

SoCar  
975.706  
T84c  
c.2

*A. J. Smith*

# THE CRISIS:

OR,

## ESSAYS

ON THE

# Usurpations

OF THE

# FEDERAL GOVERNMENT.

BY

## BRUTUS,

*By Robert S. Turnbull*

*Magna est veritas, et prevalebit.*

---

"BRUTUS had rather be a villager,  
Than to repute himself, a son of Rome,  
Under such HARD conditions, as THIS TIME  
Is like to lay on us." — *Julius Caesar.*

---

CHARLESTON:  
PRINTED BY A. E. MILLER,  
No. 4 Broad Street.

1827

thened with excessive taxation; sectional interests may be promoted by the majority, under the pretext of their being national; sectional jealousies will be fomented; an habitual disregard to the State Legislatures will be encouraged; no amendments to the Constitution will be thought of; and strifes and contentions, between the States and Congress, will increase and multiply, until by some great convulsion, we shall all be resolved again into our original elements. Are we not, under the intemperate measures of Congress, rapidly approaching such a crisis?

### NO. 23.

If Congress had not regarded itself as omnipotent in legislation, it would not have ventured to name amongst its committees, "a committee on Agriculture," as if it possessed an atom of sovereignty to regulate Agriculture any more than it can pass laws on the subject of Negro Slavery, or regulate descents at law. What but a sense of its own omnipotence could prompt this body to think of laying one section of the Union under tribute, to encourage the industry of another portion? And shall we, in the Southern States, who furnish such means of commerce to the Union, by our valuable products; shall an interest so great and so paramount as the Agricultural interest of the South, be prostrated, that the local interests of Massachusetts or Pennsylvania may be promoted? I would insult you, my fellow-citizens, were I to doubt your unanimity in the reply which must be given. From one extreme of the State to the other, your voice has already been heard, and your resolutions expressed in terms not to be mistaken. As for myself, I cannot conceive a measure more fraught with permanent mischief and ruin to the Plantation States, than the Tariff. It is not simply to tax us to support our Northern brethren, but it is also to destroy all our means to acquire the ability to pay those taxes. In these States there are but two interests, and they cherish and support each other. The one is AGRICULTURAL; the other COMMERCIAL. Within the memory of man, and the records of history, no other interests than these ever grew up in our country, and for a century at least to come, it is not hazarding too much to assert, that no other can exist in South-Carolina. In this respect, we not only differ as to interest from the Northern States, but we differ from every State and Kingdom in Europe. The cause of the difference is obvious.

In those countries the great produce of the soil is bread stuffs; the population is dense; the soil is cultivated by whites; labour is more or less cheap; and each being likely to raise in abundance, those articles which the others need not, causes an anxiety in all to seek amongst themselves for the means of consuming the surplus produce of their own soil. That a period may occur in the future history of the Northern, Middle and Western sections of this Union, when manufactures may be properly regarded as of primary importance to them, it would be as much a waste of time to deny, as it would be to assert, that in the past periods of European history, they were not sometimes most judiciously encouraged by the fostering care of Government. That there is an opportunity even now of

encouraging manufactures to a certain extent in the Northern States, so as not to interfere with others of their local interests of equal magnitude, may be true. I, therefore, have not the smallest disposition to dispute the utility of manufactures in general, as a source of wealth and prosperity, provided all circumstances suit for their introduction into a country. I feel the weight of all that has been said in their favour; and believe that where they are permitted to grow up alongside of other interests, under the protecting care of a Government which has the undoubted power to extend its patronage to them, (as is the case with every consolidated Government) they will give activity and energy, to every languishing branch of internal industry. But however true it is, as a general position, that domestic manufactures is the true policy of nations, who abound with a dense and a crowded population, and in which there is more capital than Agriculture or Commerce, or other occupations, can absorb; yet, as regards the application of the axiom to the Southern States of this Union, and particularly to the plantation or cotton growing States, there is not one word of truth, in all that has been written as to the utility of manufactures, from the beginning of the world until the present day. All the writers who have discussed the subject, have discussed it with the sole view to the interest and circumstances of the countries in which they lived and wrote—countries, the very opposite to these Southern States, in climate, soil, population, production, and agricultural labour.

It is therefore false, under any possible light in which the subject of manufactures can be viewed, as regards the South, that any protection given by Congress to the manufacturers of Pennsylvania, can operate otherwise than as an indirect tax upon the people of the Southern States, amounting exactly to the difference between *what they now pay*, and the *cheaper price* at which they might obtain the article, if the *three tariffs* already imposed were removed. It is trifling with the understandings of men, to tell them that the Northern manufacturer can supply us with goods upon the same terms as the foreign merchant. He now furnishes, it is true, some coarse fabrics cheaper than the English dealer; but he is protected by duties almost amounting to prohibition of the rival article from abroad.—Take off all the tariffs of 1816, 1820 and 1824, and every manufacturer in the United States, for the protection of whose fabrics these tariffs were imposed, will be a bankrupt without a single exception. If it were otherwise, two and two could not make four; for the protection afforded by these Tariffs is not trifling. It is prodigious. All the bold assertions, therefore, of these men, and their adherents in this southern country, are to be disregarded. Any man of common sense must know, that if the home manufacturer could sell his fabrics for a lower price than is demanded by the foreign dealer for the same goods, that he would not ask for protection. The ground on which further protection is now asked for woollen goods, by the WEBSTERS, EVERETTS & Co. is, that the British having reduced their duty *five pence* or foreign wool, gives the British capitalist an advantage in our market over the home manufacturer. In the name

of common sense, what is this but a *direct admission*, that the British are about to undersell them. With the same boldness of assertion, they also tell our folks, (and surprising to say, it is believed by some) that the Eastern people can actually undersell the British in a foreign market, whilst the British are so underselling the WEBSTERS, EVERETTS & Co. in BOSTON, in their *own market*, that they are obliged to clamour for an additional Tariff upon woollens lest they should be all ruined.

No, my fellow-citizens. All that has been written on the subject of manufactures, has no more application to the Southern country, than it has to the Sandwich Islands, or any other Islands in the Pacific Ocean. Our policy is a peculiar one. The great produce of our soil is Cotton Wool. This *material* of manufactures not being raised in Europe, the foreign demand of it, never can be *partial* or *occasional*, as is the case with bread stuffs, or the fleece of sheep, or other produce of the soil at the North—but must be *steady* and *constant*, as long as England shall continue to manufacture for the world. Even ALEXANDER HAMILTON, in his elaborate report on manufactures, admits, "that if one nation were in a condition to supply manufactured articles on *better terms* than another, *that other* might find an *abundant* indemnification in a *superior* capacity to furnish the *produce of the soil*. And a *free exchange*, mutually beneficial, of the commodity each was able to supply, on the best terms, might be carried on between them—supporting in full vigor, the industry of each." Mr. HAMILTON had here, in his view, two countries, *each* of whom could manufacture. His reasoning would, I think, well apply to the United States and England, for, as to the great agricultural products of the United States, which is cotton, there is a capacity to produce it only in one country. But, Mr. HAMILTON's reasoning must be much more conclusive, where one country can manufacture, and the other cannot. This is the case as regards Great Britain and the Plantation States. We can raise the raw material—she cannot. She can manufacture—we cannot. But how vain are the speculations often of the wisest men. ALEXANDER HAMILTON never committed a more egregious blunder, than when he hazarded before Congress, in his report, the opinion, "That the **EXTENSIVE** cultivation of cotton in the United States, could, perhaps, *hardly* be expected, but from the *previous* establishment of *domestic* manufactories of the article."

Every Planter knows, that for his cotton, he must look to Europe, and to England particularly, for a market. England is the principal customer, with whom we can expect to deal upon reciprocal terms, and to our greatest advantage. There is no rivalry, nor is there likely to be any, between Europe and the Plantation States—as there is, and always must be, between OLD England and NEW England. We are exactly in the situation of two shop-keepers, who do not vend, or deal in, the same articles—and between whom, there is no prospect of competition—and between whom, there of course, never can be jealousy. Only close the European trade against us, and where shall we look for a market? Not certainly to the North,

which does not probably consume a seventh of what we raise. No. Should that day ever arrive, that England shall not want our cotton—then may we despair.

Our true interest, I repeat, which is a distinct interest from an Eastern interest, is a free and uninterrupted commerce with the whole world, and particularly with England, where are the work shops of sufficient extent, to work up the raw material which we raise, and are in danger of raising in too great abundance. Take from us this market, by clogging the trade with protecting or prohibitory duties, and we drive our best customers to seek the raw material elsewhere, and to encourage other countries to grow cotton wool for them. With the exception of the fine brands of Sea Island cotton, it must be remembered, that a third of the globe is capable of producing cotton. To imagine, therefore, that England will take our cotton, if she is to go to South America and bring gold and silver for it, and not her own manufactures, betrays extreme ignorance. The experiment once hazarded, it may be fatal to us for ever. Commerce is a shy damsel, and must be caressed. Once slighted by a nation, she returns no more. What then will be the situation of South-Carolina? Will it be any consolation to us, that the time may come, in some hundred years hence, that the Eastern folks shall realize their visions of manufacturing for the world—and drive England and France entirely out of the market—when, in the mean time, we, our families and friends, shall have been impoverished—and more generations than the present, be reduced to beggary, and be involved in one common ruin. This cannot, and **MUST NOT** be. We have but one interest, and that is, the *Agriculture* that produces, and the *Commerce* that wafts our cotton and rice to the shores of Europe. No other interest can flourish, or even take root in our land. Nature has decreed, by an immutable decree, that in foreign commerce, shall South-Carolina seek for the sources of her prosperity, and her importance as a member of the great American family. The Government, therefore, which places upon that commerce any restraint, is not the Government that would, but the Government which **ALREADY HAS RIVETED** the **CHAINS** around the neck and the feet of Southern industry. That Government is not the Federal, but the **NATIONAL** Government of the United States.

This is strong language, but not too strong for the crisis. Never, never since the colonization of the country, has any measure been adopted, no, not the odious stamp act of England, which demands from the Southern States, a more steady and a more determined resistance than this tariff; not a resistance by resolutions of town meetings, but by such acts and measures of the local Legislatures, as shall cause the usurpers at Washington, to tremble at what they are doing, and to pause, ere they plunge this people, hitherto so happy and so united, into discord and disunion. Disunion did I say? Whether disunion shall approach us, rests not with ourselves, but with our Northern brethren. Forbearance and pusillanimity in the South, may retard, but cannot finally prevent disunion. There

is a point, beyond which, we never can endure the oppression of Congress. The "veriest worm will turn when trodden on," and sooner or later, we must turn on those, who would lay us under perpetual tribute. It is firmness alone—the same firmness, with which as a colony, we resisted with such success, the aggressions of Britain, that is to carry us triumphantly through all the perils which assail and surround us, and which in the end, will, in my humble view, lead to the regeneration of the liberties and the sovereignties of the States, as secured by the Federal Constitution. Let there be but one mind and one soul in the South, and we shall have more perfect union, and with our Northern brethren, better friendship and better feelings. There is no Congress that has yet been convened, or that will sit in our day, that will dare to trifle with freemen, who know their rights, and know too how to maintain them; who have within themselves, the resources for empire, the same resources which give to this Union, its extended commerce, and which is constantly aggrandizing the Northern States, whilst it impoverishes ourselves; whose half a million of cotton bags are a circulating medium, or as so many Bank of England Notes, in the marts of Europe, when the Pearl and the Pot Ashes, and Flour of the North, are dull and heavy merchandize. Let Congress then, be told *distinctly*, that though the "current of the public Treasury, has always run as steadily and unceasingly to the North and East, as the *Gulf Stream*, and with as little prospect of its ever changing its course," yet that, when by some great political convulsion, it shall change its course, all those regions of the North, hitherto improved by the commerce created by our products, and by the rich contents of our Custom Houses, borne year after year, on the bosom of the fertilizing stream, will become comparatively barren and unproductive, whilst South Carolina, like a Phoenix, will rise from the ashes in which she is humbled. Let Congress beware, how it approaches us with any extension of the Tariff, or it may tread upon the RATTLESNAKE of the South. "It is SLOW in its resistance, GENEROUS in its warning, but may be DEADLY in its BLOW."

#### NO. 24.

If the power to establish a Tariff to protect manufactures, were even a power warranted by the Constitution, still the motives for abstaining from its exercise, at the present time, are so many, and so powerful, that the mind would be at a loss to conceive, how an impartial Congress, legislating for the whole Union, and not a part, should be so fatally bent upon its adoption, did we not know from experience, that where suggestions of interest are at all attended to, the judgment must be in unison with that interest. Such is the case with the present, and I believe will, every day, be more and more the case, with the majority of every Congress, which shall hereafter be assembled at Washington. Whether an extensive protection to manufactures, will, or will not be, productive of the general good, which is anticipated, even in those parts of the Union, where the clamour for protection is so great, is not a question for us in the South to decide. It is no concern of ours. It will be enough for the purposes of our argu-

ment, that the great body of the people in those States, are in favour of manufactures. As long as this opinion shall prevail, and it will never subside, it is quite natural, that these people should, through their representatives in Congress, advocate "the American Policy," as it is termed. To expect, that with all the bright prospects of a general activity in business before their eyes, they should not combine their efforts, or that they will turn aside to ask themselves, whether the same measures, by which *they* are to be aggrandized, may not ruin other States, is so far from being rational, that it is contrary to all experience. It is rare, to find men in private life, practising that wholesome Christian precept, to do as they would be done by. In political societies, it is still more rare, and hence it is, that considerations of policy, so often suspend or supersede those of justice. If, therefore, we desire to know, how this, or that community will act, under any particular circumstances, there is no better way of coming at the truth, than to ask ourselves, in what does the interest, or the supposed interest of such a community consist. The answer being given, it will be seen that its opinions accord with their interest.

Now the opinion of the North is, (whether right or wrong is immaterial) that manufactures is their true and proper policy, and artful men have persuaded many of their good people into the happy belief, that in promoting their own interest, they advance at the same time, the interest of all the States. Thus we account for the majority of the members of Congress, voting for the tariffs, and as this opinion will prevail more and more every day, as these people shall taste the sweets of an extensive monopoly, so we in the South, must make up our minds, that in the natural course of events, there necessarily must be in every Congress hereafter, more and more of that influence, which will raise up Manufactures, at the expense of our Agriculture and our Commerce. Unless then, we resist the tariff on PRINCIPLE, so as to be done with it for ever, it will be a subject constantly before Congress, and we shall never have any repose. The tariff question will no more die away in our country, than *Catholic Emancipation* or *Parliamentary Reform* will in England. It is a mistake to suppose, that the tariff question, is the measure of this or that political party. It is not got up for the purposes of the Presidential Election. It is a movement of the people in the Northern, Middle, and Western States, who feeling the depressed state of their agriculture from competition with Europe, and the want of an adequate market, are taught to look up to Manufactures, as best calculated to create a home market for their grain, wool, iron, and other products of their soil, regardless of the evil to us in the South. That political characters will take advantage of this feeling at the North, and make it a stepping stone to their preferment, it would be folly to deny; and that Mr. ADAMS and Mr. CLAY, are using this feeling for their own purposes, I do as sincerely believe, as I must confess, that on the opposite side, there are also some men, who will, if they have the opportunity, use the excitement against the Tariff, for similar purposes. It is paying too great a compliment to the politicians on either side, to suppose that *they* have created these opposite feelings in the North and in the South. The *knowing* politicians on both sides, one and all, are not *leading*, but they are *following* public opinion.

Opposed as I always have been, and now am, heart and mind, to Mr. ADAMS, yet I would scorn to make a charge upon his Administration, which

it does not merit. The odium of the tariff belongs not to him, but to Mr. MONROE, and neither Mr. ADAMS, nor Gen. JACKSON, nor any other President hereafter to be elected, can ever suppress the clamour at the North for domestic manufactures. The firm resolution of the South, to oppose it on principle, and at every hazard can alone exempt us from its operations.

Let us then, not deal unfairly to our political antagonists. Let our opposition to Mr. ADAMS, be steady, manly, and honorable. There are sufficient grounds, on which, as *Americans*, we may oppose him, and I hope successfully. But the tariff question must not be entangled with the politics of JACKSON or of ADAMS. It may suit some crafty politicians, on both sides, who are thinking more of their own interests, than either of the North or the South, to blend two subjects, which have no connection with each other. The tariff question is a sacred question, and it belongs to the sons of the South alone, as Southern men, to consider it. The man amongst us, who would approach such a grave and solemn question, with any other feelings, than those of a South-Carolinian, or who, before he would decide, upon this or that measure to be taken at this crisis, would ask, what effect it would have upon the Presidential election, is unfit to be a counsellor or an actor in times like these. He may be an *American*, but he is not a *Carolinian*.

It is the excitement of the Presidential elections, which, hitherto, has prevented us from looking carefully into our own situation, and has at length brought us to the unpleasant dilemma in which we find ourselves. It is an excitement, which promises to be perpetual in our country, and if we suffer it to engross our thoughts, as we hitherto have done, South-Carolina MUST perish. Let us then give to this question a portion of our interest, and not our whole interest. The vote of South-Carolina is irrevocably fixed for the Hero of New-Orleans. As *Americans*, let us, without noise, support him in 1828. As South-Carolinians, we may possibly have to oppose his Administration, as we do Mr. ADAMS'. General JACKSON may be as much a Tariff President, as is Mr. ADAMS. As far as the acts of an individual indicate his sentiments, he is in principle, a Tariff man.—General JACKSON voted for the Tariff upon principle.—Mr. ADAMS now supports it with a view to his *own interest*. We have it on the unquestionable authority of Mr. McDUFFIE, that Gen. JACKSON is for the Tariff on principle, and also on the authority of Mr. DICKERSON, the respectable Senator from New-Jersey. Mr. DICKERSON is a friend of the General, and mentions the fact, to his praise, that his election in Pennsylvania may not suffer from a contrary impression. The real difference between the two candidates is this—Mr. ADAMS, who in 1820, voted against the tariff and internal improvements, now advocates all these measures, with a view to his re-election to the Presidency. So unstable a man as this, is not to be relied on. General JACKSON having approved of the tariff of 1824, not from motives of personal aggrandizement, but from an honest conviction of its necessity at the time, possibly, may alter that opinion. His refusal to take the Presidency from the hands of HENRY CLAY, is a magnanimous instance of self denial. Such a man as this, will never administer the Government to his re-election, but solely with a view to his own honest fame, and the good of his country. From such a President there is every thing to hope and little to fear. Once convinced that an extension of the tariff would disturb the harmony of the States, he would be apt to discountenance it, by further

support, and this too, at all hazards to himself. This, however, is mere opinion. He may or may not disappoint his friends: Let us all hope for the best, but in the mean time, let us so act, as not to be diverted from what ought to constitute our main object, which is, to oppose the tariff upon the *right*, and not on the *wrong* grounds. It is throwing dust in the people's eyes, to make them believe, that on JACKSON's being elected, all will certainly be right, or that South-Carolina will be benefited by the change as to her situation with the North. Such opinions are fatal, mischievously fatal to us. It is not with this, or that Administration, that we are to contend. We shall have to oppose every future Administration, as we now oppose ADAMS', until the tariff be put down; and put down for ever. Let us no longer be as cards in a pack, to be shuffled backwards and forwards, in a game, in which we can gain nothing, but will lose all that is valuable and dear to us.

Under these circumstances, and with every prospect before their eyes, that the manufacturing policy, would acquire strength and vigour as the Government would wax older, and that in a few years more, we shall be an insignificant minority in Congress, it has often amazed me, that the Southern Representatives should have occupied in the debate upon the Tariff, almost every ground of opposition, excepting the true and the only ground upon which South-Carolina is to stand or to fall. The Representatives from this State have zealously and ably discharged their duty.—They have done as much, nay more, than the rest of the Southern minority in Congress; but yet I ask, and I ask it with the most profound respect and deference to them all, what *has* been done, compared with what *might have been done*, had they brought their legal acquirements, their profound research, their knowledge of Constitutional law, and that phalanx of general talents of which they had the command, and that weight of character for which they are distinguished, to bear, not upon the secondary and to us unimportant question of expediency, but upon the great and paramount question of the Constitutional powers of Congress—a question so full of interest to us, who have *no* safety, but in the integrity and sovereignty of the States. The Southern members generally, urged the impolicy of the measure, as it regarded the interests even of the Northern States. They demonstrated its folly in various ways, and they brought to the argument all the aids which genius, high intellect, and their profound knowledge of the subject could furnish. They failed not to entrench themselves behind such names as HUSKISSON in the *old*, and FRANKLIN in the *new* worlds.—Their whole effort, was, in truth, a splendid display of talent, and a rich repast. But had all the speeches which were made, to the South of the Potomac, been the speeches of a BURKE or a CANNING; had they been “an irradiating beam of light, a continued blaze of eloquence” from the beginning to the end; yet, the light that was shed in that discussion, was not the light, to lighten their constituents to the *spot*, where their liberties were violated, and their *wrongs* inflicted. It was not that pillar of fire, by which, in the dark and dismal night which is fast coming upon the South, we are to be guided through a wilderness of unsettled opinions as to the *Constitutional* right, into paths, where we might find some rock, on which we might build for our safety, and defy all the tempests, with which the constructive powers of Congress, with the fury of a desolating and overwhelming flood, are sweeping away the rights of the States.

To dwell so much on the impolicy of the Tariff as a national measure, and scarcely more, than to hint at its unconstitutionality, was, for us, most unfortunate. The tenacity too, with which the Southern members clung to this ground, implied, that in their minds, it was the strongest and the best ground. But they were all mistaken. The inexpediency of the Tariff is a ground which must forever slip from under us. To rely on such a ground as this, is to build upon the sands, for we are the minority, and must continue a minority, and as a minority we must submit, in such a view of the subject. Why not, when the Constitution was about to be violated, by a clear and unequivocal act of usurpation, as ever was practised, why did not all the members South of the Potomac, with one soul and one mind, when they perceived a measure proposed so "big with the fate" of the Southern States, as is the Tariff; why did they not, I repeat, bring all the power of their minds, in demonstrating to the world, that neither the letter, nor the spirit of the Constitution, could authorize such a system of robbery, upon their constituents! The unconstitutionality of the measure

—Alone should live  
Within the book and volume of their brain,  
Unmixed with baser matter.

I declare most solemnly, that if I thought no better ground could be taken against the Tariff, than its impolicy, as a measure of State; or if I were inspired with no better hope of ridding my country of this mill stone around its neck, than the forbearance of the North, I would yield the question in dispute, between the North and the South. I would yield it, and forever sit down, and be content to wear the chains, which, with our own consent in 1789, we fastened upon ourselves. If by that family compact, called the Constitution, South-Carolina ever surrendered, expressly or impliedly, any power to Congress, to legislate unequally upon the States, or to touch any subject, in which one State did not possess an interest in common with every other State, I would give up my State in despair. And which of us would not despair! Take from us the ground of the unconstitutionality of the measure, and what remains for us to do, but to submit, as is the duty of every good and patriotic citizen. What are fine speeches, what the powers of argument, when they are addressed to men, whose constituents have, perhaps, an hundred millions of dollars at hazard, unless protected by Tariffs! What are the sayings and doctrines of the political economists! What the authorities of SMITH, SAY and RICARDO, when you address a body, the interest of whose constituents consists in differing from you, who

Were they to assent against their will,  
Would be of the same opinion still.

Men, with whom, if we except the recollections which the glories of our Revolution inspire, have not, nor never can have the feelings, the sympathies, or the associations that are in common with us in the South. I would as soon address myself to the Khan of Tartary, or as Mr. JEFFERSON says, to the marble columns of the Legislative Halls, with a hope of success, as to expect to operate upon the minds of a majority of Congress, sent from Tariff States to protect their local interests. No. If we are to be relieved

from the usurpations that are pressing us to the dust, we must not go to Washington, with arguments to convince the WEBSTERS and the EVERETTS, that by the Tariff policy, they will injure themselves as well as us. Such a ground is not tenable. The Bostonians desire no lights from the schools. They understand the science of political economy better than those who have written on the subject. Their sagacity in discerning their true interests, is by a kind of instinct, and the success of their establishments, and the activity that has been given to the industry of the country around Boston, by a spirit for manufactures, has caused even their farmers to be enamoured with the "American Policy;" and thus, we have a signal and a splendid triumph of the intelligence and good sense of a few plain woollen weavers of Massachusetts, over the metaphysical subtleties of the school of the economists.

Let us then, not think of going to Congress as suppliants for their favour, but let our representatives repair thither, with the HISTORY of our Revolution in the one hand, and the DECLARATION of Independence in the other. By the ONE document, Congress may be reminded of what it has forgotten; namely, the separation of valuable colonies from a mother country, brought about by the tyranny of a King and his Parliament, and *therefrom*, they may learn lessons of wisdom and moderation. By the OTHER, it will be astounded at the manner in which freemen can speak of their wrongs, and when it recollects, that the descendants of those freemen, inherit all the principles and the chivalry of their sires, such a recollection will be worth more than all the speeches from Maine to Florida.

## NO. 25.

There is another contemplated exercise of power, which sooner or later, will take place in Congress, and which, in my view, must be resisted at every cost, about which there must be no empty resolutions, no parleying, no compromise. That subject, is the claim of the American Colonization Society, to be supported from the National Treasury.

I know, that many of my fellow-citizens, in some parts of the State, will not at once fall into the opinion here advanced; but it is, because they have not reflected on the movements of this dangerous association of individuals. I intreat, therefore, that they partially bear with me for awhile, and if I do not satisfy all, I hope at least, to shew to the greater number, that whilst internal improvements are drawing off our resources to the North, and tariffs are reducing us rapidly into colonial vassalage, here is an insidious attack meditated at the domestic tranquillity of the South, which is to be regarded in a more serious light, than if an hostile foreign army, in great force, were to invade our territory. The bold and the daring invader attacks openly. In the bravery and devoted patriotism of our citizens, we have, under the worst of circumstances, a hope of ultimate success and safety. But against the secret dagger of the midnight assassin, no precaution can guard us. He enters our premises undiscovered. He advances, or he recedes in his softly stealing steps, as prudence would dictate, and he strikes the fatal blow, when it is too late for us to avert it. Thus it will be with the American Colonization Society.

This Society was established at the SEAT of Government in 1817, that in its very formation, it might be regarded as NATIONAL. Its ostensible object is the colonization of the free persons of colour of the United States, on the continent of Africa. The scheme at the outset, was thought to be so visionary, that the wonder was expressed, that so many intelligent members of Congress, at Washington, could be persuaded to attend the first meeting. The idea, that a class of people, who in the Northern and Eastern States, were enjoying in common with the white inhabitants, so great a portion of civil liberty, should voluntarily exile themselves, and encounter all the diseases of an African climate, and the hostility of savage neighbours, was so preposterous, that many persons suspected, that there was more meant by this Society, than met either the eye or the ear. It therefore became necessary to know, whether the Society had an *ulterior* design, not stated in its Constitution, and a question to this end, was distinctly put by some Southern gentlemen from Virginia. To all questions, as to the true design of the Society, the reply was, that colonization of the free persons of colour was the sole object. With many persons, however, from what accidentally transpired at the time, the suspicion still existed, that a Colonization Society was but another name for an Abolition Society; and certainly, if there be one fact, in regard to this Society, about which there never did exist a contrariety of opinion, it is this—that from the day of its institution until the present time, the Society has been publicly assailed by some, as a Society of doubtful character, and by others, as having a favourite *ulterior* object, to wit, the emancipation and removal in due time, of all the slaves of the United States—a scheme so utterly impracticable for any private Society to accomplish, and to which it is doubted, whether the National Government itself, with all its resources, is competent; that it is difficult to decide, whether, in the contemplation and formation of the Colonization Society, folly, or fanaticism, or wickedness, has had the greatest influence.

With the fact always before their eyes, that their Society was originally, and has always since been suspected by thousands and thousands, rather as intending to bring about the abolition of slavery, than of colonizing the free persons of colour, under the hope of voluntary exile, what have been the movements of the friends and members of the association? Under these public imputations, as to their motives, constantly existing in the public prints of Virginia and elsewhere, what has been their course of conduct? Have they been careful in their speeches at anniversary meetings, or in their annual reports, to avoid touching a subject, producing to us in the South, such exquisite sensitiveness, as the emancipation of our slaves? The contrary of this is the truth. In less than four years, we find the true feeling and the spirit, which characterizes the Abolition Societies, manifesting itself in this association, in terms too strong to be misunderstood. Their speeches breathe a spirit, which if it were to become general, would soon bring to ruin the State, in which we live. Let it not be replied, that the Colonization Society

is not responsible for the sayings and the speeches of its members.— It is responsible for them all, for it has, by its own deliberate act, circulated as part of its annual reports, all these speeches throughout the United States, together, with offensive extracts from Reviews, and other publications, and thus it recognizes the doctrines they contain. What difference can it make to us in the South, whether these inflammatory sentiments, are the sentiments of a Society, as a Society, or as those of the individuals of that Society, expressed at its meetings? What stronger proof need we require, of a Society being an Abolition Society, than when the speeches of its most distinguished members, are characterized by animated pictures of the horrors of slavery, and their deep settled conviction that the whole system must be rooted out of the land? If speeches, and toasts, and sentiments of men assembled together for business or conviviality, do not shew the spirit and character of the particular Societies, or companies, in which they are uttered; if these be not infallible criteria, by which we are to come at the scope and object of these Societies, I know not what are. It is not necessary to introduce all that has been said against us in these Societies. Let, however, Gen. HARPER be first heard at the seventh anniversary meeting. After depicting in glowing colours, the great social evil, that is eating its way to the vitals of the State, and the folly of a partial removal; and after estimating the number of slaves in the United States, at a million and an half of persons—"How then, (says he) is that MORE EXTENSIVE operation, which alone CAN COMPLETE the SCOPE of our design, to be *ultimately*, or ever accomplished. How is this vast mass of a vicious population, to be safely withdrawn from among us, and with justice to those, more immediately interested in their present condition." He then proceeds to shew, the qualifying circumstances which must attend the removal of these people. General MERCER followed. He only differed from his distinguished friend, in point of time, when application ought to be made to the National Councils, as the affairs of the Society were not yet ripe for such a measure. "The policy is AMERICAN, throughout." (The tariff over again.) "The North has a deep interest in the emancipation and colonization of the slave population of the Southern States." Next rises GEORGE WASHINGTON PARK-CUSTIS, Esq. who contends, that they must go at once, to the great Council of the Nation, as the guardians of American liberty, and he would tell them, "You are the last of Republics: You boast that it is the seat of freedom, of justice, of honour, of high and magnanimous feeling. The evil we would remedy, is none of ours. It was done before we were born, and it is left for us to undo. Lend us your aid to strike the fetters from the slave, and to spread the enjoyment of unfettered freedom over the whole of our favoured and happy land." In another speech of Mr. CUSTIS, which I cannot lay my hands upon, he says, that "when the Society shall see the stern of the last ship, carrying the last of the free negroes, its business will be but begun." In all the speeches, the doctrine is inculcated, that "if they are defeated again and again, in their addresses to Congress.

this should not *damp* their ardour, but give *new courage for new attacks*." "We ought, (adds Gen. HARPER,) to explain our views and plan, *soon* and fully; so that they may be seen and understood by the nation. The sooner, and the more fully this is done, the better; and in no way can it be so well done, as by an application to Congress, and THE DISCUSSIONS (mark that) to which it will give rise."

Thus terminates the seventh Anniversary Meeting of the Colonization Society. Now, I ask my fellow-citizens, if these are the sentiments which are to promote the happiness and security of the Southern States. Domestic servitude is the policy of our country, and has been so from time immemorial. It is so intimately interwoven with our prosperity, as a member of the confederacy, and with our comfort as a society, that to talk of its abolition, is to speak of striking us out of our civil and political existence. It is to remove from us the only labourers who can cultivate our soil. It is to cut off all the resources of our wealth. It is to consent to give up our valuable plantations, our tide swamps, and our prime cotton lands. In a word, it is to surrender the whole of our valuable lower country, to the "beasts of the field" and the wild men of the forest. And how dare the people of this Society, the greater part of whom at this day, form their crude, and their undigested, and their abstract ideas in their closets, with no knowledge of our country, no acquaintance with the habits and pursuits of our people, no experience of our peculiar wants, no consideration of the difficulties of emancipation, be it sudden or gradual—how dare such men, the men of Ohio and the Wabash, &c. professing as they do, friendship and good feelings towards us, presume to discuss a subject of which they know nothing, and when their discussions can produce no other fruit than the bitter apple of discord and disunion. Do these enthusiasts think it a trifling matter to hold out to our slave population prospects which never can be realized; or do they believe, that when by the discussions in Congress, they shall have kindled up amongst these people dissatisfaction, discontent and insubordination, that they can at all times so regulate its heat, that it shall not come to an awful and a wide spreading conflagration? Are they to scatter firebrands, and say they mean well. But, not content with indulging in its wild and mischievous schemes of the revolution in public sentiment, which it hopes to bring about by circulating the speeches of its members, the Society employs the Press in another way, as a still more efficient means of bringing about emancipation. It causes to be published at the Seat of Government, under its immediate auspices, and for its exclusive emolument, a Monthly Journal, which it styles the "African Repository," published "by order of the Managers of the American Colonization Society." It is in this periodical, that are constantly disseminated the sentiments which are to make the slave dissatisfied with his condition, and the master doubtful, whether he ought to hold in subjection his slave. It is here that we have essays, in which the system of servitude is portrayed in colors the most frightful and disgusting. It is this journal in which the

tales are to be told, and the anecdotes related, of the cruelty of owners to their slaves. And it is here again, that are recorded the examples of those silly mortals who sacrificed their wealth upon the altars of a moral enthusiasm; who think they aggrandize their country by manumitting their slaves, and thus letting loose beings, neither fitted by education or by habit for freedom, and who must be a walking pestilence wherever they go. It is in this journal, that are constantly expressed, those mischievous forebodings, "that the time must come when the oppressed shall rise against the oppressor with a desolating vengeance."

I know that some of our citizens will be disposed to treat with contempt such predictions, as the effusions of the distempered minds of weak fanatics; but let them not deceive themselves. The Colonization Society, under the specious pretext of eradicating from our country what the people of so many States regard as an evil of the first magnitude, daily acquires strength, particularly in the Middle and Western States, and it has some adherents, strange to say, even in the plantation States. It has even an "Hieronymus"\* from South-Carolina to advocate its cause in Northern journals. By means of the Press, it daily becomes more and more known to the *ultra* religious of all denominations, and the clergy in general, without being aware of what they are doing, give it their cordial support. To these last, it has been recommended to preach sermons on the anniversary of Independence; but none have been bold enough in the South to comply with the request. The Society is not in the hands of weak men. HENRY CLAY is one of its patrons, and a very distinguished anniversary orator. Judge WASHINGTON, of the Supreme Court of the United States, is its President. By his circular of the 14th of March last past, we are informed that the Society is to make application to Congress at its ensuing session. It is the Judge who transmits all over the United States "the form of a memorial to which signatures are to be solicited, and to be forwarded to the Congress." Should a question ever be made in the Supreme Court, whether under the words "general welfare," money can be voted to a negro society, or a negro colony on the coast of Africa, we may conjecture how this Judge will decide the question, for by his circular, it appears that he has already made up his mind. He declares in it "that the object of the Society is one of NATIONAL interest."

After so many declarations, and from a quarter so respectable, can any man doubt but that this Society will present itself before the National Legislature. These abolitionists, it is true, are not as well confederated and combined as the manufacturers. In the one case, great pecuniary interests are involved, and injudicious investments to the amount of many millions of dollars are at hazard, in consequence of "Mr. CANNING's *untaxing* the British nation." In the other case, there are no millions of dollars it is true, but there are a million and a half of poor degraded human souls who need restoration to the rights of freemen. The manufacturers may excel

\* In the controversy in the Boston papers, this writer does more harm to South-Carolina than "Vigornius," the open enemy of slavery.



in the talent which they will bring to their aid, but the abolition men will not be behind them in their zeal, and their perseverance to accomplish their ends. They both will have their special friends in the lobbies and in the House. They all have their plans of attack well arranged, and they both design to make the South feel its present colonial dependence.

The day then is at hand. The crisis approaches, when Congress is to be called upon to discuss a subject upon which no vote can be taken, which will not amount to an expression of its opinion on the subject of domestic slavery. Are the plantation States disposed to submit to any such expression of opinion. I trust they are not prepared, and my sincere hope is, that should this body presume to legislate on, or discuss this subject in any way, that there may be but one heart and one mind, and that we should cut the knot forever that would bind us to the worst of enemies. Of the dangers of such a discussion I shall speak in my next.

### NO. 26.

Our Senator, Mr. HAYNE, has not been an indifferent spectator of the movements of the Colonization Society. With the sagacity for which he is distinguished, he early perceived that these movements indicated a spirit which was hostile to Southern interests. He has expressed this opinion publicly and privately. To the inhabitants of St. Paul's Parish, he has recently stated "that the whole course and tendency of the Colonization Society demonstrated, (what indeed was openly acknowledged by some of its members, and is hardly now denied by any) that the colonization of the class of persons, whose removal was originally declared to be the exclusive object of the Society, was but the first step towards another great object, which, in his opinion, could never be attempted, (and least of all by the Federal Government) without *aiming a blow* at our *peace and security*." To this sentiment, Mr. HAYNE added his firm and unalterable determination, to resist to the utmost of his power, the right of the General Government "to embrace a subject, which belongs exclusively to the States, and which, in his view, could never be touched by Congress, (whether with good or evil intentions) without producing the HEAVIEST calamities." As far as Mr. HAYNE has had an opportunity, he has acted in conformity with this opinion. When RUFUS KING laid upon the table of the Senate his resolution to empower Congress to establish a fund for purchasing and emancipating slaves, our Senator submitted his protest, together with a counter resolution. On the petition of the Colonization Society being presented to the Senate, Mr. HAYNE again protested. So far has this Senator discharged his duty to his country, and further than this he could not well go under the circumstances.

In the co-operation and assistance of such a colleague as Judge SMITH, we have the most flattering hopes. The services of this latter gentleman on the Missouri question, are universally acknowledged, and the impression, which it is admitted he then made by his open and manly avowal of his sentiments, and the firmness with

which, on that occasion, he stood his ground in the debate, can never be forgotten by the people of South-Carolina. The success of Judge SMITH's resolutions in our State Legislature, on the subject of State Rights, was a remarkable triumph of the good sense of the people over that most unhappy influence in favour of Messrs. MONROE and CALHOUN's politics, which before had been insensibly carrying on the State, to the maintenance of doctrines, in which any thing but safety was to be sought. I intend no reflections on the small minority on those resolutions. In their ranks, I count names personally known to me, and for whom I have always entertained no common respect. But the best men are often mistaken,—and far be it from me, to consider our countryman, Mr. CALHOUN, as not entitled to the esteem and respect of his fellow-citizens. His services have, on some occasions, been most distinguished, and I feel them. But let us hope never to see the doctrines of Mr. MONROE's administration, in which he bore so conspicuous a part, again in fashion South of the Potomac. South-Carolina, in consequence of those politics, has been the sole cause of a want of cordial Union between the Southern States, as to common interests, to the mortification of Virginia, North-Carolina and Georgia; and to this may be ascribed their apparent lukewarmness on the present question of the Tariff. It was this same influence, (with shame be it spoken) which caused, three years ago, an outcry against that first of Southern patriots, Governor TROUP, of Georgia, when, like an Ajax, he was covering the sovereign rights of his own State, and of all the Southern States, with the shield of a most unparalleled and undaunted firmness. The venerable Patriarch of '76, who had always deplored the secession of South-Carolina from the pale of State Rights, was delighted when he heard of the movements of our Legislature on Judge SMITH's resolutions. It was like the dawn of a new day, opening upon the prospects of Union in the South, and in his correspondence with his friends, he hailed it as such, and anticipated the happiest results from a beginning to be made in that very State, which had so unaccountably abandoned a principle common to all. He thought that Virginia had taken the lead long enough, and that she had better thereafter follow.

But, faithful as Mr. HAYNE has been in the Senate, and as certain as he is of the co-operation, heart and mind, of his colleague, it is not to be conceded, that the firebrands which have been prepared to light up discord in the South, are in readiness, for any member to take them up; and let them be taken up when they will, a beginning will thereby be made by Congress to legislate on a subject which cannot be mentioned in the Halls of Congress without manifest mischief to these States—a beginning did I say? Why the beginning has already taken place. A door for discussing of the subject of slavery has been opened in both Houses of Congress. Their tables are already polluted with resolutions and petitions on the subject of negro societies. If South-Carolina does not close these doors, and close them forever against the intrusion of such subjects for debate, she can expect no other than the most serious results. In

the Senate, the door was not opened, without an opposing effort on the part of Col. HAYNE; but, in the House of Representatives, I do not recollect of any sensation amongst the Southern members, either at the time when the subject was first brought up before the House, or when the resolutions of the Legislature of Kentucky, recently brought up by Mr. CLARK, were submitted.

But how is it, that our citizens generally are not alarmed at these indications of a disposition in Congress to meddle with what does not belong to it? Except from Edisto, St. John's, Colleton, and a few more parishes, we scarcely hear of the Colonization Society; and yet I do firmly and conscientiously believe, that unless our Legislature shall, at its next session, or at some other early period adopt some measure, which shall at once bring it to the test, whether Congress shall discuss the subject of slavery directly or indirectly, we shall, in less than twenty years, be in a situation not much better than the people of the British West-India Islands.

Let us only look to the first causes of inquietude of these most harassed Colonists; their early want of confidence in negro property; the depreciation of that property, and the signs of decay, which are every where now visible in those Islands, and we shall see that they are all to be traced to the interference of the British Parliament on the subject of slavery, and that from the *smallest* beginnings, have resulted those transactions which have brought these people to their present deplorable condition. When Mr. WILBERFORCE first brought forward his bill for the abolition of the slave trade, he was even *more cautious* than the Colonization Society. He took especial care not to profess that the abolition of the slave trade was but the *first step* towards an object which he then most deeply had at heart; but which, at that time, it would have been most imprudent to proclaim, to-wit: the emancipation of the negroes in the West-Indies. Indeed, he and his friends avowed that their sole object was *abolition of the trade*, and no more: and yet we have seen that he no sooner succeeded in the ostensible object, than he was observed to come out of his concealment, and to commence an indirect attack upon the whole system of slavery. Now, in the fullness of time, he openly advocates a general emancipation.

As great interests of the British Empire were at stake, from the capital invested in West-India estates, and the trade it then furnished, it was not an easy matter for Mr. WILBERFORCE, at first, to find many adherents for his ultimate plans. He was, therefore, at an early stage of the discussions, in small minorities; but small as these minorities were, yet the Colonists immediately felt and feared, that with such a mighty subject in his hands as that of the liberty of the British subject, and the appeals he could make to a people, whose prejudices and habits were adverse to slavery, he must rather gain than lose his influence, and they began from that moment to despond. Year after year, for the last forty years, as these topics were renewed in Parliament, the minorities became more respectable, and the hopes of the Colonists continued to sink. As their hopes were gradually weakened, so their property gradually depreciated in va-

lue. The point of depression to which it has at this day arrived, is most deplorable. So unceasing have been the interferences of Parliament, that their negroes are, to them, almost worse than worthless. The object of the abolitionists by holding out emancipation, has uniformly been, first to depress the value of negro property, and when it shall have arrived at its *minimum*, say some thirty or forty dollars a head, then to advocate a general emancipation, with a remuneration to individuals at a trifling cost to the Government.

The unfortunate fate of the people of the West Indies may be our lot, or it may not. This will depend entirely on ourselves.— If we are patient and submissive before Congress, the points of resemblance between us and the British Colonists, will soon strike the most common observer. But if we shall only exert the powers which God and nature has given us, the resemblance can never for an instant exist. These colonists are to be pitied, and not to be reproached. They have not within themselves, as we have in the Southern States, resources for empire; and, they are on this account, doomed to the end of time, probably, to have some European master. Unfortunately for them, they have no power to struggle with the mother country. They are weak colonists. But WE have the POWER to grapple with any set of usurpers, or any enemies, foreign or domestic. We are Sovereign and Independent States.—Infinitely more independent of those, who desire to bring us back to colonial dependence, than they would be of us. Let us then decide at once, that Congress shall not meddle with the subject of negroes, and let our Legislature be solicited, to interpose its powers between this species of legislation, and our ultimate ruin. There is no time for delay. If our Legislature refrains from expressing its sense of the wrongs of Congress in this particular, or prescribes to itself, no course of conduct, to defeat this tendency in the General Government, thus GROSSLY to IMPINGE upon a concern, so CONFESSEDLY LOCAL, it will have no other effect, than to invite Congress, to repeat aggression upon aggression, upon the sovereignty of the State. Let us not deceive ourselves. The claims of the Colonization Society, will assuredly be pressed before Congress. It has in its train, upwards of an hundred auxiliary Societies, as I believe. It is a subject which will NEVER slumber or sleep. A paper called "The Genius of Universal Emancipation," for the avowed purpose of abolishing slavery in the South, is established at New-York. A new periodical, on the same subject, is just established in Philadelphia. Sooner or later, therefore, the merits of this Association, will be discussed in the Halls of the National Legislature. Are we prepared, my fellow-citizens, to submit to a public discussion of this subject? Are we to stand by, and look on unconcerned, at men, who would in this way, lay the axe to the root of our whole system of civil polity. Forbid it patriotism. Let it be remembered, that the claims of the Colonization Society cannot possibly be discussed, without giving to Congress an occasion, *officially* to express its opinion against slavery as an *evil*, and the profession of a desire to eradicate it from the land. It will afford us, my fellow-

citizens, not ONE atom of security, that Congress does *not intend emancipation*. This it DARES not do at THIS time. As rapidly as it is advancing, in its attempts to put down the sovereignty of the States, it would scarcely venture upon a measure, so premature or unseasonable, as this would be. But it is not enough for us, to have a pledge of this nature. Congress *must not* be permitted to *express any opinion*, that slavery (which is the fundamental policy of this State) is an EVIL. The expression of any such opinion, would be an interference with a subject, which is not theirs. It would be an intolerably IMPERTINENT intermeddling with a concern, peculiarly OUR OWN. If there be an evil in slavery, the evil is ours. But our laws recognize it not as an evil, and it is the height of insolence in any other body, than our own Legislature, to decide what is, or is not, beneficial to South-Carolina. The interference of Congress, by an expression of its opinion, moreover, will have a tendency to *weaken* the attachment of our citizens to the policy, which is the LIFE BLOOD of the State, and without which, we must *cease to exist as a State*, excepting in name. An expression of such an opinion, would alarm the timid amongst us. It would cause those, who are wavering and in doubt, to give up their opinions. It would deter capitalists from investments in plantations and negroes, from the impression it would give, of a want of permanency in our systems, from a fear that Congress, at some future day, might legislate still further on the subject. As regards our domestics, the effect upon their minds, by any such opinion by the National Legislature, would be such, as to fill us all with the DEEPEST apprehensions. *Not for our safety*, for that will be a concern, to which, thank God, we feel ourselves competent, under any circumstances, and without any assistance from Congress; but on account of the discontent and uneasiness which might thereby be produced in the minds of those, who are now contented and happy.

The Legislatures of Ohio, New-Jersey, &c. in the paroxysms of their folly and their fanaticism, may pour forth their phials of wrath, upon the system of slavery, and so may WILBERFORCE and BUXTON thunder forth their anathemas in the British Parliament. Our domestics have the intelligence to know, that South-Carolina is not under the dominion of the one, more than of the other; and, therefore, any such expression of the public opinion in these countries, if it were ten times as strong, can do us no possible harm. But, my fellow-citizens, the case will be entirely changed, when such a legislative body, as the Congress of the United States, shall begin to DENOUNCE our systems. When so many weak white men amongst us (I beg their pardon) regard Congress as omnipotent, and are of opinion, that all the efforts of the States to confine this body within its limits, will be in vain, and moreover, are treasonable, it would indeed be strange, if the untutored slave were to think otherwise. The truth is, that our slaves do regard Congress as uncontrollable in its authority over the States; and the only way to remove these false impressions from the minds of our own timid citizens

and to cut off all the hopes of mischievous and designing slaves forever, is to give some STRIKING demonstration to them, that Congress can no more interfere with this subject, than Ohio and New-Jersey can make laws for us. Let these people, one and all, see with their own eyes, that the instant Congress PRESUMES to express its opinion, that South-Carolina will also resolve not to talk, but to ACT. The salutary effects of such a course upon their minds, will be such as words are not adequate to describe. On the contrary, let our slaves observe tameness and acquiescence on our part, in these usurpations of the Government, and they will feel, as as they are justified in feeling, that their future destiny belongs not to South-Carolina, but to Congress.

Congress then, must pass no opinion respecting the peculiar policy of our State. It must not denounce the system of slavery, as it exists in the Southern States, as an evil, or so act, as to be understood to desire to eradicate it from the land, unless it intends to make war upon the South. The laws of South-Carolina have forbidden its own citizens from emancipating their slaves. No slave, in consequence, can be emancipated without an act of the Legislature, and the Legislature have refused numberless applications for such purposes. It is perfectly competent for the Legislature to pass this law. It is acting within its reserved powers, under the Constitution, when it is regulating its slaves; and Congress, on the contrary, will usurp power, when it would interfere with emancipation, directly or indirectly. To countenance the American Colonization Society, will be to proceed upon the principle, that slavery is a rank weed in our land. Thus to denounce the whole Southern system, will be neither more nor less, than to excite in the bosoms of all the slaves in the United States, illusory hopes, that Congress may adopt some measures to mitigate their condition, and remedy their grievances. It will be an act of decided, unequivocal hostility. It will be a declaration of WAR, and MUST be treated and resisted as such. It will be the ENTERING WEDGE, with which, at some future day, our VITAL interests are to be SPLIT asunder.— It will be the LANDING of an enemy, and a bitter enemy too, on our soil. To take no steps, will be to see that enemy gain a foothold in our very dwellings. He must be resisted. There must be no discussion. Discussion will cause DEATH and DESTRUCTION to our negro property. Discussion will be equivalent to an act of emancipation, for it will universally inspire amongst the slaves, that hope. It will be to teach the slave, that for a gradual amelioration of his condition, he is not to look to his master, or to what time, and circumstances, or a wise Providence may bring about in its own good appointed time; but will encourage him to look to Congress alone, in every movement of which body, our slaves will take an interest, and though any particular measure cannot afford any relief, even to the present generation, yet it will at once be misconstrued by them into something for their immediate benefit, and thus induce them to believe, that rights are withheld from them, contrary to the intent of Congress. It is the discussions in the British

Parliament, which have caused from time to time, the insurrectionary movements in the West Indies, and brought the colonists from *wealth to despondence*, and from *despondence* almost to *despair*; and it will be discussion of the subject by Congress, which will bring us, one and all, to complete ruin, if we are weak enough not to check it at the outset, and at every hazard, aye, at the hazard of **DISSOLVING THE UNION**. Can it reasonably be hoped, that when our citizens shall be constantly *worried* on this subject, and constantly *uncertain* as to what Congress can, or cannot, constitutionally do, as to our slaves; that all will not be more or less anxious to be relieved from a property, the tenure of which is to depend upon the capricious will of a body, whom they know to be foreign to us in their feelings, and in their education and modes of thinking.

It is *no consolation* to say to us, that on any petition to be presented before Congress, the votes shall be in *our favour*, even if those votes be in the proportion of *ten to one*. If Congress can entertain such petitions, and discuss such subjects at *one time*, it can do so at *another time*. The small minority this year, may become more respectable the next, and so on, until it shall become alarming to the most sceptical amongst us. When Mr. M'DUFFIE, in some recent address to his constituents, most sincerely told them, in reference to the expected interference of Congress with our slaves, and by way of consolation too, that he did not believe, *there were in both Houses*, twenty *men* who would not vote as South-Carolina would wish on such a question, it struck many of us, that this intelligence would not be received as consolation by those who pondered the subject.— To me it is most alarming, that there should be found twenty, or even five members, with such sentiments; for, if by this, I am to understand any thing, it is this, that in some twenty or thirty years, this minority must be very respectable, as by every new census, the Northern strength will be augmented, perhaps, in the same proportion as ours will diminish. The West India colonists had, some forty years ago, all the consolation which Mr. M'DUFFIE now dispenses to us. The minority in the British Parliament was at first trifling. I doubt if there were even twenty or ten in both Houses of Parliament, who were for emancipation. But yet the West Indies are hastening, with a very quick step, towards complete ruin; a catastrophe, hitherto, only protracted by the good sense and discretion of Mr. CANNING, and by his ability in stemming the torrent of British feeling, in and out of Parliament, on the subject. And so will South-Carolina assuredly be ruined, if at this day, there are twenty men in Congress, who are for emancipation, sudden or gradual, and the right of Congress to take *even a vote*, is not **RESISTED** as an **ACT OF WAR** by South-Carolina. No. Those who would give the Southern Agriculturist real and substantial comfort, must assure him that a petition shall never be received, and a vote **NEVER** shall be taken in Congress, on any subject connected with slaves, without its being followed by an immediate dissolution of the Union, and then would be seen a **CONFIDENCE** abroad in our land, to

which we have been entire strangers, since the unfortunate Missouri question was agitated.

That question, we all know, was attended with its evils, and as I already have stated, the most prominent of all the evils which attend these discussions, is, that our slaves instantly misconceive the object of the discussions, and turn it to mischievous purposes. By the Missouri question, our slaves thought, there was a charter of liberties granted them by Congress, and the events of the summer of 1822, as will appear by the records of the trials, and the dying confessions of the misguided wretches, will long be remembered, as amongst the choicest fruits of the agitation of that question in Congress. Similar results have followed all discussions in the British Parliament. So alive are the negroes to the proceedings in Parliament, that if a regulation of trade be adopted, it is subject to misconception. Not three years ago, GEORGE IV. was compelled to issue his Royal Proclamation, and to publish it throughout the West Indies, that no act of emancipation had been passed by Parliament. It was the discussions in the National Convention at Paris, that first lighted up the fires of revolt in St. Domingo; and if we, in South-Carolina, are ever to witness any thing of the kind in our country, it will solely be owing to our **DASTARDLY** pusillanimity, and our **BASE TREACHERY** to our vital interests, by suffering Congress to support the Colonization Society, and thus to acknowledge the jurisdiction over the subject, by a body, who will make us at some future period, if we thus place ourselves in their power, **CURSE** the day that *ever we entered into union* with the Northern States.

The Colonization Society must then be driven out of the Halls of Congress, and driven out with **DISGRACE**. It is, as has been well observed, "the nucleus, around which, will be gathered the worst elements of discord." It is the **NEST EGG**, placed there by the Northern abolitionists, and therefrom will be hatched and raised for the South, anxiety, and inquietude and troubles, to which there can be no end. It will be the opening upon us, of Pandora's Box. Let it not be so. Let it be remembered, that when Congress claims legislation in any way upon the subject of *negroes*, it assumes the character of the enemy that would invade your territory. There must be "**NO STANDING** at your arms," as Mr. JEFFERSON says. Suffer him not to effect a landing. Meet him on the beach, and at the water's edge, "**FOOT TO FOOT**," as the same immortal Patriot expresses himself; and here let it be decided, whether our State is to be independent or not, or our safety put at hazard by **KNAVES, MADMEN, AND FANATICS**. Should that day ever arrive, when Congress, deaf to all intreaty, shall, in the extravagancy and insolency of its pretensions, to unlimited sovereignty, (I repeat *insolency* of its pretensions, for the occasion demands strong language) attempt to interfere with the policy so peculiarly our own, by expressing its opinion, that such a policy is a national evil, and ought to be rooted out of South-Carolina; which it must do, if it countenances the Colonization Society, my wishes will be, that there may be **DISUNION**, and that by the opening of our ports to

the whole world, we may avail ourselves of our natural and abundant resources for commerce, and thus gain the **WEALTH AND THE STRENGTH**, to defend ourselves against all our enemies from **WITHIN** and without.

### NO. 27.

I have, as yet, said nothing as to the flagrant *injustice* of a national protection to the American Colonization Society. Were this Society honest and undisguised as to its object, and its purpose was simply to relieve the United States of all the free persons of colour, by their *voluntary* exile, an objection of no ordinary magnitude, even in this view of the subject, presents itself, which is, that its purposes cannot be accomplished without taxing the people of those States, who are without any interest in the subject matter, for the relief of such States as have a very deep interest.

It is perfectly natural for the people of some States to regard free negroes as a grievous nuisance, and for very obvious reasons. According to the last census, New-York and Pennsylvania contained about sixty thousand of this class, and their rapidly increasing numbers, and their extreme indolence as well as insolence, has occasioned a general desire in the people of those States to be relieved of them. Their laws and police regulations are, at the same time so framed, as to encourage the fugitive slaves of the South to seek an asylum amongst them, so that their whole policy seems to be, first, to entice from the Southern planter his slaves; secondly, to emancipate them after they are enticed, by means of their Societies or their laws; and, thirdly, to get rid of them, not at their own entire expense, but at the expense also of the South, by a system called the "American system," and in the same manner as they would encourage their manufactures, (another "American system,") by causing the Southern States to contribute, by taxation, their portion of the cost. Now, really, to us in the South, it is a matter of indifference, whether the citizens of New-York or Philadelphia are tormented or not with this species of population. In truth, if we were to express any desire on the subject, it would be, that they should be more and more tormented with them every day, that they might be induced to aid, rather than oppose the Southron, when he demands the restoration of his fugitive slaves, and that they might indulge towards us, in general, some little more kind sympathy, when they are contemplating the system of slavery. In this portion of the Union, free persons of colour are not a *pest* to us. In the four States of South-Carolina, Georgia, Alabama and Mississippi, there are only 9,506 of such persons, not one third of the number, either of New-York or Pennsylvania; and our laws are such, that these persons are regulated with the same facility as if they were slaves. They give us yet no trouble, and our laws prevent any further increase of them, excepting by natural means, emancipation being expressly forbidden.

On the subject of free negroes, there is here, as there always has been, and must ever be, in many respects, an opposition of interest between the North and the South. At the North, these people are under *no* discipline, and consequently are insolent to the whites, whenever an occasion offers itself, and their occupation, a great portion of the year, is that of thieving or begging. Their jails and poor houses are filled with negroes. At the South, they are well disciplined, and are civil to the whites, and in their

way useful. They are peaceable and industrious, and always to be seen at their honest employments. They are not the inmates of penitentiaries or alms-houses. There is no doubt, however, but that, if we in the South were relieved of this population, it would be better for our Southern cities, where they principally reside. But as yet, we have heard of no feasible plan to which there are not some objections. We, in the South, know these people too well, to believe that we can ever be relieved of them under any plan which proposes to them *voluntary* exile from South-Carolina. Let our ports only be opened, and free negroes will flock hence from the North in great numbers, and submit themselves, even to those laws which recognize no distinction, as to trial, &c. between them and the slaves. Our great difficulty is, in keeping them from secretly coming to reside in our cities. Should the time ever arrive, when they shall become troublesome to us, we shall not (like the Colonization Society) stupidly propose to them to quit us, and to go and fight for a home in Africa, but we shall expel them from the State, whether they like it or not. In the South then, it is perceived, we have no interest whatever in the views of the Colonization Society, and laying aside the unconstitutionality of the measure, there can be no propriety in our being taxed for such a purpose.

I would be very thankful to some of those *ultra* consolidation men, who think that Congress ought to adopt every measure which can promote the general welfare, if they would approve of Congress making provision for the voluntary removal of all *paupers* from the United States. Here is a class of people, who may not inaptly be compared as to condition, (I mean no offence to the real sons and daughters of adversity) to the free negroes in the Northern States. The law in many countries, deprives paupers of some of their civil rights, and in others, they are placed in some respects upon the footing of vagrants. Whether, however, they are incapable of labour, from bodily infirmity, or are wilfully indolent, they are not a greater burthen to the Northern communities than free negroes are. The free negroes, it may be said, *are* the paupers of the North, and as paupers they are supported by the public. The pretext for their removal, cannot be, that these people are a dangerous portion of the community, for they cannot be so, where they enjoy all the essential civil rights in common with the whites, and if the scheme of transporting them to Africa is professed to arise from the great interest which our Northern brethren feel for *our safety* in the South, we have only to reply, that we are quite competent on that score to take care of ourselves, and would rather distrust than follow counsels from abroad.

*Timeo Danaos, et dona ferentes.*

The only good that can reasonably be anticipated from the institution of the Colonization Society, (if the free negroes in New-York and Pennsylvania can be supposed to be fools enough to banish themselves) is, that it will enable these States to be relieved of a considerable body of paupers and vagabonds out of the Treasury of the United States. As for any relief to South-Carolina, I would venture from my personal knowledge of these people, to predict, that not ten in a period of ten years, would voluntarily go to Africa.

What greater right has Congress to provide for the removal of free negroes than for the removal of paupers in the different States, by providing a fund for the passage money of all who might choose to leave the United States. If there be one subject which can be more local than another, that subject is PAUPERISM. So strictly local is it, that in all countries with which I am acquainted, each *parish* is compelled to maintain its own poor. Upon the same principle ought each Northern State to provide for the removal of free negroes, if such persons are regarded as a nuisance to society. Congress has no right to expend the funds of the United States for local objects.

When, however, we come to regard the Colonization Society as to its *real* objects, to-wit, the gradual emancipation and removal of the *slaves* of the United States, the injustice of providing a national fund for such a purpose, becomes more manifestly glaring. It will be to tax us, for the purpose of emancipating against our free will, our own slaves, which are as much our property as our lands or houses. About three-fourths of the slaves of the United States are contained in the seven States South of the Potomac and Tennessee, and were a direct tax laid for the purpose of paying for them, their proportion of this tax, by calculation, would be at least one-fourth. The 1,200,000 slaves in these States, valued even at the average price of \$300, would amount to 360 millions of dollars, of which sum we should have to pay ninety millions, and thus, instead of receiving \$300 round, we should receive only \$225. But how we are to be compensated for our lands, which, without labourers to till them, must be valueless to us, we are not informed. It is not stated in any *project* I have yet seen, whether that most puissant Body, Congress, is to give us any thing for our lands or not.

If there be any view of this subject which is positively insulting to a Southern understanding, it is that pretext which would regard emancipation, as strengthening the Southern country against an external enemy, as if to us, it would make any difference after the slaves are all removed, whether the French, or English, or Russians had South-Carolina: or whether it existed at all.

Planters of South-Carolina, where are you, that you are so silent on this subject! Bear with me, when I say to you, that if you are hereafter to acquiesce, as hitherto you have done, in the usurpations of Congress, it would be better for each of you to sleep under a roof of bayonets, loosely put together, with a chance of rising to another morn, than to expect to come out safe and sound from the dangers that thicken upon you on all sides by your present apathy. The more you reflect upon the operations of the Colonization Society, the better you will be satisfied, that its ostensible object is so wholly impracticable, as to preclude the idea that it ever could have been formed, except for other objects than it professes to attain. In the United States, there are 223,698 free persons of colour. The natural increase of these might be computed to be at least 8,000 per annum. Who can believe that this number can ever be reduced within its present limits, when so many are born, and so few emigrate. The negro colony has been established ten years, and now consists of about 600 poor wretches who would be very glad, no doubt, to return, if they could. I do not understand that the Colonization Society would pay the expenses of any such who desire to return to America. There is a fact which it behoves you all to know,

and it is this. As long as the Colonization Society openly professed no other object than the removal of free negroes, it had but little support, and was confined in its operations to few States. There is nothing in the original plan which is captivating to such a man as Mr. WILBERFORCE, or as calculated to *take*, with the great body of the people to the North. No *emancipation* was held out, and the abolitionists were of course indifferent as to its success. The leading members of the Society, perceiving this defect in the plan, took the earliest opportunity of correcting the public impression in this particular; and to make their scheme more palatable, they then openly avowed, that though colonization of the free negroes was the first object, yet, that the *great object* was emancipation. The declaration is no sooner made, than there is an increase of zeal every where, and it is on the ground of its being an Abolition Society, that it now increases in its popularity throughout the Northern, Middle and Western States. Wherever the subject has been taken up, in any local Legislature, foreign colonization has uniformly been recommended to Congress, as connected with the emancipation of the slaves of the United States, and thus to remove, what they term "a national evil." This was the case with New-Jersey, and I believe of Rhode Island and Indiana, and the Legislature of Ohio in 1824, even proposed "the *passage of a law* by the *General Government*, with the consent of the slave holding States," providing; that "all children born of slaves thereafter, should be free at the age of twenty one." One would suppose, that if we had any desire to emancipate our slaves, we should not need a law of the "General Government" to that effect.

But, is it surprising that Ohio should venture thus far, when, instead of looking to our own State concerns, we have been so incessantly busying ourselves in the Presidential contests for some years past. Drilled as our communities have been in the general politics of the country, and being moved like the heads of Chinese figures, to the *right* or to the *left*, by the word of command, from men on both sides, who are really doing no more than playing the game, with the view to the *honours* at Washington; the wonder *rather* is, considering our negligence of our own business, that Congress has not practised greater usurpations of power.

Let us, however, now change our whole course. It is time so to do.—We have no power, it is true, to prevent the Legislature of Ohio, or the Congress of the United States from being offensive and indecorous in its proceedings towards us, but we have the power to say to the latter, that if it meddles with the subject of slavery, it must do so at its peril. In all cases where slavery is proposed to be brought into discussion, let us say distinctly to Congress, "HANDS OFF—mind your *own* business—attend to your *post-office* and such *matters*." If this fails, let us separate. It is not a case for reasoning or for negotiation. It must be a *word* and a *blow*. The man who comes into my yard and preaches to my slaves, that they ought to be free, must not expect to go out with whole boxes. So, also, if South-Carolina desires domestic tranquillity, she must separate from the Union if Congress insists upon the right to touch the subject of slavery, on the ground of its being an evil. I do not anticipate any such issue, because I do hope, and trust, that the State will soon act in a manner worthy of her, on this as well as on the subject of the Tariff.

Fellow-Citizens—This is no trifling matter. To those of us who hold negro property, there is but little difference between the case

of Congress forcibly taking from our pockets, three or four hundred dollars for every slave we own, and that of their so legislating, as to make this property valueless to us. The value of a slave arises not merely from his bodily capacity for labour, (for he has *volition*, and may abscond from the service of his owner,) but from his contentment with his condition, and his attachment to his master's household. Once restive and discontented, under the cruelly fallacious hope, that Congress is to take them and their whole race, under its special cognizance and care, our slaves will not only become a present burden to us all, but they will create in all of us, whose lot is to live in this country, a solicitude as to future consequences, which will be the worse species of slavery for us to endure. Never let us forget the West India colonists. In their lamentable history we have seen the consequences of the interference with the subject of slavery on the part of the British Parliament. What would not these colonists give, had they but the means of resisting the mother country, which are so ample in our hands, for keeping Congress within the legitimate bounds of its authority. Let any one only read the proceedings of these colonists a few years ago, when they assembled for the purpose of devising, if possible, some mode by which they could be relieved from the evils which beset them on all sides, and say whether, from the bosoms of men, there could spring better and nobler feelings, and whether from such a people, all that courage could accomplish, or patriotism and fortitude endure, might not be expected from them. But alas, what will avail, at any time, their courage. Theirs will be the courage of men in despair. Not so with us. The abolitionists of Philadelphia, by a great effort, have just returned as a member to Congress, Mr. SERGEANT, and that the labours of this WILBERFORCE of the Western world, in the next Congress, may not be in vain, the seat of the operations of the Abolition Society, is to be transferred from Philadelphia to Washington, that, in conjunction with the Colonization Society, and the influence of Judge WASHINGTON, of the Supreme Court, that great NATIONAL object may be accomplished, **THE RUIN OF THE SOUTHERN STATES.**

It is for you, planters of South-Carolina, to rouse yourselves, and to make known to your Legislature, your full sentiments on this, the most important of all the subjects which can come under your consideration. Without noise, you can quietly at your military musters, and ordinary parish meetings, prepare petitions, not to the body who would be deaf to all entreaties of the kind from you, but to your own Legislature. Ask of it, whether Congress shall regard an Abolition Society as an object of national interest, and slavery as an evil to be rooted out of your land. Ask of it, to interpose its powers to protect its own citizens and their property, and you will, I believe, not ask in vain.

We have thus seen the situation to which the Southern country will be reduced, if, by any want of firmness amongst ourselves, we shall submit, on the one hand, to the exactions of Congress on our purses, and on the other, to its interference directly or indirectly, with the subject of slavery. On the subject of the tariff, there appears to be no fear of a due and proper resistance to the usurpations of Congress. There is a spirit gone forth, which I trust will not easily subside. But on other subjects, there is not that feeling which ought to prevail. The extensive internal improvements that are proposed to be carried on by Congress, will be a certain drain for our resources to flow Northwardly. But this is not the only important evil. Acquiescence in these measures, on the part of the State sovereignties, sanctions the precedent, that the General Government has the constitutional right to legislate on the local concerns of the States, a principle so fraught with danger to the States, that if it be not resisted by the States now, they may not have the opportunity or the ability to do so, when they shall be sensible of a result which they now do not perceive. It is because the effects of internal improvements are not so perceptible as those of the tariff, that they are so little regarded by the people at large. One reason is, these improvements are but begun. When some progress shall have been made in them by the Government, the injury to the Southern States will be prodigious, in finally disarming them of the power to keep the Supreme Government within its limits. Every considerate person must know, that an exercise of power which puts it in the power of the Government to disburse such immense national treasures, as will be voted for internal improvements, will give that Government an immense stock of patronage, and in the same proportion in which patronage is given to the General Government, must it be withdrawn from the States. Such a patronage not only will enable a corrupt Administration to have large sums placed at its disposal, (as actually has been the case) and so to expend it in particular sections of the country, as to coax and conciliate into its views, persons who are opposed to it; but it actually deprives the States of that which alone can enable them to preserve their sovereignties, to wit, **INFLUENCE.** Who can look at the Federal compact, and not be struck with the unequal distribution of the power between the common head and the subordinate members. The powers given to the first, are, it is true, few, but they are all the important powers, and such as are calculated to give great influence, as well as physical strength, to the Government which possesses them. The *sword* and the *purse* are in the hands of Congress. To the States, on the other hand, are reserved a large mass of undefined powers, but they are no farther important, than from the influence which they might create in favour of the State Governments.

As long as this influence shall be preserved in the States, the State sovereignties must be secure. They cannot possibly be subverted, whilst the patronage of Congress shall be confined within the prescribed subjects on which its power is to operate; for great as is its

patronage in the constitutional exercise of its powers, it is not such as to cause, as yet, any alarm. But there is a material difference between what the patronage of the General Government *now is*, and what it *may be*, when it begins to extend its power and legislation over the local concerns of the States. The moment the time arrives, when by the jobs which will be at its disposal for roads and canals, commercial and military, and by the monies which it shall expend in various ways in the States, and by the offices and honours which it shall distribute, it shall have more talent enlisted on its behalf, and a thousand times more persons to support from its treasury, than the State Governments from theirs; from that moment, the General Government will become supreme in *influence*, and consequently supreme in *power*. In all collisions between the one Government and the other, as to constructive powers, the General Government will have this incalculable advantage, that in its councils, there will be but *one* feeling, that of a desire of supremacy, whilst the States will be always divided; a large proportion of its talent and influence of its best men, always siding with the General Government as the stronger party. The States, thus feebly opposing their *distracted* councils to every usurpation of the General Government, must always fail, and *consolidation* will follow as a matter of course. Influence in a State Government is therefore indispensable to its existence in a sovereign character. If it cannot command the aid of its own citizens, by creating amongst them, an interest to support its measures, it will be in vain to hope for a preservation of our happy Constitution. Influence is the weapon of defence provided for the States, and considering how little the States possess, compared with what it is in the power of the General Government to create for itself, he can be no patriot who would desire to see this *little* still *less*. All those, therefore, who advocate internal improvements, are not aware of the dangerous tendency of their own doctrines. The sovereignty of the States, existing in influence, as well as on the parchment, is the redeeming spirit of the Constitution. He who would willfully deprive the States of their patronage, is an enemy to the Republic.

Supposing that the General Government were even just in its dealings towards the States, and were to give to us our full proportion of its kindnesses, by some *ocular* demonstration of internal improvements in our own State, and all this at the same, or a little less cost, than the works could be completed for, if constructed by ourselves; who can doubt, but that it would be better, that our own money should be expended by ourselves. It would be more pleasant, that we should have our *own civil* engineers, than to have persons sent on from the North, to do for us that, to which we would be competent, if we only had the same means. That the States are as competent to the work of internal improvements, as Congress, cannot be denied. We have, it is true, in South-Carolina, been injudicious in our expenditures, but the experience we have thereby obtained, is a pledge that we shall not waste money again. New-York is a memorable example of the ability of a State to make its canals.

Maryland is also zealously engaged in this work, and in many of the States, private companies are accomplishing all that are at present necessary.

There is one view of the subject of internal improvements, which merits some attention, on account of the extreme injustice which is likely, to be done to particular sections of the Union. Amongst all the ends for which the Union was formed, it will hardly be believed, that it was ever intended that Congress should so legislate, as to take from some States the advantages given them by nature, and to transfer them to others. And yet, this will be one of the effects of the interference of Congress with this subject. As the States are now situated, New-Orleans is destined to be the emporium for the products of the Western country. This is an advantage she possesses by *nature*. It is, however, a part of the design of Providence, that intelligence and art should be made to triumph over certain obstacles of nature, as a means of stimulating the industry of man, and it is perfectly fair that Pennsylvania, or New-York, or Maryland, should level mountains, and intersect them with fine roads and canals, so as to draw from New-Orleans a part of the valuable commerce of the West. This is no more than what New-York does to all the cities in the Union. By the superior intelligence, or industry, or capital, or something else, (not forgetting the good luck to her of the Federal Union, which enables her to do our business) she increases her own commerce, by taking from all the other ports, and is flourishing upon the ruins of us all. This is all fair in trade.— But I do humbly conceive, that the *Government* of the United States has not a right so to expend its resources, as to do for Pennsylvania or Maryland, what those States cannot do for themselves. Canals cut across the Alleghany ridge, in various directions, might cause a serious diminution in the trade of Louisiana; and this diversion in trade is not effected by private capital or industry, but by the agency of a Government, whose duty it is, to leave the States to their own resources for extending their interior commerce. If Congress cannot “by any regulation of revenue, give a preference of one port in the United States over another,” without violating the compact, I do not see, why it should be permitted to do so, by national roads or national canals, or by any other regulation of internal improvement.

Let the business of internal improvements be left to the States.— Here it can be carried on without a possibility of objection. I cannot conceive of any measure that will hurry us so rapidly towards a consolidated Government, as to take from the States in this way, the patronage which so properly belongs to them, and to confer it on Congress. If our citizens are to look to Washington, and not to Columbia, for their honours, their preferment, or their employment, the States must daily become more and more insignificant, and the General Government will acquire by such means, a *moral* power, that will set at naught all attempts in future, to keep it within its limited sphere of action.



It alters not the case, that these improvements in a State, are made with the assent of its Legislature. It is still subject to all the objections heretofore stated. The money of the Government cannot be applied to the general welfare of "the people of the United States," considered in mass, but must be expended for their general welfare, regarded as a confederacy of States, or in other words, for national objects. No object can be national, which is not expressed as such, by the terms of the compact. In my next, I will consider more at large this doctrine of internal improvements by Congress, with the assent of a State.

### NO. 29.

[This Number is not one of the series of BRUTUS. On the 5th of Oct. it was published in the Columbia Telescope, under the signature of "A Radical Republican." Its merit, I think, more than sufficient to warrant its insertion here.]

When, in 1817, President MADISON returned the bill setting apart the *bonus* of the United States' Bank, for constructing roads and canals, and improving inland navigation, he assigned as grounds of Constitutional objection to it, that the Constitution contained no provision authorizing the measure; and that the assent of a State could not confer on Congress the power to make roads and canals, or improve water courses in the body of such State—12 Niles' W. Reg. 25. Afterwards, in the same Session, a committee of the House of Representatives asserted a power in Congress, 1st. To lay out, construct, and improve post-roads through a State, *with its assent*; 2d. To make and improve military roads in a State, *with its assent*; 3d. To cut Canals through a State, *with its assent*, in order to enhance and secure its internal commerce, and to improve the means of transporting military stores, &c. in war: *Provided*, in all these cases, the jurisdictional right be not in the State assenting and affected.—13 Niles' Weekly Reg. 257.

And here, I apprehend, is the origin of this subtlety, by which it was attempted to whip the devil round the stump, and to make that constitutional which was not so, *by virtue of the assent of a State*.—Let us, for a moment, examine the doctrine, and see how far it is grounded in reason. I take it as clear that all the powers intended to be vested in Congress are either expressed in the Constitution, or vested in Congress as necessary to effectuate the express grants.—The express powers, then, and those necessary to their execution, are all that the framers of that instrument judged it safe, proper, or convenient to lodge in Congress. But if a State, by its assent, can vest additional powers, then is the dangerous prerogative vested in a single State, (and that State, too, in the condition of one receiving a bribe) of conferring authority on the General Government, which the whole of the States withheld as unsafe, improper, or inconvenient. This view might easily be amplified; and other instances given where the assent of a State would be equally efficacious in giving powers to the General Government, which would be universally admitted to be dangerous in our hands.

Again. How was the Constitution, by its provisions, to be adopted at first? By nine States. Can an additional article be inserted by one State? Or view this additional power as it ought to be viewed, as an amendment. Can one State amend the Constitution? How would the generation who thought they had adopted the Constitution, if now permitted to revisit this earth, be surprised to find they had not adopted it: but that each single State had a right to add to an instrument which its framers foolishly supposed complete? If it be said that the assent of a State, in the cases referred to by the committee, is a cession of State sovereignty, which Congress simply accepts; where is the constitutional power in Congress to do that? Or, can Congress take that into their hands, which they are not constitutionally empowered to wield? Does the Constitution consider it safe to vest in them any thing like State sovereignty, except for the ten miles square. Can a State, constitutionally, divest itself of any portion of its sovereignty, so as to make itself, (as far as a State is permitted by the Constitution to remain sovereign) less than a complete sovereignty? Must not all the States in this Union stand upon a perfect equality as relates to sovereignty? If a State can part from a portion of its sovereignty, what is to prevent its giving up the whole? If so, can Congress take it from the State as a gift? For instance, could South-Carolina, or the people of South-Carolina, choose Congress for its Legislature; the President for its Governor, and the United States' Judges for its own, and abolish all these State functionaries?

Again. There is no instance in the Constitution, of incomplete powers, except such as are therein declared such. In all other instances, when Congress has power, it is complete. For instance, the power of Congress to declare war, may be exercised without consulting a single State. If Congress possesses the power of making roads, &c. it needs not the assent of a State: if it does not, that assent cannot confer it. What folly to be asking the assent of a State, to make a good road or canal for it, or to open its rivers! Would any State refuse it? It is a singular prerequisite, which is to come from the party benefitted. But it is the *other States* who pay the money, whose leave ought to be asked.

It will be observed that I have considered a State in giving its assent to make roads, &c. through it, as yielding *sovereignty*, and Congress as acquiring it. I know that the committee provided, what they considered, a *salvo* against this objection, by saving the *jurisdictional right* to the State. But this is all a mere fudge. If the State, in giving its assent, was parting with nothing, why ask that assent? Could the private owners of the soil give Congress their assent to make a road over it? No. The State might still refuse theirs. The State would still possess that species of sovereignty called the *eminent domain*; which consists, so far as concerns this argument, in a right to employ such portions of the soil of citizens, as may be necessary for roads. The State might want, for the purpose of a canal, this very line of road, a part of it ceded by the citizens to the United States. When a State, therefore, gives to Con-

gress her assent to make a road or canal, she parts with this very sovereignty called the *eminent domain*. True, the committee reserve to the State the jurisdiction over the road after it is made; but this is another and distinct portion of sovereignty. Is there no sovereignty in opening a road through my land? If there is, it is that which a State gives to Congress.

A citizen could not convey to the General Government his lands, in the body of a State. (*Commonwealth vs. Young*; 1 Hall's Jour. Jurisp.) The United States could not hold such property. If they could not hold the *land*, how could they hold a right of *way*, which is nothing but an incorporeal hereditament issuing out of it? Their laws could not be extended to it. Neither could the assent of the State mend the matter. It has been decided that Congress cannot extend their laws to a fortress, not owned by the United States, but occupied by their troops, in the body of a State, even with the assent of the State. (*People vs. Godfrey*; 11 Johns. 225.)

Again. By an amendment to the Constitution of the United States, it is declared that private property shall not be taken for public use without just compensation. But this prohibition in the opinion of some, does not apply to a State Government; it only applies to the General Government: the States are as sovereign and unrestrained in this respect as before the United States' Constitution was framed. Now, if a State gives Congress a right to make a road over my land, who is to pay me for it? The State is not bound to do it. Cannot Congress; which is not lame at an excuse, say we did not take your property? Your State took it, and gave it to us; look to the State.

### NO. 30.

Our ancestors of 1788, foresaw the evils with which we are now afflicted. When PATRICK HENRY, of Virginia, and RAWLINS LOWNDES, of South-Carolina, in their respective State Conventions, opposed the Constitution in its present form, they feared that the States would daily lose their power and their influence, and that the time was not distant when the people would be consolidated into one Government. "You have given to Congress the sword and the purse" exclaims the Virginia Statesman, "and they will take the rest, whether you will it or not." "Upon my tombstone," concludes the venerable Patriarch of South-Carolina, after being exhausted with the debate, "upon my tombstone, I desire no other inscription than, that THIS IS THE MAN who opposed the Federal Constitution, because he foresaw that it would finally RUIN THE SOUTHERN COUNTRY."

Those who remember Mr. LOWNDES, as well as I do, can bear testimony to his virtues as a Patriot, and his rank as a Statesman of solid rather than brilliant acquirements. He was identified, soul and body, with the *Colony*, and the *State* from which he received so many honours; and it was his strong attachment to that State, whose independence he contributed to rear, which caused him to struggle to the last against a form of Government, which, in his view, would

bring it back again to a colonial dependance upon sections of the Union, who were opposed to our peculiar interests by education and by prejudice. Amongst the objections of Mr. LOWNDES to the Constitution, he thought that the character of the confederacy had not been sufficiently preserved; nor could he be reconciled to that policy, by which his State was to yield to the General Government its ENTIRE Custom-house. He was one of those who believed, and believed rightly, that a country, which, for its cultivation, must depend upon the labour of slaves, ought to possess, within itself, the power to keep in subjection those slaves under any circumstances. The government of our slaves, it is true, may be maintained by an habitual sense in their minds of their own inferiority, and of their obligation to perfect obedience. But Mr. LOWNDES had too much sagacity not to perceive, that any distribution of power which did not enable South-Carolina to contain within itself a more permanent principle of obedience from the slaves, than the influence, which certain habits of thinking, (always liable to fluctuation or change) might furnish, could not be a judicious or a safe one. The coercion of ARMS is the only principle of force upon which the submission of the slave is permanently to be calculated. The power of keeping up a regular force was therefore one, which, under no circumstances, South-Carolina ought to have given up. But when she parted with the PURSE, in giving up her Custom-house, it perhaps became afterwards, immaterial to her whether she had or had not the power of raising troops, for we surrendered the means of so doing. We have, ourselves, lived to see the necessity of a municipal guard of one or two hundred men to protect our citizens from sudden danger, and we behold the sovereign state of South-Carolina unable to raise such a guard, without the license of the General Government.— Was it surprising then, that such a man as was Mr. LOWNDES, born and bred in a country, cultivated by slaves, should have struggled as he did, for the only power by which his State could maintain her consequence and ensure her permanent tranquillity—the power of raising a revenue by the easiest possible means, and without its being felt by the people. Who can look around him and perceive a section of the Union like ours, blessed by Providence with the richest products, and so fortunately situated for an extensive and profitable commerce with Europe and the world, and not feel indignant that the people of the North, not content with having all the fruits of this lucrative commerce poured into their own laps, should exact of us still greater sacrifices than we consented to pay as the price of our dear bought Union. Let any man only take up and peruse Mr. M'CORD's speech, delivered at Columbia, and ask himself whether the General Government has been paternal to the South. So far from it, he will perceive by the irrefragable evidence which this speech contains, that from the foundation of the Government to this hour, the whole policy of the Government has been so directed as to cause the weight of the indirect taxes to fall upon the South. Whether manufactures were to be encouraged under imposts, which were necessary or not necessary to revenue; whether bounties were grant-

ed on the exportation of dried, pickled and salted fish, or whether their shipping interests were protected by exorbitant tonnage duties, or a diminution of duties on goods imported in American ships, the South still has been the beast of burthen for the North. In the words of Mr. M'CORD, "we have been paying a heavy, destructive tribute, worse than that which Ireland has paid to Great-Britain.— From the very commencement of our political existence under the Union, the Federal Government has been a continued and an oppressive drain upon the South," whilst not a single interest in which the South could participate, has ever received the least protection from Congress. Mr. M'CORD ably refutes, by facts and by reasoning, that most unfounded assertion of the Manufacturers, which has been thoughtlessly taken up even by "the *American Quarterly Review*," that the cultivation of cotton was originally protected by a Tariff. Southern interests have never received protection from the Federal Government.

Mr. LOWNDES foresaw, no doubt, all these evils. His intellect was of an high order, and his wisdom was of a character which almost amounted to prescience. But did he, in this, his last effort, for the sovereignty of the States, speak with the spirit of prophecy! Let us decide, my fellow-citizens, that he did not. Let us by our acts and our measures, demonstrate, that when he predicted the fate of South-Carolina, he was for once mistaken. Let us use his epitaph, as the warning voice of the best of friends. Let us profit by the counsel it contains. Let us remember, that "the strength and powers of usurpation, consist WHOLLY in the FEAR of RESISTING it, and that in order to be FREE, it is only sufficient that we WILL it."— That done, let not Mr. LOWNDES' prophecy remain with its falsification, but let us, in kindness to the memory of our deceased patriot and friend, and in gratitude for his legacy, destroy his tombstone and his epitaph, and substitute one commemorative of his services. Be ours now, the duty to avert by our firmness, the ruin that he predicted was in preparation for us; and upon the heads of our oppressors, let us break those new chains which both Houses of Congress, with a corrupt and corrupting administration, are now forging for us at Washington.

The safety of the republic is in the integrity and sovereignty of the States. It is here and here alone, that the great principles of civil liberty are safe from the hands of violence and ambition. In the hands of Congress they cannot be deposited, but at the risk of their being abused and destroyed. Congress aims at, and is in the exercise of great constructive powers. Under the confederation even, Congress aimed at sovereignty. Mr. MARTIN in the convention, "confessed that when the confederation was formed, Congress ought to have been invested with more extensive powers; but when the States saw that Congress indirectly aimed at sovereignty, they were jealous, and therefore it was, that they refused further concessions."

Under the present Constitution, Congress has so much power, that it seizes with more ease upon what it wants. The powers which

it now assumes, and the principles upon which it claims them, are such as necessarily lead to consolidation, and from consolidation, as Mr. MADISON well observes, we shall pass to monarchy—not monarchy in name, but monarchy in substance; and liberty once driven from the spot where she would delight to dwell, will continue to wing its flight, more and more westward. As regards the peculiar rights and interests of the South, I can see no political salvation for us, but in the undiminished sovereignty of our State. At every cost and hazard we must maintain that sovereignty. Through "good report and bad report," we must not surrender one atom of it to Congress, unless we intend to yield all that is dear and valuable to us. The sovereignty of the State, is the ARK, into which the gradual swelling of the floods of usurpation, of avarice and fanaticism around us, admonish us to retire with our families and our goods, ere it shall be too late. Let us then, cling to this ark, and when in that great deluge of the constructive powers of Congress, which is now coming upon the States, shall be engulfed every principle of liberty, for which our fathers fought and bled, and every right of self-government, secured to us by the Constitution, we shall still float upon the bosom of the mighty flood, and on the subsiding of the waters, shall find a secure spot to rest upon, and we shall come out with our little ones, and our flocks and herds, safe and sound. To pursue any other course, or to fly for succour, to any other refuge but our own resources, or to the means so kindly provided for us, is to immolate our country on the altars of folly and crime. To the Congress of the United States, we can no longer look for protection. Instead of protecting us from danger, Congress itself is the invader. In such a case, says the sage of Monticello, "the States must shield themselves, and meet the invader foot to foot." There can be no compromise—No half way measures.— When the rights of one sovereign are invaded by another sovereign, there is no course but resistance. If resistance produces Disunion, let Disunion come. Better that it should come now, than some twenty years hence, when our trade shall have been destroyed, our policy crumbled to ruins, our citizens ruined, and our spirits broken down by wrongs upon wrongs heaped upon us, by a Government, in the hands of manufacturers, fanatics and abolitionists.

As to union, who is there that has a family or property to protect, who does not value, and who does not want union, and want it too, as much, if not more, than those who make such an outcry about it? God knows I value union as much, and believe I am as deeply interested in it, as men in general; but I am not so silly, or so sentimental, as to regard union above all price. On the contrary, I think the price we have already paid for union, is more than a fair and a sound price for the commodity, and were the bargain to be made over again, I would not give as much. Give me union upon the terms, and in the spirit of 1789. Give me this blessing, as it is secured to me by the Constitution of the United States. Give me equal laws and equal burthens, as was stipulated, and I will defend the Constitution, as is my duty, with my "life, my fortune,

and my sacred honour." I will adhere to the oath I have taken, and I will redeem the sacred pledge I have given to support it. But place before me union upon the terms of the manufacturers, and the Colonization and Abolition Societies of the North, and I will spurn it as a thing grossly offensive to me. Such an union, I will, to the latest hour of my life, oppose.

I am not to be amused with a name, as a child would be with a toy. God has blessed me with intelligence enough to distinguish between the *substance* and the *shadow* of the things of this world, and I too well know, what contributes to the health and vigour of my native State, and what is eating out its very vitals, not to be alarmed at the usurpations of the Government. As to the Constitution of the United States, if a thousand such were placed before me, in which Congress is to have no limitation but its will, and in which my State is not to have and use at her discretion, her own resources, and in the way in which it was intended they should be used, I would break down the pillars of them all, and rejoice, and triumphantly rejoice, in the deed I had done. Away then, away with all this unmeaning cant and jargon of union, which at all times, and under all circumstances, are in the mouths of some self-constituted patriots. We all know, and feel the necessity of union. We all desire union. In proper union, we are sensible that our interest and our safety consists, and to preserve union, we are ready to make reasonable sacrifices. But there is a point in adjusting differences and collisions between nations, as well as between individuals, beyond which, neither religion nor prudence, nor a regard to our safety, would require us to go. The crisis approaches, when it shall be demanded of us to surrender rights, which we never can surrender, without impairing our prosperity as a State, and diminishing our security and our comfort as a Society. The tariff is an OPEN blow aimed at our agriculture and our commerce. The proposed protection to the Northern abolitionists, is an insidious, a CONCEALED, and a dangerous attack upon the domestic tranquillity of the South. Our citizens have seen the uplifted arm of the manufacturers to cripple their industry, and they seem both ready and willing to avert the blow. But the approach of the other enemy has been so slow and cautious, that it has been unobserved. The cause of African emancipation has slyly crept into the Federal councils. It will there advance or recede, as the policy of its friends and adherents shall dictate. But it is there, and if this hydra be not crushed, and with it, all the hopes of the Abolition Society, we may bid adieu to the peace of the Southern States. A beginning once made by Congress, no man can see the end of it. Give me disunion. Make me a colonist, not of England, (for that would be going "from the frying-pan into the fire") but, if you please, of Spain, France, or Holland, rather than compel me to be a permanent resident of South-Carolina, with a power on the part of an American Congress, to legislate, directly or indirectly, on the subject of slavery.

## NO. 31.

So much has been said in Town and Parish meetings, of the usurpations of Congress, and of the determination of the people to resist any further Tariff, that we are to take it for granted, that we now intend to do something more, than we have done on former occasions, of complaint against the Government.

This is not the first time that the Constitution has been violated by grossly taxing the South to support the North. In 1816, the Manufacturers succeeded in obtaining protecting duties for their fabrics. We, however, did not then take the alarm, though the taxes imposed upon *consumption* by the revenue laws of that year, were considerable. In 1820, the Manufacturers again pressed forward, and made very exorbitant demands for protection. We then remonstrated. A very able memorial of the citizens of Charleston, drawn by Mr. STEPHEN ELLIOTT, who was the Chairman of a most respectable committee, was transmitted to Congress. But the Tariff men succeeded, and the Bill laying additional duties on articles of consumption, was passed by Congress. In 1824, these voracious Manufacturers,

As if increase of appetite, had grown  
By what it fed on,

Again demanded a higher rate of duties on foreign manufactures.—The city of Charleston again remonstrates by a spirited memorial, and its example was followed in other parts of the State. But all our remonstrances were disregarded, and the bill was passed. It was easy to foresee, and there were not wanting persons who predicted it in 1820, (when there was the first alarm) that a quiet submission, at that time, to these usurpations, would produce no other effect than to invite a repetition of them, and, that unless the remonstrances of the people were followed up by some decisive measures on the part of our State Legislature, we should have Tariff upon Tariff, until our whole foreign commerce was destroyed. The prophecy soon began to be fulfilled. In 1824, the South is again plundered of the fruits of its industry to pamper Northern monopolists. In 1827, a fresh attempt is made to plunder us again, and it is this attempt that has called forth the present expression of the public feelings and sentiment on the subject of the Tariff.

Now, I do most humbly conceive, that unless some very strong and decisive measures, on the part of South-Carolina, shall grow out of all this public excitement, it will have been idle for the people to have assembled at all. Resolutions of Town and Parish meetings have hitherto had no more effect than if they had not been entered into. Nay, more,—Resolutions of STATE Legislatures have had no effect. Our own Legislature has already resolved that the Tariff is an unconstitutional measure; and yet, I do believe, that any such legislative proceeding as this, never produces any other sensation at Washington, than a smile from the majority of the members, that a State Legislature should undertake to decide whether

their **HIGH MIGHTINESSES** were in the exercise of their powers. I do venture to assert that we shall, every four years, for a century to come, (if we last a fourth of the time as an independent State,) resolve in our Town and Parish meetings, (and our Legislature shall do the same,) that all these acts of Congress are acts of usurpation, and we shall talk of equality of rights and equality of laws under the Constitution; and of what our ancestors did; and we shall remind our oppressors of the consequences which followed the tax upon *tea* during the Revolution; and, that their descendants know how to value the rich inheritance bequeathed to them; and that after all this shall have been resolved over and over again, and a great deal more, it will have no effect whatever in restraining Congress within its limited sovereignty. Men, whose constituents have got so many millions of dollars at hazard, and who, from habitual usurpation, have such a sense of their omnipotence, are not to be scared by these kind of bullets, from their *own paper manufactories*; these *pop guns*, let off at Congress, from every crook and corner of our State. The Northern people have been so accustomed to this sort of thing, that they will regard all these proceedings as the mode or *vent* by which Southern spirit *evaporates*, and they have a right so to consider it, because all such proceedings hitherto, have terminated and settled down, on our part, in **MOST TRANQUIL SUBMISSION**; though we, ourselves, know full well, it has proceeded from the extreme desire we have for peace and Union.

He is but a superficial observer, who does not see that all that has been done by us will amount to nothing, and that all this manifestation of the public feeling will have been useless, unless the Legislature shall *embody* that feeling—not simply by resolving, but **BY ACTING**; by acts and measures which cannot be misunderstood, and which, on being made known to Congress, must cause that body to reflect as to the extent of its powers, and to pause before it shall wantonly come into direct collision with a member of the confederacy, hitherto devoted to Union, but whose attachment to the great head has been weakened by the inconsiderate folly and extravagancy of its pretensions to unlimited power. If any other course than this is to be taken; or if, in plainer words, our Legislature is to resolve, and after it has resolved, is not to be prepared to resort to other measures, in case Congress shall not abandon the *principle* of the Tariff, then South-Carolina is *gone*, **IRRECOVERABLY GONE**. Let us never again bluster about the Tariff, and talk big on the subject of State rights, but let us ever hereafter endeavour to get by our *extreme civility* and our *passive obedience*, what we are afraid to attempt to gain, by a firm and a manly resistance. As I am one of those who never for an instant could believe that my countrymen, like the Neapolitans, are only valiant in speech, and submissive as soon as a soldier's bayonet shall be in sight, I take occasion to repeat, that if we are to contend with the General Government for our rights, we must contend on **PRINCIPLE**. I have been mortified over and over again to observe, that almost all the reasonings against the Tariff, in and out of Congress, have been grounded on its *inex-*

*pediency* and *inequality* as a national measure. If this be the ground, we are to take, we are undone. If Congress has the Constitutional right to protect Northern manufactures, that body alone is to decide on the expediency or impolicy of the measure. We may differ with Congress on this question; but, after Congress *has decided* that the measure is politic and *proper*, we must submit, however injurious it may be to our particular interests. In England, it is common for the Government to sustain particular interests at the expense of other interests. But no one doubts the power of Parliament to pass *corn laws*, and *navigation laws*, and laws to prevent the *exportation of wool*. All the people of England are under a *consolidated* Government, and if those who suffer by unequal laws cannot obtain a successful hearing from Parliament, they must be without redress. Though we are not, in America, under a consolidated Government, yet, submission is as clearly due to the Federal Government, where it is in the exercise of its legitimate sovereignty, as if there were no State Governments. If, then, we oppose the Tariff, on the ground of its *impolicy*, the instant Congress decides that it is not impolitic, our opposition ought to cease. It is, therefore wrong, decidedly wrong, to oppose the Tariff upon a weak ground, when we have that best of all grounds, that it is a violation of the compact, for Congress to protect a *local interest* of particular States at the expense of *all the people* of the United States.

Congress either *has* or it *has not* the right to protect Northern manufactures. If it *has* the right, we all must believe, that it will sooner or later, extend that protection still further. Under this view of the subject, the first duty of every good citizen of South-Carolina is, to make up his mind on the great question of the **RIGHT** of Congress to impose the Tariff; for by the decision of this question, in his own mind, is his conduct to be regulated. To perplex his mind about the impolicy of restrictions on commerce to promote manufactures, and thus to go into the metaphysical subtleties of the school of the economists, can answer no other end, than to bewilder him, as thousands before him have been bewildered. And after all, he must at last, come again to the question as to the *right of Congress* to adopt the measure. If Congress has the right which it claims, the path of duty is clear to every citizen. It is to submit. I, for one, would be the first to submit, were that my opinion. But again, if Congress has *not* the right, the path of duty is equally clear. It is for the State to take care of her rights of sovereignty, and thus to protect her citizens. Every man, I now hope, perceives the injudiciousness and folly of opposing the tariff, excepting upon the true ground, to wit, that it is an unconstitutional act.

To talk too, of resistance to the tariff, by all *constitutional* means, is to talk to no purpose. It would be better to say nothing. It is to talk of *submission*, and not *resistance*. When many sovereign States are parties to a league or compact between themselves, mutually fixing the boundaries of power, beyond which, neither party shall go, and some of the parties violate that compact, so as to endanger the *existence* of the others, can the mind of man conceive

any other mode of settling such a dispute, excepting by negotiation or the sword. Were any point in dispute between such parties, not important, a case might be made up by counsel, for the Supreme Court of the United States, and its decision might, by common consent, be received as final. But on a point involving vital interests, a State would not be authorized, as has already been observed, from its obligation to its own citizens, to submit such a point to the decision of any arbiter whatever, much less to the award and judgment of the Supreme Court, which is the tribunal of the General Government, and consequently cannot be impartial on a question of disputed sovereignty.

My fellow-citizens, you may view this subject as you please.—First, to the right, and then to the left. Turn it every way in your thoughts, and if there be in South-Carolina, a patriot, who can devise a practicable plan, by which, in our present deplorable situation, we can rid ourselves of the *leeches* that are drawing from us our life blood, I hope, in God, he will come forward and recommend it. I have heard of several plans, but I will, in another number, shew their inutility. I can, myself, see no hope for our domestic safety, or for our agricultural interests, but in RESISTANCE.—Resistance, and *firm resistance*, is the only course to preserve the Federal Constitution in its pristine purity, and with it, the hopes of freedom. Let me not, however, be understood by resistance, that I mean an hasty or an intemperate resistance. I mean no such thing. I would hope, that our Legislature will first remonstrate, and remonstrate with the respect, and the temper, and the dignity, which belongs to the solemn occasion. That she will cause the sentiments of the people to be laid before the great council of the nation, not in the ordinary mode in which resolutions from State Legislatures are there carried, but in some other manner so imposing, as to evince, without conveying a threat, that whilst from the bottom of their hearts, the people of South-Carolina desire Union, they cannot, and WILL not submit, to unequal and oppressive taxation, or to have the fundamental policy of their State, officially denounced by Congress as an evil, which ought to be rooted out of their land. Let our Legislature not adjourn, excepting for the purpose of meeting again, to receive the determination of Congress. But whatever may be done at Columbia, “let the members consider the issue.—Let them look to the end. Let them weigh and consider well, before they advance to those measures, which (should Congress not recede) must bring on the most trying and terrible struggle South-Carolina ever saw”—not however, a struggle for our sovereignty or safety, for I here fear not the result, but that more painful struggle in our own bosoms, whether we shall continue in firm friendship with, or be separated forever from our Northern brethren.

### NO. 32.

That the present is the proper and the *only* time, for South-Carolina to commence, and to perfect a plan of measures, for counteracting the progress of the General Government to inordinate power,

must be obvious to every man, who coincides in the opinion, that in resistance, in some shape or other, is to be found our ultimate security. At present, we are a more respectable minority, than we shall ever be again; and, if we have made up our minds, that sooner or later, we must, from necessity, take a stand in defence of our State sovereignty, is it not the extreme of folly to postpone to a future period, that, which can be done at the present time; and when, by delay, no possible advantage can be gained, but, on the contrary, a certainty that we shall be weaker than we now are.

At the commencement of our political existence, South-Carolina had in Congress, five representatives out of sixty-five, which is one *thirteenth*. In 1790, she had six members out of 105, a little less than an *eighteenth*. In 1800, she had eight out of 141. In 1810, nine out of 181; and in 1820, nine out of 212, a little less than one *twenty-fourth*. So that from being a *thirteenth* of the whole, originally, and at the taking of the first census an *eighteenth*, she became a *twenty-fourth* in 1820, thus losing in thirty years, by the census, one *third* of her influence. Nearly in the same proportion, has she lost her influence, in conjunction with her sister Southern States. For instance—the four States of Virginia, North-Carolina, South-Carolina, and Georgia, had originally, twenty-three delegates out of 65, a little more than a *third*; and were Maryland to be added, which then was a Southern State, nearly one half of the whole. In 1790, the same four States possessed thirty-seven representatives out of 105, which was more than one *third* of the whole—a respectable standing this. In 1800, they stood forty-six out of 141. In 1810, fifty-one out of 181—and in 1820, fifty-one out of 202—a little more than one *fourth*—thus falling off in thirty years, about one *third*.—But if we even add to these four States, the three new States of Alabama, Mississippi, and Louisiana, still in 1810, they would stand as fifty-four out of 105, and in 1820, as fifty-seven out of 212. So that the seven Southern States above named, at the last census in 1820, were only a fraction more than one *fourth* of the whole. What they are to be three years hence, when another census is to be taken, we can easily imagine. Probably not a fifth or a sixth.

But discouraging as are the prospects before us, as to our future strength, (in the Senate too, as well as in the Representatives) yet when we consider the real strength we bring to the Union, we have every cause for congratulation, and every inducement not to suffer that strength to be diminished, by the assaults of Congress on the Constitution. I have not all the documents at hand, by which to develop the resources of the Southern States, which have contributed so much to the flourishing commerce of the United States, and which have created its navy, the pride of its friends, and the terror of its foes. Nor is it material. It is known to every one conversant with our statistics, that these resources are immense. I will take for example, the last fiscal year ending the 30th September, 1826. The exports of the growth, produce and manufactures of the United States, were \$53,055,710, of which, the article of *Cotton* alone, amounted to \$25,025,214, and Rice, \$1,917,445. So that the cotton

alone, the produce (with some trifling exceptions) of the five Plantation States of South-Carolina, Georgia, Alabama, Mississippi, and Louisiana, nearly equalled HALF of the total exports of the TWENTY-FOUR States, whilst the Rice and Cotton exceeded that moiety. If the article of Tobacco, which belongs more properly to Virginia, &c. be added, the three articles of Cotton, Tobacco and Rice, would amount to \$32,289,667. The products of the *Forest*, which also partly belong to these States, are not included. Nor is vegetable food, which amounts to \$7,527,257, and a part also of which, belongs to Virginia and North-Carolina. In truth, the five Plantation States, furnish more than half of the total exports, and the seven Southern States, probably three-fourths.

What proud and triumphant facts are these! Those same five *Plantation States*, which, three years hence, will be of so little consequence on the floors of Congress, and are doomed to be more and more insignificant in the representation, with every subsequent census, are yet of more consequence to this Union than the other NINETEEN put together. Look upon these facts, ye little men of South-Carolina, whose habit it is to underrate your own Southern country, by talking of its weakness, as compared with the North; who are ignorant that the physical strength of a country, consists in its *capability* for wealth as well as in its population; who would seek for security in the *forbearance* and *magnanimity* of the majority; who brand, as traitors, all those who differ from you, or who contend for resistance in *deed* as well as in words, when our sovereignty is to be assailed, and our vital rights to be wrested from us—who would calmly shoot down the sentinel on the watch tower, because he faithfully informs the garrison that the enemy is in motion. What think ye! Did the God of nature ever design that a country so situated as this Southern country, with such rich products, and such a capability of employing forever, millions and millions of tons of shipping should be held in colonial vassalage by a class of greedy manufacturers; or, that its local policy and concern should so engross the attraction and interest of the public mind at the North, as incessantly to become the subject matter of their pamphlets, magazines and elaborate Reviews, as if we in the South, and all our institutions were at *their disposal*—or, as if there were no other difficulty as to the final disposal of us all, than that there is a want of unanimity amongst our good friends North of the Potomac, as to any one plan by which, with the aid of Congress, our slaves are to be rendered worthless to us.

Only take from this Union the resources of wealth and commerce, furnished by the Southern States, and what will be the situation of Boston, New-York and Philadelphia. What have the Northern States to give to Great-Britain and France as an equivalent for the manufactures they send to the United States, the imposts on which fill their Custom-houses to overflowing, whilst our own are daily diminishing. Would their flour and other vegetable food, and the produce of their forests and fisheries, answer the purposes of our cotton wool, the growth of the South. What would become of the

shipping of the Eastern States if the Southern States were under a separate Federal Government. Take off the immense protection we now give to their navigation interests, to our own serious injury, for what nation would they be the carriers as they now are for us. Where would be their Commerce? On the contrary, what would not Charleston, what would not South-Carolina be, were all Tariffs removed, and our ports opened, and a free intercourse opened with all the world, with capitalists flocking to our cities, great importing merchants residing amongst us, with their retinue of clerks, servants and dependants; and with our own Custom-houses and millions of dollars collected and expended amongst ourselves. Charleston, at one period, before the Revolution, had a greater trade than New-York or Philadelphia, and let the people of the North only be so unwise as to drive us to extremities, and they will see their own cities dwindle into insignificance, compared with what they now are, whilst all the Southern cities would be regenerated with an increase of trade, and with an abundant population. How can it be otherwise. We are so happily situated, that *in Union, or out of the Union*, we are without competitors, as to our great staple products, and on this account, our friendship must always be courted by all nations. Let us enter into a few particulars, as to the advantages possessed by the Northern people, by their union with us, that they may thereby learn to appreciate the value of the South to them. It is the North, and not the South, that in disunion, will first cry out "*Peccavi*."

The foreign exports of S. Carolina in 1826, were \$7,468,966, and her imports only \$1,534,483, whilst the exports of New-York were \$11,496,719, and her imports, the enormous amount of \$38,115,603, nearly half the total exports of the United States. The exports of Massachusetts for the same period were, the *great* sum of \$3,888,138, whilst her imports were \$17,063,482. It thus appears, that South-Carolina only imports a little more than one fifth of what she exports, whilst New-York imports nearly four times, and Massachusetts more than four times as much as they export. If we take the four States of South-Carolina, Georgia, Louisiana and Alabama, their total exports are \$22,402,803, whilst their total imports are only \$6,210,551, less than a third. But there is another view of the subject. Though New-York exports produce to the amount of upwards of eleven millions of dollars, it must be remembered, that a great proportion of these exports, are the products of the Southern States. The cotton and rice which goes from Southern ports to New-York, and from thence to foreign countries, is very great, whilst from Southern ports, scarcely an article is shipped, but the product of the South. If I had any means at hand, to come at the value of New-York products, shipped from New-York, it might, probably, appear, notwithstanding her *great* canals, and her great population, to be trifling; perhaps, not above four millions: so that, in fact, she actually may import ten times what she exports. New-York and Massachusetts together, import \$55,179,112, out of \$84,974,477, total imports of the United States.

Let us now suppose that there is a separation of the States, and that New-York is to be placed upon no better footing than that of other nations. How could it be possible for her to import 38 millions of dollars worth of foreign manufactures, with products of her own to give in exchange, not a tenth of that value. Then as to Boston, the duties on goods imported from the 1st to the 11th of September, last past, a period of ten days, amounted to upwards of half a million of dollars, nearly equal to the amount accruing at our Custom-house for *one year*. Could Massachusetts in case of disunion, with her whole exports, not amounting to four millions, expect to import upwards of seventeen millions. To know what would be the difference in our condition, as to trade, between union and disunion, requires no mercantile sagacity or experience. Every man must know, that in such an event, all the business which is now done for us in New-York would be done by ourselves. For the 27 millions of dollars which our cotton and rice would be worth, the four Southern States could import, at least, the same amount, if not much more, instead of six millions. In disunion, the annual customs of New-York would not exceed, as they now do, ten millions of dollars, being nearly twenty times those of Charleston; nor would Charleston be a place of deposit for goods *in transitu*, a port of agencies, as she is now. They who suppose Charleston declines on account of the yellow fever, are egregiously mistaken. Let the Northern people only force the Southern States into independence, and New-York and Charleston will begin to think of changing places. Charleston would soon count her hundred thousand inhabitants as well as the Havana, which is a more fatal climate to foreigners, and would not have the same trade. Only contemplate the injury done to the trade of Charleston, by the course of business as it is pursued by Northern ship-owners, whose vessels come hither not only with all their own supplies for a voyage to Europe, but with cordage, provisions, sail duck, &c. for the use of their vessels expected here from abroad. Formerly, *more* foreign vessels came to this port, whose outfits in stores and cordage and the like, were obtained here, and thus furnished support to many of our citizens. Foreign vessels, making long voyage from Europe, were not in the habit of being furnished with more stores, &c. than were necessary for their outward passage to this port. It is amazing to see how Charleston has suffered in various ways, from the prodigious advantages which the North has over us, by tonnage duties and discriminating duties in favour of their own vessels. I could dwell longer on this topic were it necessary, but I have said enough for such persons, as are in the habit of underrating the importance of the South. It is time for us all to take other ground, and to feel that confidence in our strength and our resources, which becomes us at all times, and more especially at a conjuncture, when all that is valuable to us is about to be immolated upon the altars of an unprincipled avarice, and a bold usurpation of Federal authority. It becomes the more necessary to look into our means, because the time approaches, when, if the Congress of the United States shall

continue deaf to the admonitions of reason and justice, the Legislature of this State must put out its sovereign arm, and with the shield of its authority, protect its own citizens. If that protection shall be withheld from any mistaken notion of danger to ourselves, from collision with the Government, all will be lost, irrecoverably lost. It will be in vain for the people ever to meet again, if we are quietly to sit down under a new Tariff. All the valour that we have displayed at our meetings; all our spirited resolutions; all our "startling memorials; all the resolutions of our Senate and Representatives; all the able expositions of our Constitution in our favour;" all these will have been but "as a sounding brass and a tinkling cymbal"—*vox et præterea nihil*, if at the time we uttered them, we did not make up our minds to be prepared for other and ulterior measures.

The conspiracy that exists against the South is not a trifling one. It is wide spread, and embraces a larger portion of the Union than we think for. We are deceived if we think because some Northern and Western members opposed the "woollens' bill" that they are opposed to the *great principle* of the Tariff. This partial opposition is not founded on any friendship for us, but arises from a cause, the very opposite, and ought to alarm us the more. That cause, is the want of agreement amongst the Manufacturers, as to the *mode* in which the South ought to be taxed for their emolument. New-England, for instance, has a great capital embarked in manufactures, and carries on her business in incorporated companies, whilst in Pennsylvania, the business is done chiefly by private and smaller capitalists. In the western country, from the population not being dense, there is a still greater inability to sustain a competition with New-England. When, therefore, Mr. BUCHANAN, of Pennsylvania, (whose speech was without thought, lauded in some of our journals,) saw that it was the policy of New-England to diminish largely at once, if it could, the foreign importation, because it would give her the advantage (from her capital and machinery being all ready,) of the *whole* market, and thus come in for *all* the profits, before the smaller capitalists in his own State could get ready their goods, he valiantly opposes the Tariff, taking care at the same time to tell us that "he is *friendly*, and *always has been* to the Tariff policy, and that no *slight* difference of opinion would have separated him from the friends of the 'woollens' bill." What then is the difference of opinion between Mr. BUCHANAN and Mr. WEBSTER, *par nobile fratrum*? Brother Jonathan, it seems, wished the extension of the Tariff to be confined to the *woollen* manufactures; but, if possible, not to protect the growers of domestic wool. It was no part of his plan to impose a duty on foreign wool, for the cheaper the price at which wool could be bought, the better would it be for Jonathan. But, when this is insisted on by some Pittsburg man, what does Mr. WEBSTER next do. He places such a *minimum* per lb. on foreign wool, as increases considerably the *ad valorem* duty near forty per cent; but, at the same time, permits the import of wool *upon the skin* without a *minimum*, which discriminating duty, in favour of such fleeces, would have had the effect of stocking the American market with them, and thus have kept down the price of domestic wool: but there was another *trick* which was to have been played off against the Pennsylvania wool growers. The Tariff upon foreign woollens was to have gone into opera-



tion: the first day of August, 1827, but the protection to domestic wool was not to be afforded for nearly a year after, and not fully afforded until the 1st of June, 1829, so as to give the Eastern Manufacturers time to lay in a good stock of foreign wool.

Messrs. BUCHANAN & Co. however, have other reasons than the above for opposing WEBSTER, EVERETT & Co. Pennsylvania being a grain growing State, and her agriculture declining, wishes a Tariff on foreign spirits, that *whiskey* might be substituted for *New-England Particular*, and thus increase the demand for the grain of the former. No, says WEBSTER, that will hurt our trade in foreign spirits. Give us then a Tariff upon foreign hemp, so as to give the farmers of Lancaster county, or the Kentucky farmer a chance of competition with Russia. Jonathan opposes this also. The Pennsylvanian, seeing too sharply that the "woollens' bill," as it stood, would give the New-England folks such a *monopoly* of the market of the whole Union, that Pennsylvania and Kentucky would soon stand as much in need of a Tariff against New-England as New-England needs it against Old England, quits copartnership with Jonathan; and, for the first time in his life, most magnanimously votes against a bill taxing the South, and for this act he is praised in one of our journals. Our former Tariff, says Mr. BUCHANAN, "rested upon BROAD NATIONAL foundations. (What assurance!) They embraced every article, which required protection. The BLESSINGS and burdens of the system were thus diffused over the Union. (This is most unparalleled affrontry.) A pack of avaricious manufacturers, with all the activity of ravenous vultures about a fresh carcase, scrambling for the tit bits, venture to talk of their benefiting the Union. With whom can we so well compare Mr. BUCHANAN, as with the unrighteous CORNWALL Parson, who, when he heard the words "a wreck!" whispered amongst his congregation, and too plainly saw, from the restlessness of a few, not quite so pious as the rest, that they would quit the church and arrive at the wreck too soon, concluded his discourse, and en-joined upon his hearers, that they should all START FAIR. Had Mr. WEBSTER consented to have given Pennsylvania a *fair start*, in the race for plunder, we should have heard of no speeches against the "woollens' bill" from Pennsylvania, or elsewhere in the North and West.

The more this "American system," as it is called, is looked into, the more it will be regarded as a well digested system of PIRACY upon the South. If, hitherto, my fellow-citizens, we have not been more grievously taxed, than by having some fifty or an hundred per centum, put upon some articles of consumption, we must ascribe it to the fortunate circumstance of the THIEVES not being yet FULLY agreed as to the manner in which the spoil is to be divided. Every proposition at the North for a new Tariff is in the nature of a grand plundering expedition upon the property of the South, fitted out in Northern and Eastern ports. It is a faithful delineation of some of those broils or scenes which are sometimes exhibited in the numerous hiding places between the Havana and the Matanzas, where a part of the Cuba pirates, from some dissatisfaction, from previous distributions, of the plunder, are unwilling to join in the risk of another expedition until the terms be well settled, and their proportion of the spoil be previously agreed on. The late intended piratical excursion, fitted out in Boston, under the command of WEBSTER & EVERETT, failed for the want of a sufficient crew to sail under such a flag, as that of the "Woollens' Bill."

But will these parties always quarrel? No! A common interest, in most matters, still binds them, and sooner or later, they will make up their differences, and again cruise against us in company.

Fellow Citizens! We are precisely in the situation of a family who have listened to, and overheard from their windows, the conversations of robbers in the streets, and fortunately, know that its own dwelling is to be the scene of their villainous operations. What is the course which prudence would dictate to that family? Certainly, to be prepared with blunderbusses, and to BLOW OUT their BRAINS: So must it be with the Tariff. If the people of the North, will attempt to force it upon us, let us in the South, not argue the matter with them, but distinctly tell them, we regard them as Pirates, and as such we will resist them. This is the only way we can get rid of the PRINCIPLE of the Tariff FOREVER. Any course of conduct which is not founded on views and feelings of this kind, will be insufficient, unwise and unsafe.

### NO. 33.

I have no more to say, on the subject of the dangers which have for some time past, been thickening upon the Southern States. I hope, I have succeeded in shewing, that they are dangers of no ordinary character, and to the "Plantation States" in particular, serious in their consequences, and awful, perhaps, in their issue. If the views I have taken; as to the best means of averting those dangers, are not just, I would hope, that the public will be favoured with the sentiments of others. The subject is full of deep interest to us all. If I have spoken the truth too plainly, it is better that I should err on this extreme, than on the other. The people of South-Carolina have been too little accustomed, of late years, to have the truth told them in the public prints, as to their real situation, not to profit somewhat, by what is now said. My design, from the beginning, has been to call their serious attention to their LOCAL affairs. From their own proper concerns, they are constantly in danger of being diverted, by the conflicts that are perpetually taking place in general politics. It is time that this should be at an end. Under such a state of excited feeling, as the Presidential contest must, from its very nature, forever call forth, we must perish at last as a Sovereign State.

In the present disposition which exists to support the rights and interests of the State, a good deal has been written and said, about OPPOSING the Tariff law. Whilst some are for a steady opposition, by acts as well as by language, many cautious people profess the *firm* purpose of counter-acting the General Government, in its advance to usurpation, by all *constitutional* means in their power. Let us examine into these means, such as they have been stated to be, and we shall discover, that they are no means at all; and that it would be better to do nothing, than to think of such ineffectual remedies, against tyranny and oppression.

The first scheme, is that recommended by the Charleston Committee, which is a *non-consumption* agreement. On this same committee, are men, generally of very firm purpose of mind, and of sound judgment and observation, which makes it the more surprising, that a recommendation, so perfectly inefficient as this, should come from such a quarter. Without stopping to inquire, whether it becomes the independent freemen of a

Sovereign State, whose rights are grossly violated, to assume a ground, which implies fear and weakness, in those who take it, I would ask, whether it be possible, in the nature of things, that a *voluntary* non-consumption agreement, can ever take place in the City of Charleston. In the first place, if it be difficult to bring the people of this city into one mind, on the *principle* even, of opposing an usurpation of the Government, and we even observe, amongst the editors of public journals, a disposition to ascribe all opposition to the Tariff, as a *trick* only of party, how can we ever expect, that unanimity in sentiment, which is positively essential to create a non-consumption agreement. And, secondly, if such an agreement were entered into, can we believe, that in a population of thirty-five thousand souls, *all* men are honourable, and all would feel themselves equally bound to perform what they promise? Men of honour, under such an arrangement, would regard their stipulations, to their utmost inconvenience, whilst those who are without honour, would not hesitate to buy the prohibited articles. Many poor people too, might, from *necessity*, be compelled to violate their pledge, and we could not, perhaps, blame them. We thus see clearly, that a non-consumption agreement, would be impracticable in our own community; and if so in *one* community, it must be *more so*, when extended to *many* communities. Still more impracticable will it be, when extended to a *whole State*. But when we come to propose a non-consumption agreement, which is to bind the people of many States, comprising many millions of people, both good and bad, the plan immediately strikes every citizen, as being utterly useless and impracticable.

Another plan proposed at some meetings, is, that we should commence manufactures amongst ourselves. This, I confess, would be a very good plan, if we had the right to impose a Tariff, so as to prevent the importation of Northern goods into our State. But this we are precluded from doing, no State having a right to lay imposts, without the consent of Congress, and the citizens of one State, being the citizens of every other State, and having a right of *ingress* and *egress*, every where with their goods. If the plan of manufacturing for ourselves, be predicated on the idea that we can undersell the Boston folks, it would be better for those, who have any such visionary hopes, to throw their money into the docks, than to invest it in manufactures. If the WEBSTERS and EVERETTS are so far ahead already, that Pennsylvania cannot manufacture a certain description of goods as cheap, what hope can we have? It will, at all times, be just as easy for New-England to undersell us, in our own market, as it is for Old England to undersell New-England in every part of the world. So that this plan will not answer. If by home manufactures is meant, that every planter shall turn his hands to spinning and weaving, what are those to do who have no plantations. Planters are not the only persons who consume goods; and how again, are we to complete an arrangement which is to bind all men, good and bad.

A third plan has been spoken of in private circles, and merits some little attention. It is, that we should lay an *EXCISE*, and apply the proceeds of the tax, as bounties for foreign manufactures, and thus cause a preference to be given to these manufactures, over Northern goods. This would undoubtedly answer, if we could compel persons, vending *Northern* goods, to take out a license; but a question here arises, have we such a power under the Constitution. I think we have not, and do not doubt, but that

the Supreme Court would so decide. We have the clear right for instance to say, that all persons, selling spirituous liquors, shall take out a license; but I doubt our right to tax a man for selling New-England spirits, *eo nomine*. If Northern goods could be so distinguished from all other goods, as to answer to a certain description of them, without being named as Northern goods, an excise might be laid generally on such a description of manufactures, so as to include the home manufacture, and exclude the foreign. But this is not wholly practicable. The provisions of such a law would not be beyond the contrivance of the Eastern people to evade them. A fourth expedient is, a general understanding by resolutions at town meetings, to encourage smuggling by all the means in our power, and thus to be supplied with foreign goods. I should blush for my country, to see the exhibition of so shocking a spectacle, as that of a whole community deliberately resolving to do an *immoral* act upon a *grand* scale. But there is a stronger objection to this course of proceeding. It would imply, that we are opposed to the Tariff, merely because it takes from the pockets of every man, some few dollars; whereas, our opposition arises, from its being a violation of our constitutional rights. So that this plan is out of the question. It is, to say the least of it, a *mean* expedient. Let it never be forgotten by us, that in this collision throughout, there has been a manifest distinction as to  *motive* between the North and the South, which has placed us upon a proud and a lofty eminence; and that if we quit this advantage ground, we shall have to descend to the lowness of our adversaries. The motive which goads on the North to insist on the tariff, is the meanest motive which springs from the human heart. It is *avarice*—*rank* avarice. But the bosoms of the South, as they become more and more swelled into honest indignation against the tribute of the Tariff, are actuated by the noblest feelings which can influence the actions of men and of societies—an adherence to the principles of Liberty and of the Constitution.—The North supports the Tariff from *INTEREST*, mean, sordid interest. The South resists it *ON PRINCIPLE*. Then let us so shape our proceedings, that in this great contest, we shall be admired and respected, whilst our adversaries shall be despised. Let us, over again, act the same part, in which we appeared to such decided advantage in our revolutionary struggle with Britain. If ever history furnished the example in any country, of a pure devotion to principle, and principle alone, apart from every other consideration, that example is to be sought in the determination of the Southern Colonies to resist the aggressions of Britain. These colonies, at the beginning, had no motive to quarrel with the mother country. Not so with the Eastern States. They had, or in a short time would have many. They saw that the measures of Britain were all calculated to check or to stifle their growing navigation interests, and hence, plainly arose that first cause of uneasiness, which afterwards extended itself to serious discontent, and at length to revolution. It was not the tax on tea alone. Mr. QUINCY was early sent on to sound the people in the South, as to their disposition to make a common cause with them. The proposal was acceptable to our principal characters, and when we entered into the cause, it was with a certainty, that our country would be the principal seat of war, and that the great evils of war would be felt at the South. We were not mistaken. We suffered greatly, but we suffered happily, for we have obtained our independence. We have struggled for it on principle alone, and not be-

we felt the oppressions of the mother country. The Eastern States doomed by nature, to be competitors with England, as to navigation and trade. We never were, and probably, never will be.

The fifth, and the last means spoken of, is to resort to the Supreme Court of the United States. This, as I have already shewn; would be to go on a **FORLORN HOPE**. The Tariff laws are, in *their form*, perfectly constitutional. They would come before this Court as revenue bills, and as the Judges cannot enter into the motives of legislators, they could not do otherwise, than to decide, that Congress has a right to pass such laws.— Where the spirit of the league is broken, though the form of the compact be preserved, this is a matter of arrangement between the sovereign parties to that compact. Sovereigns sometimes appoint arbiters between them, to settle unimportant boundaries, where territory is no great object; but points of vital importance they discuss, and settle amongst themselves.

All the proposed plans being either inefficient, or impracticable, or immoral, we must at last come to the only mode of redress which is left for us. I have pondered the subject, over and over again, and situated as we are, and must forever be, to wit, in a minority, and with no hope of changing the national councils in our favour, I cannot see how we are to get rid of the growing usurpations of Congress, but by **RESISTANCE**. The word resistance, is a *startling* expression. Men shudder at the thought, and disunion, bloody civil wars, and a thousand chimeras dire, immediately pass in review before the minds of the timid, the quiet, and the good of the community. This is natural. But let people have a little time to be restored to their sober reflections, and they may begin to believe, that it is a mode, by which States, can sometimes come to their chartered rights and liberties, without bloodshed and without noise; although at the same time, resistance ought not to be thought of, unless those who propose it, are prepared for *all* the consequences. They must not calculate upon the *fears* of the opposite party. This, no honourable man does, in private disputes. States to be respected, must act as individuals would, under the same circumstances. Nothing must be said or done for *effect*, or to intimidate.— This is the course of a coward, who, if he happens to form a wrong estimate of his antagonist, has to retrace all his steps with disgrace.

But the consequences of resistance may not be so awful as some would anticipate. In this Union, there are twenty-four States; the people of which, are spread over a most extensive face of country, embracing a variety of climates. They are, moreover, greatly diversified in their agriculture, pursuits, habits, occupations, and prejudices. But yet these twenty-four Sovereignities, most wonderfully “move together, in concerted and harmonious action.” What is the link by which they are so intimately connected. It is friendship. It is the principle of a common affection, and a common feeling, inspired by the Revolution, upon which, as yet, rests the whole strength and the power of the Federal Government. To this, and this alone, must it look for its security and its permanency. As regards the external enemies, of this league of republics, it must, for the above reason, always be a Government of prodigious *physical* force and resources. History may never furnish such another example. But, as regards the power of this Government over the States, it is of a different character.— What its destiny is to be a century hence, it is not for us to say. It may, perhaps, be *physically* strong within, as well as without. But, at pre-

sent, it rests on public opinion. It wields, even now, a tremendous power; but the power is altogether a *moral* power, conveyed to it, by the *affections* of the people. Let these affections be alienated in one or more sections of the Union, and the Government is without power. It becomes impotent. Of this, we had a memorable example with the Government, and on neighbouring State, was in serious collision with the Government, and on a point of sovereignty. The dispute had arrived at a crisis, when nothing was apprehended, but bloodshed and a civil war. The Government of the United States threatened *military coercion*, and Georgia was to be put down by the *bayonet*. With a promptitude, that ought, in my view, to entitle him to the gratitude of the Southern States, and to hand down to the latest posterity, the name of **TROUP**, as the most distinguished of **ALL** the names **ENROLLED** in favour of **STATE RIGHTS**, the intrepid **GOVERNOR** of Georgia, orders out the *State Militia*, to support and vindicate its *outraged sovereignty*. The issue is known. Georgia, by **THIS DECISIVE** example of firmness, preserved her Sovereignty. Had **Mr. ADAMS**, and his thoughtless Secretary of War, reflected before they spoke, they would have known that the United States have not yet advanced far enough towards Consolidation, to possess the power, to *coerce a State*— and it was not until force was called for, to put down the rebellious Georgians, that the wise folks at Washington, discovered, for the first time in their lives, that the power of the Government was a *moral* and not a *physical* force, and that this same moral power, springing from the affections of the people of Georgia, was likely to be withdrawn, as soon as the Government should speak of sending troops to coerce them.

So will it be with South-Carolina. Let her only **WILL** that she will *not submit* to the tariff, and to impertinent interferences of Congress, with her policy, and the business is three-fourths finished.— There will, perhaps, be no necessity for calling out the militia.— There will, probably, be no civil war. If an adherence to our rights is likely to cause civil war, our citizens will then have to decide whether they prefer colonial vassalage to resistance, and to civil war.— I should hope that there are none such amongst us, who would hesitate in their choice. If war be the result, and the neighbouring States, who have a common interest with us, look on and withhold their assistance, even then, the Government could **NOT PUT US DOWN**. The only event in which we could be subjugated, would be in case the Southern States, were most unnaturally in league against us. I am opposed to all conventions of States, at the present crisis. In peace even, I will not embarrass the Government. I will not wage war in disguise. I am for open, undisguised hostility, as soon as resistance shall become necessary. Let South-Carolina act for herself, and the other States for themselves. It is time enough to enter into league when war shall be declared. Should we be even subjugated, what then? We shall have the proud consolation of not having submitted without a struggle, and I shall then, I presume, make as good a colonist as any of my neighbours. There is not an atom of disgrace in being vanquished. But there is meanness in submission. The Poland, in his adversity, is respectable. The Neapolitan despised. He talked and blustered and

the sight of the first Austrian bayonet, scared him into perfect submission.

If there be in our system of Government, one feature, which is delightful for the real patriot to contemplate, it is that, which shews the inability of the Government to coerce one of its confederated members. / If friendship cannot hold us together, force never can. He is much mistaken, who can imagine, that the same physical force, which could enable the Government to put down one of the twenty-four Republics, would not so endanger the whole, as to make our government, any thing than what it now is. Into my mind any such idea of any one State being in rebellion against the Government, never once entered. I do not admit the monstrous doctrine that a State can rebel. Whenever a State comes in collision with the Government, it will be on a vital point, otherwise the State would not be supported in its pretensions, by its own people. A State can have no possible motive, to dispute the great powers of Congress, for these are expressly delegated, and are beyond all dispute; but the General Government has motives in abundance to crib and steal power from the States. It may, therefore, safely be affirmed that a State can never be wrong, in its disputes about sovereignty. The weak are not willing to provoke the strong, but the strong are always apt to impose upon the weak. A sovereign and independent State, then, in opposition to the Government is not to be treated, as we would treat a band of insurgents, who are acting without the authority of a State Legislature. Such a State is as much to be respected by Congress, as if it were a foreign nation. Negotiation is to be resorted to. The Federal Government is a copartnership between States, as to the exercise of power for the common benefit, and if the partners cannot agree, let them separate peaceably. If the copartnership shall ever be dissolved, the fault will not be with the States, but with Congress. — "Power is always stealing from the MANY to the FEW."

I am well assured, that the sentiments of these numbers, have not been palatable to some. To all such, I have only to say, that if I am to blame, then some of our most distinguished men are also to blame, for they have inculcated the idea, that to submit to the tariff is degrading, and their speeches imply resistance. When such men as Col. DRAYTON, and Mr. M'DUFFIE, and others, utter their sentiments in public, we are to presume, from their high character, that they would utter what they do not feel. Colonel DRAYTON, to the inhabitants of St. Paul's Parish, said "that if Congress could impose the Tariff, then is our independence but a phantom; then have the patriots of the Revolution, toiled and bled in vain; then would it be better for us to return to our former colonial vassalage, when, if unjustly taxed, the burthen was imposed without discrimination, upon all our countrymen: when, if oppressed, our oppressors were not our representatives; when if enslaved, we were guiltless of forging the chains ourselves, with which our liberty was manacled." Mr. M'DUFFIE regards "the spirit, which would convert the mass of the people into the tributary vassals of a few lordly

manufacturers, as not more odious, than would be the degradation of silently, and patiently submitting to the measure of the Tariff." He thinks it "idle to talk of moderation and temperance and dispassionate deliberation. They do not belong to the occasion." Mr. M'DUFFIE adds, that he "has carefully weighed his words, and has uttered none which the occasion did not, in his judgment, imperatively demand; and which he is not fully prepared to vindicate and maintain." Others have spoken to the same effect, but I have not their words.

But let me not be understood by quoting these authorities, as offering any apology for what I have written. I take shelter under no man's opinions, not even of such men as Col. DRAYTON, &c. My object has been freely to write what I freely thought, regardless of what might be said of me by this or that man. When, therefore, I have been told of the epithets of "Treason" and "Sedition" being in the mouths of some men who have read these numbers, I could not but smile, that such folks as these, should think, that in a matter which so vitally affects my country, as the Tariff, I should give the least heed to what they could say of me. I have written for the Planters of South-Carolina, and for the Merchants, Mechanics and other freemen of our State, who live amongst us and who are to sink or swim with the Southern Country; and not for those men who in every dispute between the North and the South, on subjects peculiarly connected with our safety or our interests, look to Boston for their instructions. If there be another set of men amongst us, whose opinions I do disregard, it is those natives, who are for placing under the ban of the Empire, every citizen and every prince, who shall presume to name, or even to hint at dis-union, as there can be any other ulterior recourse, for a State, whose sovereignty is assailed, than the dissolution of that compact, already broken by other parties. Least of all do I care, whether I please those politicians, who are moving heaven and earth for JACKSON or for ADAMS, and who are alarmed at any sentiment, which can divert the public mind, from a subject, in which they themselves may have a strong interest, and the people of South-Carolina little or none, compared to the subject of these numbers. To those of the first class I offer no advice, excepting that when they send off their intelligence to their employers, as to the state of public feeling in the South, they take especial care not to lull them in the belief that the feeling against the Tariff is not a general feeling in South-Carolina, lest they lead them into difficulties. To the second class, I recommend the frequent perusal of that fine passage in the Constitutions of New-Hampshire, and other States; "The doctrine of Non-Resistance against arbitrary power and oppression, is absurd, SLAVISH, and destructive of the good and happiness of mankind." To the third, I offer a sincere request, that they would look a little more towards home. South-Carolina needs at this time the services, and the entire devotion of every native and adopted Son of the South. And now one question at parting to all those, who in our community, think BATES a traitor—Do ye think, there is a general

acquiescence in your opinions? I assure you not, "Because half a dozen grasshoppers under a fern, make the field ring with their importunate chink, whilst thousand of great cattle, reposed beneath the shadow of the native *Live* oak, chew the cud and are silent, pray do not imagine, that those who make the noise, are the only inhabitants of the field; or that of course, they are many in number; or that after all, they are other than the little, shrivelled, meagre, hopping, though loud and troublesome insects of the hour."

And of my fellow-citizens in general, I now take my leave, with an earnest entreaty, that they will at least ponder in their thoughts, the things that are herein written. But,

"If Cassandra-like, amidst the din  
 "Of conflict, NONE will hear, or hearing heed  
 "This voice from out of the wilderness, the sin  
 "BE THEIRS, and my OVN feelings be my need."

**BRUTUS.**

