and who, acting upon false principles of philosophy, regard property of every description a crime, will by the elevation of its instruments, get the entire control of the government and proceed to legislate upon agrarian principles which will array the conservative class, North and South, against them, and we shall have the spectacle of the South fighting the battles of the North for the defence of an artificial system, in the establishment of which, the South has been, by unconstitutional legislation, drained of her resources. If we get out of the Union we shall not be compelled to protect the North from the consequences of its own self-destructive elements. If we secede, we may stand aloof and leave them to themselves; but if we submit to a consolidation of the government, to a loss of our State sovereignty, we shall at some future period, be forced to sustain the North by the same means that we have been already to build it up. Consolidation is what Mr. Calhoun warned us against. It may be defeated by a confederacy, or separate State action, in the event of our failing to form a Southern Confederacy. Every one must then admit that successful agitation at the North, except for effecting a consolidation of the government is exceedingly problematical. The great issue now is State Sovereignty and consolidation. By secession we give the South an issue which will most assuredly unite it.—Mr. Boyce's idea is, that we are merely called upon to resist the *Abolition tendencies* of the Government. Most fatal delusion—they are no doubt the ultimate tendencies of the Government, but not the immediate. Mr. Seward has avowed his policy—emancipation is to be the result of consolidation. To resist emancipation successfully, we must first resist consolidation. There will no doubt be a long pause before the agitation of slavery commences again. It may be a quarter of a century, but should it on a small scale continue, will that unite the South or cause her to resist? It is most improbable, judging from the past. What then becomes of co-operation, by delay. What becomes of a Southern Confederacy, which is the end of co operation. A Southern Confederacy hangs actually upon *speculation*. And is the exercise of State Sovereignty to depend upon a *doubtful result*.

No fellow-citizens, our remedy is separate State action, but before resorting to this successful remedy we are all willing to wait until Alabama and Mississippi have acted, and until the meeting of our State Convention, which *can not* possibly assemble before the action of those two States; this is the *law* of the land, and when the Convention does meet we merely propose action before the final adjournment thereof, which will be the latter part of the year 1852, near two years off, and that too after we shall have had the [illegible] satisfactory evidence of the designs of Mississippi and Alabama, when we say we go for *immediate* State action, we mean action eighteen months, or two years hence, for the legislation of the State has been such as to prevent us from acting before that time. None of us are. None of us can be for State action before Mississippi and Alabama have acted, and when Messrs. Boyce and Rutland tell you they are opposed to immediate State action, they only speak our sentiments, no one can be in favor of immediate State action who recognise the law of the land. Messrs. Boyce and Rutland, and I wish to call *most particular* attention to the fact, as it is in this, that we differ most materially. They mean that they are opposed to separate State action, any time during the legal existence of the Convention which must continue until the middle and probably until the fall of 1852. They in other words will oppose the State's secession for two years next ensuing, and that after we have ascertained what Alabama and Mississippi intend to do—and not merely this but after the election of another President, after great political developments have taken place. Well another still more material difference is that in saying they are opposed to immediate separate State action, they do not tell us that they are for *ultimate State action*. When you speak of this, *indefinite* delay is the reply, that is they are in favor of South Carolina's acting when the other States do. It is absurd to call that separate State action which depends upon the *co action* of the other States. These gentlemen are for neither immediate nor *ultimate* separate State action, they have unquestionably mounted the Union Platform of 1832. Both of them ridicule the idea and condemn in unqualified terms the policy of South Carolina's forming herself into a separate and independent Government. Does that not show most conclusively that they are opposed to separate State action, even should Mississippi and Alabama not act. That may be the platform of Messrs. Boyce and Rutland, but it surely was not that of Fairfield District in 1832. Do they not *practically* make State sovereignty and with it State Rights, depend upon the *chances* of a Southern Confederacy. Most certainly they do. They may say what they please about the right of secession,—what does it signify if they are opposed to its *practical exercise*. We are all for delay, gentlemen, although we cannot subscribe to the *indefinite* delay platform, which has been erected by Messrs. Rutland and Boyce. What says Lord Bacon on this subject "it were better to meet some dangers half way though they come nothing near, than to keep too long a watch upon their approaches, for if a man keeps too *long* a watch it is odds he will fall asleep."—Mr. Calhoun warned us not to delay. Indefinite delay we should regard as being the very worst counsellor of States. The great end, the *ultimate* policy of South Carolina is before us,—State sovereignty. It may be attained by prudence. It may be forfeited by *submission*. It may be gained by wisdom—it may be lost by *indefinite delay*.

Mr. Boyce is incorrect when he affirms that the other Southern States have resolved not to secede. Mississippi and Alabama are exceptions to his general charge. The object of the Legislature in holding our election in February, was to give *aid* and *comfort* to the other States. If we organize a submission Convention what encouragement will they derive from such a procedure? Will it not defeat all hope of co-operation? Will it not cause us to lose our sovereignty itself? Let this Convention be composed of men pledged to resistance—*at least before* the final adjournment of the Convention, which will be after we have discovered whether the other States intend to co-operate with us—it will give strength to the resistance parties in Mississippi and Alabama; it will advance our co-operative policy more than any thing we can do. Should all this fail to unite us, we shall then have a Convention which will practically exercise the right of secession. The prestige of the Union being once dispelled by partial secession, should the General Government attempt co-ercion either in the form of active invasion or bloodless blockade it would have, in either policy to declare war against us. This would present a *rallying* issue to the South, one which would *unquestionably* unite us. It would be a blow not merely at their institutions but at their *sovereignty*. We have already the sympathies of large parties in the other States, 30 000 in Georgia alone. One drop of Southern blood, a Lexington skirmish, which must be inevitable, if Mr. Boyce is correct, when he speaks of the horrors of war, will give us the constituted authorities of those States; in this way we shall yet have a Southern Confederacy.—at any rate we shall have *independence*. We have now arrived at the last stage of our argument. Should South Carolina achieve her independence as a nation, what would be her position? The idea, Mr. Boyce exclaims, of such a thing is so *preposterous*, that he hardly knows what to say in regard to it. To my great surprise, he speaks in the most *taunting epithets* of South Carolina as a Republic. Does Mr. Boyce suppose for a moment, that freemen can be ridiculed out of their most sacred rights. A population of millions and immense resources may be necessary to comprise a powerful and an opulent empire, but not to form a happy, a prosperous and an independent nation, which we would be. As to the calamities of war, which Mr. Boyce depicts in a manner more calculated to operate upon your fears than to arouse your revolutionary spirit, I can not see what is to cause them. In our quiet agricultural pursuits, we would find safety and a total exemption from war. Our policy would be essentially pacific. The policy of the great powers towards us would be the same. As to their settled policy being hostility to our institutions, it is all down right fudge. All the great powers united to us by the most cordial commercial alliances might *cant* upon the subject of our [illegible] to interfere in any manner with the *production of cotton*. Stop the looms and the shuttle of any commercial nation and you immediately paralyse her industrial energies. We would be at peace with all the world. As it is now we are most bitterly opposed to the North. As to the government it would be administered upon the same economical principles that it is now. *Our taxes* would not be increased a shilling—they would be less, and what the North annually robs us of by the tariff laws would far more than cover the expenditures of the Government. Our staples would be freighted as they now are in British vessels. We would have no flag to insult. No expensive navy to support. Our foreign relations would be purely commercial. We would have no foreign embassies to keep up. Consuls whose salaries would be the perquisites of their offices would be sufficient for all purposes. "Our rash counsellors," to whom Mr. Boyce alludes, would be engaged in no world wide diplomacy to involve us in difficulties of any kind. Indeed, in the jarring interests and conflicting policies of greater powers we would recognise our security. If our republican institutions were obnoxious to England or European monarchies, our republican enemies of this continent would protect us. If our domestic institutions were odious to the over sensitive philanthrophy of the North, the South would protect us. An attack upon our institutions, this State being in or out the Union, would arouse the whole South. Besides, if out of the Union we might then accept the overtures for free trade now made by all commercial nations, our very prosperity would be most inviting, and would be a most strong inducement for other States to secede, especially if these aggressions continue which Mr. Boyce speaks *so confidently* of, and here I would ask, if these aggressions are continued what will prevent South Carolina from uniting with the other Southern States when they shall have seceded from the Union, can she not accomplish in time, out of the Union what now it is said she may in time effect in the Union. If delay will accomplish a Southern Confederacy it will accomplish it whether South Carolina remains in the Union or goes out of it. We possess in an eminent degree the self sustaining principle, we may sustain ourselves as a people *forever*, certainly long enough for the South to be united. These grave subjects were all thoroughly investigated in 1832, they engaged the attention of our first men. Our great political Philosopher, Calhoun, took a very different view of the subject from Messrs. Boyce and Rutland,—so did McDuffie, that great master of political economy. The prospects of South Carolina as a small, though *independent* nation, fired the imagination of Preston and formed the themes of the loftiest and most fervid strains of his eloquence. Mr. Rutland thinks otherwise, he believes South Carolina will "cut a most ridiculous figure upon the map of nations out of this *glorious Union*." Messrs. Boyce and Rutland it really seems to me, have taken entirely a onesided view of this important subject,—they have discussed it more in the spirit of professional advocates than of candid Statesmen. What, I ask, would be the position of South Carolina in the Union after *base submission*,—her sovereignty lost, her honor gone, her equality forfeited with the slaves of the whole South, rapidly increasing in numbers and *walled up in prison bounds*,—their labor valuless, their masters emancipating them to get rid of the responsibility of supporting them. Think of the consequences, a population socially distinct, and yet locally intermingled—one half unrestrained, fast returning to their original state of savageism, marked by the sensual propensities of the brute. What conception can be more shocking or more appalling than this. Mr. Calhoun truly remarked in 1832, let the consequences of resistance be what they may, they cannot equal those that would result from submission, this is still applicable to us.

Mr. Boyce has alluded to the comparative insignificance of South Carolina among the family of nations. He speaks of her as a counterpart of the 'little Republic of San Marino," the "laughing stock of the world." This term would apply with far more force to her if she remained in this Confederacy a conquered Province of the North. Instead of being the free and happy Republic of San Marino, she would be called little Gascony, and her sons would descend to posterity "as the greatest of boasters and the basest of cowards."

Mr. Boyce, after having erected his platform, quite suddenly becomes conscious of its *weakness*, he sees it tottering, as it were, and immediately begins to think how he shall support it. It is at once fortified with the honored names of Cheves, Barnwell and Butler. As to the two last named, the assertion is utterly groundless, so far as regards authentic evidence. I have never found in their speeches any thing of the kind. So far from that, Mr. Barnwell's reply in the Senate to Mr. Clay's attack upon South Carolina, indicate any thing but *submission*. Mr. Butler's prompt effort to get the floor, was as expressive as any remarks he could have made. He was all indignation. As to the position of Mr. Cheves, you must keep in mind that we have two distinct policies, *co-operation* and *secession*. Mr. Cheves has advocated the former ever since 1832. He very consistently advocates it at present. The policy is a vast one—the conception is a grand one. I was delighted to hear that the Legislature had almost unanimously appointed him a Deputy to the Southern Congress. I wish him to be the advocate of his own great cause. Let him carry to his task the lofty purpose of the disinterested statesman, the ardent zeal of a patriotic heart, and the mighty energies of a vigorous intellect which have been aroused to action by his country's wrongs. But should he fail to procure the co-operation of the South, then we have but one *alternative* [illegible] 1832, to which Mr. Cheves was much opposed, and in opposing that opposed the adopted policy of the State. In Mr. Cheves we recognise the advocate of co-operation—in Mr. Calhoun we recognise the champion of a Southern Confederacy, as the *first* measure, and of seperate State action as the *final*. Let us pursue co-operation so long as the other States in *Convention* mainfest an inclination to unite with us. If Mississippi and Alabama, like Georgia, determine to submit, why co-operation is at an end—the State Rights Platform of secession becomes immediately the policy of the State. If we abandon that, we abandon the enviable position the State occupied in 1832. We do more, we abandond the long settled policy of the State, the great principles of Carolina's departed Statesman, which having received Legislative sanction, form not merely the political sentiments of the man, but the *Constitutional Jurisprudence* of the State. Let not his memory be cherished in monumental marble with an *epitaph* to which we no longer *practically* adhere, but rather let him live in the hearts of his countrymen, and let their veneration be manifested in the adoption as well as the practical application of his principles. Never let it be said his name was most honored when living, least revered when dead.

E. G. PALMER, JR.

SPEECH,

OF MAJ. WM. S. LYLES, DELIVERED IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES.

Mr. Chairman:—Unused sir, as I am by my habits as a planter, to much public speaking, it is with great diffidence I venture to address you. The importance of the subject however, must be my apology, if any is needed, for the brief trespass I propose to make upon your patience, as well as that of the committee. It is admitted on all hands, that the question of our Federal Relations involves matters of greater and graver importance than any which have ever heretofore claimed the deliberations of this body. Indeed, I might with perfect propriety assert, that the Revolution itself, is overshadowed in importance, by the events transpiring, and soon to transpire around us. That was a contest for principle, this for life itself, as well as principle. That was waged for a trifling tax upon tea and paper,—this to protect our social and political institutions, our property, our lives.

I shall not weary the patience of the Committee, by even a recapitulation of our wrongs. These are known and felt—no one pretends to question them—they are universally acknowledged. Shall we submit? None here ventures to counsel this unmanly and craven course.—All admit we must seek redress—must apply some remedy. What then shall it be? Not discussion surely, for two years ago we declared by solemn resolves, that the time for this had past, that the argument was exhausted—not protest and remonstrance, for these but excite the scorn and derision of our enemies—not non-intercourse, for this is but a palliative falling far short of the seat of the disease.—What then I repeat is the remedy? It *is*, "*Secession and the formation of a Southern Confederacy.*" This I solemnly believe is the only way under Heaven, whereby we can be saved, and I rejoice as a man, and a patriot, that upon this point, there is no division among us.

But for the accomplishment of this great object of our wishes, all admit Mr. Chairman, that the co-operation of at least a portion of the South is necessary, in fact indispensible. How this co-operation shall be obtained in the most speedy manner, is a most important question for our consideration, and the only one upon which we differ. Gentlemen who have preceded me in this debate, have called upon us to wait, wait—wait upon the progress of public opinion in our sister States. Well sir, so important do I esteem co-operation, that in deference to their opinions, and for the sake of harmony among ourselves, as well as to afford time to place the State in a condition of complete defence, I am willing to wait, but how long? Not certainly (as has been intimated as probably necessary) ten years, or five, or three, *but one and no more*. I am unwilling to wait longer, because forsooth, I honestly believe, that if the slave States cannot be aroused in that time to a sense of the danger menacing us all, it will be folly if not madness to wait longer. Upon what do gentlemen found their hopes of co-operation by delay? Not certainly upon anything which appears upon the political surface at this time. Do we not see in all the Southern States a disposition to shrink from the contest, to submit to present wrongs, and lay down new platforms for the future, to be abandoned, *judging from the past*, as soon as new aggressions are committed. In proof of what I say, look to Georgia, our coterminous State on the South. Her Convention is now in session, doing what? Devising ways and means, to protect the interest, the honor, the rights and property of her people? No sir, but devising the ways and means to conciliate the Federal Government, by backing out as quickly and smoothly as possible, from the high position heretofore assumed by her Legislature. With the embittered feelings of the contest through which she has passed, upon this very subject, now rankling in the bosoms of her people—with the flush of victory and pride of party consistency still green in their memories—with the hope of reward held out to her politicians for their betrayal of their country, by the "powers that be," is there any reasonable hope that she will soon wheel into line? I fear not. Where too, is Mississippi, whom we all counted upon as certainly as our own Palmetto State? It is true she has called a Convention, but by so meagre a majority, as to render early if any co-operation, almost hopeless. The very fact of the postponement of her Convention to so remote a period, is to my mind "conviction strong as proof of Holy Writ, that her people are not yet ready, and that she looks to South Carolina to make the issue for her. And where is the one noble old Dominion? Years ago, John Randolph declared she had lost "the breed of noble-bloods" and I fear it is true, for she, even she, has faltered and fallen back from her high position, abandoned, shamelessly abandoned, the ground assumed two years ago, by her Legislature in solemn resolve. Can she be aroused? Not certainly by past wrongs, scarcely by new aggressions of the Federal Government. In sight of the Federal Capitol with "the seven loaves and two fishes" sticking in her very nostrils, overrun by a Yankee population, which like the locusts of Egypt have settled in countless hordes, upon every nook and corner of her fair inheritance, it will prove a more than Herculean labor for our true and noble friends there to arouse her from the deep sleep which now overwhelms her. What I have said of Virginia, Georgia and Mississippi, is true to a greater or lesser extent of every other slave-holding State in the Union. Delays sir, are sometimes as dangerous in the affairs of nations, as individuals. Let the present occasion pass by, let the people of the South become once more involved in a disgraceful scramble for the Presidency, and the voice of South Carolina proclaiming resistance to the tyranny of the Federal Government, will be like the voice of one crying in the wilderness, with none to hear, none to heed. Then will the cause of the South be lost forever, and in sackcloth and ashes we may mourn over the ruin of the fairest portion of God's creation, wrought out chiefly by our own apathy, indifference and delay.

Not so, however, if we [illegible]. Let us then *appoint deputies to a Southern Congress, and call a Convention of the people of this State to meet upon its adjournment, to* [illegible] *alone* if necessary when the time comes, and my life upon it, success will crown our effort, victory will perch upon our banner. The great question of the practical exercise of State sovereignty by *secession*, will be so new, so unexpected, so startling in its character, that it will absorb and over-ride all others. It will arouse our sister States from their lethargy, it will inspirit our friends, it will frighten our enemies. If subjugation be attempted no Southern State *dare* stand idly by and witness the struggle, for our ruin would be theirs, our triumph their release from a worse than Roman bondage. No sir, however rash and premature they might esteem such action on our part, the moment the blow is struck, that moment all serious divisions cease. A community of interests and common sense of danger, must unite us for a common safety. Such has been history—such will be history again. The case of the colonies during the revolution, which has been cited by the gentleman from Charleston in favor of delay, is a case in point, affording a beautiful illustration of the truth of the position. We all know that although there was correspondence between them, there was nothing like concert and union until Massachusetts struck the blow at Lexington—till blood was spilled. If with such a diversity of interests, such a difference in climate, soil and productions, such an attachment to the time-honored institutions of the old world, so small a cause of complaint when compared to ours, with the colonies feebled and unarmed, the action of Massachusetts could unite the old thirteen into one bond of resistance; how much more probable, nay certain is it, that the action of South Carolina, will unite the fourteen strong and powerful slave States, into a similar but much stronger bond? Like the colonies of olden time we have long complained of, and protested against our wrongs, like them we have had correspondence with the parties aggrieved, let us, then, like Massachusetts, precipitate the issue as soon as the most vigorous preparation will fit us for defence. We are now sufficiently united for this purpose,—perfect unanimity we can never hope for—no cause ever had. There were tories and traitors in the Revolution, there will be now. Even Poland and Hungary, crushed as they are by the iron heel of despotism, have always had degenerate sons ready to lick the rod that smites them, and sell their country for a price. Can we hope for exemption from this common lot of all nations?

The gentleman from Charleston, (Mr. Memminger) called our attention to a letter of a distinguished citizen of another State, invoking us to delay, to wait the wheeling into line of our sister States. I too, sir, humble I am, have a correspondent in Mississippi not entirely unknown to fame, and he invites delay, not for a time, but until new issues are made, which never will be made, until the bit of submission will have become so strong in exercise, that like a second nature it will be impossible to shake it off, for any new outrage. This gentleman writes, that although the Legislature has fully sustained the gallant Quitman, it is as certain as fate that the people will "prostrate" him next fall. This I scarcely believe, and only mention it as a slight offset to the testimony introduced by the gentleman from Charleston, and to show that there are some at least within the borders of Mississippi even who believe *she* is taking a step backward. If the correspondent of the gentleman be correct, our action will only hasten the progress of things—if mine be right the same action will arrest the retrograde movement.

I know, Mr. Chairman, that South Carolina is looked to abroad, as the [illegible] of the Southern cause. No longer ago than last summer, a distinguished son of the Old Dominion assured me, that it was hopeless to look to Virginia to lead or even to follow without a distinct and more powerful issue being presented, and that issue he besought [illegible] to make, by *secession*. Sir, I have no wish for South Carolina to lead off in this matter—[illegible] whatever. I would rather any other [illegible] should reap the honor of commencing this [illegible] *great conflict* for our rights, but if [illegible] *must*. We ought not to disappoint our friends or dispirit our own people. [illegible] too "Hope deferred maketh the heart [illegible]." Let us, then, meet their expectations by [illegible] promptly our purpose and determination to resist, by preparing for it. This [illegible] for I verily believe, that under the [illegible] of God, South Carolina is the [illegible] for working out the [illegible] South—and restoring its ancient [illegible]. Her position, her courage, her unity of sentiment, fix this upon her as her destiny. She cannot evade it, if she would.

Mr. Chairman,—Having indicated separate State secession as our duty, so soon as we find the co-operation of our sister States hopeless, which fact can be ascertained if ever in twelve months, the question presents itself—have we a right to secede? This I hold to be susceptible of the clearest proof. The *right to secede* is but an incident of that sovereignty, which the States reserved, when they acceded to the present constitutional compact, and is inseperable from the very nature of that compact itself. It has never until lately been denied. The very framers of the constitution and its cotemporaneous expounders, admitted it to the fullest extent. Mr. Madison, unquestionably one of the ablest of them all, said in debate in convention, "If we consider the Federal Union as analogous, not to social compacts among individual men, but to the conventions among individual States, what is the doctrine resulting from these conventions? Clearly, according to the expositors of the law of nations, that a breach of any one article by any one party, leaves all the other parties at liberty to consider the whole convention as dissolved." Could any opinion be more full and satisfactory? But, sir, we are not left to groupe our way in the dark—to rely upon the opinions of fallible men, be they ever so able upon a subject of such vast importance as this. The State of Virginia, jealous of her rights, (I would she were so now,) when called upon to ratify the Federal constitution, declared in substance, that the powers delegated to the Federal Government "may be resumed by them, (the people,) whensoever the same shall be perverted to their injury or oppression." New York adopted at the same time, similar if not stronger language. This reservation of Virginia and New York must, of course, inure to the benefit of all the other parties to the compact, or that political equality, which constitutes the very basis of the whole governmental fabric falls at once to the ground. But more than this, almost every State, if I mistake not, embraced in its "Bill of rights" a declaration that submission to arbitrary power, was *slavish* in the highest degree, &c. Such, at least, was the declaration of North Carolina, when the spirit of old Mecklenburg was rife in the land.

Before I dismiss this branch of the subject, I desire to bring to the notice of the Committee a practical example of secession under our own government. It occurred under the old articles of Confederation, and Virginia as usual in those days was the chief actor in the scene. I substitute the language of another as he describes the whole *modus operandi* and result far better than I could.

"When the Articles of Confederation were adopted, they received successively the assent of every State, and bound no State until its assent was given. By these articles a Union was formed, and one of them, the thirteenth provided that they should not be changed without the assent of every State comprising the Confederation. And the same article declared that 'the Union shall be perpetual.' Yet the Government of the Confederation, like that of the existing Union, was found unsatisfactory in practice. And after propositions had been made by Congress to the States, and by some of them to Congress, without effect Virginia took the lead and appointed Commissioners to meet similar delegates from such other States as were willing to confer together *to change that system*.

Five States only, at first took part in this movement viz: New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Delaware and Virginia; and their commissioners met at Annapolis, in September, 1786. New Hampshire, Massachusetts, Rhode Island and North Carolina also appointed commissioners, but none of them attended. [illegible] The Annapolis Convention, which was held at Philadelphia, where delegates from twelve of the States attended. They adopted a plan of a Constitution, which was signed by thirty-nine members out of sixty-five who attended. Half of the Massachusetts delegation, a majority of the New York, Virginia and Georgia delegations refused to sign it. Such was the want of unanimity then. Not one of the delegations which assembled at this Convention was authorized to form a new Constitution, *or to secede from the then Union of the States.* Yet they did both. Such men as Gen. Washington, Jas. Madison, Ben. Franklin, Alexander Hamilton, John Rutledge and the Pinckneys, resolved to do both. The articles of Confederation stipulated for a *perpetual union*, and required any amendment of these articles to be ratified by every State. And the articles of the Confederation were ratified without qualification, by all the States. There was no reservation of a right of secession. But General Washington and his associates, without even authority from their States, and in defiance of the express terms of the Constitution under which they lived, deliberately proceeded to make a new Constitusion and to proclaim secession and disunion from such States as would not agree to it. For it was made an article (7) in the new Constitution, that the ratification of nine States should be sufficient for its establishment between the States so ratifying it, and therefore for their secession and separation from the rest, if the latter preferred the Union already existing. Now if the right of secession be denied, the framers of the present Constitution were all traitors—traitors not to the British Government, but to their own Government."

Here, sir, was an act of secession from an union declared to be *perpetual*, resulting, however, in the formation of this more "perfect union," which has proven, such a withering and unmitigated curse, upon the whole South. If Virginia and other States had a right to secede from the one for small cause, how much more right have we to secede from the other, *when its whole powers have been perverted to our "injury and oppression.*" If we cannot, I would ask what have we gained by the blood and suffering of the Revolution? Nothing, literally nothing. We have only [illegible] tyranny of one, for the [illegible] secession be revolution, as the Hon. gentleman from Greenville contends, then is it time to enact the bloody scenes of Eutaw, Yorktown and Trenton over again. If we have in the last resort no *peaceable remedy for the redress of our grievances*, then have we lost by change of masters, and for one I stand prepared to endorse the declaration of the Hon. gentleman, (Mr. Memminger,) rather than continue under such a government, so unlimited in its character, so unappeaseable in its appetites, so full of its outrages and wrongs, I would most cheerfully return under the power of the British crown. But, sir, we have no occasion to do either,—a manly discharge of duty at this time, will save us from submitting to the one or fleeing to the other.

But, sir, what will be the consequences of secession by a single State? I have already expressed my conviction, that it will at once lead to an union of the South, and the formation of a Southern Confederacy. If, however, in this reasonable hope we are doomed to disappointment, can we sustain our cause, single handed and alone, against the whole power of the Federal Government? The odds would be fearful, but with truth, justice, right upon our side, I should go forth "fearing no evil." "The race is not always to the swift or the battle to the strong." We have that most essential of all preparations for such a contest, in the fixed and determined will of our people never to submit. It is true, as the Hon. gentleman from Kershaw asserted, that in a strictly military point of view, we are not ready—we are deficient in ordnance and ordnance stores, in small arms, powder, &c. And yet, sir, we are better supplied than nine-tenths of this Union. A distinguished military officer has furnished me with the following statement of our strength in men, munitions, &c., which I beg to read to the Committee.

MILITIA.		
Number of men liable to duty,	36,126	
Alarm men, not less than,	16,000	52,126
ORDNANCE.		
Number of pieces in the Arsenals of Charleston and Columbia, of various calibre, from three to twenty-four pounds, including several mortars,	94	
Number in the hands of militia, from one to twelve pounds,	34	128
SMALL ARMS.		
In the depots at Charleston at Columbia, there are stands of small arms,	12,170	
In the hands of the militia,	3,578	15,748

Swords and pistols are not included in the estimate of small arms.

From this it will be seen that we have an aggregate of upwards of 50,000 men able to do duty. Of these we can bring into the field, if necessary, not less than 30,000, and still have enough in the country to keep up the necessary police, and carry on all our agricultural operations. We have guns enough to arm 15,000, and when we take into consideration, that every man has his rifle or double barrel gun, it is not asserting too much to say, we can effectively arm double that number. The whole of the colonies at the commencement of the Revolution, had but four pieces of ordnance, I understand, while we have 128, and yet I agree with my Hon. friend from Kershaw, (Mr. Chesnut,) that we should have more, and I stand prepared to vote the necessary appropriation to bring the supply up to what is needed. But money, too, is as essential under the contingency contemplated, as men and munitions, and how will it be raised? We have twenty millions worth of produce, the raw material of cotton, rice and grain which must go abroad, and as the imports are generally equal to the exports, a duty of 20 per cent. *ad valorem*, would raise us the sum of four millions of dollars. But, say, gentlemen, the Federal Government will blockade our ports and cut off this supply. Well, I hope so. A blockade is as much an act of war, as an invasion by land, and will arouse the indignation of our sister States just as quickly. Either would be a blow at a sovereign State, their equal, their confederate, which would be felt as a blow at themselves, to be resisted at every hazard. But could we not bear the inconvenience of a blockade for a short time, for one year or two if necessary, for the sake of a great principle and for self preservation. If not we have sadly degenerated in spirit from our noble and self-denying ancestors—we are not prepared to attempt the re-achievement of our lost liberty. But, sir, we can and will bear this if necessary, and more. We will bear the heaviest kind of war-tax to sustain our cause. For the last thirty years, we have contributed thirty dollars out of every hundred of the hard earnings of our industry, to sustain and build up the North, and now, if necessary, we will contribute at least one tenth to build up and sustain the South. Our relief from Northern taxation will enable us to do it—our patriotism will prompt the offering. If, Mr. Chairman, the separation should be peaceable, the reasons just cited will apply with still greater force, to our ability to sustain ourselves as an independent State. Holding in our open and spacious harbor, the key to the commerce of nearly the whole South West; with Rail Roads, now diverging in every direction; with free trade or comparative free trade with all the world; with a territorial area larger than many of the German States; I can see nothing, that can possibly check our rapid strides to wealth, greatness, and glory as a people.

I cannot close my remarks, without noticing what fell from the Hon. gentleman from Greenville, a few days ago. I regret sir, that I cannot respond to a single sentiment he has uttered, in behalf of this *glorious union*, I mean no personal disrespect when I declare before God, that there is not a single cord in my bosom, that beats responsive to his wishes to save it. He has eloquently, most eloquently dwelt upon its greatness and glory. But what sir has made it great and glorious, but the institutions, the [illegible] and the productions, I may as well tell the truth, [illegible] still, nor would their commerce have whitened every sea.

For myself I do not love it,—on the contrary I despise it for its wrongs, its oppressions, its insults—I despise it for the robberies and murders that have been committed in its name and under its sanction, upon my countrymen of the South. Twelve months ago, I was a disunionist upon a certain contingency, I am now a *disunionist per se*. I would crush it to-morrow if I could, even if the North would now recede from their position, give up all the territories to the British line on the North, cease their agitations upon the subject of slavery, restore the Constitution to its original purity, and give us new guaranties for its future observance, I would not consent to remain. No sir! I wish to fellowship with no people, whose whole history may be summed up in the single word *plunder*. Three times already have they deceived us with their compromises, they will deceive me no more. There repentance of the wrong done if repented of at all, would be like that of the prince of the infernal region, too insincere to be trusted.

"When the Devil was sick, the Devil a saint would be
When he got well, the devil a Saint was he.

Sir I concur with the Hon. gentlemen from Charleston and Kershaw, that we are two people, essentially different in our habits, pursuits education, &c., and that if the seeds of discord had not already been sown too deeply for our future union, patriotism would require us to part for ever, and for one I say God speed the glorious event.

[COMMUNICATED.]

Mr. Editor:—A number of the Officers of the Twenty Fourth Regiment, after having duly weighed the claims of the several Candidates for the Office of Brigadier General, have come to the conclusion, without intending to reflect in the slightest degree on the merits of other gentlemen who are Candidates, that Capt. J. N. SHEDD is, at this particular crisis, the man for such a position. He is young, vigorous, gallant and brave, and by his conduct on the plains of Mexico, has proved himself not only qualified to discharge his duties as an officer in times of peace, but eminently fitted for a crisis in military affairs.

The time is fast approaching when we may need his services again. We trust, therefore, that his claims may be well considered, and as a slight compensation for his gallant services in the last war, that he may be promoted to the office to which his merits entitle him, and for which he is now a Candidate.

NUMEROUS OFFICERS.

Married.

Married, on the evening of the 24th December last, by James Aiken, Esq., Mr. JAMES M. HODGE, to Miss REBECCA, daughter of the late Isom Finley, all of Fairfield District.

Married on the 2d inst., by the Rev. M. D. Fraver, Mr. J. N. LIGON to Miss AMANDA M. CURLEE, all of Fairfield District.

☞ We acknowledged the receipt of the Printer's Fee, and in return, wish the happy couple all the pleasures which may be enjoyed by those who have been joined together by "the silken cord."

Commercial.

LATEST DATES.

Latest date from Liverpool,	- -	Dec. 21.
Latest " " Havre,	- -	Dec. 20.
Latest " " Havana,	- -	Dec. 17.

Columbia Cotton Market.

COLUMBIA, Jan. 14.

Cotton.—The cotton market to-day presented no new feature, the demand was steady and to a fair extent. The accounts by the Atlantic are now past due, and most anxiously looked for, and until they come to hand we need not look for any increased animation in the market. 433 bales changed hands, at 11 a 13 3.16.—*Carolinian.*

Notice.

THE Subcriber will continue to carry on his BLACKSMITH SHOP, at the same place, and will endeavor to have all work entrusted to his care, faithfully executed at his heretofore moderate charges.

DAVID MILLER.

Jan 15 48

Taxes! Taxes!!

THE Subscriber will attend at the following places and on the following days, to receive the Taxes and Tax returns for the year 1850, viz:

At J. Q. Arnet's store, on the 3d Feb. Monday.
" Feasterville, " 4th " Tuesday.
" Bryce's store, " 5th " Wednes.
" Martin Young's, " 6th " Thurs'y.
" B. W. Elkins' store, Jackson's Creek, on the 7th Feb., Friday.
And at Monticello, on the 8th, Saturday.
On Thursday, the 13th February at Hinnants.
" Friday, the 14th Feb. at Trapps' store.
" Saturday, the 15th, at J. A. Martins.

DANIEL B. KIRKLAND, T. C. F. D.

Jan. 16 48 5

Election Notice.

AN Election will be held at the following places on the 2d *MONDAY* in February next, for four Delegates to the Convention of the State of South Carolina.

MANAGERS.

At Winnsboro.—Jonathan B. Mickle, Wm. Campbell, and Benjamin P. Ravenell.
At Monticello.—Daniel B. Kirkland, John McCrory, and Wm. A. Martin.
At Watt's & Taylor's.—John L. Kennedy, Lafayette Dukes and Andrew Dominey.
At Feasterville.—Jonathan D. Coleman, Francis H. Edmgton and John F. Coleman.
At Gladden's Grove.—James A. McCrory, Silas Gladden and Wm. W. Lewis.
At Jackson's Creek.—R. A. R. Hallum, Thomas Stitt and David R. Evans.
At Killingsworth's.—David J. Hollis, Cannon Cason and Musco B. Fogg.
At Buffalo.—Lucas A. Broom, John Taylor and Josiah Hinant.
At Longtown.—John A. Crumpton, Eli Harrison and John M. Gozi.
At Horeb.—Philip Pullig, Thomas McKinstrey and James Mann.
At Yonguesville.—George Miller, Henry Yongue and David Brice.
At Brice's Store.—John Simonton, Alex. Douglas and John Brice, Jr.
At Cedar Creek Chapel.—Robert R. Roseborough Robert Walker and Wm. Kennedy.
At Broad River Academy.—John A. Martin, Charles B. Douglas and H. A. Glenn.
At Buckhead.—Daniel H. Kerr, Thomas C. Means and John Q. Arnett.

Two days of election at each box. Meet at Winnsboro the Wednesday following; count the votes, and declare the election.

Jan 16 48 td.

Notice.

PERSONS indebted to the concerns of JOHN S SCOTT, SCOTT & BRONSON, and SCOTT & PLAYER, either by bond, note, or book account, are earnestly and respectfully requested to settle the same with either of the subscribers, on or before 15th February next, as at that period all such bonds, notes, and account shall pass into the hands of the lawyers for collection.

By attending to this request you will do *us a favor*, and save *costs for yourselves.*

JOHN S. SCOTT,
THOMAS PLAYER.

Columbia, Jan. 9, 1851. 4t.
Jan 16 48

Boarding.

THE Subscriber w[illegible] take six boarders, at his residence near the Furman Institution, (Dr. K[illegible] Dargan's place.) Students who may wish to attend Mr. Shurley's school will find it a convenient place to board at.

GEORGE MURPHY.

4t.

Public Notice.

MESSRS. EDGERTON & RICHARDS and WM. MATTHEISEN, of Charleston, having purchased from the subscriber a right to use and make the Patent Sewing Machine, known as Bradshaw's Patent, duly patented Nov. 28, 1848, notice is hereby given that said patent is the only original patent, and that all infringements of the same will be promptly prosecuted.

JOSEPH P. MARTIN,
Assignee of John A. Bradshaw, by his Attornies.

J. W. MARTIN, and
J. R. BREWSTER.

Jan 16 48 4t.

Estray Horse.

STRAYED or Stolen from Capt. T. Stitt's stable, on the night of Friday, the 10th instant, a Bay HORSE, his left hind foot white, about six years old, a black streak from his weathers to his tail. Said Horse is what would be called Poney built. Any person delivering the said Horse at James R. Aiken's store in Winnsboro, or Maj. Elkins, at Monticello, will be suitably rewarded and all reasonable expenses paid by

EMITT Y. CAMERON,
or WILLIAM AIKEN.

Jan 15 48 3.*

The State of South-Carolina.

Fairfield District.

IN EQUITY.

Robert Ford, Adm. of A. E. Guntharp, vs. G. B. Montgomery, *et. al.* } *Bill to Marshall Assets.*

BY order of the Court of Equity, notice is hereby given to all persons having any claims or demands whatever against the estate of said Alfred E. Guntharp, deceased, to present and establish the same by proper testimony, before the Commissioner in Equity, for Fairfield District, at his office, in Winnsboro, within three months from the publication hereof.

JAMES B. McCANTS, C. E. F. D.

10th January, 1851.
[Jan 16 48 3m

The State of South-Carolina.

Fairfield District.

IN EQUITY.

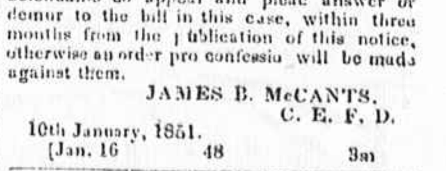
Robert Ford, Adm. of Estate of A. E. Guntharp, vs. G. B. Montgomery, *et. al.* } *Bill to Marshall Assets.*

IT appearing to the satisfaction of the Commissioner that Sterling P. Hall Wm. Gyles and Lucinda J. Giles, his wife, Rosaline Hall, and Samuel Hall, defendants in the above case, reside beyond the limits of this State: It is therefore, and on motion of J. M. Rutland, complainant's solicitor, ordered that said defendants do appear and plead answer or demur to the bill in this case, within three months from the publication of this notice, otherwise an order pro confesso will be made against them.

JAMES B. McCANTS, C. E. F. D.

10th January, 1851.
[Jan. 16 48 3m

Charlotte & S. C. Rail Road.



FROM and after the 22d December, the Passenger Train will leave Columbia every day, Sundays excepted, at 7 a. m., and returning, will leave Winnsboro at 1 30 P. M.

From Winnsboro there is a tri-weekly line of stages to Charlotte, N. C., leaving Winnsboro on the arrival of the cars, on Mondays, Wednesdays and Fridays, and returning on the following days.

Freight consigned to the Agent at Winnsboro will be forwarded without delay.

W. M. STOCKTON,
Chief Engineer.

Dec 21 45