Dijon, to which much political importance is attached. His popularity was on the increase, and it was said in well informed circles, that should the election take place now, he would be chosen President again.

From Spain, it is reported that the Government was in great fear of an insurrection in Madrid. Every military precaution was being taken to guard against it.

Russia.—It is stated that the object of the meeting of the Emperors of Russia and Austria at Olmutz, was entirely of a military character.

India and China.—Bombay dates are to the 3d of May, and Calcutta and Madras to the 25th of April.

There continued to be some slight disturbances on the Beshwar frontier. The disbanded troops were overrunning the Nizam's territories, and enacting every species of horror.

The rebels are making headway against the Imperial troops, and had taken possession of the province of Kiransai.

Money was very scarce at Bombay, and the fluctuations in exchanges had had a bad effect.

Commercial Intelligence.—The Liverpool cotton market, on the 2d, continued firm, with a good demand.

The Havre cotton market, on the 3d, was better.

Flour was more saleable at the rates of the previous week.

Late from Mexico.—Advices from Mexico to the 26th ult., state that the Mexican Congress adjourned on the 23d of May, without making any provision for the embarrassed finances of the government. The Monitor Republican says that this omission of the Legislature has exposed the nation to the fate of perishing for the total want of resources to carry on the government—and it endeavors in vain, for the honor of the country, to justify such conduct. President Arista addressed Congress on the occasion, and said in his remarks—

"I regret, gentlemen, the blindness of those who did not see the impropriety of placing obstacles in the way of an Administration born of the law, and which aspires to preserve intact the fundamental character. I have never believed that I should find, in this position, a bed of down. I am resolved to meet every thing that I may prepare for me; but I am firm in my determination that all those shall meet a just punishment, who endeavor to violate the constitution, and thus bring ridicule on republic institutions."