

secede. And above all, my friends, let us be united in secession. Our disunion will alone tempt an effort at coercion. Our disunion can alone bring us defeat. Let us be charitable to each other; and hold every man to be a brother, who agrees with us as to the wrongs we have endured, and is intent on redressing them. When the State Convention shall determine on the mode of redress—when it withdraws this State from the Union, all these will be with us; and in their generous rivalry for the maintenance of the honor and liberty of South Carolina, they will perhaps surpass us all in patriotic energy and usefulness. Unite—and in secession, and with God's blessing, redemption is at hand for us and ours.

## Advertiser.

EDGEFIELD, S. C.  
THURSDAY, MAY 8, 1851.

If there is any want of finish in our editorial of this week, it must be attributed to the absence of Col. SIMMONS, who is a Delegate to the Convention at Charleston, and participating in its deliberations.

Our readers will observe the communication of "INDEPENDENCE." We leave him in the hands of "DECISION 1850," who is quite equal to the task of a reply. The tone of the article, in our estimation, is not up to the feelings of Edgefield.

### SOUTHERN RIGHTS CONVENTION.

ATTENTION is called to the short abstract of the proceedings of that body, kindly furnished us by our Editorial Correspondent.

CHARLESTON, May 6, 1851.

The Delegates from the Southern Rights Associations of South Carolina assembled in Convention at Charleston yesterday, May 5. On motion by Gen. J. H. ADAMS, of Richland, Gen. JOHN BUCKANAN, of Fairfield, was called to the Chair, and WM. H. CAMPBELL, of Greenville, and CHARLES A. PRICE, of Kershaw, appointed Secretaries.

On motion by Gen. ADAMS, the Members of the Convention were enrolled by Districts. Four hundred and thirty-one Delegates are in attendance.

Mr. LYLES, of Fairfield, moved that a committee of fifteen be appointed to select officers and frame rules for the government of the Convention, which was agreed to, and the following gentlemen were designated by the Chair as select Committee, viz:

W. S. LYLES, Fairfield; A. C. SPAIN, Claremont; A. Manigault, P. D. Torre, St. Philips; St. Michaels; B. Perry, St. Bartholomews; A. J. DUNAWANT, Chester; J. H. WITHERSPOON, Lancaster; D. Nance, Newberry; J. Noble, Abbeville; P. L. Calhoun, Laurens; Jeremiah Dargan, Darlington; Richard Dozier, Winthrop; R. T. Mims, Edgefield; Dr. Meetez, Union.

The following gentlemen are officers of the Convention:

President—EX-GOV. J. P. RICHARDSON.

Vice-President—W. B. SEABROOK, and J. S. ASHE, N. L. GRIFIN, J. W. SIMMONS, R. H. GOODWYN, B. K. HELEGAN, and W. H. GIST.

Secretaries—W. H. CAMPBELL, C. A. PRICE, S. B. FRASER, A. SIMMONS, C. D. MELTON, J. C. WALKER.

The report of the Committee was adopted unanimously; and the President being conducted to the chair, addressed the Convention at some length, and with great power and eloquence, in reference to the causes and the objects of its assemblage.

The Committee also reported rules for the government of the Convention, the consideration of which was postponed until to-morrow.

On motion by Mr. H. PERRONNEAU FISLEY, it was resolved that the daily sessions of the Convention should be opened with prayer, and the Committee of Arrangements be requested to secure the services of clergymen of different denominations for that purpose.

The Rev. Dr. SOMERS, being present, was called on and delivered a fervid and impressive prayer.

Hon. JOHN E. CAREW having stated that the Southern Rights Association of Burke county, Ga., had appointed a delegation to visit the Convention, it was, on his motion, unanimously resolved that a committee be appointed to wait upon the delegation from Georgia, and invite them to seats upon the floor of the Convention.

The President appointed the following gentlemen as the committee, viz: Hon. JOHN E. CAREW, Hon. JAMES SIMMONS, JAS. ROSE, Esq., and Col. A. H. CLADDES.

The Convention then adjourned until 10 o'clock to-day.

There is great excitement here, and high determination. An address to the Southern Rights Association in other States will be issued, and resolutions adopted, clearly expressing the feelings and principles by which we are to be now and hereafter influenced. There will be counter resolutions; but it is thought our opponents will take no definite ground. They will be, I think, in an infinitesimally small minority, as far as this Convention is concerned. I am pleased to find a stronger party with us in the city than I expected. Many are of the opinion that she will yet be carried. Northern merchants, who are making fortunes here to carry to the cities of the North, are exceedingly alarmed. They have shrunk almost within themselves upon witnessing the extraordinary energy and spirit of the body here assembled. Our own people here are gaining strength, and many loathe the connection with that Northern faction to which I have alluded. And I am inclined to hope that we have, even here, the elements of success.

The Reporter for the Herald, who is here, says he has witnessed many such assemblies, but never one so thoroughly united.

### GEN. WALLACE.

The letter of the Hon. DANIEL WALLACE, which will be found on another column is to the purpose; and will attract the notice of our readers, by the heroic spirit it breathes. Whilst Gen. WALLACE continues to tread so gallantly the path he has taken, we trust that promotion and honors may still crown his efforts, and speed him on his way. As will be seen the extract purports to be taken from the private correspondence of the honorable gentleman, and has been given to the public, on the authority of a friend.

### MAY DAY.

The young ladies of the two female seminaries of this place, and we believe, of the whole Village and adjoining country, had a most joyous celebration of the first of May in our town. Such a profusion of flowers, youth and beauty, and sugar candy, may never be beheld before. We have been promised a fair description of the scene for a future number, and if the picture equal the original, it will afford to our readers a most delicious morsel.

### HON. R. B. RHETT'S SPEECH.

We publish in this number, the Speech of the Hon. ROBT. BARNWELL RHETT. It is a statesmanlike and able production, the very ablest that we have had the pleasure of seeing from our younger Senator. Mr. RHETT had before, given earnest of distinguished talents but, we think, not of such eminent ability as characterizes his last effort.

It is a plain and manly exposition of our condition, and the views of the speaker, which commands our own admiration, and which ought to secure to so courageous a Representative the respect of all honest men.

For ourselves, we prefer that men in high stations should declare their sentiments frankly and boldly. It is wiser to do so. Deception and cunning are pitiful in a great man, and in the end, always injure the cause he espouses. It is very common to hear men of high attainments, complimenting the correctness and strength of the position of a speaker, and, at the same time, regretting that, for the sake of policy, he should have spoken out so plainly. It is frequently urged, that frankness and directness may frighten off the people from the support of good measures. Now we have more confidence in the patriotism and intelligence of our people, than to believe that the plain truth will scare them from the support of the right. If such is their disposition, they are unworthy of freedom, and are totally incapable of guarding their rights or of maintaining their independence. We have no reliance in men whom we have to gull into our support, and we do not desire their aid and co-operation.

Mr. RHETT marches directly up to his subject, embraces it, and never lets it go. He occupies, in our judgment, the only true ground. Perhaps, we might disagree with some of his views expressed in the order of his remarks, and with all the fire of the warm, enthusiastic temperament. But, considering his excellent argument, as a whole, we find in it nothing to censure or disapprove. It will do to rally upon, to stand upon, and to fight upon.

He contends that our wrongs would justify any measures of resistance by freemen; that we must expect no reparation for injuries received, but continued aggressions in the future. He therefore advises, that it is the duty of the South to resist the past encroachments upon her rights, and on her failure to do so, that the only alternative left to South Carolina, if she means to be free, is to secede alone, even at the risk of failure and of overwhelming disaster. His remarks very clearly prove, that the other Southern States have already acquiesced in the odious measures of Compromise, and that it is a vain hope for this State to expect aid from any of her sisters, before the initiative of secession shall be made, and the contest begun. The hazards of decisive action are not concealed, but South Carolina is admonished to arm, prepare, and march steadily forward to the accomplishment of her destiny, whether for weal or woe.

He urges secession as our right inalienable, and also explains the perfect practicability of our exercising it; combatting with strength and power, the argument that our State may be unable to maintain her independence and support a separate government. He has brushed away the flimsy objections to a bold policy—the counsels of the wavering, and the suggestions of fear, as "dew drops from the lion's mane."

The speech is logical, as well as lofty in its tone; and if it lacks any thing in discretion, it fully supplies the defect by its manly truthfulness.

Every man that is in earnest in his advocacy of State Rights, will be repaid for reading it, and will want an excuse for his omission to do so.

THE Fairfield Herald, has the following—

"It appears to me, that the public men of your State, so far as I can learn, are inclined to counsel delay. The papers, however, are generally, for separate action. How is it with the people?"

The above query we copy from the Edgefield Advertiser, in which paper it appears in a letter from its Alabama correspondent. Of course we cannot say with certainty how it is with the people of the State generally, but of Fairfield we are sure her sons are united and in favor of Secession from the Northern States, a Southern confederacy, Free Trade and Southern Rights. What say you Mr. Advertiser?

In reply to our neighbor, we can say, with some confidence, that we believe Edgefield is all erect, and fully alive to the crisis. We know that she is in favor of "Secession from the Northern States," "A Southern Confederacy," "Free Trade," and "Southern Rights," and we entertain very little doubt, that she is in favor of secession alone by South Carolina, before the termination of the existence of the present State Convention, in case of our failure, within that time, to obtain the

co-operation of other Southern States. In the course of events our district may lower her standard and bellow her character, but she has the reputation of looking pretty steadily upon the flash of gunpowder and the blaze of cas'ee!

Pardon us for speaking a little proudly. We have no fears of our people when the emergency arrives. They are in advance of their leaders, if possible, and in the pursuit of the right—they are prepared to enter the breach along with the first.

### THE POSITION OF THE SECESSION PARTY.

The policy of a large portion of this District and of the State is either entirely misunderstood by many, or greatly misrepresented. The men, who are most active and determined in resisting our political wrongs, and in vindicating our rights, liberties and equality are either styled "fire eaters," or intemperate boys and adventurers, with nothing to lose and every thing to gain by a change in the government and by civil commotion; or their principles and plan of conduct, so far from being investigated and understood by those who would lay claim to all the discretion, and all the prudence, and all the responsibility in the State, are really thought to be matters unworthy of serious and grave consideration.

The readers of this Journal, if they will carefully follow us through this article, may be properly advised as to the genuine purposes of the secessionists, and as to the grounds they occupy in the present controversy with the Federal Government, and the platform upon which they mean to risk their hopes of future promotion, their property and their lives.

They hold it to be the duty of the Southern States to resist the past encroachments of the General Government on their property, and on rights and privileges which they cannot yield without being reduced to slavery and contempt. Our wrongs are deemed to be of so grievous a nature as to demand any sacrifices in their redress. It is therefore considered the duty of South Carolina to secede alone, when she shall have exhausted all reasonable means to secure the co-operation of her sisters, or when it shall become perfectly apparent that the other Southern States have determined to acquiesce in the late measures of political and actual fraud, termed the Compromise acts.

The charge that there is a party in the State who wish to close the doors against Southern co-operation, and to rush headlong into secession, without any preparation whatever, is utterly groundless. There are many patriotic men of great ability, who have no faith in any concerted action of all the Slaveholding States, and, in that opinion, they are sustained by the course of events: but there are none who would not rejoice in the assurance of assistance from our sisters, and in the prospect of forming a union of the South for the safety, defence and independence of us all; and it is absurd, if not insupportable and wicked, to attribute to them sentiments of any other character. If it shall appear to the Legislature, or to the Convention which is to be called at the next Session of the Legislature, that the Slaveholding States are likely to be aroused from their apathy, and to become sensible of the importance of forming a league for their mutual preservation, we dare say, there is not a man in South Carolina, who is not ready to wait as long even as two years for the lagards.

The Bill too, authorizing the call of a Convention, as much as it has been censured, is, perhaps, the wisest that could have been framed. We speak after due reflection, and can maintain our opinions by reasons that are more than plausible. When the Legislature assembles next winter, if it receive any encouragement to wait for the action of the other Southern States, it can call the Convention to meet, consistently with the honor of the State, during the latter part of the year ensuing, and by the wise provisions of that Bill, the Convention may then defer its final action for, at least, the period of twelve months. So, it will appear, that every provision has been carefully made, in that very indiscreet hasty measure, for profiting by all the favorable contingencies that can possibly happen. If we desire time to put the State in a more complete posture of defence, it is fully granted to us in the odious Convention Bill. In truth, it seems to have contemplated our whole condition with a comprehensive sagacity and deliberation seldom displayed in serious and exciting exigencies. It has left no room for cavil; but it would be uncharitable to say, for that very reason, it has been most criticised and abused by vapouring tongues and satirical envenomed pens. The Act of the Legislature has afforded no excuse for the formation of an opposing party, and it has furnished no argument for submission.

Nor in our opinion, has the course of the Friends of State Rights, State remedies, and of Secession in South Carolina, given even the shadow of a pretext for the opposition and clamor which have been raised against them at their own homes, by men whose destinies are embarked in the same ship with theirs, and who declare their purpose to share the fate of their gallant vessel, whether it ride the storm, or go down amid the fury of the elements, carrying with it and burying beneath the wave, its wealth, its proud recollections, its hopeful passengers and its devoted crew. Now no man believes, that even the most intemperate dissensionists would reject the proffered assistance of Alabama or Mississippi, or that he would refuse to delay action for even two years, if at the end of the time, we could certainly realize that aid? Why then accuse the friends of the State, who are determined on resistance, at every hazard, even without further provocation, of precipitation and of a desire to prevent co-operation? The answer is easily given. It is true, that the Editors of the Southern Patriot, and one or two Federalists of the City of Charleston, are the only men in the State,

of respectable attainments, who are really satisfied with our present Confederacy, and are conversant with its benefits. But there is a party of some consequence in S. Carolina, who though they are unfriendly to the Union of these States, and counsel resistance to the tyrannical acts of the General Government, by the united efforts of the South, are nevertheless opposed to the separate resistance of South Carolina, in any event,—even in the event of the worst degree of oppression. These gentlemen, at present, meekly advise moderation, delay, and co-operation—when they mean that South Carolina shall never act alone. It is the policy they adopted from the beginning, in order to gain partisans. They dare not state their position clearly and boldly, for they are too well disciplined a set of politicians not to know, that if the people of S. Carolina were convinced that their ultimate aim was to lull the State into quiet submission, they would not command a corporal's guard to do them reverence. We make no statements from guess, we have some acquaintance with the movement of our people. It is as true as Holy writ, that many of the friends of moderation intend never to bring up their State to the highest point of resistance. They truly believe that such a course would be attended with utter failure and ruin, and "that it is better to bear the ills we have than fly to those we know not of." Time will develop the proof.

Now we maintain, that there is nothing but moderation in South Carolina. There has not yet been one precipitate act committed, nor one step taken which we could not justify as consistent with the emergency, and our sense of honor and duty. We have had an exhibition of rather too much coolness and prudence. It is just as clear as that the sun shines, that we shall have no assistance from our sisters, until the first blow be struck, and still all parties are willing to wait for a co-operation which, in our hearts, we know to be impossible of attainment.

If men would call measures and things by their right names, and take their positions fearless of consequences, we should at least be able to determine in our minds, whether we shall acquiesce in slavery, or take honorable action for the vindication of our freedom.

### FOR THE ADVERTISER.

MR. EDITOR—In my last I endeavored to show, that should South Carolina secede from the American Union for causes which already exist, she would go out by herself; and that by suspending the act of secession there were probabilities of securing the co-operation of other States, having an identity of interests and in sufficient numbers to ensure a peaceful separation, and to command for the new confederacy, that respect for its dignity and regard for its rights, from other Nations, without which State Sovereignty would indeed be "the shadow of a vision."

Let us now look to some of the consequences which inevitably will, and to others that may follow in the trail of this political exodus. Should South Carolina secede, the Government of the United States will either construe her act as "flat rebellion," and attempt her coercion by arms, or permit her to go seotfree and at once recognize her independence—or in order to avoid the moral effect upon the other Southern States, of the application of practical force, by the Federal Government to one of its members, and to deny us even the dignity of a respectable struggle, it will establish a floating Custom-house off the bar at Charleston, and there collect the imports which are now received in the city.

The first proposition I will not now consider, as I have no apprehension (I should have said hope) that it will be the line of policy which the authorities at Washington will pursue. They understand this game too well to hazard in the beginning any overt act of oppression which can both be seen and felt by the people; but, acting upon the maxim that "there are other ways of taking life than by hanging," prefer the mysteries of legislation upon the "higher law" theory, which their party-hacks, even at the South, are ever ready to explain and defend.

We will now examine the other alternatives, and first suppose the State of South Carolina to have seceded from the United States of America. She is now an independent Republic, surrounded by a great Nation, about fifty times larger than herself in territory and over thirty times her superior in population. The larger Nation owns in the heart of the metropolis of the smaller, valuable real estate, and also, a large and well constructed Port, with its full complement of men and guns, which commands her only available port. It will be necessary to change the ownership of this property and to adjust many important and intricate claims between the parties who entertain for each other no good will. This settlement must be conducted upon our part with the most consummate caution and liberality, and in the quietness of good temper. We must needs then take "the best we can get," because forsooth we are the weaker. Nor will it do to fly into a passion and commence a fight, hoping that other States will come and get us out of it. We must remember that the issue has been changed. It is not now a struggle to maintain the institutions of the South, in which every slave-holding State is equally interested with ourselves, but a squabble about chattles, real and money, in which all the members of the Confederacy, South as well as North, are interested against us. Were the Congress to refuse to transfer the Custom-house we might burn it to the ground; but how would we secure the secession of Fort Moultrie if it was denied?

We will, however, imagine all matters of account settled between the parties, and the domain of the Republic of South Carolina unincumbered by foreign claim or possession. The first of her acts would be to alter and amend the Constitution, which would at once begot a contest between the lower and upper

sections of the State, on the question of Representation—a question which would increase in interest and importance, in proportion to the greatness and importance of the new Republic; and hence, I fear, be more bitter at the beginning than at any subsequent period of our national career. Next would come the establishment of the numerous offices pertaining to a Nation, and the appointment of Officers, Clerks and Agents. Foreign Ministers and Consuls are to be sent out, and the first furnished with outfit suited to their position and the Court where they are to reside. Treaties are to be made with European Nations, and the times, modes and conditions of crossing the Savannah River and the N. Carolina line to be prescribed by law. A Mint is to be built. Post Offices are to be established, and the carrying of the mails let to contract. An Army or a substitute of some kind, is to be organized and paid. A Navy is to be built;—Seamen taught and Cannon cast. In truth, the whole machinery of government is to be started de-novo, and at what cost Heaven only knows.

But we will again suppose that the Republic of South Carolina has surmounted all the difficulties incident to a withdrawal from the American Union, and discharged the heavy debt which was incurred in the organization of her government. She takes her position amongst the Nations of the earth, with the rights and responsibilities of sovereignty. Her first and chief duty is to respect the dignity and rights of other Nations, and to cause them, in turn, to respect her dignity and the rights of her citizens—even on the high seas. Can this be done by appeals to abstract Justice? Or singing anthems to Freedom? Or ranting about the qualities of Sovereignty? Did Right, Justice or glorious Chivalry outweigh "numerical strength" on the battle-field, Ireland, Poland and Hungary would at this day, each be Sovereigns. It is useless to talk about the virtues of Sovereignty, unless it has the "numerical" as well as the moral strength to sustain it. ROBINSON CROUSE, while on the island of Juan Fernandez, was a sovereign and Friday a slave; but it is probable that if Friday had held the musket, instead of Robinson, he would have held the sovereignty also.

My readings of the history of Nations, teach me that they have adopted the simple rule of ROY, that,

"He should take who had the power,  
And he should keep who can."

With a different race in our midst quite equal to our white population—a race whose condition excites the false sympathies of the world, and which by foreign tamperings, could be made worse than valueless, it would be necessary to enact the most stringent laws and regulations, not only for the confinement of colored seamen, whilst the vessels to which they are attached remain in our ports, but to enforce similar measures of precaution along the whole line of our interior boundary, in order to prevent discontent and insurrection.

Could we prevent this mischievous meddling, if permitted to enforce laws as stringent as ingenuity can devise them? And will England, France and the United States permit them to be enforced? The first enquiry is answered by the fact that we cannot now do so entirely, though protected along our longest boundaries by Georgia and North Carolina, and the second by another fact that England and France are each complaining of our law in relation to colored seamen, even while we are under the protection of the American Flag. A correspondence between the British Consul, at Charleston, and the Governor of our State on this subject, has recently been given to the public. We all remember the Commissioner sent by the State of Massachusetts to Charleston, and the object of his mission. How long after we have set up for ourselves, will it be, before the Northern States will memorialize Congress on the subject, and urge the protection of her citizens. It may be that the United States Government will declare all fugitives from Cuba, Brazil or the Republic of South Carolina, found in its Northern territories free, or if found in any of its slave-holding States, forfeited to the informer. England or France may choose to declare, and will believe that the imprisonment of a colored cook, belonging to one of their trading vessels, a violation of the law of Nations and an insult to national character. If reparation be not instantly made they have the easy retort of blockading our ports and shutting us out from the world until it is made. What resistance could we make against a Fleet of fifty, or ten, or five sail? Send out our Navy "resolved to do or die," and attack it? Where is our Navy? Where our Seamen? I venture the assertion that in the marine of the world, there cannot be found of native born South Carolinians, a sufficient number to man and sail one Gun Boat from Georgetown to Wilmington. It is easy to say "let us man ships and defend our independence on the water—let us arm regiments and meet them on land." It was also quite easy for the Irish soldier to say he had captured three prisoners by "surrounding them."

Perhaps, gentlemen who talk so flippantly about "manning ships" and "arming regiments," will be somewhat surprised to learn the cost of these small articles. I once knew an economical young planter who determined to be his own physician, and in laying in his stock of medicines, ordered a pound of salts and a pound of quinine. We have the authority of a former Secretary of War—a man of distinguished abilities—in estimating the cost of any armed vessel at \$7,150 a gun, with 84 per cent. wear and tear per annum. And this estimate does not include the expenses of the crew to sail and fight her. First rate Steamers cost about \$50,000 a gun, besides the expenses of the crew. He estimates the cost of Fortifications at \$3,500 a gun, exclusive of the expenses of the garrison and cost of repairs. Again he estimates the annual cost of each infantry soldier at \$400, and that of a volunteer about three

times that amount. How long will the appropriation of \$300,000 last, with drafts upon the fund commensurate with the above scale of prices? The State has no public lands or other sources of revenue except that of direct taxation. Will the body of the people submit to an increase of taxes? I refer the curious to our intelligent Tax Collector for the general feeling in this District, relative to the present rate of taxation. But should the people of the State, actuated by that sentiment of gallantry which pervades every class, consent to an indefinite increase of taxes, will not that increase depreciate the value of that very species of property which we are so anxious to preserve? We have been told that the odious Tariff of '42, was one of the instruments of Abolition, undermining our institutions by reducing the value of the products of its labor. Will not the heavy debt, the State will be forced to incur in order to place her in a condition of defence, and which debt must in honor be paid, entail a burden of taxation which will depopulate the State?

This last enquiry suggests another, and one equally as important. Where would such of our citizens go, as desired to emigrate? The laws of the United States, and I believe, of every civilized Nation, already prohibit the introduction of slaves into their territories. The master might leave the State but his servants must be left. It is a well established fact, that the negro increases more rapidly than the white race, and as time rolls on what in God's name! is to become of the weaker party in a country crowded to excess, without territory to colonize or ability for conquest? The exclamation quoted by Judge TUCKER, in his admirable sketch at Nashville, rises involuntarily: "Horrors referens!"

We will next examine the last proposition, which is, that an effort at secession will be regarded at Washington but as the petulant outbreak of an irritable temper, involving no more serious consequences, than the removal of the officers of Customs, from the city of Charleston to a Seventy-four outside the Bar, and the landing of the cargoes of importing vessels, at one of the forts for inspection. What then would be our condition? It will not do to impose extra duties, for this is but to increase the price of goods intended for our own consumption. Shall we attack the Government officers on board their Vessels of War? How is this to be done? We have neither ships or heavy guns, nor the material or artisans in our own borders, for building, rigging and arming a man of war, capable of contending with a Navy which has a world renowned fame. Would the Administration permit implements of war to be introduced into, what it may choose to term a refractory State? We are told that Congress would interfere! To do what? To abate its own Custom-house, established by it under the Constitution! The President may tell Congress, that his removal of the Officers of Customs, was a peace measure—done to avoid blood shed, and those of its members who call secession, treason, will deem his measures mild. Full many a member of Congress, sincerely believes that a State has no more right to secede, than has a freeholder in a populous city to burn down his house. And is it reasonable to suppose that the same party in Congress (one which is daily increasing in strength and in influence), which inflicted upon us the evils we are seeking to remedy by secession, will become our champions and tender redress?

The representatives of those States whose sympathies might be excited in our behalf, are now and ever will remain a helpless minority, so long as they continue members of that Congress, or their State members of the Confederation it represents. Again we are told that England will not allow her Merchantmen to be stopped and revenue exacted upon their entrance into the Charleston harbor, when the State of South Carolina has declared it a free port. Is it fairly presumable that "Conservative England," would recognize our Independence upon a bare declaration of Secession? or that she would again engage in a war with a Nation which has twice successfully resisted her power, in order to sustain a principle and example which she has been combating and punishing since the discovery of the American Continent, and which she is now vitally interested to reprove and repress? But this intervention of England is to be effected by the magic of Cotton! Now if the position of England or France is to be determined by their Commercial interests, we have only to contrast the amount of the exports and imports of South Carolina and those of all the other States in the Union, to learn which way they will be inclined. In this connection, let it also be remembered that Great Britain and France must ultimately get the surplus cotton of South Carolina, and upon the same terms that they get the crops of the other cotton States, as certainly by not regarding our declaration of Independence, as if they did and endeavored to force a free trade with us. Again, would not England rather rejoice at a rupture of this Confederacy, towards which she has ever looked with an eye of jealousy, and regard it as the dawn of the downfall of slavery—an institution which she has denounced as "revolting to humanity," and which she has long since voluntarily abolished throughout her dominions, at a cost greater than many times the value of the entire crop of South Carolina? That England, with whom the doctrine of Abolition originated, and who was the first Nation upon earth to put it into practical operation, should so recent her former principles and become the guardian of a little State upon this same question, and deliberately incur the loss of her best market, seems to me to be absolutely preposterous.

I am constrained then to the belief, that secession by South Carolina alone, would result either in our being nominally an Independent Sovereignty, but in reality, a little

Commonwealth, rich enough to entice the cupidity of the world, and too feeble to defend her honor or protect her rights—or that the attempt at secession will be regarded by the Government at Washington, only to the extent of removing the Custom-house and preventing the importation of munitions of war. That we could exist as an independent Nation, I cannot believe, with the history of the Republic of Texas before me. If we were undisturbed, the natural increase of the slave population would begot miseries greater than War. Nor do I believe that we could alone counteract and resist the influences of the Federal Government, other than actual force, which would be brought to bear against us. Concessions would be made to the other Southern States, the moment that South Carolina announced her act of secession—the tariff reduced to a revenue standard, and every act of Congress heretofore known at the South, as "Federal encroachments," so modified or repealed as to entrench those States remaining passively in harness. Especially will commercial privileges and federal aid be showered upon our coterminal States, for the double purpose of quieting them and punishing the wandering Ishmael.

In coming to my conclusions, it is frankly acknowledged, that my mind has been a little swayed by the significant fact, that all the old leaders of the Nullification party, who are now alive—HAMILTON, BARNWELL, PASTOR, our own BUTLER, THOMPSON, HARMON, Judge WADSWORTH and PICKENS—all urge the necessity of co-operation. These men must have merit and ability or they could never have taken the high positions they did on the Tariff and other questions. We are estopped from impeaching their judgments by the manifestations of confidence we have so often given. If they were ever able to advise, they are competent still. Because advice is unpalatable it does not follow that it is unwholesome. Our former leaders cannot divert themselves of recollections of the year '32, when they hourly awaited a summons to Charleston, at the head of Regiments and companies; and after the heat of excitement had passed and the condition in which South Carolina would have been left, had but one gun been fired, appeared to their sober senses, they will remember the revolution of feeling which then occurred, and how fervently they gave thanks to the Great Ruler of the Universe, for averting a carnage which would have wrought no permanent good to the home of their affections. "Experientia docet." And it seems that not only old Nullifiers have been taught, but that some old Union men also, have unlearned their former lessons and are now rabid secessionists. A variety of reasons are taught by Experience. If our soil had been invaded, it is certain that our people would then have made the most brilliant struggle. And so would they now. But courage and spirit are not the only requisites of success in war—Spartan valor won only a grave at Thermopylae. The invader was not arrested; nor have we a Troezen whence to convey our women and children.

I have now, Mr. Editor, given feebly but candidly, my reasons for the position I have taken, that the co-operation of other slaveholding States, is essential to a successful effort of Federal tyranny, and to the well being of one State after its connection with the General Government is dissolved. South Carolina is in the condition of a beleaguered fort, in which a council is held to determine the mode of defence. It is not only the privilege but the duty of each of its members to give his opinions frankly and respectfully, and also to hear those of others equally interested with himself. If my opinions are overruled, my first duty is to acquiesce—my next is to obey with alacrity any order which proceeds from the supreme power of the State, and this I will do.

### INDEPENDENCE.

#### TRIBUTE OF RESPECT.

COKESBURY, April 30, 1851.

A meeting of the Students of Cokesbury Institute being called, on the occasion of the removal from our midst, by the hand of death, our friend and fellow-student, FRANKLIN WALTER BATES, the following preamble and resolutions were unanimously adopted: Whereas it has pleased Almighty God in the inscrutable dispensation of his providence, to take from among us our beloved fellow-student, FRANKLIN WALTER BATES; and whereas it becomes us as members of the Institution to which he belonged to give some testimonial of our appreciation of his worth, and our grief at his untimely end, Therefore

Resolved, That we most sincerely feel his loss, and deeply sympathize with his bereaved family in their sad affliction.

Resolved, That in evidence of this feeling, we will wear the usual badge of mourning for thirty days.

Resolved, That a copy of the above Resolutions be transmitted to the Parents of our deceased Friend, and to the Editors of the Abbeville Banner, Edgefield Advertiser, Palmetto State Banner and Southern Christian Advocate for publication.

J. W. CARLISLE, Chair'm.

W. G. BASS, Sec'y.

TO KEEP DOGS FROM SHEEP.—Sheep will be protected from being killed or in any way molested by dogs, by putting common sheep bells upon them—to every 25 sheep put on two bells, which will make sufficient noise to frighten them, as all sheep dogs are cowards, and will run away at the first sound, and this fact has been amply testified by many farmers around me. Some who had no bells on their sheep, had many of them killed in one night; others, myself among the number, who had bells on their flocks were not in the least disturbed.—Hartford Times.

NEWSPAPERS OF THE WORLD.—There are 10 newspapers published in Austria, 14 in Africa, 24 in Spain, 20 in Portugal, 30 in Asia, 65 in Poland, 85 in Denmark, 90 in Russia and Belgium, 300 in Prussia, 320 in other Germanic States, 500 in Great Britain and Ireland, and 1,800 in the United States.

### EPIGRAM.

Virginia is the mother,  
Of mighty States and Statesmen too;  
But Resolutions discover,  
She's falling as great mothers do.

A LADY in Cambridge (Mass.) died on Wednesday week—so the physician said—and was laid for burial in her winding sheet; but from the fact that the body still retained an apparent warmth, though there was not the slightest appearance of respiration, interment was suspended. On Sunday the lady opened her eyes and called her husband "Albert, give me some water."

THE PROGRESS of some men is so rapid that they keep ahead of common sense. 13 per cent. of the population of Scotland are paupers.