Announcement.

Mr. Editor:—We would suggest the manifest propriety of sending to the State Convention as a delegate, from this District, our very highly esteemed and distinguished Fellow-Citizens, His Excellency, Governor JOHN H. MEANS.

Whilst we feel satisfied that this nomination will receive the unqualified approbation of both the State and the District, it has at the same time the high sanction of historical precedence. It will be remembered that in 1832, Governor HAMILTON, a member of the Convention, was called upon to preside over its deliberations, and at the second session of the same body, Governor HAYNE was chosen President, ex-Governor HAMILTON having resigned the post in favor of his Gubernational successor. FAIRFIELD DISTRICT.

Jan. 15 82 r-tf

Announcements.

Mr. Editor,—As there are many of us who go not merely for secession and a southern Confederacy, but also for separate State action (before the final adjournment of the Convention,) for the purpose of preserving the sovereignty of the State and of defeating the consolidation of the Government, you will please announce the following,

Maj. S. G. BARKLEY,
Gen. W. A. OWENS,
Capt. T. S. DeBOSE,
Maj. THOMAS LYLES.

Who will receive the undivided support of those who in the event of failure by co-operation to procure a southern Confederacy, will in any event preserve, by separate State action, the sovereignty of South Carolina, and thus place her independence beyond all contingency.

ANTI-CONSOLIDATION AND SOUTHERN CONFEDERACY.

Jan 8 76 td.

Announcements.

Mr. Editor:—The names of various persons having been announced in your paper as suitable persons to represent Fairfield District in the Convention, we beg leave to announce JOHN Z. HAMMOND, Col. N. A PEAY Gen. W. A. OWENS and EDWARD G PALMER, Jr., as in every respect suitable persons to represent our interests and the interests of the South generally in said Convention.

MANY VOTERS.

Jan. 9 78 tf.

Announcements.

Mr. Editor:—Gen. W. A. OWENS, W. W. BOYCE, E. G. PALMER, Sr., and JAMES M. RUTLAND, are respectfully suggested as suitable Delegates to represent Fairfield District in the state Convention.

BY MANY VOTERS.

Jan. 7 75 tf*

Announcements.

Mr. Editor.—Please announce the following gentlemen as suitable persons to represent the District of Fairfield, in the State Convention, and oblige

MANY VOTERS.

Gen. W. A. OWENS,
Dr. T. FURMAN.
Col. N. A. PEAY.
Col. JOHN L. YONGUE.

Jan. 15 82 td.

YOUNG MEN'S TICKET.

For the State Convention.

The following Gentleman will be supported for Delegates to the State Convention by

YOUNG FAIRFIELD.

Capt. H. K. AIKEN.
Capt. T. S. DuBOSE.
Gen. W. A. OWENS.
Col. N. A. PEAY.

Jan 14 81 td.

Announcement.

Mr. Editor.—You will please announce Capt. H. K. AIKEN, as a Candidate, to represent the people of Fairfield District in the State Convention.

Mr. AIKEN is true to the South, and as eminently qualified as any gentleman in the District. He is on the right side.

MANY VOTERS.

Jan. 14 81 td.

Announcements.

Mr. Editor:—As there are many of us who go for recession and a Southern Confederacy, but not for immediate reparate State action, we beg to propose as suitable persons for the Convention, the following ticket.

EDWARD G. PALMER, Sr.,
WILLIAM J. ALLSTON,
Gen. W. A. OWENS,
WILLIAM W. BOYCE.

Who will receive the undivided support of those who go for such Concert and Co-operation on the part of the South as will affect a

SOUTHERN CONFEDERACY.

Jan. 7 75 tf.

Announcement.

The Officers of the 25th Regt. S. C. M., friendly to the promotion of Col. WILLIAM MOORE, take pleasure in recommending him as eminently qualified to fill the vacancy in the 6th Brigade of S. C. M. for Brigadier General. If correctness in tactics or long faithful and efficient service is any recommendation they can safely urge this in his favor. From the common camp vices, viz: intemperance, gambling and tyranny, Col. WM. MOORE is entirely exempt, his firmness, quick perception and his devotion to the State of South Carolina, and kind consideration for all under his command, are sufficient reasons for his friends to recommend him as a gentleman and officer worthy in every respect at this crisis in southern affairs to fill the high trust.

Jan 8 76 td.

☞ The Chester Standard will please copy the above five times, and forward their bill.

Announcement.

Mr. Editor:—You will please announce Capt. JAMES N. SHEDD, as a Candidate for the office of Brigadier General, and oblige

MANY VOTERS.

Dec 28 68 tf

☞ The Chester Standard and Columbia Telegraph will please copy the above twice and forward their accounts to this office.

Harness.

THE Subscriber has now on hand, and is constantly making HARNESS, of all descriptions. Call and see

M. W. CURRY.

Jan. 9 47 tf.

☞ **Capt. HUGH K. AIKEN** is a candidate for the office of BRIGADIER GENERAL, vacated by the resignation of Gov. Means.

Jan 8 76 tf

☞ **Major N. R. EAVES, of** Chester, is announced as a Candidate for the office of Brigadier General at the ensuing election.

Jan 10 78 r-td

THE FAIRFIELD HERALD.

SOUTHERN RIGHTS.

WINNSBORO, S. C.

Thursday Morning, Jan. 16, 1851.

For the Southern Congress.

COL. MAXCY GREGG.
HON. T. J. WITHERS.

Public Meeting.

A public meeting of the Citizens of Fairfield District is appointed at the Court House, on *MONDAY* the 27th January, instant, to discuss the important question whether this State shall secede from this Union, after all *reasonable* measures to obtain a co-operation of our sister Slaveholding States shall have failed? Or the same question in other words,—If South Carolina fails to obtain the co-operation of the Slaveholding States shall she *submit?*

MANY STATE RIGHTS CITIZENS.

January 15, 1851.

☞ We have been compelled, on account of a press of original matter, to place our inside Advertisements on the 4th page this week.

☞ We have been authorised to state that Col N. A. PEAY, is not a candidate for a seat in the State Convention.

☞ The Response of J. M. RUTLAND, Esq., will be found in this days paper. It is mild and somewhat dignified

Mr. R. has made extensive drafts upon his imagination, in portraying the miseries of secession without co-operation, which we are confident will never be realized even tho' South Carolina should, single handed and alone, secede from the present unholy association.

☞ "Calhoun" will be found in another column.

Would to God our Prophet were alive, then would not these things be.

It is hardly necessary for us to say that we regard the contribution of our Correspondent *as an effort to propagate sentiments and excite timidity which the illustrious dead would* The signature is inappropriate, as is the policy calculated to weaken the faith of the wavering. Thank God, however, but few can be found in Fairfield to endorse the efforts of this Contribution.

☞ We would direct attention to an advertisement in another column, over the signature of Messrs. J. W. MARTIN and J. R. BREWSTER, relative to Bradshaw's Patented Sewing Machine, as it is a matter which may interest the public.

Maj. W. S. Lyles' Response.

The Response of Maj. WM. S. LYLES' will be found in this day's paper. It is of the right stamp and we hope the reader will make it his business to give it a careful perusal.

Gen. Hamilton Again.

A letter has been forwarded to us, says the Charleston *Courier* of the 13th inst., with a request that it should be published in the *Courier*, from Gen JAMES HAMILTON, addressed to the Hon. LANGDON CHEVES. We could not make room for it in this morning's paper, but may be able to do so in our next.

A Public Meeting.

It will be seen by a notice in this days paper that the citizens of Fairfield are requested to assemble at the Court House on the 27th inst., when a discussion of the important question, whether "If South Carolina fails to obtain the co-operation of the slave-holding States, she shall submit" to the encroachments of the Federal Government upon the Constitution and the rights of a sovereign State.

We are confident that this question has been already decided by the people of Fairfield—and their reply, as in times past, will ever be, never—never.

The issue must be met; it is upon us—brought about by our own supineness and disposition to evade consequences, and if the people of this State shall still demonstrate a disposition to submit to past aggressions, because they apprehend a failure, so far as regards co-operation, they will richly merit, and will no doubt receive, the curses of their progeny, who, by their cowardice and craven spirits have brought misery and degradation upon their own blood.

Our Revolutionary fathers did not value their lives when their rights were invaded—nor did they cowardly bow a suppliant knee, because the British Crown could blockade the port of Charleston or levy duties upon the sea coast.

In God's name, let us be done with our eternal quarrels. If we are too cowardly to demand our rights, unless we can be assured that the other States are ready to Fight the General Government, because we secede—let us abandon everything, and wear the chains of slaves, and demonstrate to the world that we are the degenerate progeny of a Revolutionary stock; a curse, disgrace and slander upon every thing that is honorable, noble or brave.

Congressional.

In the senate, on the 6th inst., Mr. BUTLER presented the credentials of the Hon. R. BARNWELL RHETT, chosen by the Legislature of South Carolina, as a senator of the United States for the unexpired term of the late Hon. JOHN C. CALHOUN. The credentials were read, and Mr. RHETT appeared and was qualified.

In the House on the same day the Hon. I. E. HOLMES, of South Carolina, (but not *her* Representative,) moved that the rules of the House be suspended to enable him to introduce the following resolution,—that it be referred to the committee on military affairs to report a bill conferring the rank of Lieutenant General on Major General SCOTT for his services during the late war with Mexico.

The ayes and nays being ordered, the motion was carried by a majority of one, there being 79 in its favor and 78 against it.

Thus it will apper that Mr. HOLMES is ambitious to signalize himself by disregarding the feelings and sentiment of the people he had been chosen to represent. As the scripture saith, "the last state of that man shall be worse than the first."

We understand that a requisition was received in this city yesterday from the Governor of Pennsylvania, for Edward Curtis, alias Goldsmith, who was recently taken out of prison by a writ of *habeas corpus* and discharged, and subsequently instituted suits against his Honor the Mayor, and the committing Magistrate, for false imprisonment. The affidavit attached to the requisition charges Curtis with having received watches and jewellery which were stolen at Pittsburg in December, 1849, amounting in value to upwards of $5000. Upon the receipt of the requisition, Mayor Schnierle promptly issued his warrant for the arrest of Curtis, and but a brief period elapsed ere he was again placed in jail, to await the arrival of the officer from Pennsylvania.—*Charleston Mercury.*

And so it is—South Carolina, ever ready to obey the laws of the Federal Government is prepared to surrender to Pennsylvania, a fugitive *white man*—but Pennsylvanians, regardless of law or moral honesty is ever ready to rob a Southern gentleman and afford means for the escape of his lawful property to his pecuniary inquiry and if necessary at the risk of personal abuse and maltreatment. What less can be expected from a generation of Vipers? Gen. QUITMAN Governor of Mississippi is about to be arrested for alleged participation in the Cuba Invasion by a United States Marshal, but yet it is not in the power of the marshal of Massachusetts to arrest a runaway slave. Glorious Government this.

☞ The Daily *South Carolinian*, speaking of the Response of Capt. T. S. DuBOSE which appeared in our columns on Friday last, awards to him the annexed just compliment.

OF THE RIGHT STAMP.—Several of the gentleman nominated for state convention in Fairfield District have defined their positions. The reply of Theodore S. DuBose, Esq., is a manly and independent production. Such men can be trusted—in their hands the "Commonwealth of South Carolina will suffer no detriment." Capt. DuBose concludes with this unequivocal declaration;

"In no other character than that of a disunionist would I go as a delegate to the Convention, even if elected by every vote in the district on the condition that I should agree to compromise my own political creed, in the event of my constituents changing theirs. Not all the honors that South Carolina can bestow, would reconcile me to her union with the North, or induce me to assume for an instant a false character. I am ready to assist in loading and firing the guns of the state, but am tired and ashamed of perpetually getting them ready for a remote, and it seems to me ever receding service."

Rates for Advertising.

pressed a desire that a regular schedule for Advertising should be made out, for their accommodation, we have this day, with the aid of our Columbia Cotemporaries, formed a systematic plan for our government in charging.

All contracts now existing will be faithfully carried out, and those of our patrons who may desire to make new contracts can readily ascertain the amount of charges by reference to our rates.

Col. E. G. Palmer's Response.

The Response of Col. E. G. PALMER, Jr., will be found in this days paper.

Mr. PALMER'S position would meet the ready endorsement of the people of this District by his election as a Delegate, did he consent for his name to go before the people. This it will be seen he has refused, which his friends will regret.

His position meets our hearty endorsement, and we hope that such sentiments will sway the mass of the voters of this District by electing gentlemen who are ready for action in lieu of paper platforms and [illegible] lutions.

☞ "B. E. N." [illegible] clincher—a master workman, whose [illegible] trade is in his heart and head. Read his first Epistle in this day's paper. It is a first attempt at display; of using [illegible] expression, free of "high [illegible] with one master stroke of the pen has swept away; utterly demolished that rickety platform which has been patched up by a few of our fellow-citizens and made to rest upon the heads of BARNWELL, BUTLER, CHEVES and others. (?)

"B. E. N." will continue his noble work in this our Righteous cause, and we feel confident that if the people will only read and digest his Epistles, they will be furnished with arguments in the form of "stubborn facts," by the aid of which they will be able to see through the net work that a few of our fellow citizens are attempting to erect on the "Wait and Watch" principle; which, by-the-by, is but a scheme to evade the issue.

The Press.

The importance of the Press as a means of disseminating news and communicating between individuals as well as towns, cities, States and Kingdoms, the sentiments of the people, we [illegible] has been so well established that any attempt at refutation would be regarded as a demonstration of lunacy.

That it is also the duty of a [illegible] to exercise discretion, without disposition to suppress, [illegible] also be regarded as sound [illegible] do not for a moment doubt [illegible] course in this particular.

The *Register* and the *Herald* were both established for the pecuniary benefit of ourself as well as the convenience of the people.

Our views, politically, as regards the duty and necessity of separate State action, in case co-operation cannot be obtained on the adjournment of the Southern Congress, should it be converted, have been so often expressed that we deem it unnecessary to say a word on that subject at this time.

Our object in penning this article is mainly to refer to the fact that altho' we are opposed now and forever to the "wait and watch" policy of some of our fellow-citizens, yet we cannot conscientiously close our columns against an expression of their sentiments,—regarding such sentiments as honestly conceived although improperly advocated.

We are confident of one thing however that as the conductor of an *independent* Press it is our duty to keep open our columns for free discussion, to both side, and this we shall continue to do unless *prudence* should dictate the reverse.

Methodist Appointment.

With pleasure we refer to the appointments which have been made for this Circuit this year. Both of the gentlemen, Messrs. A. MCCORQUODALE and J. MANARDIE, are personally known to us, as gentlemen of deep toned piety, and in every way qualified to minister in the Sanctuary.

The visit of Mr. MANARDIE on Sunday evening last received the marked attention of a large and highly respectable portion of our fellow-citizens, who manifested a deep interest in the solemn truths uttered by the speaker.

We regard Mr. MANARDIE as of the order of Bishop CAPERS, both as regards matter and style, and we hope his zeal, which is highly commendable, will enlist for him the esteem and sympathy of the aged as well as the rising generation in this community.

[FOR THE HERALD.]

Mr. Editor.—In the columns of the *Register* of the 8th inst., I find an inquiry directed to Messrs. BUCHANAN, Senator; and ROBERTSON, CLARKE and myself, Representatives, as to "what objects the Legislature had in view when it determined to call a Convention—that the Representative, is as much bound, when properly called upon, to give an account of his stewardship, as is the Candidate to define his position, before an election, I shall proceed to answer with as much brevity as the case will admit of. As I have had no opportunity to confer with my colleagues, I can speak only for myself—of my own convictions, formed however from constant and in many cases confidential intercourse with the members.

From these convictions I say unhesitatingly, that the objects had in view by the Legislature, in calling a State Convention, were in the first place, to ratify whatever acts the Southern Congress might adopt looking to secession, and the formation of a Southern Confederacy; and in the second place, in the event of the failure of such Congress to assemble, or assembling and failing to do any thing for the safety of the South, then in the very words of the 5th section of the act *to provide for the appointment of [illegible] to a Southern Congress, &c.*, "to take care that the Commonwealth of S. Carolina shall suffer no detriment."—Now sir, as secession was looked upon [illegible] every one who contemplated resistance at all *as the sole and only remedy*, [illegible] me this language is as unambiguous as any that could possibly be used, without prescribing in positive terms the action of the Convention, which the Legislature had no right to do. If however, Talleyrands definition of the use of words was in favor in South Carolina, the expression last quoted may mean, that the Commonwealth of South Carolina shall suffer no detriment by retreating, *backing out from her position*, and thus avoiding danger upon the principal laid down in the old couplet, which I have slightly interpolated for the occasion.

"He who fights not, but runs away,
May live to fight another day.

This however, was not the construction of the patriotic and able mover of the [illegible] bill—nor was it the purport of [illegible] every member who voted for it. The example of Georgia, whose Convention had just given greater notoriety to her disgrace, by solemnly declaring she should submit to the federal [illegible] too fresh in our minds and hearts [illegible] such disgust to invite to its [illegible] the withdrawal of the [illegible] attitude of resistance assumed [illegible] and the people had [illegible] it could have been done [illegible] the adoption of a similar [illegible] that effect. Again if [illegible] for a contingency contemplated [illegible] the convention, why did [illegible] were considered non-re[illegible] go for it? The answer [illegible] did not believe it, and [illegible] could not and did not vote [illegible]

The appropriation of three hundred thousand dollars for arming the State, [illegible] contemplated separate State action, [illegible] the necessity of preparing in advance to defend ourselves if co-ercion should be attempted, for no one of ordinary intelligence pretends to assert, that the Southern Confederacy was at *once* [illegible] the joint action of two or more States that the Federal Government would dare resort to such an extremity. For myself I certainly voted [illegible] and nothing else, in voting [illegible] matter. I scarcely think I am so simple as to have thus thrown away three hundred thousand dollars, and voted at the same time to increase my own and the taxes of others fifty per cent, just to bluster and nothing more. No sir, neither I or any one else of the majority do I think, contemplated any thing but separate State action in the contingency already referred to, and that too before the final adjournment of the Convention, and I now say, that if a minority of delegates should be chosen opposed to separate State secession upon *the failure of a Southern Congress, or its failure to do anything for the safety of the South*, as a member of the Legislature, should I be called upon as provided in the last clause of the act, to fix the time for the session of that Convention I shall vote for its indefinite postponement. I shall vote for its indefinite postponement, because for south, there is no necessity to incur the expense of calling together a Convention to declare our submission to the powers that be; and because having been elected as a resistance man I cannot consent to take a "step backward so soon. If however, the District of Fairfield chooses a delegation, opposed to separate State action before the final adjournment of the Convention, I would if I could, at once resign, sooner than misrepresent them.

Having now Mr. Editor responded briefly, but plainly to your correspondent, I beg leave to say a few words to the people who have so generously honored me with their confidence. When fellow-citizens you elected my colleagues and myself, as resistance men to the odious acts of the Federal Government, you gave us a *carte blanche* to do every thing necessary in our judgement, to make that resistance successful and save our institutions, &c. That we have done all, that could be prudently done, at the present time, I think is unquestionable. Upon no important measure have we differed. We all voted for the "Bill to appoint deputies to a Southern Congress &c.," for the appropriation of three hundred thousand dollars to arm the State, and for the increase of taxes necessary to meet the heavy expenditures incident to the extraordinary occasion. I do not regret having done so, as they are necessary measures of defence, and I feel assured that no single voice of complaint will be raised against them by the citizens of this district. Such complaint however if made, would not turn me from my purpose. I have a duty to discharge, and so help me God, I will do it at every hazard. And I now appeal to you fellow-citizens, to preserve your consistency and stand by and sustain those, to whom you have confided the defence of your honor and your rights at this time, in resistance by separate State action presently, if the necessity for such in the eloquent [illegible] Give up this right, and one of the ablest and most [illegible] of all our leaders (but one who voted against the single bill,) *you may surrender the whole question*; aye, yield your equality, your honour, your property, every thing, to the spirit of fanaticism and consolidation.

For myself, I desire, sincerely desire, the co-operation of our sister States.—For this we have already laboured as long or longer than did our ancestors in the revolution. I am willing to labor yet a little longer, to carry out the recommendation of the Nashville Convention, as the Legislature has provided for doing, and if this fails of the end desired, then am I ready to secede alone. I want no new issue, we have enough already.

And in seceding alone, we have the example of Massachusetts striking the blow in the Revolution, as justification for the deed. Surrounded as we are by States possessing "homogenous institutions, identical interests, I have no fear but the same flag, will soon cover us all. If it should not however I entertain the "preposterous" idea, that South Carolina may stand alone—may become a "separate nation." It is hardly probable, that a people posaessing in their cotton, rice and breadstuffs, the basis of a commerce of forty millions, capable of an almost indefinite extension, would die of starvation very soon. Nor would her weakness be so great, that the Federal Government could crush her at a single blow.

For the sake of our commerce, any of the great foreign powers would extend us their protection both upon sea and land—at least until free trade had superinduced such a state of prosperity, as to excite the cupidity of our neighbors, and tempt them to knock at our door for admission to its blessings. If, however in this I should be mistaken, and we should sink into insignificance, and "exist only by tolerance, a kind of San Marino Republic,* with no present and no future, the pity and contempt of the world, and the laughing-stock of history," be it so. Better this than chains and slavery in the present Union.

These are my opinions maturely formed, and honestly entertained. I may be mistaken, but if I err, I have the satisfaction to believe that I err with those whose opinions had a potential influence in arousing our countrymen to resistance in the Revolution. I allude to Washington, to Henry, to Rutledge, to Gadsden, to Hancock and Adams.

The question, fellow-citizens is for you to resolve. Upon your decision hangs your fate, the destiny of the State. Peace, war, liberty, property, firesides, altars, wives, children, every thing that is dear, every thing that is valuable,—every thing that is cherished. Do not, let me beseech you, falter in your duty. A "masterly inactivity," now, I honestly believe, is the key that will open the door to abolitionism, which "like the pale horse in the Apocalypse, drags all hell after it." Remember, no people ever preserved, much less achieved their liberty, by delaying to strike the blow until the opportune moment had passed. If Massachusetts had waited for South Carolina, and South Carolina for Virginia, and Virginia for Pennsylvania, we would have been colonies still. Let us then do our duty, and leave the consequences to God.

Respectfully, Yours,
WM. S. LYLES.

* I was not aware until within the last few days, that the Republic of San Marino was "the pity and contempt of the world, and the laughing stock of history." I had been under the impression, that though small in territorial area, she had existed more than a thousand years. That her people were contented and happy; that she was respected by the surrounding nations; that even the great French Captain had sent a deputation offering his protection, and the extension of her limits, &c. I stand corrected however in the matter.

RESPONSE OF

Col. E. G. Palmer, Jr.

Fellow-Citizens of Fairfield District:

I perceive that I have been nominated as a delegate to represent Fairfield District in the State Convention. I most respectfully decline the nomination,—but will, nevertheless, cheerfully avail myself of the occasion to indicate my political views.

The Legislature at their last session, by the passage of an act which provides for the sending of Deputies to a Southern Congress, and for the organization of a Convention of the people of this State, have clearly given us two distinct policies—the *external* which is co-operation, and the *internal* which is secession,—the former or co-operation, has to be effected through the agency of a Southern Congress, if this Congress should meet and recommend secession as a preliminary step towards either the preservation of the *constitutional Union* or the formation of a Southern Confederacy, I would, if a delegate, assent to Convention for the ratification of such a measure, but in case the congress never meets, or meeting should not make such a recommendation, I would in that contingency, before the final adjournment of said Convention, vote for a *secession* of the State from this most *degrading* and *oppressive* Union—for the purpose of defeating a consolidation of the government, of securing the independence and sovereignty of South Carolina, and as a means ultimately, of uniting the Southern States in case they may have primarily failed to co operate with us.

Such, briefly, is my position, and I shall now proceed to give the reasons that have induced me to take this position.

Secession, we are all well aware, forms a part of our vast federal system. It is at once the guardian of the Constitution and the shield of State sovereignty. Whenever the Constitution is made to subserve a different end from that for which it was designed by its framers, or whenever its forms are observed merely for the purpose of violating its spirit so as to change the government from a federal republic into a consolidated democracy, in each and both of these contingencies the States are immediately placed under a most imperious [illegible] to secede from the [illegible] state policy, as it is a mandate issuing from the federative compact, and the promptitude with which a State proceeds to execute this mandate is the highest evidence of its devotion to the Constitution, and of a due appreciation of its own sovereignty—this is conceded to be theoretically true, but we are told that in a practical point of view the question must to some extent resolve itself into one of political expediency,—this I most emphatically deny. We have no right to make *diplomacy* a substitute for a high moral and constitutional obligation. Co-operation must *ultimately* yield to secession, but this brings us to the consideration of our external or co-operative policy, as to the ends of this policy, the preservation of the constitutional Union or the formation of a Southern confederacy we all agree perfectly upon this subject,—we all desire a Southern Confederacy—we all desire the preservation of the constitutional Union,—they are indeed ends worthy of attainment, but they do not form fellow-citizens the *sole* nor the *ultimate* policy of South Carolina.

This State has been styled in history the champion of State-Rights, the mother of free trade—which is the offspring of those rights. We all would hail with pleasure, the formation of a Southern Confederacy, and yet what humiliation more mortifying, what degredation more galling can we possibly conceive of than a loss of our independence, and with it every thing that is sacred and dear to us on earth in the too eager pursuit of a Southern Confederacy—which should ultimately prove a *delusive phantom* instead of a *sublime reality*; Beware, and I implore you in the name of the most high God, beware that you do not in contemplating the moral grandeur of a Southern Confederacy, suffer yourselves to be charmed and infatuated out of a possession which your ancestors, and you yourselves regarded of far more importance than a Southern Confederacy,—I mean liberty, and with it your honor, your fortunes, your firesides and your hallowed shrines and yet, W. W. Boyce, Esq., who is now before you as a candidate, seeking the highest and most sacred trust known to a people—their sovereignty, has avowed that a Southern Confederacy is the "hope and purpose of *all* our political action." A Southern Confederacy I am willing to admit, is a grand conception, but I will not concede to it an undue importance—it falls below, *far below* the sovereignty of South Carolina. But this brings us to the consideration of the next subject,—how are we to get a Southern Confederacy? This is to be the result of co-operation. How is this most likely to be secured? We are told that in *indefinite delay*, we have a solution of this great political problem,—a "masterly inactivity" says Mr. Boyce, is the "key that unlocks our destiny." Beneath this captivating phrase there lies a most fatal sophistry. We all know the origin and application of this historical phrase. To apply it to the South at this juncture is most preposterous. The South is getting weaker, whilst the North is in a rapidly growing ascendency. It may truly be said to unlock our destiny, but when unlocked it will be the destiny of a people once free subjected to a most degrading and despotic bondage. But to recur to the subject under consideration, upon what do they predicate or found their hopes of co-operation by *indefinite delay*. Mr. Boyce, and he professes to be an advocate of co-operation, informs us, that "the other Southern States have made up their opinions on the past issues and resolved not to secede,"—in other words, they have sanctioned the compromise measures of the last Congress. By delay then we are to understand farther aggressions. Have we any assurance that there will be such aggressions—and if there be, is it by any means a *fixed fact* that the other States will in that event act with us. To determine this we have but to refer to the so called compromise measures to which they have acceded. In the admission of California they have permitted Congress not merely to admit but to create a State in whose constitution is practically embodied the Wilmot provision. They have permitted Congress to shut us out of Utah and New Mexico, by a territorial organization, which subjects slavery to the supervision of a Congressional majority.

They have permitted Congress to dismember Texas, to make free soil of a portion of her territory, and compel the South by the operation of the tariff laws, actually to pay Texas for the territory so taken. *We are taxed to pay for the loss of our liberties.* They have acknowledged that for all these spoliations the fugitive slave bill is an *empty compensation*, a bill which the constitution required Congress to pass. Are we to take as a special favor what we may claim under the Constitution as a right. These usurpations these enormous extortions may have received the sanction of Georgia and other States, but they never shall that of South Carolina.

Even if there were further aggressions are we satisfied that the South would resist them. From what premises could we deduce such a conclusion,—surely not from the past. Did not a majority of the slaveholding States through their Legislatures most solemnly declare that if Congress exercised jurisdiction over the subject of slavery in the District of Columbia, that it would justify a dissolution of the Union. Has it not been done. Has the Union been dissolved. They have not resisted past aggressions,—they scarcely will future, if they will not contend for the *substance* of the Constitution they will not for its mere *forms*. But will the North continue its aggressions. This is most improbable. The great free soil party was formed for a *particular purpose*, to exclude the South from the Mexican acquisition. It has accomplished its end and may now resolve itself into its original elements. It has no *grand measure* now in view. The abolitionists may have some [illegible] ness aims, but they will not procure the support of either of the parties. [illegible] conservative class composed of [illegible] wealth and intellect of the North, will not permanently link itself to the foreign scum which has drifted across the ocean and settled upon their shores. The aggressive class composed of lawless [illegible] organising spirits must yield to those who have property and great interests to secure. When the North has become like France, a *Constitution* [illegible] taen, and not before, labor may [illegible] successfully against capital.

The political condition of Europe and of the North, presents itself to philosophical speculation. We are evidently approaching a new social era. The old structure which has been standing for centuries is being convulsed to its very foundation by the revolutionary temper of the masses. The greatest of political problems, the capacity of man for self government must soon be solved. Human perfectibility is the aim of the masses. Universal suffrage the [illegible] by which they propose carrying out practically the most extravagant conceptions which will, if unarrested, strike a fatal blow to the rights of property, at the great fundamental basis of all law and government. Such is the political aspect which the North now presents. Our country is one of vast boundaries and conflicting interests, and the question now is, can the Union be any longer preserved. Mr. Calhoun contended that it could not be without an organic constitutional amendment. Mr. Clay proclaims that it may and shall be preserved by consolidation. Upon the result of this great issue depends the comparative estimation in which these two Statesmen will be held by posterity. Mr. Calhoun was of the opinion that the stability of our political institutions depended very much upon our peculiar domestic institutions. He thought that so long as the political equilibrium between the two sections was preserved, that the South would supply a conservative self-sustaining element in the Constitution to preserve and perpetuate the Government, without its operating oppressively upon either of the great sections. He desired our federal balances to be co-identical with our local. Upon this his sagacity as a statesman rests. Mr. Clay's grand scheme is to *nationalize* the government. If he lives, I fear his policy may be consummated. In such a consummation we would not recognise the mutual security of the two great sections. The South would be destroyed for the perpetuation of the government. What are the prospects of the success of the scheme. Indications at present are against the South. We have been advised to stand aloof, that the fearful collisions will be between the conservative and disorganizing elements of the North. Egregious blunder of an ephemeral politician. These two elements are hostile, but we have the aims of the two fully manifested in the views of the exponents of the two classes. Mr. Webster of the conservative and Mr. Seward of the aggressive—the one wishes to preserve the Union for the protection of Northern capital—the other to perfect the schemes of fanaticism. Actuated by different motives. The two parties will coalesce for the preservation of the Union to consolidate the government. After this has been effected, what result will follow? The [illegible] gressive class which [illegible]