

be regarded as the emblem of a Slaveholding Commonwealth. Many would be tempted to insult it from wantonness. How would the proud spirited people of the State feel, to hear that their flag had been pulled down and torn to pieces by a Boston whaling party, or by a vessel from Liberia, or in any other way? How could they avenge the insult? If the State assumes a national responsibility, it must provide also the attributes and means of national power. It must have a navy and all the other appliances of national dignity. It cannot rely with safety on the comity of nations, or on a code founded in a sublime Anthropopathy. It seems to be thought by some with great confidence, that by opening her ports with low duties on imports, South Carolina could, under the temptations of free trade, invite the commerce of the world to her shores. Well, perhaps, if all would be good, and do as South Carolina might think they should do, something of this might come to pass. But games are generally conducted by adversary hands; and sometimes a play is made by one that may not be thought by the other to be *secundum artem*. None of us suppose that the Federal Government would recognize the Independence of South Carolina; or would be disposed to make commercial treaties with her. On the contrary, having ample means that Government would make war on our commerce in every way it could. It would bestow bounties in, and give preference to our neighboring ports. It, so far as it could, would make treaties with foreign nations to isolate our condition and cripple our resources. It would divert and obstruct all the channels of our trade, and might confine us to our exports alone as the basis of our commercial resources. I understand that the articles of commercial resources. I understand that the articles of commerce that come into our ports, coastwise and by foreign importations, amount in value to something over \$2,000,000. Of this sum more than three-fourths finds its way into other States; into Georgia, North Carolina, Alabama, Tennessee; leaving something under \$500,000 to be consumed in this State.

It is contended that under the operations of Free Trade more would come in and in some way or other it would find its way out. Now if South Carolina was a separate sovereignty, with a free port, there is no doubt she might attract a greater commerce than now comes to her ports, provided it could find a market out of her borders. But could it find its way out without violating the revenue law of other nations? It is said "a rose by any other name smells as sweet." We might introduce as much commerce as we please, and send it to Savannah under what some would call a brisk Free Trade, but what in the estimation of others whose right would be involved, would be regarded as smuggling if carried across their borders in violation of their laws. It would be an acknowledged right of the Federal Government, to regard South Carolina as a stranger, and to place her commerce going into the ports of the States in the Union under an embargo, and so far as concerns Georgia and North Carolina to regard as ports of entry, those places only which communicate by water with the ocean such as Savannah and Wilmington. That Government might not establish ports at Augusta and Charlotte, or the North Carolina line; under this view, commerce could come into Charleston, but how could it get out without the process of smuggling? At the interior points indicated, it could not without smuggling. I then put the proposition, would capitalists import goods into Charleston in opposition to the Federal Government under the supposition that they could make a profit on them through the operations of thrifty smuggling? But in a commercial war the State might be disposed to take all advantages and it might be to the interest of Georgia and North Carolina to have ports of entry at Augusta and near Charlotte. What then? Could goods pay ten per cent in Charleston and forty at these places—in competition with a trade through Savannah and Wilmington paying a duty of thirty or forty percent? Certainly not. I will not dwell on this view of the subject any longer as I do my friends the justice to say that they have a much higher aim—one whose dignity of purpose may give their movements a different character. To move with the first view alone would be to make the State submit to something more than a vain sacrifice. She would not have the consolation of blind Metellus, who lost his eyes in going through the flames of the temple to save the Palladium. Her fate would not only be self-destruction, but it would be a sacrifice to build the interest of new rivals.

Those who really look to the end of this beginning, take the step with this view to induce other States, by the prosperous and successful examples of South Carolina, to come into conjunction with her. Or to place them in such circumstances, that having a common destiny, they would be compelled to be involved in making common sacrifice. I will not notice the first part of the proposition. The latter presents the subject in its great magnitude, not unconnected with considerations of the deepest delicacy. To force a Sovereign State to take a position against its consent, is

to make it a reluctant associate. It would be to offend its pride and force judgment. Is there any evidence that Georgia would be forced to take position with us, under the present juncture of affairs? She will perhaps contend that having decided for herself South Carolina must abide the fate of her own decision. Before such a move is made on Georgia something more ought to be made known of the sentiments of her people; who would not only sympathize with her friends, but ultimately, for their own benefit come to their support. Nothing of the kind has been attempted. I may be asked if I can give any assurance that Georgia will ever be prepared to act in concert with us, or that she will take any measures to throw off the oppressions and encroachments of the Federal Government. All that I can say is, that she once said she would, and that in the most solemn form. But in spite of herself she will have to come to such a conclusion. The slave and non-slaveholding States cannot remain long together with the present issues, under the operations of causes that must bring about their separation. That is as certain as if it were on the wall.—This confederacy, that in a short time might comprehend fifty States, must undergo new organizations. I would not have a change effected through the confusion and violence, if it could be done with intelligence and the co-operation of the parties concerned. Insult, usurpation, and accumulated wrong, will not allow our Southern neighbors to remain indifferent to their and our situations much longer. They cannot stand and see one corner of the house in which they and we dwell undermined without seeing that the edifice is in danger, and that when it falls the common tenants must perish with it.—Both interest and honor must require the Cotton States to take counsel together. They should look upon themselves not with the jealousy of rivals, but as a common crew, all equally endangered, whose duty it is to make a long pull and a pull together, to save themselves from an impending wreck. It is bad taste and worse judgment for States, identified in interest to use language of disrespect and censure towards each other. The same remarks may be made of public men who hold responsible positions, and who ought to practice courtesy and inculcate harmony. Such has not been the course of some few public men in Georgia especially. I have been surprised at a remark attributed to Speaker Cobb, who in speaking of South Carolina, said that her indicated course would be infamous. That gentlemen should recollect that every blow aimed at South Carolina will strike Georgia. For South Carolina is now endeavoring to do what Georgia said she ought to do: It is grossly unbecoming in those who should discharge the trust of Sentinels not only to quit their posts but to turn round and fire upon the camp of their comrades.

We all know the dominion of party ties for a time may be more powerful than true interests of the country. I cannot but believe that in Georgia its power will be temporary. The talent and ambitious spirit of young Georgia cannot be long hampered by it. In the struggle for Independence, what States were more united than South Carolina and Georgia. When Clark, Twiggs, Jackson, and others, fought the battle of Hanging Rock, Musgrove Mills and Black Steaks they did not even think for a moment that they were fighting on the soil of South Carolina. And when Gen. Pickens carried his men to Kettle Creek and fought the battles on the soil of Georgia, he did not think of the Savannah as a dividing line. The names Twiggs, Elbert, Pickens and Hammond, are all mingled in the exploits at Augusta. And in the war with Great Britain in 1812, the delegations of Georgia and South Carolina were united, and officers of the army acted together without thinking of local difference. I myself have seen Troup, and Milledge, and sometimes Crawford, joining South Carolina Representatives in a common journey to Washington, and there all concurring in common counsels. Nearly all that I have said might be repeated of North Carolina. The commercial interests of North and South Carolina must make them one people. Our Railroads will make our port. Mecklenburg is a name full of inspiration. The blood of many of its patriots and statesmen now mingle in the veins of those ready to go farthest for South Carolina.

Let not South Carolina take such a course as will do Americanize her: let her not, in her movements for redress, separate herself from her natural friends. Whilst she is prepared to take measures to separate herself from her non-slaveholding oppressors, let her not do anything to separate herself from her friends and neighbors. And let not her friends and neighbors look on and see her sacrificed for maintaining a cause to which they themselves stand pledged, and which they will have to maintain. It is in vain to disguise the fact, that the present form of our Government cannot be preserved. Its perversions are gross—its operations are partial.—There must be a radical reform, or there must be new organizations.—Those who attempt to prop it up with crumbling compromises and frittering

constructions, are only making the crisis of its dissolution the more disastrous. The South, united, could make of the best Governments one on earth: a Government that could be guided by statesmen and supported with a gallant courage that would adorn the annals and history of any people. The young men of the South, throwing off the ties of trained politicians, should look to their own destiny. They need look to no Federal preferences that are worthy of their ambition. Third and fourth places they might attain, when they would be entitled to the first, if they were in their rightful position. Let them quit all participation in Presidential canvasses. Let such contests be left to those whose temper and training have given them an accommodating facility.

I may be asked, (and I ought not to object to answer any question which my opportunities may enable me to answer,) what will the Government at Washington do in case South Carolina should determine on separate secession? What I have said, and what I can say is conjectural. I do not think that military force will be directly resorted to coerce South Carolina. Such an employment of power would at once dissolve the Confederacy. The Federal Government cannot by acts of coercion compel one member of the Confederacy to remain in the Union against consent. If such should be the form of the contest between the Federal Government and South Carolina, I have no difficulty in predicting the result. There would be no division then in the State. One drop of blood shed by the Federal army would not only call every citizen to a determination to avenge it, but thousands of Carolinians who have left the State would return and stand by the mother of their birth. If such should be the completion of the contest, I would not look beyond this assembly for the intrepidity of a *Lanoe* to carry the colors across the bridge of Lodi—or the chivalry of a *Jubert*, who would leave his beautiful and youthful bride, with a declaration that he would return to her with laurels on his brow or find a grave on the field of battle. I believe there are those who seeing this gallant hero's fate would encounter it. Such, however, I do not believe will be the form of the contest.

It will be a war of dollars and cents—a war of Custom Houses—and embargoes or of blockade. It may be that the latter will in the first instance be resorted to—that is the Federal Government may take such measures as to divert and drive the commerce from Charleston, either by a blockade, or by its influence exerted on foreign nations to induce them to prefer the ports of the Confederacy to those of Charleston. And ultimately South Carolina might be left to her separate condition, under a policy calculated to proscriber and reduce her to terms. The Government would resort to the agency and influence of a Macedonian party. South Carolina would be driven to rely on European support and connections to sustain her. To the extent of her exports, she might form direct commercial intercourse. This could not be done, however, unless her neighbors stood aloof and saw her sacrificed. Would they do so, is the question. This is an age more of utilitarian sagacity than romantic honor. My opinion is, that with all our confidence in Great Britain, we should not trust to her protection, sooner than to those of our own family of neighboring States. But Mr. President and gentlemen, I will not speculate any longer on what may be. Let what may come, I am with South Carolina in all her hazards. In my situation, I must endure the mortification of being regarded as a tame counselor, whilst I pledge myself to encounter all the hazards of friends who in opposition to my counsels, make a final issue for the State. I wish no State divisions ultimately there may be none. I have no censures for the brave and disinterested in the threatened contest. They have my regard and shall not find me or those that I can influence, against them. I have no political aspirations beyond South Carolina.—Called upon as one of her counsellors to give my opinion, I have done so with freedom and sincerity.

When it shall be thought proper to take the initiative of State action I ask that I may be the first one recalled from the Federal councils to take any part that may be assigned to me. Let us adopt the exhortation of Caesar at the battle of Pharsalia; "Pursue the Foreigners, but spare the Romans."

THE FIGHT IN ALABAMA.—We see it noticed in the Spirit of the South, that Mr. Benjamin Gardner, editor of the Eufaula Shield, and now a candidate for a seat in the Lower House of our State Legislature, announced his willingness to respond to a call of the General Government to coerce and put down South Carolina, should she attempt to secede from the Union. When the author of this infamous declaration and his friends shall be ready to put his doctrines into execution by marching to that State he will please inform us of the fact, as there are a few hereabouts that will be ready to accommodate him with a small bit of a fight right here in Alabama. If this is the doctrine of the Federal party, and this the manner in which they intend to carry it out in Alabama, then we say we are considerably near a civil struggle, for the right of secession will be sustained by

arms if necessary. If it is to come, the sooner the better. We are ready for the emergency. South Carolina or any other State cannot be coerced or subjugated by Federal bayonets without the bloodiest struggle that the world has ever seen.—*Montgomery (Ala.) Advertiser.*

Darlington Flag.

DARLINGTON, S. C.
J. H. NORWOOD, Editor.
WEDNESDAY MORNING, MAY 28, 1851.

"WE STAND UPON THE PRINCIPLES OF EVERLASTING JUSTICE, AND NO HUMAN POWER SHALL DRIVE US FROM OUR POSITION. * * * ACTUATED BY THESE PRINCIPLES AND ANIMATED BY THESE SENTIMENTS, WE WILL CLING TO THE PILLAR OF THE TEMPLE OF OUR LIBERTIES, AND IF IT MUST FALL WE WILL PERISH AMIDST THE RUIN!"
—*McDuffie.*

AGENTS FOR THE DARLINGTON FLAG.
S. D. HALLFORD, - Camden, S. C.
CHARLES DELORME, Sumterville, S. C.
Mr. R. W. BURGESS is the traveling agent of the *Darlington Flag.*

COTTON,

At the latest dates is quoted at from 6 1/2 to 9 1/2 cents.

THE SOUTHERN RIGHTS ASSOCIATION OF DARLINGTON DISTRICT.

As will be perceived by our advertising columns, is to hold a meeting on the first Monday in June. It is expected that the proceedings will possess unusual interest, and we hope the members and citizens will attend punctually.

THE FOURTH OF JULY.

As this anniversary is approaching, we take the liberty of suggesting that it is time some preparation should be made to celebrate the day in accordance with the immemorial usage of the place.

We invite attention to the interesting agricultural communication on our outside to-day. We are glad that the intelligent farmers of our District are taking an interest in that important department. We are always happy to receive such contributions.

RAIL ROADS.

Our worthy correspondent "Action," who sent us a communication for our last number, on the subject of a connection by rail road from Cheraw to some point on the Wilmington and Manchester rail road, might we think have suggested a continuation of the branch to Wadesboro or Salisbury. There is no scheme better calculated to link the Southern States together, in bonds of indissoluble friendship than a connection by rail roads, and may we not hope that after the completion of the several roads now in progress, which are to grapple the old North State to us with hooks of steel, that much of the prejudice which has been excited among her people, against us by the Fayetteville Observer *et id omne genus*, will disappear forever.

A SAD CASUALTY.

We have been pained to learn that SUMNER W. ARSOLD, Esq., formerly a practicing lawyer in this village, but recently of Alabama, was drowned on Thursday last in Pee Dee river, not far below Mars Bluff. The circumstances of the case were not known, but it was supposed that he was drowned in attempting to swim the river. His clothing was found on the bank. The deceased was one of the unfortunate victims of intemperance, who with talents which might have secured him an eminent position in society, has gone down "unwept, unhonored and unsung."

THE UNKINDEST CUT OF ALL.

The *Southern Patriot*, in summing up and calling by name the submissionists, North and South, has refused to allow SEWARD a place in the picture. This is very wrong, for SEWARD has very recently declared himself a "Union at all hazards and to the last extremity" man.

"NOT THE PEOPLE."

"Who are urging secession?" say the submissionists and their organs. Our observations on the matter have convinced us that the feeling which is urging the State on to secession with rail road speed, is not confined to any particular class or sex. We have heard the necessity of the step urged in the palaces of the wealthy, and the humble cottages of the poor; by the learned and the illiterate; by the politician, who is ever on the alert to find out the sentiments of the "people," and by the sunburnt yeoman, whose honest countenance, plain garb and habits of life, all bespeak him devoid of political aspirations; by the grave matron, as she surveyed with pride her group of boys, who were soon to grow up and take their position as independent freemen of an independent State, or the degraded vassals of a dependent province; and by the youthful maiden, who would prefer to see her brothers and lovers slaughtered in a contest for equal rights, than living and submitting to an acknowledged wrong. The monotony of our editorial sanction

was interrupted the other day by a visit from "one of the People," who said he had heard that we were likely to lose patronage on account of our ultra position on the question of secession. We informed him that we had not heard of it, but that our list of subscribers was still steadily increasing. He replied that he had only heard it surmised, and that it had caused him to determine to become one of our subscribers—that he had felt that he was too poor, but was now determined to subscribe "at all hazards." He expressed himself in favor of early secession on the part of South Carolina—of drawing the line, as he expressed it, and seeing who were our friends.

PAST, PRESENT AND FUTURE.

Casting our mental vision back only a few centuries into the history of the past, we see a few apparently forlorn and hopeless adventurers, buffeted by the storms of an unknown and tempestuous ocean, making their way to this then inhospitable land, where the roar of the wild beasts were almost the only sounds that saluted the ear. They came through difficulties and dangers that might well have appalled the stoutest hearts—and all for what? That they and their posterity might enjoy that freedom of opinion and action—that even-handed justice which the reckless majority of a consolidated government had denied them at home. They came—they saw—they conquered for themselves a quiet home in this country, but the hand of tyranny, which never ceases to oppress the weak while it may do it with safety, pursued them even here, and years of submission and remonstrance and concession failed to stay the mad waves of tyranny, until the colonies rose up and under the lead of Massachusetts, which threw the tea overboard, whose port was blockaded, and whose citizens were slaughtered, (as we are now threatened) after seven years of almost inconceivable suffering and privation, through walls of fire and seas of blood, secured for themselves a free and independent government. The brave men of that day who through so much tribulation had secured their liberties, knew how to prize them. The men of Georgia and the men of Massachusetts, then regarded each other as brothers—they knew no distinctions—they felt no heart-burnings. But in an evil hour the question of African slavery was made a political question—this was the apple of discord which is likely to prove as disastrous to this Republic as the golden prize contended for by the goddesses did to ancient Troy—this was the opening of Pandora's box, and the letting loose upon the body politic a host of evils, the extent of which the future alone can reveal. The ball was opened in Congress, by the admission of Missouri, under auspices that alarmed the political prophets of the South. Jefferson said it fell upon his ear like a fire-bell in the night, but the South, in the exercise of that love for the Union, that unsuspecting magnanimity for which her chivalrous sons are world-renowned, compromised her rights, and thus established a precedent for all time to come. Her magnanimity has been mistaken for ignorance, her love of the Union for cowardice—she has been called on again and again to yield up her rights—she has given back until she is fairly driven to the wall; a more unblushing wrong and insult than that she recently received in the passage of that bill of abominations, called the compromise, has never been perpetrated with impunity on a people pretending to be independent. Her present position is still that of Sampson unshorn, but Delilah stands by the slumbering hero, with her shears adjusted, and like him, unless she soon awakes, will be shorn of her strength; and like him, in attempting to free herself from her enemies, will be crushed beneath the crumbling fabric of the temple of our liberties. Much of the trouble which looms like a spectre in the future has been hastened by defection in the ranks of her own sons, who owe to her their birth and their honors. To some of them, who but recently were among her most clamorous advocates, but who, Judas-like have betrayed her into the hands of her enemies, she might well apply the dying words of Caesar, *Et tu Brute!* But such reproach would be far too mild; we would rather she would address them in the withering words of Moore:

O, for a tongue to curse the slave
Whose treason, like a deadly blight,
Comes o'er the councils of the brave,
And blasts them in their hour of night.

And when from earth his spirit flies,
Just Prophet, let the damned one dwell
Full in the sight of Paradise—
Beholding heaven and feeling hell!

We can see in the continuance of this Union nothing but danger to the South, and we believe the alternative is now presented of resistance or of utter and ignominious ruin in the future. To remain in the Union under existing circumstances, would be acting the suicidal policy of the infatuated zealot who casts himself before the car of Juggernaut, with the certain prospect of being crushed beneath its ponderous wheels.

We have received a copy of the address delivered by JAMES H. SMITH, Esq., before the Old Liberty Division of the Sons of Temperance, on the first of May. The speaker expresses himself in eloquent and truthful language, and as the lovely season of the year has emptied into the lap of earth a profusion of delightful flowers, so the orator (involuntarily no doubt) imitating the example of Nature, has embellished his address with the flowers of Poesy, gathered with taste and bound up in beautiful bouquets.

ATTENTION LADIES!

The annexed advertisement we copy from the last number of the *Black River Watchman*. The young men complain that the present customs of society render the preliminary steps to matrimony exceedingly unpleasant; they compare it to climbing an iceberg, and other extraordinary and difficult feats; they excuse themselves on that ground for taking advantage of the columns of a newspaper to make known their wants.

IMPORTANT TO YOUNG LADIES.

Wanted, on or before the first day of January next, or at any time thereafter, by three young gentlemen of good character and flattering prospects—tolerably good looking—about 25 years of age—been kicked only three times—one wife each. As to her qualifications, she must be very handsome, intelligent, lively, young, witty, short finger nails, small tongue, economical, industrious, et cetera; in short, a perfect specimen of a good housekeeper.

N. B. The ladies had better not all speak at once; and to avoid confusion, any one who should happen to be over 30 years of age had better not apply at all, but hold themselves "in reserve" as curiosities.

P. S. Address (Post-Paid) O. K., Sumterville, S. C.

We are permitted, says the *South Carolinian*, to publish the following extract from a letter of a distinguished citizen of Alabama, to a gentleman of Columbia, S. C., dated May 1, 1851. We have no doubt many of the friends of the South in our co-States entertain the same sentiments:

"We are looking with intense anxiety to the course of South Carolina. Those who under any and all circumstances will be faithful to the South, believe that your own honor, as well as the honor and safety of the entire South is involved in your secession from the Union. That a more favorable juncture for a dissolution of the fearful bond that binds us to our enemies never will occur, and that if it passes unimproved, the last hope of the South will disappear. Such is my own view of the subject. The faithful everywhere await your action. If you succumb, they will retire in disgust from a struggle that offers no prospect but continued humiliation and defeat.

It is a great responsibility, I admit.—But your course, which has been right, has brought it upon you, and to shrink from it will involve an utter loss of character and irrevocable ruin to your Southern confederates.

"Believing that you have the right to secede, and that circumstances require its exercise, I have no fear for results.—Providence never fails a brave people struggling for their freedom. Milan held all Germany at bay for nearly half a century, and finally obtained a concession for all Italy of the rights which Frederic Barbarossa endeavored to trample under foot; and she commenced the struggle with less countenance from her sister republics than you now enjoy."

The following well-timed remarks we copy from the *Charleston Sun*:

THE NECESSITY OF UNANIMITY.

Unanimity is at all times and under all circumstances, necessary to ensure success in any political change. In the present position of our State, we say most unhesitatingly that it is her duty to act, if unanimity can be established, the uncertainty of success rests solely on the ground of a want of this necessary principle. We are assured that contradictory impulses which result from an anticipated dread of consequences imagined, must baffle any people in the effort to effect a change in their condition. If we cannot go forth in the cause associated with those who have led us, by their conduct until the last hour, to imagine them confederates, why then let us assume the responsibility ourselves, and go forth alone. But to do this it is necessary to be united within ourselves—that South Carolina present no individual obstacle to the course which she has already suggested as proper—that every man within her limits feel the responsibility not of maintaining the Union at all hazards, but of maintaining that which is dearer to the heart of every true Carolinian, her honor and interest. Much has been spoken of maintaining a happy medium—of not resorting to extreme measures—of waiting for further aggression—of remaining, in fact, until we are kicked head foremost out of the Union. Where will be the honor then of making a virtue of necessity? The people have already lost much of that jealous sensibility with regard to any encroachment upon their institutions or constitutional rights, which was once evinced under all and every circumstance, and which in the days of our fathers placed an infant colony in opposition to one of the most puissant powers of the world. Gradual aggression is the course of policy marked out by the administration, and to which so many have already fallen victims. Steady progression, interspersed with occasional concessions on a small scale—now and then a great display of justice, eventuating, when we come to consider it, in nothing, and merely operating as a cloak to cover the designs of further encroachments—flattering appeals to those who swallow the bait—a great cry of Union, with little show of equality. Truly have the words of the poet been vindicated, which says that "Tyranny of late has cunning grown." It does not