

Address to the People of the Southern States.

At a large meeting of Southern members of both Houses of Congress, held at the Capitol on the evening of the 7th ultimo, the Hon. HOPKINS L. TURNEY, of Tennessee, having been appointed Chairman at a previous meeting, took the Chair, and, on motion of the Hon. DAVID HUBBARD, of Alabama, the Hon. WILLIAM J. ALSTON, of Alabama, was appointed Secretary.

Whereupon, the Hon. A. P. BUTLER, of South Carolina, from the committee appointed at a preliminary meeting, reported an Address to the Southern people, recommending the establishment, at Washington City, of a newspaper, to be devoted to the support and defence of Southern interests; which was read, and with some slight modifications, adopted.

The following resolution was offered by the Hon. THOMAS L. CLINGMAN, of North Carolina, and unanimously adopted by the meeting.

Resolved, unanimously, That the committee, in publishing the Address, be instructed to give with the names of the Senators and Representatives in Congress who concur in the proposition to establish the Southern Organ, as manifested by their subscriptions to the several copies of the plan in circulation, or who may hereafter authorize said committee to include their names.

Maryland.—Senator: Thomas G. Pratt. Virginia.—Senators: R. M. T. Hunter, J. M. Mason. Representatives: J. A. Seddon, Thos. H. Averett, Paulus Powell, R. K. Meade, Alex. R. Holladay, Thos. S. Bocock, H. A. Edmundson, Jeremiah Morton.

North Carolina.—Senator: Willie P. Mangum. Representatives: T. L. Clingman, A. W. Venable, W. S. Ashe.

South Carolina.—Senators: A. P. Butler, F. H. Elmore. Representatives: John McQueen, Joseph A. Woodward, Daniel Wallace, Wm. F. Colcock, James L. Orr, Armistead Burt, Isaac E. Holmes.

Georgia.—Senators: John McP. Berrien, William C. Dawson. Representatives: Joseph W. Jackson, Alex. H. Stephens, Robert Toombs, H. A. Haralson, Allen F. Owen.

Alabama.—Senator: Jeremiah Clemens. Representatives: David Hubbard, F. W. Bowdon, S. W. Inge, W. J. Alston, S. W. Harris.

Mississippi.—Senator: Jefferson Davis. Representatives: W. S. Featherston, Jacob Thompson, A. G. Brown, W. W. McWillie.

Louisiana.—Senators: S. U. Downs, Pierre Soule. Representatives: J. H. Harmanon, Emile La Sere, Isaac E. Morse.

Arkansas.—Senators: Solon Borland, W. Sebastian. Representative: William R. Johnson.

Texas.—Representatives: Vol. E. Howard, D. S. Kaufman.

Missouri.—Senator: D. R. Atchison. Representative: James S. Green.

Kentucky.—Representatives: R. H. Stanton, James L. Johnson.

Tennessee.—Senator: Hopkins L. Turney. Representatives: James H. Thomas, Frederick P. Stanton, C. H. Williams, J. G. Harris.

Florida.—Senators: Jackson Morton, D. L. Yulee. Representative: E. Carrington Cabell.

And upon motion, the meeting adjourned, HOPKINS L. TURNEY, Chairman.

Wm. J. ALSTON, Secretary.

THE ADDRESS.

The resolution to which was referred the duty of preparing an Address to the people of the slaveholding States upon the subject of a Southern Organ, to be established in the City of Washington, put forth the following:

FELLOW-CITIZENS: A number of Senators and Representatives in Congress from the Southern States of the Confederacy deeply impressed with a sense of the dangers which beset those States, have considered carefully our means of self-defence within the Union and the Constitution, and have come to the conclusion that it is highly important to establish in this city a paper, which, without reference to political party, shall be devoted to the rights and interests of the South, so far as they are involved in the questions growing out of African slavery. To establish and maintain such a paper, your support is necessary, and accordingly we address you on the subject.

In the contest now going on—the constitutional equality of fifteen States is put in question. Some sixteen hundred millions worth of negro property is involved directly, and indirectly, though not less surely, an incalculable amount of property in other forms. But to say this is to state less than half the doom that hangs over you. Your social forms and institutions—which separate the European and the African races into distinct classes, and assign to each a different sphere in society—are threatened with overthrow. Whether the negro is to occupy the same social rank with the white man, and enjoy equally the rights, privileges, and immunities of citizenship—in short, all the honors and dignities of society—is a question of greater moment than any mere question of property can be.

Such is the contest now going on—a contest in which public opinion, if not the prevailing, is destined to be a most prominent force; and yet, no organ of the united interests of those assailed has as yet been established, nor does there exist any paper which can be the common medium for an interchange of opinions amongst the Southern States. Public opinion, as it has been formed and directed by the combined influence of interest and prejudice, is the force which has been most potent against us in the war now going on against the institution of negro slavery; and yet we have taken no effectual means to make and maintain that issue with it upon which our safety and perhaps our social existence depends. Whoever will look to the history of this question, and to the circumstances under which we are now placed, must see that our position is one of imminent danger, and one to be defended by all the means moral and political, of which we can avail ourselves in the present emergency. The warfare against African slavery commenced, as is known, with Great Britain, who, after having contributed mainly to its establishment in the New World, devoted her most earnest efforts, for purposes not yet fully explained, to its abolition in America. How wisely this was done, so far as her own colonies were concerned, time has determined; and all comment upon this subject on our part would be entirely superfluous. If, however, her purpose was to reach and embarrass us on this subject, her efforts have not been without success. A common organ,

a common language, have made the English literature ours to a great extent, and the efforts of the British Government and people to mould the public opinion of all who speak the English language, have not been vain or fruitless. On the contrary, they have been deeply felt wherever the English language is spoken; and the more efficient and dangerous, because, as yet, the South has taken no steps to appear and plead at the bar of the world, before which she has been summoned, and by which she has been tried already without a hearing. Secured by constitutional guarantees, and independent of all the world, so far as its domestic institutions were concerned, the South has reposed under the consciousness of right and independence, and foreborne to plead at a bar which she knew had no jurisdiction over this particular subject. In this we have been theoretically right, but practically we have made a great mistake. All means, political, diplomatic, and literary, have been used to concentrate the public opinion, not only of the world at large, but of our own country, against us; and resting upon the undoubted truth that our domestic institutions were the subjects of no Government but our own local Governments, and concerned no one but ourselves, we have been passive under these assaults, until danger menaces us from every quarter. A great party has grown up, and is increasing in the United States, which seems to think it a duty they owe to earth and heaven to make war on a domestic institution upon which are staked our property, our social organization, and our peace and safety. Sectional feelings have been invoked, and those who wield the power of this Government have been tempted almost, if not quite, beyond their power of resistance, to wage a war against our property, our rights, and our social system, which, if successfully prosecuted, must end in our destruction. Every inducement—the love of power, the desire to accomplish what are, with less truth than plausibility, called "reforms"—all are offered to tempt them to press upon those who are represented, and, in fact, seem to be an easy prey to the spoiler. Our equality under the Constitution is, in effect, denied; our social institutions are derided and contemned, and ourselves treated with contumely and scorn through all the avenues which have as yet been opened to the public opinion of the world. That these assaults should have had their effect is not surprising, when we remember that, as yet, we have offered no organized resistance to them, and opposed but little, except the isolated efforts of members of Congress, who have occasionally raised their voices against what they believe to be wrongs and injustice.

It is time that we should meet and maintain an issue, in which we find ourselves involved by those who make war upon us in regard to every interest that is peculiar to us, and which is not enjoyed in common with them, however guaranteed by solemn compact, and no matter how vitally involving our prosperity, happiness, and safety. It is time that we should take measures to defend ourselves against assaults which can end in nothing short of our destruction, if we oppose no resistance to them. Owing to accidental circumstances, and a want of knowledge of the true condition of things in the Southern States, the larger portion of the press and of the political literature of the world has been directed against us. The moral power of public opinion carries political strength along with it, and against us, we must wrestle with it or fall. If, as we firmly believe, truth is with us, there is nothing to discourage us in such an effort.

The eventual strength of an opinion is to be measured, not by the number who may chance to entertain it, but by the truth which sustains it. We believe—nay, we know, that truth is with us, and therefore we should not shrink from the contest. We have too much staked upon it to shrink or to tremble—a property interest, in all its forms, of incalculable amount and value; the social organization, the equality, the liberty, nay, the existence of fourteen or fifteen States of the Confederacy—all rest upon the result of the struggle in which we are engaged. We must maintain the equality of our political position in the Union; we must maintain the dignity and respectability of our social position before the world; and must maintain and secure our liberty and rights, so far as our united efforts can protect them; and, if possible, we must effect all this within the pale of the Union, and by means known to the Constitution. The union of the South upon these vital interests is necessary, not only for the sake of the South, but perhaps for the sake of the Union. We have great interests exposed to the assaults, not only of the world at large, but of those who, constituting a majority, wield the power of our own confederated States. We must defend those interests by all legitimate means, or else perish either in or without the effort. To make successful defence, we must unite with each other upon one vital question, and make the most of our political strength. We must do more—we must go beyond our entrenchments, and meet even the more distant and indirect, but by no means harmless assaults, which are directed against us. We, too, can appeal to public opinion. Our assailants act upon theory, to their theory we can oppose experience. They reason upon an imaginary state of things, to this we may oppose truth and actual knowledge. To do this, however, we too must open up avenues to the public mind; we, too, must have an organ through which we can appeal to the world, and commune with each other. The want of such an organ, heretofore, has been perhaps one of the leading causes of our present condition.

There is no paper at the Seat of Government through which we can hear or be heard fairly and truly by the country. There is a paper here which makes the abolition of slavery its main and paramount end. There are other papers here which make the maintenance of political parties their supreme and controlling object, but none which consider the preservation of sixteen hundred millions of property, the equality and liberty of fourteen or fifteen States, the protection of the white man against African equality, as paramount over, or even equal to, the maintenance of a President, who is an object of interest not because he will certainly rule, or perhaps ruin the South, but chiefly for the reason that he will possess and bestow office and spoils. The South has a peculiar position, and her important rights and interests are objects of continual assault from the majority; and the party press, dependent as it is upon that majority for its means of living, will always be found laboring to excuse the assaults, and to paralyze all efforts at resistance. How is it now? The abolition party

can always be heard through its press at the Seat of Government, by through what organ or press at Washington can Southern men communicate with the world, or with each other, upon their own peculiar interests? So far from writing, or permitting anything to be written, which is calculated to defend the rights of the South, or state its case, the papers here are engaged in lulling the South into a false security, and in manufacturing there an artificial public sentiment, suitable for some Presidential platform, though at the expense of any and every interest you may possess, no matter how dear or how vital and momentous.

This state of things results from party obligations and a regard to party success. And they but subvert the ends of their establishment in consulting their own interests, and the advancement of the party to which they are pledged. You cannot look to them as sentinels over interests that are repugnant to the feelings of the majority of the self-sustaining party.

In the Federal Legislature the South has some voice and some votes; but over the public press, as it now stands at the Seat of Government, the North has a controlling influence. The press of this city takes its tone from that of the North. Even our Southern press is subjected, more or less, to the same influence. Our public men, yes, our southern men, owe their public standing and reputation too often to the commendation and praise of the Northern press. Southern newspapers republish from their respective party organs in this city, and in so doing, reproduce—unconscious, doubtless, in most instances, of the wrong they do—the northern opinion in regard to public men and measures. How dangerous such a state of things must be to the fidelity of your representatives it is needless to say! They are but men, and it would be unwise to suppose that they are beyond the reach of temptations which influence the rest of mankind.

Fellow-citizens, it rests with ourselves to alter this state of things, so far as the South is concerned. We have vast interests, which we are bound, by many considerations, to defend with all the moral and political means in our power. One of the first steps to this great end is to establish a Southern Organ here, a paper through which we may commune with one another and the world at large. We do not propose to meddle with political parties as they now exist; we wish to enlist every southern man in a southern cause, and in defence of southern rights, be he Whig or be Democrat. We do not propose to disturb him, or to shake him in his party relations. All that we ask is, that he shall consider the constitutional rights of the South, which are involved in the great abolition movement, as paramount to all party and all other political considerations. And surely the time has come when all southern men should unite for the purpose of self-defence. Our relative power in the Legislature of the Union is diminishing with every census; the dangers which menace us are daily becoming greater; and, the chief instrument in the assaults upon us is the public press, over which, owing to our impotence, the North exercises a controlling influence. So far as the South is concerned, we can change and reverse this state of things. It is not to be borne, that public sentiment at the South should be stifled or controlled by the party press.

Let us have a press of our own, as the North has, both here and at home—a press which shall be devoted to Southern rights, and animated by Southern feeling; which shall look not to the North but to the South for its tone which is to pervade it. Claiming our share of power in Federal Legislation, let us also claim our share of influence in the press of the country. Let us organize in every Southern town and county, so as to send this paper into every house in the land. Let us take, too, all the means necessary to maintain the paper by subscription, so as to increase its circulation, and promote the spread of knowledge and truth. Let every portion of the South furnish its full quota of talent and money to sustain a paper which ought to be supported by all, because it will be devoted to the interest of every Southern man. It will be the earnest effort of the committee who are charged with these arrangements, to procure editors of high talent and standing; and they will also see that the paper is conducted without opposition, and without reference to the political parties of the day. With these assurances, we feel justified in calling upon you, the people of the Southern States—to make the necessary efforts to establish and maintain the proposed paper.

A. P. BUTLER, JACKSON MORTON, J. THOMPSON.

May 6, 1850.

From the Portsmouth Pilot.—Extra. U. S. SHIP ST. MARY'S, Hampton Roads, June 15, 1850.

DEAR SIR: The St. Mary's, bearing the broad pennant of Commodore Geisinger, arrived here last night, after a pleasant passage of eighty days from Batavia. She sailed from Macao on the 23d February, from Manila.

The Plymouth, Com. Vorhees, sailed at the same time for Turon Bay, on the mission of Mr. Balestier, U. S. special Agent and Envoy to Cochinchina, Siam, &c.

The Dolphin, Lieut. Com. T. J. Page, was at anchor in Macao, on the 10th inst. The object of our visit to Manila was to receive on board, and bring to the United States for trial, five American seamen who were in prison there, charged with having set fire to the American ship Maston, on the 10th of March, 1849, near the Straits of Gaspin, two of them small-pox made their appearance on board, and we put into Batavia to send them on shore, in the hope of arresting the spread of the contagion, in which we succeeded. At the date of our departure from Batavia, on the 26th, their recovery was considered hopeless.

On the 20th May, in lat. 30° 33' south, long. 240° 51' west, spoke English ship Ceylon, of Sunderland, fifty-six days out, bound to Port Adelaide, with emigrants. She desired to be reported, "all well."

There are also on board three prisoners from the Pacific squadron, sent home under commutation of sentence of death by court martial.

LIST OF OFFICERS.—Commodore, D. Geisinger. Lieutenants, J. B. Marchand, C. M. Jones, W. E. Boudinet. Acting Lieutenants, A. C. Rhind, D. Ochiltree, master. Purser, C. Anderson. Surgeon, S. R. Addison. Lieut. of Marines, F. B. McNeil. Commodore's Secretary, Fred. Schley. Midshipmen, J. L. Breese, D. L. Braine, C. L. Harleston, J. H. Rowan, Jr. Boatswain, John Crosby. Carpenter, C. W. Babbitt. Sailmaker, W. B. Ingett. Gunner, John Rowan. Passenger, G. R. West.

Yours truly, X.

THE AMERICAN COLONIES are rapidly rising into great importance; the population has increased from 53,000 in 1828 to 350,000 in 1849, and the exports from \$181,000 in 1828 to \$2,187,533 in 1849; the last year the amounts have been exactly stated. At the present rate of increase, the population will be 2,500,000 in 1872; the number of convicts in 1849 was about 3,000.

THE SOUTHERN PRESS.

CITY OF WASHINGTON.

TUESDAY, JUNE 18, 1850.

The Position of Virginia.

The art of forgetfulness, as well as the art of memory, seems to be as important to the modern politician, as it was to a certain ancient philosopher. But much depends on the classification of events,—which to remember and which to forget. In the present attitude of affairs, it has occurred to us that the public, solemn, repeated official declarations of the State of Virginia concerning the great questions now pending might have some claim to be yet considered—at least by her sons. We therefore subjoin certain resolutions, that have passed her Legislature within the last few years. They were adopted after ample deliberation and debate—without distinction of party, and with extraordinary unanimity. If the honor and character of a State can be pledged to anything, they are pledged to these resolutions. If any State has honor and character to pledge, Virginia has.

Virginia did not make these declarations without believing they were right, nor without a determination to maintain them. They were not made as threats, or as boasts, or as pretensions that might be supported, qualified, or abandoned, according to circumstances. They were to stand. And any different interpretation of them, is an imputation upon her, of bluster and hypocrisy.

Yet now we hear it proposed by some, that Virginia shall consent to a compromise or an adjustment of the present controversy—not that will be in accordance with her own principles, or her own purpose, but that will give her "as much as she can get"—that is, as much as those are willing to grant—against whose impudent and insulting threats she replied so nobly and so well.

And has it come to this, that Virginia—the whole South—that my State, the meekest in spirit and weakest in power, in this Union of equal States, and in a controversy as to the most vital, constitutional rights, personal honor, domestic peace, and political power, shall be taught to submit to the will of a mere majority, and take what it can get? Why this is the doctrine of abject submission to absolute power, expressed in the most pusillanimous terms. It is the language of the huckster—of the mendicant—it is the offer of an inferior commodity to the buyer at his own price—it is the humble supplication of the destitute and dispossessed to the possessor—it is a surrender at discretion.

Virginia asserted that she was equal owner with other States of the Territory of California—the richest region of the world—and that her citizens had an equal right to emigrate thither. If she is to be denied all such rights, what kind of a "take" does she "get" by that? Virginia thought, and nobody denied, that her citizens had a right to emigrate to any part of Texas. If this right is cut off as to a large portion of that State, what sort of a "get" is that for Virginia? She thought that in the District of Columbia she had some interest in the slavery question, with which Congress had no right to interfere, even as to the slave trade. But Congress undertakes to abolish that; and if it has that power, has the power to abolish slavery itself there. What does Virginia get by that? What does Virginia get by anything proposed? Why, the utmost it is pretended she will get, is a law to give a little more security to that property which the Constitution has already been found too weak to secure against a majority heretofore weaker than in future—and she will have her right recognized to emigrate to New Mexico and Utah where nobody wants to go, and where no slaveholder can remain after their admission as States, as the population already there will be certain to exclude him in forming a State Constitution. Virginia then, is required to give up the jurisdiction over slavery, and the abolition of the slave trade to a northern majority—she is to give up perhaps twice her own area of territory in Texas and abandon all her right to California, and in return for these she is to get a promise—a Northern promise—not to take anything more at present!

Has anything occurred since these resolutions were adopted by Virginia to render them nugatory? Nothing. The people inhabiting the northern part of California have adopted a Constitution excluding slavery, and claiming as a boundary the whole Pacific coast of the Territory. This itself is a result of Northern aggression; for, under the threat of the Wilmot Proviso, Southern people were prevented from immigrating thither, and the South thus deprived of her right to a voice in forming its institutions. This was a gross wrong and fraud. But does this render it more expedient, or more palatable to the South, to go beyond the doctrine of the right of a people to form their own institutions, and submit to the monstrous attempt of the people of California, not only to act for themselves, but to control a vast extent of territory South of what they occupy; and for the purpose of controlling the institutions of the people yet to settle it? Is it for the South to be reconciled to one outrage by the perpetration of another? Or is it more obligatory on men, grown up men, to resist an attempt to plunder them directly by a vote of Congress for the Wilmot Proviso, or indirectly by a vote of the same men for the same object, in favor of an extravagant and unparalleled claim to Territory by their allies on the spot?

But the most extraordinary argument in favor of the "take what we can get" policy is the party argument. The Democrats who propose to stand by the honor, and faith, and word of Virginia, are admonished not to do so, lest they distract the party, and thereby incur a Whig ascendancy in the State!

What! Was not the Democratic party of Virginia unanimous in supporting these resolutions of the Legislature? Has not that party been predominant in every session of the Legislature when any of these resolutions passed? Did not the very men who now desert, then insist on their adoption; and accuse the Whig party there of treachery to the State because a very small number of that party did, on one or two occasions, refuse to vote for them! And has not the Democratic party in the State attained its present extraordinary strength in the Legislature and Congress by manifesting, or professing, more zeal for those very measures than the Whigs.

And shall we be told now, that Democrats must desert their principles for fear of being beaten by the Whigs? And shall this counsel now be given, this warning against Whig success proceed from those who are now united and combined with Whigs—with CLAY and WEBSTER, to carry the very measures which Virginia solemnly declared to be an outrage on her rights and a stain on her honor?

For ourselves we repudiate all party spirit or party appeals on this great question. They distract the South and dishonor its people. But if we could be tempted in the heat of party zeal, or the hope of party triumph to resort to sinister means, the last thing we should think of would be to sacrifice the honor and faith of a State—of both parties—for the success of one. And the last argument we would use in behalf of party unity would be, that a majority should for that purpose abandon its own principles for "what it can get."

We are not opposed to compromise, but the line of 38 deg. 30 m. to the Pacific is the utmost concession to be made.

Mr. HARVEY, after a few remarks, offered the following resolutions which were unanimously adopted:

Resolved, That an express and fundamental condition to the acquisition of any territory from the Republic of Mexico by the United States, shall be that the territory so acquired shall be admitted as a State into the Union, and that the people of such territory shall be free to form a government of their own, and to elect representatives to the General Assembly of Virginia, that the Government of the United States has no control, directly or indirectly, immediately or otherwise, over the institution of slavery; and that the Executive of the United States, in the exercise of his powers, shall not be authorized to exercise any involuntary servitude shall ever exist in any part of said Territory, except for crime, whereof the party shall be first duly convicted.

Resolved, That the General Assembly deeming this proviso to be destructive of the compromises of the Constitution of the United States, and an attack on the dearest rights of the South, as well as a dangerous and alarming usurpation by the Federal Government, therefore,

Resolved, That the Government of the United States has no control, directly or indirectly, immediately or otherwise, over the institution of slavery; and that the Executive of the United States, in the exercise of his powers, shall not be authorized to exercise any involuntary servitude shall ever exist in any part of said Territory, except for crime, whereof the party shall be first duly convicted.

Resolved, That the passage of the above mentioned proviso makes it the duty of every slaveholding State, and of all the citizens thereof, as they value their rights, to take firm, united and concerted action in the emergency.

Resolved, That the passage of the above mentioned proviso makes it the duty of every man in every section of this Confederacy, if the Union is dear to him; to oppose the passage of any law for the purpose, by which territory be acquired, or of every consideration of justice, of constitutional right, and of fraternal feeling, the fearful issue shall be forced upon the country, which must result, from the adoption and attempted enforcement of the Proviso aforesaid, as an act of aggression and usurpation by the Federal Government, therefore,

Resolved, That if in disregard of the spirit and principles of the act of Congress on the admission of the State of Missouri into the Union, generally known as the Missouri Compromise, or of every consideration of justice, of constitutional right, and of fraternal feeling, the fearful issue shall be forced upon the country, which must result, from the adoption and attempted enforcement of the Proviso aforesaid, as an act of aggression and usurpation by the Federal Government, therefore,

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