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SOUTH CAROLINA STATE RIGHTS CONVENTION.

Pacific Letter of Langdon Cheeves.

MR. RHETT'S RESOLUTIONS.

Strong Talk of Secession.

FURTHER PROCEEDINGS AND REMARKS UPON THE TEMPER AND MANIFEST REVOLUTIONARY TENDENCIES OF THIS CONVENTION.

CHARLESTON, May 7, 1851.

The reception of Mr. Rhett's resolutions of secession yesterday morning, impressed the conviction here upon the most sceptical, that the public sentiment of South Carolina has crossed the Rubicon, resolved, like Cæsar, to run all the hazards of a conflict with the general government. And from the subsequent proceedings, this conviction is abundantly confirmed. We are led to the contemplation of a train of prospective consequences from the probable results of this convention, of the most momentous and appalling character—comprehending the complete disruption of the Union, and the unfathomable events depending upon that calamity. All that we have to rely upon is the interval of time which will be given for consideration and preparation for the final plunge into the dark gulf of secession. But what is to restore the affection and loyalty of South Carolina to the confederation? What is to bring her back to her filial reverence to the Union, when a revolution, as complete as can be conceived, has been effected in the public mind of the State, it is difficult to conjecture. Revolutions seldom take a step backwards. The history of the revolutions of Europe, of 1848, are examples to the contrary; but it is only a step or two for a more vigorous rebound. In South Carolina, the work of alienation of the public mind from the Union has been uninterruptedly going on for the last twenty-five years. The alienation is now complete. The estrangement of Massachusetts or of Virginia from the mother country, in 1776, was not more decisive. Nothing but a backward revolution of public sentiment can restore or retain South Carolina in the Union. Henceforth, as far as human foresight, reason, and experience can determine, the course of South Carolina is out of the Union! If the Union is to be perpetuated, it must be done by subjugating South Carolina at the point of the bayonet; or by some concessions, before 1852, to the whole South, which now appear to border upon the miraculous. The whole South must come up to the relief of South Carolina from this hazard as extremity of revolt; or Congress or the North must come forward, or the Union is gone. Indeed, we almost despair of any compromises, or of any concessions, by the North or by Congress, restoring the loyalty of South Carolina. The most likely contingency, on the other hand, if not the inevitable consequence of these proceedings, is the secession of South Carolina.

SECOND DAY.

AFTERNOON SESSION.

Mr. TRESHOLM, of Charleston, rose, and asked leave to submit to the Convention a letter from Hon. Langdon Cheves, who was elected a delegate but was unable to attend. Mr. T. hoped the letter would be read.

Objections being made,

Gen. ADAMS appealed for a hearing of the letter.

Mr. BADGER moved to lay it upon the table, but withdrew the motion upon request.

The letter was read by vote of the Convention. It was listened to in respectful silence, and with the most manifest coldness on the part of the assembly:—

PLANTATION (QUEECHEE), May 1, 1851.

MY DEAR SIR:—I have been appointed a delegate of the Southern Rights Association of St. Philip's and St. Michael's, and also of the Indian Land Association of York district, to the Convention to be held in your city on Monday next; and it was my wish and intention to have attended the convention in obedience to these calls, but I cannot do so without neglecting private business of my own of importance, which admits of no delay, and which cannot be well accomplished without my personal attention. This business, however pressing and important, should have been superseded by the public call, if I could have believed that my attendance at the Convention could be of any material importance; but I am well satisfied that it could not. My general views of the grievances of the South, and of the subversion of the constitution of the United States, are fully known to the public, and will weigh for what they are worth, as effectually as if I were again to declare them.

The object of the Convention, I understand to be, to declare whether, in the opinion of the Convention South Carolina ought to secede from the Union alone, and without the concurrent action of any other of the Southern States. My opinion on the propriety of the separate action of one Southern State, and particularly of South Carolina, has been long known. There is no man in the country who feels more sensibly than I do the danger, the dishonor, the infamy of the condition of the South. No man is more entirely convinced of the justice, the constitutional right, and the political expediency of the withdrawal of the Southern States from that Union by which they are now enthralled, and which cannot fail, while it subsists, to bring on them further and future danger, oppression, and infamy. I am satisfied that history furnishes no example of such disreputable submission as that which they now exhibit. The philosophy of liberty is jealousy. The proper action of patriotism is the earliest possible resistance to the slightest encroachment on the public rights. The lovers of liberty snuff the tainted breeze of tyranny in the distant gale, and do not wait for the overwhelming power of the storm. But we tamely endure the full blast of the injuries and insults so profusely poured upon us. We hug our chains with something approaching to fondness, and submit to be governed by our bitter enemies—and yet it is only necessary to will it to rend these chains, and to be redeemed, regenerated and disenthralled." As a citizen of the South, I feel humiliated into the very dust. Yet I am not of opinion that South Carolina should secede alone. Nor do I think this on account of the dangers it may provoke, or the sacrifices it may require. No dangers and no sacrifices can be too great in such a cause. But one State of the South cannot stand alone in the midst of her sister States. These States form one family in interest, in blood, in feeling and in endearing social and historical relations and recollections, and such ties ought not to be broken but by stern necessity. South Carolina, I know, has been grossly slandered and villified for what no dispassionate man can say is rash or unwise. She has done no more than proclaim the Southern wrongs, and who can deny them, and to express a desire to unite with her sister States in resisting them. She will be wrong, however, in my poor opinion, if she separate alone from them in her measures of resistance. But it may be said they have not proposed to do what the honor and interest of all require to be done to redeem the character and to sustain the rights of the South. It is most true, and deeply to be lamented; but we are but one member of this large family, and have no right to dictate authoritatively to the other members of the family. We must wait upon them, and entreat them to move. We should use no language of irritation. We must look with forbearance on their tardiness:

"Be to their faults a little blind,
Be to their virtues very kind,
And put a padlock on the mind."

as to the past.

The people of our Southern sisters are a brave people, whose fathers fought for liberty, who themselves were born and nurtured in the enjoyment of it, and who, therefore, know the value of it. It cannot be believed that such a people will long consent to be governed otherwise than by a government in which they shall enjoy equal rights, equal power, and equal honors. They have been deceived and betrayed. They must and will hearken to other counsellors than those to whom they have hitherto listened. The South must and will rise from its slumbers, and mainly rely upon the democracy of the country. The democratic party once already, under the guidance of Jefferson, in 1798, saved the South from the ambition and tolls of federalism. We now contend against the same people, but with three differences:—The leading federalists were then high, honorable, able men, who were ambitious to govern you, but whose ambition was noble, and, therefore, course a crime, though dangerous to the true principles of our Union. These men have gone down to the grave, or have been proscribed and disowned by their unworthy associates—men with more than their ambition, but none of their virtues or talents. The great object of the old federalists was a strong, but honest government. That of their successors is an anarchical tyranny, regardless of the provisions of the constitution for the security of Southern rights, and animated by the principles of abolition and the phrensy of fanaticism. Let the democratic party, then, which rallied under the wise guidance and foresight of Jefferson, and saved the South, again put forth its strength. It embraces the great power of the Southern States. Even the whigs of the South are democrats, though in a false position, in which accident has placed them, and freed of that, they will appear under their old flag. The whig party is now no longer that of which they were members. It was a party founded on the details of the politics of the day, on the comparatively small measures of the moment, and upon the candidates for federal offices. The present moment is one of life or death to the South, and that party is not now contending for these old objects, but to conquer the South and to abolish her most important and valuable institutions. If there are whigs at the South who will adhere to them, they are few and can be spared. We shall be strong enough, if true to ourselves, without them. It is only necessary that the democratic party act vigorously, resolutely, and perseveringly, and the principles of the South will be triumphant. If we have souls in our bosoms, can it be otherwise?

The consummation so devoutly wished may not be accomplished in a day or a year; but let the party of the South persevere and the result is inevitable. This will be true of Virginia and Georgia, as well as of other States. Let no one believe that the recent acts of these States truly express the will and determination of the people of these States. They will take new counsel, and finally be governed by their old principles. Let the question be distinctly put, at the polls, to the people, whether they will submit to the present subversion of their rights and the present degradation of the Southern people, and, I think, the result is not questionable. The question is really one between the South and the North, and whether we shall be governed absolutely now and forever by a people whose avowed objects are to annihilate us!

I have, finally, my dear sir, to ask the favor of you to communicate this letter to the Convention, if you be a member . . . which I believe you are, or, if not, to engage some other hand to do so. My object is to show to those who appointed me that their delegate, though unable personally to attend the Convention, has not been wholly unmindful of his duty to them.

I am, my dear sir,
With great respect and esteem,
Your obedient servant,
LANGDON CHEVES.

G. A. TRESHOLM, Esq., Charleston, S. C.

P. S.—Since writing the above, I have seen it intimated that this Convention will be called upon to act much more largely than was at first suggested, upon the difficult questions between the South and the general government. If it shall do so, I have no doubt the action will be unfortunate. It will, among other evils, divide the people of the State into parties, instead of presenting that unanimity which now does it so much credit, and will, probably, under future contingencies, give it much strength. The great activity and zeal of South Carolina have destroyed her moral and political influence. That zeal and activity were not condemnable in themselves; but, under actual circumstances, were impolitic. It was slanderously called ambition, and a desire to dictate, and excited the jealousy of other States. Measures, right, and proper, and patriotic, were condemned simply because they came from South Carolina; and every dastard has justified his recreancy under this prejudiced and slanderous condemnation. If South Carolina be wise, she will wait upon her sister States yet a long while. Let her be prepared to act, but leave other States time to deliberate and determine for themselves. Great changes must take place in the sentiments of the Southern people, or history is a fiction, and the nature of man has changed. Let South Carolina be prepared to join other States, but she cannot go foremost without injuring her own and the common cause.

There has been, I think, another error in the management of our great controversy (not peculiar to South Carolina). We have had too many conventions. Such assemblages are proper, and only proper, on great occasions, when the sense of the people is doubtful. In almost all, if not all, other occasions, the organized power of government is the safest ground of reliance. It is particularly so in this case, which is a case of usurpation and tyranny on the part of the general government, and our wise ancestors, with great foresight, reserved and secured the independence of the States as a proper power to control the ambition of the federal government when it might arise; and our great error and misfortune has been, that we have allowed the State governments to be virtually nullified by not calling them promptly and strongly into action. A concert between the State governments is the great want of the South at this time, and this great object will best be attained by the legislative and executive functionaries of their respective governments.

A motion was made to lay the letter on the table.

Mr. A. P. HAYNE, of Charleston, appealed against the motion, and hoped that, in consideration of the eminent services and position of Mr. Cheves, as a South Carolinian, the letter would be entered upon the journal.

The CHAIRMAN declared the motion not debatable.

And by an overwhelming vote, the letter of Mr. Cheves was laid on the table.

[This was another remarkable expression of the temper of the Convention. Outside of the Convention, such men as Calhoun, Cheves, and their compeers, have been regarded as the dictators of the State. But here is Mr. Cheves, perhaps the most universally venerated man now living in the State, presenting his opinions respectfully to the Convention; but from no other reason than the distaste of the Convention to his moderate counsels, his suggestions are read only as an act of courtesy, and laid promptly upon the table, by an overwhelming vote.]

Mr. GREGG, from the committee of twenty-one on the subject, reported the following address and resolutions, which were received with acclamation, and ordered to be printed:—

RESOLUTIONS AND ADDRESS.

RESOLUTIONS.

1. Resolved, That in the opinion of this meeting the State of South Carolina cannot submit to the wrongs and aggressions which have been perpetrated by the federal government and the Northern States, without dishonor and ruin; and that it is necessary for her to relieve herself therefrom, whether with or without the co-operation of other Southern States.

2. Resolved, That concert of action with one or more of our sister States of the South, whether through the proposed Southern Congress, or in any other manner, is an object worth many sacrifices, but not the sacrifice involved in submission.

3. Resolved, That we hold the right of secession to be essential to the sovereignty and freedom of the States of this confederacy; and that the denial of that right would furnish to an injured State the strongest additional cause for its exercise.

4. Resolved, That this meeting looks with confidence and hope to the convention of the people, to exert the sovereign power of the State in defence of its rights, at the earliest practicable period and in the most effectual manner; and to the Legislature, to adopt the most speedy and effectual measures towards the same end.

ADDRESS FROM THE DELEGATES OF THE SOUTHERN RIGHTS ASSOCIATION OF SOUTH CAROLINA, ASSEMBLED IN CHARLESTON, TO THE SOUTHERN RIGHTS ASSOCIATIONS OF THE OTHER SOUTHERN STATES.

Having met to take counsel together, and having agreed upon that course which we think it right and necessary to pursue, we wish to lay before you the considerations by which we have been governed, with that frankness which our respect for you, and our desire to merit your good opinion, require.

We regard the position of the Southern States in this confederacy as degraded and ruinous. The manifest tendency of those systematic aggressions which they have suffered for many years past, is to subvert the institution of slavery. If those acts of hostile domination, which have been rendered more insulting by mockery of language, under the term of a compromise, were final in their nature, and were not followed by any further aggression, we should still regard them as outrages, to which sovereign States, possessing the spirit of freedom, ought never to submit. But those measures only form part of a system, gradually commenced, steadily carried forward, gathering strength from development, and proceeding with fatal momentum to its end. That end is the abolition of negro slavery in the Southern States, and the lowering of the free white population of the South to the same level with that agrarian rabble, which, already strong and dangerous, seems destined, before very long, to be the controlling power in the Northern States. We see no remedy and no safety for the South in the present Union. But we know that in this we differ from very many citizens of the other Southern States, spirited and intelligent, having the same interests and suffering under the same wrongs, with ourselves, and who cherish the hope that the rights of the South may be vindicated and secured, without dissolving the existing confederacy. In this difference, it does not become us to assume to dictate, and we hope to stand free from that charge. Up to this time, the citizens of South Carolina, aware that peculiarity of political position, arising from past events, rendered a certain reserve on their part prudent and proper, have studiously avoided everything which might look like assuming the lead in the defence of Southern rights. They desired to act, because they believed that safety and honor required action; but they hoped that they might find leaders in other States, whom they might follow in defence of the common cause. When the ancient commonwealth of Virginia, the proper leader of the South, declared her determination to resist, at all hazards, and to the last extremity, hostile measures then threatened, South Carolina, with all sincerity, stood ready to support Virginia in carrying out her resolution. When Georgia—whose former resistance to federal usurpation, under her heroic statesman, Troup, gave promise of unflinching firmness in any contest in which she might engage—proclaimed her determination to make a stand for the rights of the South, South Carolina rejoiced at the prospect of rallying under the banner of Georgia. And when her young and gallant sister, Mississippi, proposed the wise measure of a Southern Convention for the purpose of endeavoring to unite the Southern States in maintaining their constitutional rights, and at the same time preserving, if possible, the existing Union, South Carolina heartily entered into this measure, and she has carried out the recommendation of the Convention so assembled, at the instance of Mississippi, by providing for the election of delegates to a Southern Congress, to whose meeting she still looks with anxious interest.

In all these proceedings, we think that the citizens of South Carolina have evinced all proper anxiety to avoid the appearance of arrogance or dictation, to act in concert with the citizens of the other Southern States, and to do nothing separately or precipitately. And now, strongly as we have expressed our belief that there is no hope for the South in the existing Union, we are prepared to give a trial, fairly and in good faith, to any effectual plan which may be proposed by any sister State of the South, for obtaining redress for the past and security for the future, without a dissolution of the existing Union, if there be a possibility of such a consummation.

But we first ourselves forced to consider the ulterior question, what we are to do, if we find that there is no reasonable hope of the co-operation of any other Southern State in any effectual plan of relief, and the alternative is presented to us of submitting, or acting by ourselves. And, relucant as we are to separate ourselves from our natural friends and allies, we have made up our minds. We cannot submit. We know that South Carolina entered into the confederacy as a sovereign and independent State, and that having been wronged, she has the perfect right to withdraw from it. Her sons must exercise the right and meet the consequences. If no other State will join us in relieving ourselves from the wrongs already inflicted, we see no hope in waiting for new outrages to arouse a higher spirit of resistance. The new outrages, we are well convinced, will come in due time; but we feel no assurance that the spirit of the vassal will rise in proportion to the indignities heaped upon his head. On the contrary, we see that the South has already borne what it would not for a moment have submitted to ten years ago, and what the North would not then have ventured to perpetrate. We are not willing to try the experiment how long it will be before our spirit is completely broken, by gradually and continually yielding to slow and gradual but unceasing encroachments. And if the exercise of the right of secession is to be followed by the attempt on the part of the government of this confederacy to subjugate South Carolina, it is better that we should meet that attempt while we still have some spirit and some power of resistance left. If we are to submit to the condition of a conquered people, we think it less dishonorable not to do so until we have first been conquered. And if anything could add to the necessity which we believe exists for a withdrawal from the existing Union, it would be the denial of the right of secession. For the denial of that right indicates of itself extreme danger. The right of secession has heretofore, and in better days, been regarded as unquestionable by all Southern politicians, with the exception of an inconsiderable number of consolidationists. And if ever that right can be denied without arousing the whole South to sustain it, the South will be ripe for the most miserable fate which has ever befallen any people. It will then, as a permanent rectional minority, have no defence against the tyranny of a government combining all the vices of the corruptest democracy and the most oppressive foreign despotism.

We know the consequences which will follow a failure in our effort to maintain our liberty. We see clearly that a triumphant exertion of the power of the federal government, in subjugating a State, will vastly increase that power, and greatly accelerate the change, already far advanced, of our federative system into a consolidated central despotism. We see, also, that South Carolina will not suffer the consequences of this change alone, but that the rest of the Southern States must suffer in an equal degree. They will have no safeguard against the central government, strengthened by crushing opposition, and rendered, by triumphant force, what our Northern enemies have long been endeavoring to make it by fraudulent usurpation—the supreme government of a consolidated nation. The sovereignty of one Southern State cannot be destroyed without the loss of their sovereignty by all the others. We are aware of the responsibility of doing an act which may hasten these consequences. We feel the respect which we owe to States having a common interest, threatened by a common danger, but not equally persuaded with ourselves of the necessity of action. And nothing would induce us to take, without their concurrence, a course which is to involve them in its consequences, but a thorough conviction of the necessity which urges us, and of our right to do so.

Addressing citizens of the Southern States, associated to maintain the rights of the South, we cannot imagine it to be necessary to argue about the right of secession. We hold it to be the great State right, without which all others are nugatory and incapable of being enforced; and your position assures us that your faith cannot be different from ours.

Nor can we regard it as necessary any further to discuss the wrongs which have been inflicted on the Southern States. They may be denied by those who shut their eyes to them; but you do not belong to that class. Southern and State rights men may differ as to the necessity of exercising the right of secession at a particular time, on account of those wrongs. But as certainly as the right exists, each State must possess the right of judging for herself, as to the occasion and time for its exercise. If South Carolina decides that honor and safety require her to secede, she has the right to leave the confederacy peaceably and without molestation. If the act of secession is not permitted to be peaceable, it will be from usurpation of power by the federal government, not from the nature of the act performed by South Carolina. Accustomed as we have been to violations of the constitution, and of the rights of the Southern states by the federal government, we have to look forward to the probability of another outrage by that government, in the attempt to force the State to remain in the Union. We suppose the attempt will be made, if the other Southern States permit it. Those States must decide for themselves whether they will permit it. South Carolina must decide for herself whether it is necessary to secede. Her sister States of the South will have no right to complain that she forces them into a position where they must either interpose to prevent her subjugation, or, by consenting to it, abandon their sovereignty, and lay themselves at the mercy of a despotic power. In seceding, South Carolina will simply do an act which all Southern men, who believe in the existence of State rights at all, must admit that she has a perfect right to do, and which she regards as absolutely necessary. She will be acting on her sacred right. She will be acting as she would have to act if none of the other Southern States were in existence, and she were the only object of aggression by the Northern States and the federal government. She is not answerable for the usurpations and injustice which may be committed against her. And for her sister States of the South to ask of her to refrain from an exercise of right which she regards as indispensable for self-preservation, would be an interference with her free action, of a far different character from any with which she can be charged towards them. Sovereigns are equals. In seceding alone, South Carolina would be placing her sister States of the South under no constraint. If they should find themselves in a position of constraint, it would come from the action of the federal government, not of South Carolina. But if they should insist upon her refraining from the exercise of her right, and submitting to a condition which she regards as intolerable, they would make themselves parties with the federal government, in placing an unjustifiable constraint upon a sovereign and an equal.

We wish that the necessity for separate action by South Carolina, which we have contemplated, may be averted. We confide in the gallant spirits whom we address. There may be some hope of the assembling of a Southern Congress, to devise measures of redress and relief upon which some of the injured States may unite. We have, heretofore, been willing to sacrifice much for Southern union. We still are. We do not desire to lead, but to follow. Promise any effectual measures for vindicating our common rights, and providing for our common safety, and we will heartily unite with you in carrying them out. We should regret most deeply to incur the censure of friends, with whom we have the strongest desire to act in concert. But we feel a deep conviction that we have not acted heretofore with any precipitation, and that we are in the right in the determination which we have formed. The self-abasement of submission, appears to us unworthy of men still pretending to be free. The gloomy prospect of inevitable ruin, to follow submission, appears to us more formidable than any dangers to be encountered in contending alone, against whatever odds, for our rights. We have come to the deliberate conclusion, that if it be our fate to be left alone in the struggle, alone we must vindicate our liberty by secession.

Mr. GREGG stated that the committee would report upon the other matters referred to them, and especially in reference to the more perfect organization of the South Rights Association, to-morrow.

Mr. TEVIS moved to add to the report a resolution, declaring that this must be the last year that South Carolina will remain in the Union; that a new year must usher in a Southern confederacy, or South Carolina as an independent republic.

The reading of the resolution was met with a round of applause. The resolution was referred.

Gen. ADAMS moved that the letter of Mr. Cheves be ordered to be printed. It was due to the Convention itself, not less than to that distinguished man.

Mr. JOHN A. CHESNEY seconded the motion, with some corresponding remarks.

Mr. TEVIS assented cordially to the motion, and the letter of Mr. Cheves was ordered to be printed.

And the Convention adjourned.

THIRD DAY.

MORNING SESSION.

Convention assembled at 10 o'clock. Prayer by the Rev. Mr. Bencke, of the Episcopal Church. Journal of yesterday read.

Gov. RICHARDSON (President) called the attention of the Convention to the fact that the proceedings, yesterday, were marked by repeated ebullitions of feeling, which were not in exact accordance with that spirit of order and deliberation which should govern so grave an assemblage. He should, therefore, exercise his authority in the suppression of such outbreaks—limiting expressions of approbation or disapprobation to votes and speeches. (Applause.)

The minority of the committee of twenty-one presented a report against immediate or hasty separate State action, and in favor of delay. These only of the twenty-one, we understand, were for further postponement of action.

The CHAIR, for the convenience of hearing, suggested that gentlemen desiring to address the Convention had better come to the rostrum.

Mr. MAXCY GREGG, chairman of the committee of twenty-one, who, by appointment, presented yesterday, a series of resolutions, and an address for the consideration of the Convention, as the basis of its action, here came forward, and taking the stand, delivered a powerful appeal in support of the separate and independent secession of South Carolina from the union. He said that for the three years last past, South Carolina had pursued a policy of resistance to federal aggression, of peculiar consistency. She had forborne—her people had been restrained and held back, for some other of the Southern States to lead off. South Carolina had relied upon Virginia, but Virginia had failed her; she had depended upon Georgia, but Georgia had disappointed her; her only reliance now was Mississippi, and though her position was doubtful, he hoped the party for resistance would carry the September Convention. But such is the attitude of South Carolina, brought about since last November, in the desertion of her sister States. She stands alone. And even within her own borders, a submission party boasts of the progress it is making. He would call some submissionists but those who, while they professed to love South Carolina, were still in love with the Union, so delectable to every true South Carolinian. (Applause. The Chair called to order.) We have three parties in this State. A submission party—a party for immediate secession—and a resistance party, not ready to designate the time now for action. Delay, he contended, would extend these divisions; submission would ludicrously gain ground, and South Carolina would succumb. The public press, outside of South Carolina, the federal government, the Northern States, were all working to this end, of securing the quiet submission of this commonwealth. The time has come. South Carolina has provided arms; shall she use them? Shall she resolve to act? Let us hope that she will; and leave the miserable title signal of submissionists, within her borders, to emigrate to the United States. (Applause.) Let us strike; and whatever the consequences, we shall, at least, have done our duty.

Mr. R. F. GRAHAM, in a historical review of South Carolina, and of the South in the Union, and of the compromises of Mr. Clay, beginning with the Missouri compromise, supported Mr. Gregg in his argument, that the time had come for action.

Judge BUTLER (of the U. S. Senate) next took the tribune, and after confessing the deep sense of responsibility which oppressed him, and the momentous consequences which he felt depended upon the action of this Convention, said he was oppressed, on the reading of the report of the committee of twenty-one, yesterday, with the extent and magnitude of the results which it involved. It was a report bringing up the State to the practical carrying out of the last alternative of resistance; but, consistent as it was with history and with the opinions of the committee, and perhaps of the Convention, he was constrained in some respects to differ with that report. He had contended in the Senate, at Washington, against a Northern gallery for the rights of the South, and had, against an incredulous majority, represented the indisposition of South Carolina longer to submit; yet, extreme as he was there considered, he had returned to find that his counsels were perhaps behind the tendencies of the public sentiment of the State. He would rather encounter forty senators at Washington, against him, than to differ with a single friend at home, in reference to the policy of South Carolina. She was about to plunge into a narrow pass, unexplored and unknown. It will be a severe trial, requiring the union of the whole of us, all our energies, and our resources. But he was ready, in any event, to go with the State (applause) and sustain her. He was fully impressed with the degrading position of the South in the Union. The constitution was of no more protection to the South than if it were not in force at all. The South is under the dominant majority of the North. But he thought that, in the event of secession now, South Carolina would be like Athens at the battle of Cheronæ—she would have to contend against the Macedonians, against the gold of Philip, and against the love of pleasure and tranquillity. Secession without a Southern confederacy, he supposed, did not enter into any reflecting man's mind. Secession, however, if too rash, may ruin the whole prospect. He did not expect war with the federal government. This was the age of dollars and cents. The federal government would declare our State ports to be closed as ports of entry, and by embargoes upon our coasting trade, and by such advantages as would give to Savannah the present commerce of Charleston, our only resort would be that of the smuggler. Dollars and cents, the Macedonians and the love of ease, would keep our Southern confederates from coming to our relief. The whole foreign power and naval power of the federal government would be against us. And he had no idea of trusting to the prospect of Great Britain's support alone. He wished the co-operation of the Southern States. Disunion must come. The Southern States will be compelled to unite. He was opposed to being too hasty. He thought the other Southern States ought first to be consulted before the final step of secession is taken; and that division among ourselves in such a step ought, of all things, to be avoided. Still, he was ready to stand by the State.

General ADAMS, of Columbia, an able and distinguished speaker, replied to Judge Butler at length. He recited the wrongs which the South had suffered—the wild and ruinous tendencies of abolitionism in the North—the increasing power of the North—the late aggressions upon Southern rights and institutions in the compromises of 1850. He appealed that the time for action had come—that nothing was to be gained by waiting upon the other Southern States. It would be impossible to organize a Southern confederacy in advance of some decisive blow. Some State must lead off, and throw the tea overboard. South Carolina must do it, or fall back. It is either with her a step forward or a step backward. She must advance or recede; and rather than recede now, he would take the step of secession with all the hazards of putting South Carolina in the attitude of a nation by herself. (General applause.)

The CHAIR reminded the Convention that these outbreaks disturbed the order of the proceedings.

General ADAMS proceeded to show that, out of the Union, South Carolina would rally the South to her side, while submission would be followed in due time by all the consequences of a servile insurrection, excited by Northern fanatics. He should support the report and resolutions of the committee of twenty-one. The Union is already virtually dissolved; and peace or blood, he was prepared for secession, and to pledge to it all he had, and all he hoped for. He would rather have South Carolina a citadel of freemen than a habitation of slaves. (Applause.)

BY TELEGRAPH.

BALTIMORE, May 10—9 P.M.

The following is the minority report of the committee of twenty-one, of the Charleston Convention. It was presented by Mr. Barnwell, and two other delegates:—

The undersigned, the minority of the committee of twenty-one, dissenting, as they are constrained to do, from the report of the majority of the committee, as a recommendation involving a departure from the proper objects of this Convention, and as prematurely making issues not called for by the present occasion, beg leave to recommend, as a substitute for said report, the resolution submitted by a delegate from Anderson, amended, so as to read as follows:—

Resolved, That feeling entire confidence in the constitutional organs of our State government, and in the wisdom and fidelity of the Convention elected under the act passed at the last session of the Legislature, we are perfectly willing to leave to them the mode and measure of redress for the wrongs we have suffered from the federal government, as well as the time of its application, and without indicating or suggesting the course it behooves them to pursue, and we hereby pledge ourselves to abide by their decision, whether the same shall be for secession from the Union, with, or without the co-operation of the other Southern States.

South Carolina Southern Rights Convention.

OUR CHARLESTON CORRESPONDENCE.

CHARLESTON, S. C., May 7, 1851.

Review of the First and Second Day's Proceedings—Secession Predominant, and Disunion Impending—Gloomy Prospect.

Agreeably to appointment, the General Convention of all the Southern Rights Associations of the State of South Carolina, assembled in the Military Hall, to-day, at 4 o'clock, P. M.

The assemblage was organized with remarkable decorum, and a spirit of fraternity and unanimity prevailed significant of a harmonious sentiment in opposition to this federal Union, and in favor of going out of it as soon as expedient, "at all hazards, and to the last extremity."

Four hundred and thirty-one delegates, a highly respectable and intelligent body of men, from all quarters of the State, were enrolled upon the journal. Ex-Governor J. P. Richardson was unanimously elected President, and the organization was completed in the appointment of seven Vice-Presidents and six Secretaries, and the adoption of the rules reported for the government of the Convention.

Governor RICHARDSON, on taking the chair, delivered a powerful appeal in behalf of this rebellious attitude of South Carolina to the government of the United States, and the peace and safety of the Union. No Northern man in the North, or out of South Carolina, can appreciate the spirit of secession and of alienation from the general government, which here prevails. It is the universal sentiment. We venture to say that not one man of this Convention is in favor of South Carolina continuing in this Union as it is—not one. To a stranger in this place, the assemblage in this Doric hall has the moral and political atmosphere around it of a convention in some foreign country. Accustomed, in all deliberative assemblies heretofore, in our experience, even if in opposition to acts of Congress, or sectional aggression, to hear something of attachment and veneration expressed for the Union—the glory of which illuminates the earth; and accustomed to hear only of disunion as the last dreadful resort in the last insupportable extremity, we feel in this convocation of seceders, per se, as if we had passed beyond the limits of the United States, and were in a State already cut off, and in the exercise of a separate nationality—a foreign State—a State beyond the jurisdiction of Congress—beyond the federal relations of the constitution; as a state within, and yet without, the confederacy, lacking only the formal declaration not essential to the fact.

The opening speech of President Richardson, in every allusion to secession, was applauded with as much enthusiasm as a speech of Henry Clay, in behalf of the Union, would be received in front of the Astor House. Mr. Richardson admitted the doubts, the gloom, the thickening dangers gathering over this movement to break up the Union—how that undertaker to ride upon the whirlwind can direct the storm; but the increasing aggressions of Congress and the increasing dangers which menace us from the North, admonish us that to defer or evade the issue presented, of resistance or submission, is to acquiesce in our humiliation. (Applause.) The only questions for us to determine are the place, the time, and the means of the end we have in view—now, what, or where and when are we to act? (Applause.) He appealed to the sacrifices of South Carolina for the Union, from Fort Moultrie to Churubusco and Chapultepec, but however revolting the idea of dissolving our connection with our sister States may have been ten years ago, however sad and hazardous now, it has come to be our only alternative. (Applause.) It hath been said, "Whom God hath joined together, let no man put asunder," but the sentence is equally applicable, "Whom God and Nature hath put asunder let no man attempt to join together." (Great applause.) The President then proceeded to describe the incongruous elements, geographical and political, that men have attempted to amalgamate and homogenize under the federal compact—a confederacy under which the South has been impoverished in enriching the North, and degraded to the last opprobrious degree of humiliation. Our federal flag is the refuge of the exiles and the oppressed of every land except the South; it affords no shelter, no refuge, no protection to us. In fact, the Union is already, in its spirit and intent, dissolved. The division North and South in the churches is a division under which of itself the Union cannot survive. The overwhelming religious sentiment of the North against our institutions is such that, to remain in the Union, we remain to be destroyed. (Applause.) We have then but to perform our duty, and leave the consequences to God. Let us deliberate upon it in a spirit worthy of our ancestors, feeling that we have to decide upon the Union without our institutions, or our institutions without the Union. (Applause). Let our counsels be directed, then, not to the Union, but to the unanimity of South Carolina. (Appause.) The worst of submission is dissension among ourselves, and the greatest triumph to our enemies.

Such were some of the leading allusions to secession in the President's opening address, and which were instinctively seized upon in the approbation of the Convention.

After the organization, it was resolved that the proceedings should be regularly opened with prayer, and, accordingly, the Rev. Mr. Somers, of the Methodist Episcopal Church South, was called upon to open the proceedings. His prayer was more remarkable than the President's speech. There was no thankfulness for the blessings showered down upon this Union of thirty one free and independent States; no gratitude for the blessed and beneficent inheritance of our federal organization; but the prayer was dark, studied, lugubrious, solitary, dismal, and sepulchral. It had nothing of Mr. Webster's "odor of nationality" about it, but an awful aroma of secession from beginning to end. He prayed for wisdom to enlighten the members of the Convention in this crisis—for peace, and yet for justice, for South Carolina, and for her authorities; but never a word more for the President of the United States than for the President of France. All the world, outside of South Carolina, was summed up in "Do Thou bless, also, all the nations and people of the earth, and in the end save us in Thy kingdom, through Christ our Redeemer. Amen."

But strange as was this prayer to one accustomed always, on all occasions, to hear the Union classed with such blessings as light, and life, and health, and liberty, and law, it afforded still another evidence of the conscientious earnestness of this people, in this tremendous enterprise of a separate nation inside of the United States.

The objects of the Convention were declared to be, to consult, consider, and resolve upon the initiative of the policy which . . . pursue. And with such manifestations as described, of the tenor and temper of the Convention, they adjourned.

SECOND DAY, MAY 6.

The Convention re-assembled at 10 o'clock. Prayer like that of yesterday. Journal read.

On motion of Mr. MAXCY GREGG, a committee of twenty-one was ordered to be appointed, to whom all resolutions in reference to the action of the Convention should be referred without debate; the committee to report upon the same. The committee being appointed, the districts were called for resolutions; and among those submitted, we give the following, as embracing the most moderate and the most decisive propositions presented.

By Mr. ORR, member of Congress.

Resolved, That the State Convention called at the last session of the Legislature of South Carolina, in our opinion, should be assembled by order of the next Legislature; that we have implicit confidence in the wisdom, fidelity, and patriotism of the delegates elect, and pledge ourselves to sustain the final action of the Convention; and that we consider it inexpedient to dictate or suggest to the members thereof, the mode and manner of redress for the many grievances inflicted on us by the federal government.

The resolution was received in silence, and referred in a silence ominous that it was not the thing.

By Mr. RHETT, of the United States Senate.

1. Resolved, That in the opinion of this Convention, the institutions of South Carolina are no longer safe under the constitution, nor in the Union.

2. Resolved, That the concert of the Southern States in any systematic and decisive resistance to the power of the general government, has been hitherto sought in vain.

3. Resolved, That the only effective call upon the South, must be by the appeal of a practical issue.

4. Resolved, That the committee to whom these resolutions are referred, be instructed, in the name of the Convention, to memorialize the Legislature of the State, to convene the State Convention at the earliest period practicable, after the first of February, 1852, for the purpose of declaring South Carolina an independent State.

These resolutions were received with cheers and huzzas several times repeated, and the mass of the Convention joined in the applause. They were referred amidst a renewed outbreak of applause, which was positively startling to witness. Other resolutions, of a similar import, met with a similar reception.

The various resolutions submitted being referred, the Convention took a recess till four o'clock. Thus far the proceedings indicate nothing else than the dissolution of this Union, beginning with the secession of South Carolina. W.

Marine Affairs.

DEPARTURE OF THE PACIFIC.—The U. S. M. steamship Pacific, Capt. Nye, left at noon yesterday, for Liverpool. Her passenger list numbers 238 persons, among whom are A. B. Nichols, Esq., Commissioner from Virginia to the World's Fair; Don Jose Basilis Guerra, Minister from Mexico to Rome; Hon. John M. Niles, Ex-Senator from Connecticut, and Mlle. Leyo, the celebrated equestrian. The names of the remainder of her passengers will be found in the following list:—

John P Howard, N Y
Dr William Pettit, Phila
Mrs J R Pettit, Phila
Dr J S Updegraff, Mount Pleasant, Ohio
Hon Eben Newton, Canfield, Ohio
Mrs Eben Newton, Canfield, Ohio
Mr Elias Jennings, Salem, O.
Hon John M Niles, Connecticut
Thomas B Yeatman, Bearer of Despatches to Vienna and Madrid, of Cincinnati
J M Morrison, N Y
Dr F C Ellison, Savannah
Miss Caroline Leyo, Paris
Don Jose Basilio Guerra, Minister from Mexico to Rome, Mexico
Dr A C Canto, Matanzas
Mrs A C Canto, do
D M Frost, Esq, U S A, Schenectady, N Y
Mrs D M Frost, Schenectady
Capt W S Berner, Middletown Point, N J
Miss Caroline Leyo, Paris
Hon Mr Conrad, late Postmaster, and servant, N Orleans
Rest Rensley, of Rensseyville, N J
James Sheridan, N York
Mrs James Sheridan, do
Henry E Sheldon, do
Lucius B Sheldon, do
Royal Houghton, do
Mrs Royal Houghton, do
Miss Mary Patten, Troy, N Y
Miss Sarah Boughton Warren, Troy, N Y
J D Slade, of Fall River
John Stedman, Baltimore
Mrs John Stedman, child, and servant, Baltimore
W W Patrick, of Pittsburg
Daniel B Brooks, N York
Mrs D B Brooks, do
Jas H Stephens, and servant, N O
H N White, of Philadelphia
B Hardesty, Jr. Baltimore
Joseph Cushing, do
A H Foster, Niagara Falls
B B Cooper, do
E Kenny, New Orleans
Mrs E Kenny, do
E M Whitlock, New York