

# Southern Rights Documents.

## CO-OPERATION MEETING,

Held in Charleston, S. C., July 29th, 1851.

For a few days previous to the meeting, the following CALL was circulated among the citizens of Charleston, and received upwards of *Twelve Hundred Signatures*. Had time been afforded, the list could easily have been increased to 2,000 names.

### PUBLIC MEETING!

We, the undersigned, unite in a call for a PUBLIC MEETING, to be held in Charleston, to give expression to the views of those of our fellow-citizens who, in common with us, are in favor of CO-OPERATION for the purpose of resistance to the aggressions of the Federal Government, but who are *opposed* to the Separate Secession of South-Carolina from the Union, under existing circumstances:

- |                      |                      |                      |
|----------------------|----------------------|----------------------|
| W. Perouneau Finley, | Edward Frost,        | Samuel Lord,         |
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| J. Berkley Grimbald, | S. H. Dickson, M. D. | T. C. Ekrine,        |
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| James B. Hayward,    | William Bell,        | H. P. Lewis,         |
| Edward J. Pringle,   | C. L. Burekmyer,     | John H. Honour,      |
| St. Julien Ravenel,  | A. P. Caldwell,      | John Greston,        |
| E. B. Hayward,       | Richard Caldwell,    | Joseph Ballard,      |
| Mitchell King,       | M. P. Matheson,      | A. W. Black,         |
| Benjamin F. Dunkin,  | R. M. Alexander,     | Benjamin Ford,       |

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 H. D. Johnson,  
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 Thomas O'Riley  
 Jacob Cook  
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 Martin Moore  
 Edward Furner  
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 Thomas E. Deneux  
 Wm. McBurney  
 Wm. C. Rising  
 L. S. Knowlton  
 Daniel Mixer  
 James L. Brumley  
 Charles H. Baird  
 E. J. Folger  
 Henry Hynes  
 H. Stokes  
 Archibald Cameron  
 I. W. Daggett  
 Nathaniel Tylee, jr.  
 Mat. Muller  
 Alexander G. Chalmers  
 Wm. Estill  
 F. Caminade  
 A. J. Crews  
 Wm. W. Beckman  
 J. A. Lockwood  
 Wm. M. Sage  
 Patrick Carrull  
 J. Lucas  
 John Carnighan  
 Henry D. Lesosne  
 M. L. Wilkins  
 John Drayton Ford  
 Henry R. Frost  
 Abraham C. Romaine  
 W. Aiken Martin  
 Robert Martin, Jr.  
 Thomas Della Torre  
 A. DeCurdeus  
 John M. Greer  
 L. A. Smith  
 H. W. Peronneau  
 Henrich Humme  
 D. Werner  
 J. Puyre

James Hannahan  
 Henry Hatch  
 J. F. Addison  
 J. C. Heynes  
 Robert McDermid  
 James Duggan  
 David McDougal  
 E. B. Baker  
 A. Steinbeck  
 A. Roulain  
 A. L. Hill  
 W. H. Day  
 Styles Fisk  
 John McKny  
 John B. Gibbs  
 S. S. Roberts  
 James E. Sperr  
 O. Taylor,  
 Charles Hart  
 Robert A. Wallace  
 John Melroy  
 Thomas Carty  
 P. Shelan  
 John Egan  
 George Walker  
 J. Be-hall  
 Robert H. Thomlinson  
 L. Avery  
 Eneas Smyth  
 S. Bunch  
 H. Antley  
 A. F. Bize  
 J. Dufort  
 J. P. Reul  
 Joseph Torlay  
 W. H. Purco  
 L. D. Passellaiguo  
 Frederick A. Ford  
 James Moultrie, M. D.  
 William Thayer  
 George Buist  
 David Mustard  
 Robert McKny  
 Robert Cameron  
 Thomas Herbert  
 Julius W. Woolf,  
 Jacob Meyer  
 Ferdinand M. Gregory,  
 P. T. Middleton  
 James W. Wilson  
 Joseph T. Dill  
 Patrick McDonnell  
 John Money  
 Charles McCarty  
 Peter Della Torre  
 Edmund Burke  
 S. Lapenne  
 Thomas Hennessey

Patrick Mahoney  
 Michael McMannear  
 Thomas Hallis  
 Patrick Conboy  
 George Aelle  
 F. Stinto  
 P. Brady  
 Peter Kennard  
 R. H. Stelling  
 T. A. Glade  
 A. J. Lapenne  
 H. Pauls  
 Nathaniel C. Mitchell  
 Wm. Cross  
 Paul Jones  
 A. Barton  
 John Wincey  
 Benjamin Lucas  
 Wm. Lloyd  
 A. Durrill  
 D. B. Haselton  
 Henry Clark  
 Samuel E. Axson  
 Christopher Geraty  
 A. K. Long  
 Joseph H. Oliver  
 Samuel Glouis  
 James Ravenel  
 J. F. Fride-man  
 Edward Henry  
 Thomas J. Knauff  
 F. C. Miller  
 R. N. Lord  
 D. Bulkloy  
 A. Marines  
 John Woodwoot  
 John A. Kelly  
 G. H. Veronoe  
 J. Hewitt  
 Thomas Ains  
 P. M. Avenny  
 A. P. Smith  
 Richard Yeaden  
 B. Carrall  
 A. Barbot  
 Aug. E. Cohen  
 John Sazzard  
 W. B. Moore  
 Peter J. Fink  
 B. H. Fink  
 C. Bonner  
 H. Plein  
 George O. Robinson  
 Robert Evans  
 Gustavus Salvo  
 Jacob H. Wise  
 H. J. Harby  
 David H. Duveaux



C. W. Brumdt  
 Daniel Petigru  
 F. Charlow  
 A. Koussreko  
 W. C. Richards  
 John Corby, Sr.  
 W. Logan  
 Hamilton Slawson, Jr.  
 Josh L. Venning  
 T. O. Elliott  
 H. W. Schroder  
 Charles E. Knapenaux  
 R. S. H. Haunhan  
 G. Sergeant  
 S. Kingman  
 T. Hayward Thayer  
 Thomas Gates  
 T. C. Prioleau  
 Fleetwood Lunneau  
 John Preston  
 John F. Stafford  
 W. S. Adams  
 L. V. Martin  
 George Christofel  
 L. F. Petit  
 David E. Jones  
 Henry Soloe  
 R. H. Brodie  
 P. S. Chase  
 Angus Wilson  
 Joseph Wilson  
 Thomas F. Cumming  
 John Symons  
 Henry Winthrop, M. D.  
 J. Emanuel  
 Wm C. Graham, M. D.  
 John Corby, Jr.  
 W. J. Wiley  
 John Caldwell, Sen.

Joseph L. Brugger  
 Thomas R. Eggleston  
 John W. Dorman  
 Maier Triest  
 Joseph Triest  
 W. H. Moore  
 Marks Levy  
 Aaron Loryea  
 F. C. Lynch  
 M. Winstock  
 John W. Bizo  
 Peter Kennedy  
 F. Lampe  
 T. L. Quackenbush  
 Joseph F. O'Hear  
 R. Anderson  
 Charles Bremer  
 Nathan Emanuel  
 James A. Middleton  
 E. W. Brown  
 C. G. Martin  
 E. T. Howard  
 Alfred Wise  
 Joseph W. Harrison  
 John Hill  
 David Jacobs  
 Wm. F. White  
 Francis Clarke  
 Owen Campbell  
 George Reicke  
 H. Kumbler  
 H. Broyman  
 C. M. Logan  
 J. W. Kane  
 Robert W. Burnham  
 G. W. Birkman  
 Daniel Maguire  
 J. Wheaton  
 James Caldwell.

P. M. Doucin  
 John P. Labordo  
 P. H. McDoonell  
 T. H. Berry  
 David E. Johns  
 M. T. Mendenhall  
 Leopold Cohn  
 Samuel Cruikshank  
 John Forrest,  
 J. S. Maniken  
 A. Gambati  
 Michael Murray  
 Thomas Maysey  
 Daniel G. Wayne  
 W. J. Bennett  
 Lewis Rebb  
 S. D. Parker  
 B. Mordecai  
 Henry Ashe  
 Thomas Addison  
 A. T. J. LaCoste  
 A. Roumillat  
 Thomas H. Dillingham  
 W. T. Wragg, M. D.  
 E. M. Broughton  
 Martin McMaster  
 T. W. Riggs  
 Thomas E. H. Miles  
 T. W. Albergetie  
 Samuel W. Wiley  
 S. Montgomery  
 John M. Bryan  
 P. V. Powell  
 Charles Campbell  
 A. Pelerin  
 Wm M. Moody, jr  
 L. M. Aubert  
 William McIntosh

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## GREAT SOUTHERN RIGHTS AND SOUTHERN CO-OPERATION MEETING.

In pursuance of a call, which had been very numerously signed, a meeting was held, on the evening of the 29th July, 1851, at the Hibernian Hall, in Charleston, of those "who are in favor of co-operation for the purpose of resistance, and opposed to Separate State action, under existing circumstances." Notwithstanding the storm and heavy rain, which occurred at the hour for assembling, the meeting was very large, filling the Hall, and many who came failed to gain an entrance. Not only in regard to numbers, but in the earnest enthusiasm of those who were assembled, and the patriotic spirit with which it was animated, it evinced the high resolve which governed those who were anxious to dis-

charge their duty to the State, with a deep regard to the momentous consequences which were involved.

At the appointed hour, NELSON MITCHELL, Esq. moved the organization of the meeting, and the appointment of the following officers :

*President.*

JOHN RUTLEDGE, Esq.

*Vice-Presidents.*

Hon. Dan. E Huger	W M Lawton	J F Steinmyer
" Thomas Bennett	John Vinyard	Dr St John Phillips
" William Aiken	James Poyas	James Chn-man
" James Rose	Hugh R Banks	Col A P Hayne
" J B Grinball	William Bird	George Thompson
" Mitchell King	W H Houston	John Clinck
" T L Hutchinson	M C Mordecai	Col B F Hunt
" John Schrierle	James Welzman	" James S Shingler
Gen. S Cruikshank	W H Gilliland	" Thomas O Elliott
Dr Samuel H Dickson	Dr. E Geddings	Edward McCrady
Dr Henry R Frost	Charles Abston, Sen.	Edward P Milliken
James Adger	Wm Henry Heyward	Col A H Belin
H W Peronneau	Dr James Moultrie	John H Honour
Wm Bull Pringle	Henry A Middleton	James Lamb
Charles T Lowndes	Arthur G Rose	Thomas Ryan
C G Memminger	James H Ladson	Dr C C Pritchard
J L Bowie	Geo N Reynolds, Jr	James M Caldwell
Dr Benjamin Huger	Charles Macbeth	James E Walker
W C Dukes	Dr Thomas Y Simons	Henry Gourdin
Dr Elias Horlbeck	Thaddeus Street	James Robertson

*Secretaries.*

C Richardson Miles	Edward J Pringle
Thomas Frost	John Seigling, Jr
Sam D Stoney	Charles H West, jr

The following letters were then read, by A. G. MAORATH, Esq., having been received in reply to the invitations, which had been addressed to these gentlemen, to be present at the meeting. The reading of these letters aroused the meeting to the highest point. At the announcement of the name of the venerable LANGDON CHEVES, repeated cheers strongly told how deep was the respect cherished by our citizens for this eminent statesman, so truly worthy of the appellation of our Nestor, in this momentous crisis. The letter from Col. ORR and those from the other gentlemen, which are published, were also received with marks of the highest approbation :

LETTER OF HON. LANGDON CHEVES.

SAVANNAH, JULY 29th, 1851.

Gentlemen—I have had the honor to receive your note of the 22d inst.

I am both flattered and obliged by the invitation which it contains, as well as by the manner of it; and I regret very much that it is altogether out of my power to attend the meeting. I concur entirely in the object of the meeting. I have, several times within the last twenty years, entered publicly my protest against separate State action. Of the right of a State to secede from the Union, I have never had a shadow of doubt. That right is the right of a sovereign State. A right of which, a sovereign State cannot be divested: and the only real question is, are the States of the Union sovereign States of which, I suppose, no Southern man will venture to express a doubt. But, I think separate secession, though an undoubted, legal and public right, is scarcely a moral and social one on the part of one Southern State in reference to her sister States of the South. Their relations of unity are so many so homogeneous and so strong, as to amount to destiny. God and nature have combined them by such social adhesion, such homogeneity of interests, by such great and benign sympathies of blood, of character and historical action, as to make their separation deplorable, dangerous and unwise. And what reason, is there, to despair of their union? The precise question under deliberation is not a year old. I think, indeed, this is more than time enough to make us certain of our injuries—they are so great and obvious, and to satisfy us that we cannot exist under the present Government of the United States, without being a degraded and oppressed people. But, I should think it nevertheless a short time, within which, for a people to be required to decide on a question so momentous as a great revolutionary change of government; for such, undoubtedly secession must be considered. For myself, I think we ought to secede—but not alone; and I have an ardent hope and a sanguine belief, that the Southern States will resist, by a united effort, though not on the instant. We have few perhaps no examples of such speed in the movement of nations, and, if we have any, I believe, the results will not be found to have been always happy.

I pray God to inspire your deliberations with his wisdom, his truth and his power.

I am gentlemen, with great respect,

Your obedient servant,

LANGDON CHEVES.

Messrs. A. G. Magrath and others, Committee, &c. &c. Charleston, S. C.

## LETTER OF HON. J. L. ORR.

ANDERSON, JULY 24th, 1851.

Gentlemen—It is a source of profound regret to me, that a previous engagement, precludes the possibility of my attending your meeting on the 29th inst.

Meetings all over the State by the Co-operationists are imperatively demanded, if the State is to be saved from the perils of secession. The sentiments offered at the 4th of July celebrations in the parishes, (and you have no doubt, observed, that nearly all the exhibition of public opinion,

in favor of separate State action, has come from one Congressional district in the parishes,) evince a spirit of proscription and intolerance, against the co-operationists, which furnishes a beautiful commentary on the professions of the actionists, that they desire harmony may be preserved in the State. I have no doubt that they will give us the harmony which the wolf gives to the lamb.

If the State is to be put upon the perils of separate secession, and your beautiful city is to share the fate of Moscow, in God's name, let it not be done by a minority of the people. If the immediate actionists have by accident, secured a majority of the Convention, and are resolved in pushing their advantage to the uttermost limit, we have no recourse left, but to instruct the delegates elect, through public meetings of the people. I had hoped that the Convention would be left untrammelled, to act with wisdom according to circumstances when it assembled.

The late proceedings of the actionists, wherever they have the strength to move, has dispelled that illusion, and if the schemes of the leaders cannot be frustrated, then secession is a fixed fact. The people, however, in my judgment, are not with them, and whenever the issue is made, the self-appointed leaders will be routed—overwhelmed by the voice of the people rebuking their temerity. In such an issue, gentlemen, they will be beaten in the mountain districts. Our people here are not submissionists—nearly all are for resistance, and for efficient resistance, to the Clay Compromise—but they have yet to be convinced that they have more courage and patriotism than their Georgian and North Carolina neighbors. They have too much modesty to thrust themselves forward as the only champions of Southern Rights and Southern honor. They believe that Georgia, Alabama, and Mississippi are as spirited as South-Carolina, and that there is no very startling disgrace in their waiting for the co-operation of these States.

I am gratified that you have originated the meeting in Charleston. Every South-Carolinian has vital interest in this question, but the people of your city are peculiarly involved, when you are advertized in advance that you can become a second Moscow without exciting any sympathy from the interior. The meeting will have a happy influence, and will, I trust, be followed up by other meetings of our friends in every district and parish in the State, and the seal of condemnation, by the people, put upon the rash and unfortunate move of separate State action.

I am, very truly, yours, &c.,

JAMES L. ORR.

Messrs. A. G. Magrath, and others, Committee.

## COL. CHESNUT'S LETTER.

CAMDEN, JULY 27th, 1851.

Gentlemen—A few days since I received your letter of the 19th instant, inviting me to be present at a meeting of the citizens of Charleston, to be held on Tuesday, the 29th July instant, for the purpose of defining their position in reference to the present political position of the State, as favour-

able to co-operation for the purpose of resistance and opposed to separate State action under existing circumstances.

I feel and acknowledge the honor of your invitation, and regret that I am not able to be present.

I agree entirely in the position you have indicated, and think it points to the only true and wise policy for the State. A concerted action on the part of the Southern States, must produce redress and security in the Union, or result in our independence as a Southern Confederacy out of it. With either condition I believe South-Carolina would be satisfied. For myself, however, I consider the first not very probable and prefer the latter as furnishing the only permanently safe condition. Any step, therefore, which leads to the attainment of this end, has my hearty concurrence, and will receive whatever support I can give.

While the citizens of Charleston to this great end feel it necessary to "define their position," I am assured that it will be so done as to give no just cause of dissatisfaction to a considerable portion of the resistance party who are separated from us, I feel a strong hope (as their policy is disapproved by a large majority of the State) that they will in their patriotism fall back cheerfully upon us and co-operate for a great and common purpose.

I have the honor to be

Your fellow citizen,

JAMES CHESNUT, Jr.

To Messrs. A. G. Magrath, N. Mitchell, P. D. Torre, and others.

Immediately after the reading of these letters, Col. ISAAC W. HAYNE, announced that the Hon. ROBERT W. BARNWELL, and the Hon. A. P. BORLEN, were in the city, and moved that a Committee of Three be appointed to conduct these gentlemen to the Hall, and that out of respect to them, the business of the meeting should be suspended until their arrival. The motion was adopted, and Col. HAYNE, A. H. DONNIN, Esq., and P. D. TORRE, Esq., were appointed the Committee.

At the return of the Committee, accompanied by these distinguished gentlemen the warmest and most enthusiastic welcome greeted them; and conveyed to them the assurance of the deep anxiety felt by all classes of our community, that the city and country should remain, as they ever had been, united in feeling, and following the advice of those, whose patriotic devotion to their State, had been among the chief elements of a character, which ennobled them and dignified their State.

W. PENNINGTON FINLEY, Esq., then rose, and after a brief address, introduced the following resolutions:

### RESOLUTIONS:

1. *Resolved*, That the aggressive measures of the Federal Government, in connexion with various exhibitions of public sentiment by the people of the North, through their State Governments and otherwise, for a series of years, indicate, in our opinion, a deep rooted hostility to the interests of the South, and

a settled purpose to deprive the Southern States, on account of their peculiar Institutions, of their original rank as Sovereigns and Equals in this Confederacy; and that the inevitable result of such proceedings, if allowed to take their course, must be ultimately the entire abolition of negro slavery in the South, and the erection, in place of our Federal Union, of a Consolidated Government, alike despotic and irresponsible.

2. *Resolved*, That in view of the humiliating condition of the Slaveholding States in this Confederacy—their rights violated—their Institutions proscribed—their character vilified—their offers of compromise rejected—and in view of the still greater dangers which are impending over them, we believe the time has come when this Union should be dissolved, and a new Government organized on the basis of a Southern Confederacy. But while such is our deliberate opinion as to our wrongs and our remedy, we would still be willing to give a trial, fairly and in good faith, to any plan, short of dissolving the Union, which our sister States of the South may propose, for re-instating us in the possession of our Equal Rights, and providing us with adequate guarantees of our future security.

3. *Resolved*, That as the subject of the controversy in which we are engaged is not peculiar to South-Carolina, but equally concerns the other slave-holding States of this Union, our only true policy and most proper mode of procedure, is, in our opinion, to make common cause with our aggrieved confederates; and unite with them in counsel and action to obtain redress for our common wrongs; "such concert of action," according to the views of our own Calhoun, being "the one thing needful," whether to save the Union, or if (as we believe) that be now too late, then "to save ourselves."

4. *Resolved*, That in the present aspect of our political affairs, we deprecate the separate secession of South-Carolina from the Union: 1st. Because it is due to our Southern confederates having a common interest and threatened by a common danger, to take counsel with them, and especially with such of their citizens as are known to be our faithful and devoted friends, as to the mode and measures of redress for our common wrongs; and because our precipitous secession from the Union, in opposition to their views and wishes, would seem as if we claimed to be the exclusive champions of Southern Rights—an assumption which could not but be regarded as arrogant in us, and insulting to them—thus, in place of harmony of feeling, and concert of action, provoking jealousies, and sowing the seeds of discord between us and our natural allies, and operating to

prevent the formation of a Southern Confederacy. 2d. Because our separate secession would be eminently premature and unwise at this time, when we may fairly calculate on the co-operation of other States at no distant period, since the effect of renewed agitation and continued aggression by Northern fanatics—results which may be regarded as absolutely certain, must inevitably be, to bring up some of our sister States of the South to the same position which we now occupy, and thus operate to ensure the formation of a Southern Confederacy. 3. Because South-Carolina, by separate secession, would be placed in the attitude of a Foreign Government to the other slave-holding States of this Union, the effect of which would be, that, under the laws of Congress, prohibiting the migration or importation of slaves from a foreign country into the United States, we should be subjected practically to the "Wilmot Proviso," in its most aggravated form. 4th. Because in all her public resolves, South-Carolina has given no other pledge—has avowed no other determination, than to co-operate with her sister States of the South in resisting these aggressions; and, Finally, Because in the present posture of affairs, to dissolve our Union with the South, and thus isolate ourselves from the sympathies and support of those with whom we are bound together in a common destiny, would be not only abortive as a measure of deliverance, but if not utterly suicidal in its effects, in the highest degree dangerous to the stability of our Institutions.

5. *Resolved*, that while we are opposed to the separate secession of South-Carolina from the Union without the concurrence and co-operation of at least some other slave holding State, or the reasonable assurance that such would be the result of her separate action, we hold the right of a State to secede, as no longer an open question, and as essential to the sovereignty and freedom of each member of this Confederacy.

6. *Resolved*, That as our hope of deliverance at this crisis rests on the formation of a Southern Confederacy—a conclusion which we believe to be entertained by a large majority of the people of South-Carolina—we would earnestly invoke the early action of our State Convention, whenever it shall be assembled, to devise and adopt such measures as in their wisdom shall seem most effectual to bring about a system of concert and co-operation among the slave-holding States in resisting the aggressions of the Federal Government; and also as representing the Sovereignty of South-Carolina to determine by a solemn ordinance what relation to that Government it shall meanwhile become us to occupy; and at the same time to prescribe to the

constituted authorities of the State, such a course of action as will enable them to take advantage of all emergencies, and to be prepared for all results.

After the reading of the resolutions, the meeting was addressed by Hon. A. P. BURLIN, in opposition to separate State action. Although evidently laboring under severe indisposition, he spoke with animation and great effect. As we hope to be able to publish his remarks in full, we forbear further comment at present.

The Hon. ROBERT W. BARNWELL followed in an address of considerable length, addressed to the point of the inability of the State to sustain herself alone, and the folly of looking to Great Britain for countenance and aid. He expressed fully the abolition policy of that nation, as exemplified by her acts for many years. He referred to the great sacrifice at which she had abolished slavery in her own dominions, and to the fact that in her offer to Texas, the abolition of slavery was one of the conditions.

Both speakers studiously refrained from any appeals to the passions or fears of the audience, and sustained their views of this great question in calm and forcible argument.

As the resolutions offered by Mr. FINLEY were about to be submitted to the meeting, a resolution was read by Mr. B. R. CARROLL as to the treason of such as should oppose the action of the State. After a few earnest remarks, by the Rev. Mr. YATES and Dr. A. G. MACKAY, against any attempt on the part of such as were known to be opposed to the objects of the meeting to discuss its proceedings, it seemed to be regarded as an unwarrantable interference, and a motion to lay it on the table was adopted by an overwhelming vote.

The resolutions offered by Mr. FINLEY were then put and adopted with great unanimity.

The following resolutions were offered by Mr. M. C. MORRECAL, and unanimously adopted :

*Resolved*, That, inasmuch as the organization of The Auxiliary Southern Rights Association is now recognised as intended to advance the doctrine of separate State action, it is incumbent on those who are prepared to stand by the Resolutions just adopted, to make equal preparation for the just maintenance of the doctrines that we believe essential to the welfare and honor of South-Carolina.

*Resolved*, That a Committee of Vigilance and Conference, to consist of one hundred members, be appointed by the chair, whose duty it shall be to recommend such measures as shall be, in their judgment, best calculated to unite the public sentiment of our city and State in the support of the principles we have now openly professed.

*Resolved*, That a Committee of Correspondence, to consist of twenty-five, be appointed by the chair, to correspond with our



fellow-citizens in this State and other Southern States, in relation to the great purpose of combining Southern feeling, and making it conduce to the great end of united Southern action.

The meeting then adjourned.

JOHN RUTLEDGE, *President.*

C. RICHARDSON MILES,	} <i>Secretaries.</i>
THOMAS FROST,	
SAMUEL D. STONKY,	
EDWARD J. PRINGLE,	
JOHN SEIGLING, Jr.,	
CHARLES H. WEST, Jr.	

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## LETTER OF GOV. CHARLES J. McDONALD.

SUMMERVILLE, GA., JULY 26, 1851.

Gentlemen—I received your note of invitation too late to answer it at home, and I seize a moment of leisure while travelling, to say that I cannot, if it were otherwise proper, be present at your meeting on the 29th inst. Much will depend on the result of your deliberations; and allow me to say, that the course your State may pursue is destined to have a tremendous influence for good or for evil on the Confederacy. That the great principles of equality and justice which lie at the foundation of the Constitution have been flagrantly violated by the admission of California with her usurped Constitution, into the Union, and the organization of territorial Governments in Utah and New Mexico, with the understanding by those who enacted the law for the purpose, that the Mexican law prohibiting slavery prevails there, over our own political regulations to exclude it therefrom, is unquestionable. It is equally clear that this utter disregard of Southern rights, has its foundation in a fixed purpose to abolish the institution of slavery in the States. The purpose is avowed over the whole North, that another State tolerating the institution of slavery shall never be admitted in the Union, except such as the Government is bound, by its compact with Texas, to admit. It will soon be insisted, I apprehend, that that compact has been abrogated by the *Compromise*, notwithstanding the stipulations in the bribery act, and a State erected on Texas territory will be refused admission, unless it prohibit slavery. The Constitution is then to be changed, and Congress is to acquire authority to interfere with and take away the property of the people of the States. The Constitution of our fathers, by the change, is to be despoiled of its excellence, and the rights which the States now have, to manage and regulate in their own way, their own affairs, is to be prohibited to them. The system of Government left by our ancestors, beautiful because if rightfully administered, it is just and equal, is to be transferred into a hideous system capable of wrong and injustice even when constitutionally administered. If the powers now held by the people of the States, and the States as independent

communities are to be consolidated, and placed in the hands of the General Government, the States of the North and North West, being most powerful in numbers, will have absolute control and dominion upon the rights and interests of the people in other sections.

Time will develop these things. They are in progress and will be accomplished. The people are to determine what is best to be done for their own protection, and the people of each State must determine for themselves. The right of a State to secede from the Union, is unquestionable. The secession of a State from the Union, being the exercise of a right reserved by the people in the Constitution, it being the exercise of a power not prohibited to the States, it follows that the government has no power to subjugate her. It being no offence against the Constitution, against the law of nations, nor against the rights of the general government it will be no cause of war. If the State secede, she will be a foreign State to all intents and purposes, and the general government can no more enforce its laws on her territory, than it can on the territory of any other foreign government. These positions are, I believe, undeniable. If your State were to secede from the Union, the General Government could not interfere to force her into the Union, nor could it enforce her laws over her. If the Government were to attempt it, it would light up a blaze of civil war, which could never be extinguished, but in the life's blood of the lovers of constitutional freedom. But I sincerely hope, that you will not take the assertion of these unquestionable propositions, as encouragement to proceed to extreme measures, to secession from the Union. There are Southern States which are in the same predicament with South-Carolina, which have been as much wronged and as injured by the unequal measures of Congress. Their people, however, do not see the danger to them so imminent, as do the people of your gallant State.

They hope, and they are led to hope, by men in whose judgment they have confided, that the hand of wrong has done its last work of injustice to them, and that the government has arrived at the point at which its aggressions will cease. The people of Georgia entertaining these opinions, have, in their sovereign capacity, determined to *abide* the wrongs they have suffered, and hope in the future fidelity of the Government to the constitution. You cannot expect, therefore, the co-operation of Georgia, in any measure of resistance, against the past measures of Congress. She has taken her ground, however, for the future, and declared what she will and ought to do, should the General Government continue its injustice and wrongs to the South. Whether any other Southern State would unite with you in seceding from the Union, I do not know. I think it extremely improbable. A large number of the people, in other States, who think with Carolina, that the wrongs of the Government are scarcely endurable, are unwilling to resort to so strong a measure of resistance. Is it not a matter well worthy to be considered by South-Carolina, whether it is not best to defer to the opinions of her sister States, equally wronged with herself; and whose sympathy she has, and not proceed separately and alone to a measure of at least questionable expediency? If the hopes of

other States are realized, and the Government returns to a due respect for the rights of the South, and a faithful administration of the Constitution. I most respectfully ask, if it is not better to remain as we are, a united people? I think so decidedly: for all we want is a faithful administration of the Constitution. It will give us all our rights. I confess that my fears are, that these hopes are without solid foundation. But it is a matter that time must decide, and the decision will soon be made. If made against the constitutional rights of our people, we shall be as one man, in any measure necessary to the safety and happiness of all having a common interest.

I would ask if it would not be best to base your action upon the common public sentiment of the aggrieved States. I assure you that the people are properly appreciating the danger of tolerating palpable violations of the Constitution, and unless they can have their rights respected, they will take no step backwards; their march will be onward, until all the rights they are entitled to under the Constitution are respected and protected.

I must beg to be pardoned, from the interest I feel in this subject, for inviting your attention to a matter which has doubtless been well considered by you and the people of your State, generally. If South-Carolina resorts to secession and separates herself from the Federal Government, she will be a Foreign Government to all intents and purposes. She will be subject to all the policy adopted by our Government in relation to foreign Governments. The same duties collected on foreign importations, will be collected on merchandize, coming through and from Carolina. Your great and growing seaport will be subjected to disadvantages that cannot now be well estimated; and if your example of secession should not be followed, it does not require much political sagacity to foresee the difficulties to which you will be subjected. I trust that whatever you do may be followed by the good it is intended to produce.

I have ever been opposed to any national policy based on sectional considerations; but that policy has been brought upon us, and the Southern States, co-equals with the rest in the Confederacy, are treated as inferiors—their rights have been disregarded, and new injuries are threatened against them. If these are inflicted, the consequences must be upon the authors. I have no doubt but what you do will be done upon due deliberation, and upon a firm conviction that it is demanded by the occasion.

I have the honor to be, with great respect,

Your obedient servant,

CHARLES J. McDONALD.

To Messrs. A G Magrath, and others, Committee.

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*From the Southern Standard.*

## THE TRUE POSITION OF THE STATE.

No method of persuasion seems to be more confidently resorted to, by our secession advocates, than an appeal to the susceptible patriotism of our

citizens, not to cast upon the State the discredit which must attach to her, if she retreat or depart from the position which she has already assumed. We are proud to think that our citizens are sensitive on this point, and we doubt not that there are very many, who, otherwise unable to see that isolated secession, on the part of South-Carolina, is the part either of discretion or duty, might easily be prevented from opposing it, if they believed that the State had really pledged herself to such a step. But let not the repetition or vehemence of these appeals, mislead any as to the existence of the facts on which they are founded. Let them not mistake the conclusions of associations, or the counsels and harangues of those who would change her previous position, for her decision. It is a question of fact, and the only conclusive mode of disposing of it, is to appeal to the record. We will there see to what she is really committed, and for that purpose, we will bring to the public attention this *evidence*, as a substitute for argument. In 1848 she adopted the following:

*Extract from the Reports and Resolutions, 1848, p. 147, Joint Committee on Federal Relations.*

In the House of Representatives, December 12, 1848. The Joint Committee of the Senate and House of Representatives upon Federal Relations, to whom were referred so much of the Governor's Message as relates to the agitation of slavery, and sundry Resolutions upon the same subject, beg leave to report the following Resolutions as expressing the undivided opinion of this Legislature upon the Wilmot Proviso, and all similar violations of the great principle of equality which South Carolina has so long and so ardently maintained, should govern the action of the States and the laws of Congress upon all matters affecting the rights and interests of any member of this Union.

*Resolved, unanimously,* That the time for discussion by the Slaveholding States as to their exclusion from the Territory recently acquired from Mexico has passed, and that this General Assembly representing the feelings of the State of South-Carolina, is prepared to co-operate with her sister States in resisting the application of the principles of the Wilmot Proviso to such territory at any and every hazard.

*Resolved, unanimously,* That the Governor be requested to transmit a copy of this report to the Governors of each of the States of this Union, and to our Senators and Representatives in the Congress of the United States.

*Resolved,* That the House do agree to the report unanimously. Ordered that it be sent to the Senate for concurrence.

By order.

T. W. GLOVER, C. H. R.

*Resolved,* That the Senate do unanimously concur in the report. Ordered that it be returned to the House of Representatives.

By order.

W. E. MARTIN, C. S.

*Extracts from the Reports and Resolutions, 1849, pp. 312, 313, 314.*

In the Senate, December 13, 1849.—The Committee on Federal Relations, to whom was referred so much of the Message of his Excellency the Governor, as relates to the recommendation of the people of the State of Mississippi for a Convention of the people of the Southern States to be held in Nashville in June next; and also so much of the Message as relates to convening the Legislature of this State in the event of the passage by Congress of the Wilmot Proviso or any kindred measure, beg leave to report: That they cordially concur with the views expressed by his Excellency the Governor as to the necessity on the part of the Southern people of a united action against the encroachments upon their domestic institutions and their condition of equality in this confederacy by the people of the North and by the Congress of the United States; and rejoice with him in the lofty and dignified position assumed by the people of the State of Mississippi against any such infractions of the compromise of the Constitution; and the appeal which she has made to the people of her sister States of the South to unite with her in common counsel against common aggression. The committee are of the opinion expressed by this Legislature, at its last session, that the period of decisive action has arrived, and that the authorities of South-Carolina should be prepared, promptly to take such steps, as the other States of the South shall recommend and her own position demands. The committee, therefore, in conformity with their own opinions; and as they believe, with the expressed and understood wishes of this Legislature, and of the people of the whole State, recommend for adoption the following Resolutions:

*Resolved*, That in the event of the passage by Congress, of the Wilmot Proviso, or any kindred measures, that his Excellency, the Governor, be requested forthwith, to convene the Legislature, in order to take such steps, as the rights, interests, and honor of this State, and of the whole South, shall demand.

*Resolved*, That the Senate do agree to the Report. Ordered, that it be sent to the House of Representatives, for concurrence.

By order,

W. E. MARTIN, C. S.

In the House of Representatives, December 19, 1849. *Resolved*, That the House do concur in the Report. Ordered, that it be returned to the Senate.

By order,

T. W. GLOVER, C. H. R.

In the House of Representatives, December 18, 1849. The Committee on Federal Relations, to whom was referred so much of the Governor's Message, as relates to the recommendation to the Southern States, by a Convention of the people of Mississippi, to send Delegates to meet at Nashville, to consult in common, upon common rights, with a view to unity of action.

And, also, so much of the message as relates to the convening the Legislature, upon the Wilmot Proviso, or any kindred measure becoming a law of Congress, report, that the people of this State entertain an ardent desire,

and fixed determination, to resist the lawless and unjust encroachments of Congress, on the rights of the South, and have pledged themselves, through their Legislatures, to co-operate with the other Southern States, in opposition to all such measures. They, therefore, concur with his Excellency in the belief, that South-Carolina hails with delight, the proffer by the people of Mississippi, of meeting, by delegates, in common councils, at Nashville, and will heartily and promptly send delegates there, to represent them. That they concur, also, with his Excellency, in the propriety, of calling together the Legislature, should any such contingency occur, as is alluded to by his Excellency, and therefore, recommend the adoption of the following resolutions:

*Resolved*, That should the Wilmot Proviso, or any kindred measure, become a law of Congress, the Governor is hereby earnestly requested to call together the Legislature, should it not be in session at the time of the passage of such law.

*Resolved*, That the House do agree to the Report. Ordered that it be sent to the Senate for concurrence.

By order.

T. W. GLOVER, C. H. R.

In the Senate, December 19, 1849.

*Resolved*, That the Senate do concur in the Report. Ordered that it be returned to the House of Representatives.

By order.

W. E. MARTIN, C. S.

At the last session of the Legislature no resolutions or reports on the subject were adopted, but the ground was covered by "An Act to provide for the appointment of Deputies to a Southern Congress, and to call a Convention of the people of this State."—Acts 1850, page 55.

The preamble setting forth the *motives* of that Act is in the following words:

Whereas, the Convention of the Slaveholding States, lately assembled at Nashville, have recommended to the said States to meet in Congress or Convention, to be held at such time and place as the States desiring to be represented may designate, to be composed of double the number of their Senators and Representatives in the Congress of the United States, entrusted with full power and authority to deliberate with the view and intention of arresting further aggressions, and if possible, of restoring the Constitutional rights of the South, and if not, to recommend due provision for their future safety and independence.

The act then proceeds to provide for the calling of a Convention, and by see. v. p. 56, enacts, "That a Convention of the people of the State of South-Carolina, is hereby ordained to be assembled in the town of Columbin, as hereinafter provided, for the purpose, in the first place, of taking into consideration the proceedings and recommendations of a Congress of the slaveholding States, if the same shall meet, and to be held, and for the further purpose of taking into consideration the general welfare of this State, in view of her relation to the laws and government of the United States, and thereupon to take care that the Commonwealth of South-Carolina shall suffer no detriment."

The act then proceeds to make provision for the number of delegates, &c., and that the Governor should send a copy of it to the Executive of each of the slaveholding States of the Union, and to urge upon them "the desire of the State of South-Carolina, that the said slaveholding States do send duly commissioned Deputies," &c. The Executive is further authorised to call the said Convention, in case the Southern Convention should meet before the next session of the Legislature.

When it is asked, why call the Convention? The above preamble furnishes us with an authentic reply. It was regarded necessary, consistently with her previous course, to manifest a constant anxiety to meet any suggestion from her sister Southern States, and to leave no doubt on the subject, she makes the assembling of the Convention to depend upon the meeting of the Southern Congress. And even though we construe the fifth section of the act to mean that the Convention should meet, (if a time be appointed at the succeeding session of the Legislature,) without regard to a Southern Congress, "to take care that the Commonwealth of South-Carolina should suffer no detriment," yet does this render very little aid to what is contended for on the other side. It will not be forgotten that the State of Mississippi had called her Convention in the middle of our session, and it was demanded by our pledges that we should go as far as any other State, so that our Convention might have been necessary to co-operate with hers.

Besides, to say that the calling of a Convention, without more, is a committal of that Convention to any particular course by the Legislature, is as much at variance with sound constitutional law as it is with fair argument. We look in vain throughout the act for any declaration, or even intimation, that separate secession was contemplated by the Legislature.

In the above proceedings we have the authentic record of what the State has felt, declared and done, and it seems to us impossible to deduce from any part of them that she has given any pledge, express or implied, or done anything to lead to the conclusion that she intended to separate herself from her sister Southern States.

Away then with the reproach that those who are now opposed to separate State secession, and still look to concert of action on the part of those Southern States whose future fortunes are linked together by indissoluble ties, would have our State change her position, or do any thing inconsistent with her honor or good faith.

This reproach can in no sense apply to those who are still striving for co-operation.