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## POETRY.

*From the New York American.*  
STANZAS.  
"Flinging the dew of the Morning  
Over each image and earthly track."  
Clouds athwart the stars are straying,  
Soothing winds disturb the night,  
Leaves unto the dust are falling  
Touch'd with blight.  
Autumn eve shuts cold around me;  
Day companions—here are none;  
Silent thoughts and visions give me  
Life that's gone.  
Minutes seen and snatched forever—  
Told in beauty! told in mirth!  
How they flitted bright and noiseless  
O'er the earth!  
How my heart untouch'd of trial—  
Bathed in sunshine daily lay,  
Reckless all of care or conflict  
Far away.  
Joyous hours! I glow to meet you,  
Even in fitful, changeful dreams!  
Pierce the shadows of my slumbers  
Vanished gleams!  
Float ye o'er the faded garlands,  
On my brow that used to be;  
Son the paths my feet have trodden  
Blithe and free!  
From the skies thy glance hath ponder'd  
Oft at midnight's thrilling tide;  
Where the breath of waking summer  
Only sigh'd.  
Where my spirit so was reaping  
Gentle gifts from altars nigh,  
Could wish amidst their fulness  
N'er to die.  
Sappier days than e'er can meet me  
To the mystic land are flown;  
Days of blossom! days of blessing!  
Past and gone.  
Lo! the future, Winter seal'd  
Barb'd in sternness, storm and night!  
Birds and flowers along the pathway  
Ta'en to flight,  
Lessons from the present flowing—  
Yield but dull, unwelcome lore,  
All unlike the spreading pages  
Traced of yore!  
Let me then the past embracing,  
On her breast my vigils keep,  
Till amid her murmuring music  
Lull'd to sleep.  
Voices of the lost beside me,  
Faces of the loved shall be!  
I shall feast at older fountains  
Plentifully!  
Joyous hours! I smile to greet you,  
Even in changeful fitful dreams!  
Pierce the shadow of my slumbers  
Vanished gleams!  
*From the Monthly Magazine for September.*  
THE HOME OF LOVE.  
BY MRS. HEMANS.  
"They sin who tell us Love can die.  
With life all other Passions fly.  
All others are but Vanity—  
But love is indestructible:  
Its holy flame forever burneth,  
From Heaven it came, to Heaven returneth,  
Too oft on earth a troubled guest,  
At times descended, at times oppress'd,  
It here is tried and purified,  
And hath in Heaven its perfect rest."  
SOUTHEY.  
Thou movest in visions of love!—Around thy way,  
Even through this World's rough path and change-  
day,  
Forever floats a gleam!  
Not from the realms of Moonlight or the Morn,  
But thine own Soul's illumined chambers born—  
The colouring of a dream!  
Love, shall I read thy dream?—Oh! is it not  
All of some sheltering, wood embosomed spot—  
A Bower for thee and thine?  
Yes! lone and lowly is that Home; yet there,  
Something of Heaven in the transparent air  
Makes every flower divine.  
Something that mellows and that glorifies,  
Hends o'er it from the tender skies,  
As o'er some Blessed Isle;  
E'en like the soft and spiritual glow,  
Kindling rich woods, whereon th' ethereal blow  
Sleeps, lovingly awhile.  
The very whispers of the Wind have there  
A state-like harmony, that seems to bear  
Greetings from some fright shore,  
Where none have said Farewell!—where no decay  
Lends the faint crimson to the dying day;  
Where the Storm's might is o'er.  
And there thou dreamest of Elysian rest,  
In the deep sanctuary of one true breast

Hidden from earthly ill:  
There wouldst thou watch the homeward step,  
Whose sound,  
Wakening all nature to sweet echoes round,  
Thine inmost soul can thrill.  
There by the hearth should many a glorious page,  
From mind to mind th' immortal heritage,  
For thee its treasures pour;  
Or Music's voice at vesper hours be heard  
Or dearest interchange of playful word,  
Affection's household lore.  
And the rich mission of mingled prayer,  
The melody of hearts in heavenly air,  
Thence duly should arise;  
Lifting th' eternal hope, th' adoring breath,  
Of Spirits, not to be disjoined by Death,  
Up to the starry skies.  
There, dost thou well believe, no storm should come  
To mar the stillness of that Angel-Home:  
There should thy slumbers be  
Weighed down with honey dew, serenely blessed,  
Like theirs who first in Eden's Grove took rest  
Under some balmy tree.  
Love, Love! thou Passionate in Joy and Woe!  
And canst thou hope for cloudless peace below—  
Here, where bright things must die?  
Oh! thou! that wildly worshipping, dost shed  
On the frail altar of a mortal head  
Gifts of infinity!  
Thou must be still a trembler, fearful Love!  
Danger seems gathering from beneath, above,  
Still round thy precious things;  
Thy stately Pine-Tree, or thy gracious Rose,  
In their sweet shade can yield thee no repose,  
Here, where the blight hath wings.  
And, as a flower with some fine sense imbued  
To shrink before the wind's vicissitude,  
So in thy present breast  
Are lyre strings quivering with prophetic thrill  
To the low footsteps of each coming ill:  
Oh! canst thou dream of rest?  
Bear up thy dream? Thou Mighty and thou Weak,  
Heart, strong as Death, yet as a reed to break,  
As a flame, tempest sway'd!  
He that sits calm on High is yet the source  
Whence thy Soul's current hath its troubled course  
He that great Deep hath made!  
Will He not pity?—He, whose searching eye  
Reads all the secrets of thine agony?  
Oh! pray to be forgiven  
Thy fond idolatry, thy blind excess,  
And seek with him that Bower of Blessedness—  
Love! thy sole Home is Heaven!

## NULLIFICATION.

ADDRESS  
To the People of the United States, by the  
Convention of South Carolina.  
To the People of Massachusetts, Virginia,  
New York, Pennsylvania, North  
Carolina, Maryland, Connecticut, Ver-  
mont, New Hampshire, Maine, New Jer-  
sey, Georgia, Delaware, Rhode Island,  
Kentucky, Tennessee, Ohio, Louisiana,  
Indiana, Missouri.  
We the people of South Carolina, as-  
sembled in Convention, have solemnly  
and deliberately declared, in our para-  
mount sovereign capacity, that the act  
of Congress approved the 19th day of  
May 1828, and the act approved the 14th  
July 1832, altering and amending the  
several acts imposing duties on imports, are  
unconstitutional, and therefore, absolute-  
ly void, and of no binding force within  
the limits of this State; and for the purpose  
of carrying this declaration into full and  
complete effect, we have invested the  
Legislature with ample powers, and  
made it the duty of all the functionaries  
and all the citizens of the State, on their  
allegiance, to co-operate in enforcing the  
aforesaid declaration.  
In resorting to this important measure,  
to which we have been impelled by the  
most sacred of all the duties which a free  
people can owe either to the memory of  
their ancestors or to the claims of their  
posterity, we feel that it is due to the in-  
timate political relation which exists be-  
tween South Carolina and the other  
States of this confederacy, that we should  
present a clear and distinct exposition  
of the principles on which we have acted,  
and of the causes by which we have been  
reluctantly constrained to assume this at-  
titude of sovereign resistance in relation  
to the usurpations of the Federal Govern-  
ment.  
For this purpose it will be necessary  
to state, briefly, what we conceive to be  
the relation created by the Federal Con-  
stitution, between the States and the Gen-  
eral Government; and also what we con-  
ceive to be the true character and practi-  
cal operation of the system of protecting  
duties, as it affects our rights or interests  
and our liberties.  
We hold then that on their separation  
from the Crown of Great Britain, the sev-  
eral Colonies became free and independ-  
ent States, each enjoying the separate  
and independent right of self-govern-  
ment; and that no authority can be exer-  
cised over them or within their limits,  
but by their consent, respectively given  
as States. It is equally true, that the  
Constitution of the United States is a  
compact formed between the several  
States, acting as sovereign communities;  
that the government created by it is a  
joint agency of the States, appointed to  
execute the powers enumerated and  
granted by that instrument; that all its  
acts not intentionally authorized, are of  
themselves essentially null and void, and  
that the States have the right, in the same  
sovereign capacity in which they adopt-  
ed the Federal Constitution, to pro-  
nounce, in the last resort, authoritative  
judgment on the usurpations of the Fed-  
eral Government, and to adopt such mea-

asures as they may deem necessary and  
expedient to arrest the operation of the  
unconstitutional acts of that government,  
within their respective limits. Such we  
deem to be inherent rights of the States  
—rights, in the very nature of things, ab-  
solutely inseparable from sovereignty.—  
Nor is the duty of a State to arrest an  
unconstitutional and oppressive act of the  
Federal Government less imperative  
than the right is incontestible. Each State,  
by ratifying the Federal Constitution, and  
becoming a member of the confederacy,  
contracted an obligation to "protect and  
defend" that instrument, as well by re-  
sisting the usurpations of the Federal  
Government, as by sustaining that govern-  
ment in the exercise of the powers actu-  
ally conferred upon it. And the obli-  
gation of the oath which is imposed, un-  
der the Constitution, on every functionary  
of the States, to "preserve, protect, and  
defend" the Federal Constitution, as  
clearly comprehends the duty of protect-  
ing and defending it against the usurpa-  
tions of the Federal Government, as that  
of protecting and defending it against vio-  
lation in any other form or from any other  
quarter.  
It is true that in ratifying the Federal  
Constitution, the State placed a large and  
important portion of the rights of their  
citizens under the joint protection of all  
the States, with a view to their more ef-  
fectual security; but it is not less true  
that they reserved a portion still larger  
and not less important under their own  
immediate guardianship, and in relation  
to which their original obligation to pro-  
tect their citizens, from whatever quar-  
ter assailed, remains unchanged and un-  
diminished.  
But clear and undoubted as we regard  
the right, and sacred as we regard the  
duty of the States to interpose their sov-  
ereign power for the purpose of protect-  
ing their citizens from the unconstitu-  
tional and oppressive acts of the Federal  
Government, yet we are as clearly of the  
opinion that nothing short of that high  
moral and political necessity, which re-  
sults from acts of usurpation, subversive  
of the rights and liberties of the people,  
should induce a member of this confeder-  
acy to resort to this interposition. Such,  
however, is the melancholy and painful  
necessity under which we have declared  
the acts of Congress imposing protecting  
duties, null and void within the limits of  
South Carolina. The spirit and the prin-  
ciples which animated your ancestors and  
ours in the councils and in the fields of  
their common glory, forbid us to submit  
any longer to a system of Legislation, now  
become the established policy of the  
Federal Government, by which we are  
reduced to a condition of colonial vassa-  
lage, in all its aspects more oppressive  
and intolerable than that from which our  
common ancestors relieved themselves  
by the war of the revolution. There is  
no right which enters more essentially  
into a free and unrestricted use of the  
productions of our industry. This clearly  
involves the right of carrying the pro-  
ductions of that industry wherever they  
can be most advantageously exchanged,  
whether in foreign or domestic markets.  
South Carolina produces almost exclu-  
sively, agricultural staples which derive  
their principal value from the demand for  
them in foreign countries. Under these  
circumstances, her natural markets are  
abroad; and restrictive duties imposed  
upon her intercourse with those markets,  
diminish the exchangeable value of her  
productions very nearly to the full extent  
of those duties.  
Under a system of free trade, the ag-  
gregate crop of South Carolina could be  
exchanged for a larger quantity of man-  
ufactures, by at least one third, than it  
can be now exchanged for under the pro-  
tecting system. It is no less evident,  
that the value of that crop is diminished  
by the protecting system very nearly, if  
not precisely, to the extent that the ag-  
gregate quantity of manufactures which  
can be obtained for it, is diminished. It  
is, indeed, strictly and philosophically  
true, that the aggregate quantity of con-  
sumable commodities which can be ob-  
tained for the cotton and rice annually  
produced by the industry of the State, is  
the precise measure of their aggregate  
value. But for the prevalent and habit-  
ual error of confounding the money price  
with the exchangeable value of our agri-  
cultural staples, these propositions would  
be regarded as self-evident. If the pro-  
tecting duties were repealed, one hun-  
dred bales of cotton or one hundred bar-  
rels of rice, would purchase as large a  
quantity of manufactures as one hundred  
and fifty will now purchase. The annual  
income of the State, its means of pur-  
chasing and consuming the necessaries  
and comforts and luxuries of life, would  
be increased in a corresponding degree.  
Almost the entire cotton crop of South  
Carolina, amounting annually to more  
than six millions of dollars, is ultimately  
exchanged either for foreign manufac-  
tures, subject to protecting duties, or for  
similar domestic manufactures. The  
natural value of that crop would be all  
the manufactures which we could obtain  
for it, under a system of unrestricted com-  
merce. The artificial value, produced  
by the unjust and unconstitutional Leg-  
islation of Congress, is only such a part  
of those manufactures as will remain after  
paying a duty of fifty per cent. to the  
Government, or to speak with more pre-  
cision, to the northern manufacturers.—  
To make this obvious to the humblest  
comprehension, let it be supposed that  
the whole of the present crop should

be exchanged, by the planters them-  
selves, for those foreign manufactures,  
for which it is destined, by the inevi-  
table course of trade, to be ultimately  
exchanged, either by themselves or their  
agents.  
Let it be also assumed, in conformity  
with the facts of the case, that New Jer-  
sey, for example, produces, of the very  
same description of manufactures, a  
quantity equal to that which is purchased  
by the cotton crop of South Carolina.—  
We have, then, two States of the same  
confederacy, bound to bear an equal share  
of the burdens, and entitled to enjoy an  
equal share of the benefits of the com-  
mon government, with precisely the same  
quantity of productions, of the same qual-  
ity and kind, produced by their lawful in-  
dustry. We appeal to your candor, and  
to your sense of justice, to say whether  
South Carolina has not a title as sacred  
and indefeasible to the full and undim-  
inished enjoyment of these productions of  
her industry, acquired by the combined  
operations of agriculture and commerce,  
as New Jersey can have to the like enjoy-  
ment of similar productions of her indus-  
try? Upon no principle of Constitutional  
right—upon no principle of human  
reason or justice, can any discrimination  
be drawn between the title of South Car-  
olina and New Jersey to these produc-  
tions of their capital and labor. Yet what  
is the discrimination actually made by  
the unjust, unconstitutional and partial  
Legislation of Congress? A duty, on an  
average, of fifty per cent is imposed upon  
the productions of South Carolina, while no  
duty at all is imposed upon the similar  
productions of New Jersey! The inevi-  
table result is, that the manufactures  
thus lawfully acquired by the honest in-  
dustry of South Carolina are worth, an-  
nually, three millions of dollars less to  
her citizens than the very same quantity  
of the very same description of manufac-  
tures are worth to the citizens of New  
Jersey—a difference of value produced  
exclusively by the operation of the pro-  
tecting system.  
No ingenuity can either evade or re-  
fute this proposition. The very axioms  
of geometry, are not more self evident.—  
For even if the planters of South Car-  
olina, in the case supposed, were to sell and  
not consume these productions of their  
industry, it is plain that they could ob-  
tain no higher price for them, after pay-  
ing duties to the amount of \$3,000,000  
than the manufactures of New Jersey  
would obtain for the same quantity of the  
very kind of manufactures, without pay-  
ing any duty at all.  
This single view of the subject, exhib-  
its the enormous inequality and injustice  
of the protecting system in such a light,  
that we feel the most consoling confi-  
dence that we shall be fully justified by  
the impartial judgment of posterity, what-  
ever may be the issue of this unhappy  
controversy. We confidently appeal to  
our confederate States, and to the whole  
world to decide whether the annals of hu-  
man Legislation furnish a parallel in-  
stance of injustice and oppression perpe-  
trated under the forms of a free govern-  
ment. However it may be disguised by  
the complexity of the process by which  
it is effected, it is no thing less than the  
monstrous outrage of taking three mil-  
lions of dollars annually, from the value  
of the productions of S. Carolina and  
transferring it to the people of other and  
distant communities. No human Gov-  
ernment can rightfully exercise such a  
power. It violates the eternal principles  
of natural justice, and converts the Gov-  
ernment into a mere instrument of legis-  
lative plunder. Of all the governments  
on the face of the earth, the Federal Gov-  
ernment has the least shadow of a con-  
stitutional right to exercise such a power.  
It was created principally, and most ex-  
clusively, for the purpose of protect-  
ing, improving, and extending that very  
commerce, which for the last ten years, all  
its powers have been most unaturally and  
unrighteously perverted to cripple and  
destroy. The power to "regulate com-  
merce with foreign nations," was grant-  
ed obviously for the preservation of that  
commerce. The most important of all  
the duties which the Federal Govern-  
ment owes to South Carolina, under the  
compact of Union, is the protection and  
defence of her foreign Commerce, against  
all the enemies by whom it may be as-  
sailed. And in what manner has this  
duty been discharged? All the powers  
of the earth, by their commercial restric-  
tions, and all the pirates of the ocean by  
their lawless violence, could not have  
done so much to destroy our commerce,  
as has been done by that very Govern-  
ment, to which its guardianship has been  
committed by the Federal Constitution.  
The commerce of South Carolina con-  
sists in exchanging the staple produc-  
tions of her soil for the manufactures of  
Europe. It is a lawful commerce. It  
violates the rights of no class of people  
in any portion of the confederacy. It is  
this very commerce, therefore, which the  
Constitution has enjoined it upon Con-  
gress to encourage, protect, and defend  
by such regulations as may be necessary  
to accomplish that object. But instead  
of that protection, which is the only tie  
of our allegiance, as individual citizens,  
to the Federal Government, we have seen  
a gigantic system of restrictions gradu-  
ally reared up, and at length brought to a  
fatal maturity, of which it is the avowed  
object and must be the inevitable result,  
to sweep our commerce from the great  
highway of nations, and cover our land  
with poverty and ruin.

Even the States most deeply interest-  
ed in the maintenance of the protecting  
system will admit, that it is the interest  
of South Carolina to carry on a commerce  
of exchanges with foreign countries, free  
from restrictions, prohibitory burthens or  
incumbrances of any kind. We feel,  
and we know, that the vital interests of  
the State, are involved in such a com-  
merce. It would be a downright insult  
to our understandings, to tell us that our  
interests are not injured by those prohibi-  
tory duties, intended and calculated to  
prevent us from obtaining the cheap man-  
ufactures of foreign countries for our sta-  
ples, and to compel us to receive for them  
the dear manufactures of our domestic  
establishments, or pay the penalty of the  
protecting duties for daring to exercise  
one of the most sacred of our national  
rights. What right, then, human or di-  
vine, have the manufacturing States—for  
we regard the Federal Government, as  
a mere instrument in their hands—to pro-  
hibit South Carolina, directly, or indirect-  
ly, from going to her natural markets,  
and exchanging the rich productions of  
her soil, without restriction or incum-  
brance, for such foreign articles as will  
most conduce to the wealth and prosper-  
ity of her citizens? It will not surely be  
pretended—for truth and decency equal-  
ly forbid the allegation—that in exchang-  
ing our productions for the cheaper man-  
ufactures of Europe, we violate any right  
of the domestic manufacturers, however  
gratifying it might be to them, if we  
would purchase their inferior productions  
at higher prices.  
Upon what principle, then, can the  
State of South Carolina be called upon  
to submit to a system, which excludes  
her from her natural markets and the  
manifest benefits of that enriching com-  
merce which a kind and beneficent Pro-  
vidence has provided to connect her with  
the family of nations, by the bonds of mu-  
tual interest? But one answer can be  
given to this question. It is in vain that  
we attempt to disguise the fact, mortify-  
ing as it must be, that the principle by  
which South Carolina is thus excluded,  
is in strict propriety of language, and to  
all rational intents and purposes, a prin-  
ciple of colonial dependence and vassa-  
lage. In all respects, identical with that  
which restrained our forefathers from  
trading with any manufacturing nation of  
Europe, other than Great Britain. South  
Carolina now bears the same relation to  
the manufacturing States of this confed-  
eracy, that the Anglo-American colonies  
bore to the mother country, with the sin-  
gle exception that our burthens are in-  
comparably more oppressive than those  
of our ancestors. Our time, our pride  
and the occasion, equally forbid us to trace  
out the degrading analogy. We leave  
that to the historian who shall record the  
judgment which an impartial posterity  
will pronounce upon the eventual trans-  
actions of this day.  
It is in vain that we attempt to console  
ourselves by the empty and unreal mock-  
ery of our representation in Congress.—  
As to all those great and vital interests  
of the State which are affected by the  
protecting system, it would be better that  
she had no representation in that body.—  
It serves no other purpose but to conceal  
the chains which fetter our liberties un-  
der the vain and empty forms of a rep-  
resentative Government. In the enact-  
ment of the protecting system, the major-  
ity of Congress, is in strict propriety of  
speech, an irresponsible despotism. A  
very brief analysis will render this clear  
to every understanding. What, then, we  
ask, is involved in the idea of political  
responsibility, in the imposition of public  
burthens? It clearly implies that those  
who impose the burthens, should be re-  
sponsible to those who bear them. Every  
representative in Congress, should be  
constituents, but through them and their  
common participation in the burthens im-  
posed, to the constituents of every other  
representative. If in the enactment of a  
protecting tariff, the majority in Con-  
gress imposed upon their own constitu-  
ents the same burthens which they im-  
pose upon the people of South Carolina,  
that majority would act under all the re-  
straints of political responsibility, and  
we should have the best security which  
human wisdom has yet devised against  
oppressive legislation.  
But the fact is precisely the reverse of  
this. The majority in Congress, in im-  
posing protecting duties, which are ut-  
terly destructive of the interests of S.  
Carolina, not only impose no burthen,  
but actually confer enriching bounties upon  
their constituents, proportioned to the  
burthens they impose upon us. Under  
these circumstances, the principle of re-  
presentative responsibility, is perverted  
into a principle of absolute despotism.—  
It is this very tie, binding the majority  
of Congress to execute the will of their  
constituents, which makes them our in-  
exorable oppressors. They dare not  
open their hearts to the sentiments of hu-  
man justice, or to the feelings of human  
sympathy. They are tyrants by the very  
necessity of their position, however el-  
evated may be their principles, in their  
individual capacities.  
The grave question, then, which we  
have had to determine, as the sovereign  
power of the State, under the awful re-  
sponsibility under which we have acted,  
is; whether we will voluntarily surrender  
the glorious inheritance, purchased and  
consecrated by the toils, the sufferings  
and the blood of an illustrious ancestry,  
or transmit that inheritance to our pos-  
terity untarnished and undiminished?—

We could not hesitate in deciding this  
question. We have therefore, deliber-  
ately and unalterably resolved, that we  
will no longer submit to a system of op-  
pression, which reduces us to the de-  
grading condition of tributary vassals; and  
which would reduce our posterity, in a  
few generations, to a state of poverty and  
wretchedness, that would stand in mel-  
ancholy contrast with the beautiful and  
delightful region in which the Providence  
of God has cast our destinies. Having  
formed this resolution, with a full view  
of all its bearings, and of all its probable  
and possible issues, it is due to the grav-  
ity of the subject and the solemnity of the  
occasion, that we should speak to our  
confederate brethren in the plain lan-  
guage of frankness and truth. Though  
we plant ourselves upon the Constitution  
and the immutable principles of justice,  
and intend to operate exclusively through  
the civil tribunals and civil functionaries  
of the State, yet we will throw off this op-  
pression at every hazard. We believe  
our remedy to be essentially peaceful.—  
We believe the Federal Government has  
no shadow of right or authority to act  
against a sovereign State of the Confed-  
eracy in any form, much less to coerce it  
by military power. But we are aware of  
the diversities of human opinion; and  
have seen too many proofs of the infatu-  
ation of human power, not to have looked  
with the most anxious concern to the  
possibility of a resort to military or naval  
force on the part of the Federal Govern-  
ment;—and in order to obviate the possi-  
bility of having the history of this contest  
stained by a single drop of fraternal  
blood, we have solemnly and irrevocably  
resolved, that we will regard such a re-  
sort as a dissolution of the political ties  
which connect us with our confederate  
States; and will, forthwith, provide for  
the organization of a new and separate  
government.  
We implore you, and particularly the  
manufacturing States, not to believe that  
we have been actuated, in adopting this  
resolution, by any feeling of resentment,  
or hostility towards them; or by a desire  
to dissolve the political bonds, which have  
so long united our common destinies.—  
We still cherish that rational devotion to  
the Union, by which this State has been  
pre-eminently distinguished, in all times  
past. But that blind and idolatrous devo-  
tion, which would bow down and wor-  
ship Oppression and Tyranny, veiled un-  
der that consecrated title,—if it ever ex-  
isted among us, is now vanquished for ever.  
CONSTITUTIONAL LIBERTY is the only  
idol of our political devotion; and to  
preserve that, we will not hesitate a sin-  
gle moment, to surrender the Union it-  
self, if the sacrifice be necessary. If it  
had pleased God to cover our eyes with  
ignorance—if he had not bestowed upon  
us the understanding to comprehend the  
enormity of oppression under which we  
labor—we might submit to it without  
absolute degradation and infamy. But  
the gifts of Providence cannot be neg-  
lected, or abused, with impunity. A  
people, who deliberately submit to op-  
pression, with a full knowledge that they  
are oppressed, are fit only to be slaves;  
and all history proves that such people  
will soon find a master. It is the pre-  
existing spirit of slavery, in the people,  
that has made tyrants in all ages of the  
world. No tyrant ever made a slave—  
no community however small, having the  
spirit of freemen, ever yet had a master.  
The most illustrious of those States,  
which have given to the world examples  
of human freedom, have occupied Ter-  
ritories, not larger than some of the Dis-  
tricts of South Carolina; while the lar-  
gest masses of population, that were ev-  
er united under a common government,  
have been the abject, spiritless and de-  
graded slaves of despotic rulers. We  
sincerely hope, therefore, that no portion  
of the States of this Confederacy, will  
permit themselves to be deluded into  
any measures of rashness, by the vain im-  
agination, that South Carolina will vindic-  
ate her rights and liberties, with a less  
inflexible and unflinching resolution, with  
a population of some half a million, than  
she would do with a population of twenty  
millions.  
It does not belong to Freemen to count the  
costs, and hazards of vindicating their rights  
and defending their liberties; and even if we  
should stand alone in the worst possible em-  
ergency of this great controversy, without  
the co-operation, or encouragement of a single  
State of the confederacy, we will march for-  
ward with an unflinching step, until we have  
accomplished the object of this great enter-  
prise.  
Having now presented for the consideration  
of the Federal Government and our confed-  
erate States, the fixed and final determina-  
tion of this State in relation to the protecting  
system, it remains for us to submit a plan of tax-  
ation in which we would be willing to acquiesce,  
in a spirit of liberal concession, provided  
we are met in due time and in a becoming spir-  
it by the States interested in the protection  
of manufactures.  
We believe that upon every just and equi-  
table principle of taxation, the whole list of  
protected articles should be imported free of  
all duty, and that the revenue derived from  
import duties, should be raised exclusively  
from the unprotected articles imported, an ex-  
cise duty of the same rate should be imposed  
upon all similar articles manufactured in the  
United States. This would be as near an  
approach to perfect equality as could possibly  
be made, in a system of unjust taxation. No  
substantial reason can be given for subjecting  
manufactures obtained from abroad in ex-  
change for the productions of South Carolina,  
to the smallest duty, even for revenue, which  
would not show that similar manufactures  
made in the United States, should be subject  
to the very same rate of duty. The former,  
not less than the latter, are, to every rational