## EDGEFIELD ADVERTISER

W. F. DURISOE, PROPRIETOR.

NEW TERMS.

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From the Charleston Mercury.

Mr. Laitor .- I have been informed, to my surprise, that, in consequence of a short note, addressed to my fellow citizens of the neighborhood in which I live, on the 4th of July last, I am supposed to be in favor of resistance by the action of South Carolina alone. Such an impression is entirely erroneous. I expressed a dozen years since, the same sentiments, almost in the same words, and was, at the same time, as is well known, decidedly opposed to resistance by a single State. But I shall now, with your permission, leave no doubt of the position in which I wish to stand, and, in doing so, I shall mingle my opinion, and counsels with those of my fellow-citizens, to be weighed for what they are worth, in "this great ar-

The Tariff I consider an act of insufferable and insulting oppression, which ought to be borne only untile it can be judiciously resisted. But this resistance, in my opinion, to be effective, must unite the efforts of, at least, a large postion of the sufferers. I do not think one State ought to resist alone. There will be neither confidence nor certainty in such a course The people of one State, standing alone would not be heartily united among them-selves. It might be different if the State were alone in the suffering; but standing in the midst of common sufferers, much more numerous than themselves, whose arms were folded, the presence of these would operate like a moral condemnation of their act and chill the warm blood though animated in so good a cause, and enfeeble the strong arm just raised to

But, it is asked, if our fellow sufferers will not unite with us in resistance, shall we basely submit? We have no right to anticipate that even. In my opinion, if they do not, they will be insensible to honor and to shame, and equally so, to their interests and their danger. But we dare not cast this reproach upon them: merely because they do not think fit to adopt our measures and our time. If we think they are tardy we must entreat them with brotherly zeal to quicken their step. If our measures be not acceptable to them. let us modify them or adopt theirs, if they lead to the same end. Resistance will be a very solemn act. If it be rashly attempted and fail, it will rivet our chains and bring on us new burdens and insults. Success in such great enterprises is not usually the result of a sudden thought or the fruit of a single day, but of wise and soher deliberation and protracted action. We are speaking of the movement of nations-a successful resistance will probably cost some years. The circumstances in which we are placed cannot fail to remind us of our first great act of resistance to oppressi n. Let us then boast less often and less idly of the deeds of our ancestors, and more faithfully imitate them. They did not jump in a single breath to their con clusion and talk of single handed resis tanc . They deliberated long and wisely united all who were under common suffe ring and in common danger. Let us do as they did. Let associations be formed in every Southern, and, if possible, in every South Western State, and let them confer together and interchange views and information; let leading men, through Committees and the private correspon dence collect, compare and concentrate the views of like men in their respective States, and when ripe for it, and not be fore, let representatives from these States meet in Convention, and if circumstances promise success, let them then deliberate on the mode of resistance and the measure of redress. If not, still persevere; let neither delay nor first failures, should they happen, create despair or fainthearted ness. Inflexible perseverance rarely fails in a good cause, and ours is one that must never he abandoned. Continue to enligh ten the public mind, rouse the public feeling, excite the public shame for the degra dation to which we have been brought, let your exertions be not occasional and desultory, but oiganized and incessant, avoid especially all blustering, and put in the place of it sound sense and forcible reason ning .- Your appeals to your fellow citizens may, nevertheless, be as impassion ed as your sense of injury and shame and danger may inspire, but they ought to be chastened by a regard to the moral sense of an enlighted community. Add to the proper functions of the newspaper press, the circulation of able and will chosen tracis, and let them be found in every

the mother country. During that struggle we had among our friends the Burkes and the Chathams, and other of the greatest names that ever adorned humanity. There are in every country virtuous men who hate injustice and detest oppression, though they be the acts of their own country and government; and their influence, though they may not be able to carry a vote, has often great moral and political weight. Their approbation will have great effect in sustaining your own resolu tion .- But in this case you may appeal to your interest as well as their justice, for the mass of the people, no where, derive any advantage from the oppression you suffer, and have great and honest interestput at hazard by the resistance you may be obliged to make. Manufactures should be the last resort of industry in every country, for when forced as they are wit us, they serve no interests but those of it. capitalis's who set them in motion, and their immediate localities. Commerce the proper band maid of agriculture and agriculture the blessed empolyment of man Already both are languishing under the intriguing power of manufacturing capitalits. Without the agriculture of the South and South West, the grass would

grow in the streets of your great Northern

cities. What comparatively, would Bos-

ton, New York, Philadelphia and Bati-

more be, were the South and South West,

or even the South alone, obliged to retire

from the Union? What, if our intercourse

with these cities were transferred to Liver-

pool and Havre? A moment's reflection

will be sufficient to show how little diffi

cult this transfer would be, especially

when we consider the present and grow

ing celerity or steam power. These and like ports are the ultimate points of our present commerce, though we are contented (good, easy people as we are when not trample in the earth by oppre-sion) to hear the charges of a double ransit and to employ these Northern ci ies as our factors .- What, if the unhappy event of seperation shall be provoked, to prevent us from doing our business, as we have done before, and reaping the profits which we now bestow on others, and which have made the Commercial men of the North and East "Merchant Princes?" Charleston and Savannah would then be great and flourishing cities. New Orleans would spedily swell into the present magnitude of New York, and every town and interest connected with them would increase and flourish in pro-These may be called by the interested and unreflecting little dreams, but those acquainted with the nature of commerce and who have reflected on the concentrating power of the union which now builds up and sustains the great Northern and Eastern cities, well know that they are soher truths and that even in the event deprecated, the results is certain and mevitable. Rouse the proper inquiries. and you will have numerous friends within the enemies lines, and these too, will have the best friends of their ownimmediate coutries.

Renounce absolutely and unreservedly, during this contest, all pretention to the high honors of the union. Fill no office under the General Government except in the Legislative Halls. This will be no carifice, for no son of yours will, whatever be his merits, ever fill the Executive Chair until your wrongs are righted, until you shall be respected as equals in the government, and until the withering scorn of the Legislative Assemblies shall banish from their floors your calumnious accusers.

I do not say that you ought not to join even zealously and with all your might. in the choice of a chief magistrate of the Union; but let it not be in support of a southern aspirant which, at this time will weaken distract and mislead you. Support always the candidate most likely to sustain your own and your countries interest. I speak not of Carolina alone but of all the Southern States-give your whole and individual weight to the men and the party opposed to your oppressors, and claim no office for yourselves. By this unambitious course you may gain some weight in the unional councils—at present you have uone.—The people of the West, notwithstanding some little apparent alienation, which has depended vastly more on the movements of men than our principles and which merefore cannot last long, are our natural allies. Let the South and the West combine with the democracy of the other parts of the Union. The West have at present abundant cause to open their eves to the evils they suffer from Tariff and abolition combination, for these powers are closely united and together have wrought out the lancentable result to which I allude. If Providence had enabled the West to possess themselves of the greatest blessing that God could grant them, of what would give them wealth and security and power, they ought to have desired Texas. But they see themselves by these unholy combinations entirely and heartlessly deprived of these great blessings. All the South Western States (by which I mean all South and West of the Ohio River) are of our blood and lineage; their Institutions are more or less Southern, and their interests are really, the same as those of the South. There is reason therefore to hope that ere long we shall stand, as we were wont to do, in our country's more liberal and palmy days, side by side in our political movements By this natural al

almost severed by tariff and abolition combinations, and will soon altogether perish Look at the great Democratic family of the North and East, how it hobbles along in a spiritless paralytic movement, like that of the halt and the lame; look at the great and good Old Dominion how it has suck and fallen, how its glory has gone down look at your own shameless Southern desertions. What is the cause of the is the cause of that general gloomy discontent and uncertainty which prevail among the people concerning their political movements; of the infidelity so shamefully exinited by their representatives, who have substituted the little schemes of faction and personal resentment for the great interests of their country? You see Southern Sennors voting for a tariff which they theinrives have repeatedly condemned and reprobated, and Western Senators against ne annexation of Texas, which their conrituents, to a man, anxiously wished to require - What is the cause of those loomy clouds which lour in the polical ky; of that fearful dread which all good men suffer of a fatal disruption of our noble Institutions? Dark as this picture may be and certainly is, exclude but a single group of the numerous Dramatis persona let but the scene change so as to exclude from the stage a few hundred overgrown capitalists, the governors of power looms number of reckless fanatic abolitionists. and all will be light and life. We shall clouds disperse. We shall discover a free porfitable and increasing commerce, feeding and sustaining a prosperous agriculture: high prices for the produce of the soil, and cheap supplies for its cultivators, with together the whole people of the whole country. The good old Democracy triumphant and the motely hand of Whigism-"Here a bit of blackstone, and there a bit of white"-tiding its head in feeble ness and defeat. The whole union flourishing, and the South loyal, contented and happy. Texas bounding and strength ening our borders and increasing our wealth aud greatness. In the name of God, what fatuity has come over the people that they do not discover the petty and odious thraldom in which they are bound and by which the greatest boons and blessings of Provi dence are threatened with entire subversion and even, in effect, turned into curses. But to return from this too long but interesting disgression in which we have looked with a kind of prophetic vission, we think on what we hope to see realized at no distant day. When three or four States shall arise with unblenching front, and unite heartily and resolutely, others will spedily join them and our relief will in all likelibood, be peaceably accomplished, and the Union preserved. Yet let not this blessed hope be relied upon with confidence, but

so many sacrifices, and be forced out of it by that very people against whom we have heretofore defended it? It is, my opinion, a lamentable truth, that, that bazard must be met and it is idle and even dangerous to besitate in avowing it as the possible result. however much we than disunion and we can hardly doubt that we have been long suffering under them. But, if the dissolution of the Union be a great evil, and it certainly will be so to the American people, and would be so to us. if we were permitted to enjoy its benefits. the guilt and the reproach will rest upon those who wantonly provoked it and those who wantonly have suffered it to take place. Yes wantonly, for the Historian must record the fact, that the "sacrifice of that glorious Institution which might have secured and perpetuated, to a distant posterity and greatness of twenty millions of people, at this time, and of more than an hundred to no every remote futurity, was made to gratify the inoridinate avarice of their guilt be what it may, we are not and a few score (not more) of great capitalists, in a samll section of the country, and the furious madness of a smaller number of fanatical abolitiouists, who combinied together to oppress the interests and to destroy the peare and happiness of the people of the Southern States, who, to their honor of humanity resisted and overthrew their wicked designs."

Before God, we do not wish disunion. Let the Government be justly administered and we will glory in the Union and give it our whole hearts and strength, in Peace and War, as we have done before when some of its most noisy eulogists, at the present time, were not in ranks with us .when they were almost in the ranks of a foreign enemy. But who has heretofore spoken of disunion? Whence did the odi tions term originate? not surely from the South. It came in the chill blast of the North and East. By what description of ed his own, and under whose influence person has the idea, at any time, been put what great public assembly of the South regardles of its truth, and fearless of their has heretofore spoke of disunion. But among those who have recently taken it under their peculiar guardianship the greatest men they hoast have repeatedly and flippantly uttered it. When the great and invaluable acquisition of Lousiana liance in former times was that high handed was made did not one of their most dispower of that same people that now oppress tinguished men on the floor of Congres de- of his life, have been among the first would be followed by their resist it, and so ought we, while, like him purity. hamlet and house in the South and South you put down. This was the policy of clare, that it would be followed by their resist it, and so ought we, while, like him. West.—Carry your exertions into the Jefferson, and this aliance formed the great severance from the Union, "peaceably if we venerate it, in its truth, and purity. Thus did the colo- Democratic party of the Union. That they must." When the Treaty for the No, our crime is not disloyally to the

est men rushed forward, with breathless tion much further it will be an evidence if these combinations, be not resisted. baste to utter equivalent language. Re- of unparalleled stupidity or unblushing cently, one of their greatest, wisest and gravest Legislative bodies modestly proposed to expunge from the constitutation the most sacred article in it, by which we were woodd into the compact and without which we would have had nothing to do with it; and what would this have been but actually & faithlessly perpetrating dis deplorable condition of our politics? What union. Yet these are the people who vociferous accuse you of the desire of disunio , when "the head and front of your offending" does not amount to a title of their own guilt. If, indeed, there be the shadow of guilt on your part in complaning of the great abuses of it, and, if under the sore afflictions you suffer through its forms, you propose to calculate the value of it and the dangers of it too, for the threatened dangers of it are more alarming than all we actually suffer great as

that may be. The Tariff is only an exponent of the power and the disposition to abuse and oppress us under the forms of the Constitution. Do not the Hails of Congress ring daily with their unfraternal and insolent hemilies on our morals and humanity and are we all free people, who are their equals in every moral and intellectual quality, to hear this? Do we not hear ominous threats of their interposion in our domestic concers and with our tenderest and spinning jennies, and a very small interests, as if we were dependent or conquered provinces ? Do we not know that those who thus raise their voices under the immediately see the sky brighten and the privileges of the Constitution are the mouth pieces of Foreign fanatic associations with whom they correspond? Yet these people ear the bread, taken from your own mouths, of that labor which they reprobate, and stint the comforts of that class of union, harmony and fraternal love binding persons of whose condition they affect to be so fastidiously tender, for among the very highest duties which they impose to increase their extravagant gains, is that on the clothing of the slave. The heart of their humanity is in their strong box and in the balance sheet of their profit and loss account. They are Les amis des noirs, with less motive of virtue than the Furies whom the National Convention of France vomited upon St. Domingo to scatter death among their white brethren and everlasting desolation and misery among the blacks .- These were honest, erring and unhappy enthusiats who knew not were doing, but our assailants are 'on cold blooded calculators, with this awful example before their eyes, stealing upon their victims, under the forms of the Constitution which guarantees the rights which they seek to destroy. Remember! On the inviolability of the Institution which is thus threatened and assailed, de pends, not, our prosperity alone, but every blessing under Heaven which we enjoy Every thing Southern must necessarily perish with it. Houses, lauds, stock, mon ies at interest and other species of properanticipate a worse result and be prepared ty must go down with it and share a com mon fate. Let these people be unchecked But we shall put at hazard that Union and we shall have nor country, nor home, which we so much love and honor, in nor fier-side nor civilization, nor social which we purchased a partnership with charities, nor life itself. We shall be blotbeautiful and prolific South will exhibit nothing but scathed and blackened ruins. with a remnant of the African race wandering amids! them in all the missery of dessolation and hopelessness. The interposition we deprecate will be worse than may deprecate it .- There are worse evils plague, pestilence, and famine. Worse than all the horrors of war if waged by a-

civilized people. The bayonets of our assailant pointed against our breat: would be more harm less than their counsels. On this subject the Methodist Episcopal Church of the South have set us a noble example, which if our opponents persist, we shall be obliged to imitate, were the tariff out of ques tion. Yet they invoke the Constitution, appeal to the sacred name of Washington and call upon you in his words to frown upon the man who shall endeavor to weaken its ties. Would it not be enough to return the chalice, with its poisoned ingredients, to their own guilty lips? But let never have been the enemies of the Uni on. What union did that great and good man venerate? It was the Union as it came from the hands of the Patriots who fromed it. It was that Union we consen ted to. An Union of equal rights and equal burdens. An Union in which we were to be equally respected and honored with our brethren, and our peculiar institution sacredly protected. Not a Union of strife, and tribute, and insult, and slavery, on our parts. But would he, all just and wise, under the forms of the Constitution, have recommended submission to the unconstitutional oppression, insult and injury under which we groan? General Washington was a sincere Christian and would have called upon his fellow citizens to frown upon the man who should endea vor to subvert the holy religion, in accor dance with whose principles he had form he walked during the whole of his good forth at the South? what man of note, and glorious life. But if its Professors God. had introduced The Inquisition into the Land, would he have looked with approbation on an auto de fe aud called upon the people to support and venerate it? It was a righteous government which he sustained and not one of guilt and oppression He would according to the whole tenor of his life, have been among the first to

baseness. Preserve the Union, if you can -appeal to the great Democratic party though shattered and confounded and beclass, almost all of every sound class, op posed only by manufacturing capitalists, and their defenders, abolitionists and their will be not only safe but purified. But if the Union nor any other consideration unof the Constitution, you are now subject. but it is not the language of violence. There is a wide difference between ear-That of Abolition is at hand (how near we cannot distinctly see) and of ten times the importance and danger. The Abolitionits aim directly at your destruction and indirectly at the subversion of the Union. That neither our destruction, nor the mi sery and dissolution of the Race they preof the Union, will restrain them in their stating the advances they have already made. They have not indeed actually exchanged credentials and entered into a least, one great Foreign Goverentment,

all pledged to universal emancipation.

The proofs are among others 1st. The

existance of abolition Societies of great

2nd. The co-operation of the government of

with whom they correspond, on the floor others. of Congress. 5th. That they have a politdistinctly designated. 6th. That this par-Whig party of the Union-at least in pow-Whig candidate for the Presidency be successful he will owe his success to abolition votes, because in some States whose votes are necessary to his success, New York, for example, the Whigs, without the votes of the ab-litionists will be in the minority. These Foreign Societies will thus, if that redress of our grievances. result happen, have had great influence in the election of our Chief Magistrate. 7th. Great Britain has already interposed with our own government in a manner to counwith theirs, and which our Executive Government has very properly protested he Legislature of the State of Massachuof the Anacharsis Clooks, of the United States. In this letter after abusing, in the States, the present Secretary of State and generally the conduct of the Government views of a foreign country, he comes down Calhoun to the British Minister and says, sound of the trumpet of slavery was listened to by the British Queen and her ministers .- We are yet to learn, whether the successor of Elizabeth on the throne of England, and her Burleighs and Walsinghams upon hearing, that their avowed pur man robbers of our own country with extermina'ing war; will like craven cowards. turn their backs and flee, or eat their own words, or disclaim the purpose and object which they have avowed." I now ask if the abolitionists can go one step further without entering your territories and controlling your laws? Whether they do not not shake the union, and whether if they can proceed any farther they will not de stroy it? These are the allies of the Whigs and the manufacturers. May it not now he asked, with some hope that the people will have opened their eyes, who are the

"For this letter see the "Pendleton Messenger" of the 22d August last, taken from the Georgia Constitutionalist,"

nies in their preparation for risistance to great bond is now fearfully shattered and | Annexation of Texas (no less important Union, but our Error is, too great a vene- | enemies of the union? and what will stop than valuable) was announced, their great- ration for it, and, if we carry that venera- the abolitionists from going on? not certainly their discretion, not their fear of scenes of horror, nor their love of their white brethren, nor of their countrynothing but their want of power will stop them, and yet you have seen a great array trayed, embrace a large majority of the of strength which they control. Bewarel people, almost the whole conservative the tariff is a trifle to this danger. But I have fotgotten, in the exhibition of the progress of the abolitionists to mention the greatest of all their successes-the rejecdeluded followers and the adherents of tion of the treaty of annexation of Texas personal cabals and unprincipled factions. in which they have triumphed over the Let them unite in "a long pull, a strong interests of the whole union, and the will, pull and a pull together" and the Union and power of all the Southern and all the. Western States. But we must pass on. they will not neither the preservation of All admit our wrongs, all acknowledge our danger, but as often as the tongue lisps der Heaven should induce you to continue resistance; you are met by the eternal cry your submission to the spoliation, ignominy and danger of which under the abuses union, and you are subdued by it. Until of the Constitution, you are now subject. This language may be new and strong, ish the vital truths, that your first and holiest allegiance is due to your state Institutions-that the Union ought to be alnestness and decision and violence. The logether secondary in your thoughts and last is folly and weakness, the first is the hearts—that all governments ought to be sublimation of truth and sober reason. I loved and sustained only for their virtues warn you that anything short of what this and that their vices should be watched language intimates will be trifling with the with jealously and resisted at the threshold subject. Do not decieve yourselves by you are unprepared for resistance. If the supposing that the only struggle before Union must be imperishable though estab-you, or the greatest is that of the Tariff. lished on the usurpation of your rights, the insecurity of your social peace and your insignificance as a people, away with all thoughts of resistance.

In fine, it is my humble opinion, that if we are to resist at all, we must surrender this trembling fear of the dangers of the union to other fears and dangers much tend to save, much less the preservation more important, involving interests still dearer to us, & which immediately ' come endeavors to establish their principles, is home to our business and hosoms." that but too clear. Their's is not a work of no effectual resistance will be made withlove but of hate. They hate you more out the union of three or four States .than they love the African Race. But That therefore, the great object of exertion what I mean to say is that they aim at is to effect that concurrence; and that as speedy and abolition, and to force it upon often as you shall attempt separate action Now, is there any sober man of you will fail, and more and more weaken common sense in the nation, who can be- the moral power of resistance to which the lieve if they advance one step further but physical will always be obedient. Neththat the Union must be dissolved. They ertheless, I advise no Hotspur rashness cannot advance one step further without no immoderate haste, though unnecessary entering your territories and controlling delays are dangerous .- You sleep on a your laws. This I think will appear by volcano. The figure no more than expresses your danger. But that danger, unlike the great natural phenomenon with which I have compared it, may be con-Treaty in diplomatic form, with Foreign trolled by human power-you may extinnations, but they are most directly co ope- guish it, but if you wait till it explodes and rating with Foreign associations and, at covers you with its lava, the metaphor again becomes expressive and indicates the awful ruic in which you will be invol-

There are some incidental matters on weight and numbers in Great Britain. which I propose to dwell for a short time. There is one measure frequently recom-Great Britain with their own Societies. 3d. mended, which I think decidedly wrong, The co-operation of our abolitionists with and therefore dangerous. I mean the call those foreign Societies. 4th. That these Fo- of a State Convention. I think it wrong reign Societies have their agents, and orators for the following reasons, among many

1st, This is proved in the very outset ical party in many States, organized and by the fact that many, perhaps all propose it under the supposition, that a Convenly forms one great element of the great tion possessed some power applicable to the question, which the Legislature does The Legislature possesses all the power of the Sovereign People except where it is expressly restrained by the Constitution. Now there is no restraint upon it in the Constitution, which bears on any measure that has been or can be imagined for the

2d, The value, efficiency and power of Government is mainly founded in stability, uniformity and even the established forms with which its powers are executed. It tonauce the American Abolitionists, by presents a well known legal person to the declaring its views to be in coincidence people of the State and to the whole world, acting under just responsibility and with the greatest wisdom the country can supagainst. 8th. There is the hostile act of ply, if the Representatives be properly chosen, as they ought always to be, and setts, which in itself would, if executed, probably will be, at the present crisis esbe a subversion of the Union. 9th. The pecially. 3d A Convention has the temper of abolitionists, evincive of the character, more or less, of a Revolutionaconsciousness of their power, of which I ry measure. It, more or less, shakes the shall give but one proof. That is a letter foundation of Government. It is a comparatively clumsy machine, substituted for one of great skill and appropriateness, grissest terms, the President of the United insituted by the wisest men in the State, with great deliberation, the absence of several of his predecessors, and denouncing all excitement, for the express purposes of all the powers granted to it by the Constiof his own country, and showing himself tution. A Convention cannot be called, in heart and soul devoted to the unfriendly | under the Constitution, of this State for a special purpose. When convened, it the late letter of remonstrance of Mr. has all the power of the People, virtually supercedes the Government, and if it we are yet to learn with what ears the chooses may absolve it. Such a Body ought not to be consituated unless absolutely necessary. It is enough to say it will do no harm. The example of convening it, is itself an evil. Though there be now no danger of the abuse of it, it may hereafter become a terriblle instrument pose to promote universal emancipation, and in the hands of a faction or a demagogue. the extinction of slavery, is to be met by the 4th. The action of the State, whatever it may be. must immediately or ultimately, look to the co-operation of other States, and for the reasons I have mentioned and others, it may have a forbidding aspect in the eyes of those States. If this State shall only act jointly with other States, that action will probably be more harmonious and homogeneous if we employ the same authorities which they, in all likelihood, will employ.

There is another incidental subject which seems to embarrass the writers of the day, and yet it is extraordinary that it should do so. It is said the State is pledged to resist. If that pledge ought to be redeemed. it will be only because it