

deeming spirit in our institutions, which may on great occasions be brought to our aid for the purpose of preserving the public liberty—restoring the Constitution—and effecting a re-generation of the Government and thereby producing a redress of intolerable grievances, without war, revolution, or a dissolution of the Union. These great objects, we feel assured, may even now be effected, unless those who are in possession of the powers of the government, and charged with the administration of our national affairs, shall resolve to persevere in a course of injustice, and prove by their conduct that they love the usurpation (to which the people of this State are unalterably determined not to submit) better than the Union.—We believe that the redeeming spirit of our system is STATE SOVEREIGNTY, and that it results from the very form and structure of the Federal Government, that when the rights reserved to the several States are deliberately invaded, it is their right and their duty to “interpose for the purpose of arresting the progress of the evil of usurpation, and to maintain within their respective limits the authorities and privileges belonging to them as independent sovereignties.”* If the several States do not possess this right, it is in vain that they claim to be sovereign. They are at once reduced to the degrading condition of humble dependants on the will of the Federal Government. South Carolina claims to be a sovereign state. She recognizes no tribunal upon earth as above her authority. It is true she has entered into a solemn compact of Union with other sovereign states, but she claims, and will exercise the right to determine the extent of her obligations under that compact, nor will she consent that any other power shall exercise the right of judgment for her. And when that compact is violated by her co-States, or by the Government which they have created, she asserts her unquestionable right, “to judge of the infractions, as well as of the MODE and MEASURE of REDRESS.”† South Carolina claims no right to judge for others. The States who are parties to the compact, must judge each for itself, whether that compact has been pursued or violated, and should they differ irreconcilably in opinion, there is no earthly tribunal, that can authoritatively decide between them. It was in the contemplation of a similar case, that Mr. Jefferson declared that if the difference could neither be compromised, nor avoided, it was the peculiar felicity of

* Virginia Resolutions of '98.

† Kentucky Resolutions of 1798