

LETTER FROM G. W. GAYLE, ESQ.

CAROLINA, ALA., Aug. 23, 1851.

Gentlemen—Yours of the 20th inst., desiring me in behalf of those you represent, to address a public meeting to be held in Charleston on the 17th proximo, was received to-day. On the day appointed for your meeting, I shall be on my circuit, and forced therefore, by a duty to my clients, to decline your kind invitation.

The determined spirit of resistance you express, through the medium of separate and immediate State Secession, gives me hope. Despair never could annoy me, if I were certain South Carolina would stand up to her professions, her honor, and her integrity. Slavery in the South is literally staked upon her, and if she retraces one step she has taken, all is lost, and lost forever, save what relic of the Southern institution may be found amid the desolations of civil war.

Who can doubt that we have been driven to the alternative of giving up our slaves to Northern fanaticism, or dissolving the Union?—This is not a debatable question, even among the most crouching submissionists. All parties in the South concede it, while they propose different remedies. Hostility to slavery has grown up with the Government, and year after year, since 1787, it has now reached maturity, and is as undomesticated and inexorable as a wild hyena.

It has succeeded in one of its grand schemes of abolition—hemming in the institution by surrounding it with free States. Insolent in its power, it refuses to allow the fugitive slave law enforced, and thus triumphs in another plan of emancipation, rendering the slave property of the bordering States unsafe, by open robbery, and forcing its owners to push it upon the interior South. Not content with these, for the last three years they have, by their irresistible power in Congress, increased the Government debt millions upon millions, with the view to exhaust the sources of public revenue, and reach emancipation through the levy of a direct tax, perhaps of three hundred dollars upon a slave. Of this latter scheme, I think I can hardly be mistaken. Within the time specified, appropriations have been unparagonably made—the public lands given away to every petitioner, and no effort made to raise the duties on imports. They have the Constitutional right to levy such tax, and I am satisfied it is looked to as an early means of abolition.

When we are thus driven to the necessity of giving up slavery or dissolving the Union, what shall we do? It is true, the Northern argument that "the Union is stronger than slavery," has had its influence in the South, even with slaveholders. But shall we give it up, although this startling fact shall stare us in the face? No—never! We have the power to preserve it, and we will do so by the best practicable means.

How shall we preserve the institution of slavery? By submitting to aggression until we can get the co-operation of the South? When will we ever get the co-operation of the South? Ask your Cheves, and your Butler, and your Hayne, and your Barnwell to tell you. They may tell you we will get it when slavery is abolished in the District of Columbia. This cannot be, because, should that be done, we will be told that the South voted for Mr. Van Buren for the Presidency when he had publicly declared he believed Congress had the Constitutional power to do so. They may tell you too, we may get it when the fugitive slave law is repealed. Let this be done, and it will be defied in the South upon the ground of its unconstitutionality, and your noble Rhett will be cited as authority. What then, is to produce the expected co-operation of the South? Nothing that Congress can be expected to do, most certainly. When a Southern Convention of only six or seven States could be assembled at Nashville, while the compromise bills were upon their passage, the Union trembling under an excitement upon the slavery question which it never before experienced, it is vain to talk of co-operation for what the Government may hereafter do. When a subsequent Southern Congress has been appointed to be held in Montgomery, Ala., in December next, and no other State but South Carolina has appointed Delegates to the same, is it not idle to talk of co-operation? We cannot, then, preserve slavery by waiting for co-operation. If we wait for it, we must wait until a direct tax of three or five hundred dollars is laid upon a slave. This may produce co-operation. But I fear if we wait so long, we will have become so accustomed to submission, that we will "acquiesce" even in that outrage.

There is one way, however, to preserve slavery, and preserve it by co-operation. It is by the separate Secession of some one slave State. It is the only way to unite the South, and produce co-operation. When this occurs should the General Government interfere (if any General Government remains) each slave State, from interest and from sympathy, will rally to her support. Should the General Government not interfere, a large majority of them will secede to form a slave-holding Confederacy peaceably. It is cowardice that has made us submit so long to Northern aggression. Demagogues have frightened the people with the craven cry of war, bloodshed, insurrections and murders. Let some gallant State dare to throw the gauntlet, and face the foe, and all will be peace, and the South left to the enjoyment of her constitutional right of secession.

But what State shall do this great good to the South? The one who has sworn she will do it—the glorious little State of South Carolina! There are many reasons why she should do it. It is affirmed that the quailed under Gen. Jackson's frown in the days of her nullification, and it is whispered in every submission circle that she is now afraid of Government troops. Again—for some time after the Nashville Convention, she modestly held back to take a place in the rear, but finding too much apathy and inaction, she moved forward, and declared she would take the lead. Again—the whole South expects her to do it. And, again—she is the only Southern State who is prepared to meet the fancied consequences of secession. Will she hesitate? Heaven forbid! Turn a deaf ear to the unwise counsels of co-operation before secession—wait no longer—but when your Convention meets, invoke God's blessing, and leave this accursed Union! You will soon find followers enough to form a powerful Confederacy, and then what a pleasure we will experi-

ence in taking little Cuba by the hand and telling her—"Come rest beneath the covering of this tent; you are no stranger!"

With a heartfelt expectation that South Carolina will move onward, with unbounding step, to separate and immediate secession.

I am, most respectfully, your obt'd servt,
G. W. GAYLE.

CAMDEN,

TUESDAY EVENING, SEPT. 23, 1851.

THEO. J. WARREN, Editor.

Return Days.

Table with 2 columns: Location and Return Day. Includes Darlington (4th Oct), Fairfield (11th), Kershaw (18th), Sumter (25th), Lancaster (1st Nov).

Election for Tax Collector.

On the second Monday in October next, an election will be held for Tax Collector for Kershaw District. Voters are reminded that the polls will be opened but one day. See notice in another column.

We learn from the Vicksburg True Issue that Hon. W. McWillie has withdrawn from the contest in the Third Congressional District of Mississippi.

"District Meetings."

"At a public meeting held in Camden, March 8, 1849, Capt. Thomas Lang, Chairman, to respond to the Southern Address, an able report was read, prepared by a Committee, of which Col. James Chesnut, Jr. was chairman, recommending non-intercourse; also, seven resolutions—the first saying, in substance, that the Union of these States was formed for the liberty and welfare of all—that when it ceased to fulfil these objects, they ceased to exist."

2. That when the Constitution was violated deliberately and systematically, this government became one which ruled by fraud and force. To such a Government, "we are ready to oppose our lives and fortunes."

3. That the intermeddling by the Free States and General Government with slavery in the slave States is a violation of the Constitution to which we will not submit.

4. Resolved, That in the recent action of Virginia, we recognize the conduct of a State every way worthy to lead the van of battles against tyrants and tyranny, and that in her efforts to maintain the liberty and equality of the States, we will stand by her in every change of fortune.

5. [To which special attention is invited.] Resolved, While we are anxious to associate with, and act in concert with other States, we consider it the duty of CAROLINA, ASSOCIATED OR ALONE, TO UPHOLD HER POLITICAL EQUALITY AS A STATE.

These embrace the Resolutions of moment offered at the first Southern Rights meeting in Kershaw District, since the late agitation of the question; we have put in capitals and italics those parts, which breathe the strong Secession doctrine, in order that attention may be especially directed to them. Our correspondent, "Kershaw," in his No. 2, endeavors to show that the District is not pledged to Secession by any Resolves which we have heretofore made upon the subject. Here we take issue. We cannot conceive however, that the question of the right or policy of secession is touched here at all—whether Kershaw District has pledged herself to secession or not, does not affect the issue at all. But if, as we have already resolved, that "we will not submit," we find that we were in too great a hurry, and think it wrong to adhere to this pledge, (it is a pledge,) as honest men, who are disposed to do right, we must re-consider, re-resolve—determine to submit. If, on the contrary, we had resolved to acquiesce, on the same principle, wishing to do right and occupy a just and true position before the world, we must again resolve and determine that "we will not submit." Therefore, whether we have resolved or pledged to secession or co-operation, it makes no difference, unless we are disposed to adhere to that position now.

The pre-emption we think, a very reasonable one, that the passage of these resolutions by the meeting in Camden, March 8, 1849, although earnestly desiring (as every good secessionist does at this day) the co-operation of our sister Southern States, never contemplated to submit. How could it be so, when it was positively and absolutely Resolved that we were "ready to oppose our lives and fortunes" to a government, whose Constitution "was violated d-liberately and systematically," and was fast becoming one to be "ruled by fraud and force." As strong secession doctrine as ever any advocate of separate secession could desire, is contained in the 3d and 5th Resolution, passed at the aforesaid meeting to wit: "That the intermeddling by the Free States and General Government with slavery in the slave States, is a violation of the Constitution to which we will not submit," and that "while we are anxious to associate with, and act in concert with other States, we consider it the duty of Carolina, associated or alone, to uphold her political equality as a State."—These Resolutions we are told, were "ably sustained." Whether the Journal or Mr. any body, considered the District "pledged" by their adoption, it strikes us, as not effecting their spirit or force. There they are—and they speak for themselves as plainly as the English language can make them, and, according to our understanding, decidedly in favor of secession as a final resort. Now the question is, will we stand up to our "Resolves?" Are we ready to "uphold the political equality of Carolina as a State," either "associated or alone?" If we are not ready to do so, then our "Resolves" and our meeting turns out to be all smoke and no fire.

So far as relates to the Southern Rights association, we think it quite plain that in signing the document, we pledged ourselves to sustain South Carolina in any emergency, and to sustain any course which the constituted authorities of the State may see fit to adopt. If then the members of the Convention—"the constituted authorities of the State"—determine that the State of South Carolina must secede alone from the Union, we as good citizens, who stand "pledged" to sustain

them, are bound by honor, interest and blood, to do so, at any and every hazard and to the last extremity. This is our "pledge." As for the associations being made little party machines—to isolate South Carolina, or instruments for "cracking necks," or "political juntas," whose edicts must be obeyed without asking any questions, no man is bound to obey or abide their direction only so far as it is reconcilable with his "pledge," to sustain the "constituted authorities" in the measures which they may propose. This is our understanding of the matter, and to this we are willing still to stand "pledged."

For the Journal.

MR. EDITOR.—To me, it appears that the time is not far distant, when those of the Co-operation party who are not for submission, must come out from among their associates—must separate from them. Those who have at heart the welfare of the State, and an earnest desire that she should be relieved from the ruinous and disgraceful subjection, under which she now labors, must, as honest men, place themselves in a situation, where they can act, where they can do something to throw off the degradation that is upon us, and wipe out the foul stain of inferiority that is placed upon the State. What infatuation is upon the Co-operation party? Are they content that South Carolina shall sit down in the dust of humiliation, before an arrogant majority, and submit to their unrighteous exactions? If so, as Carolinians possessing one spark of that noble daring in a just cause, which has hitherto characterized us, they must earnestly desire that our past history should be blotted out; that all records of bravery should be expunged from the history of the State; that the names of Moultrie, Pinckney, Rutledge, Sumter, McDuffie, Calhoun, etc., should forever be effaced from memory, lest the recollection thereof, should rise up to mantle their cheeks and sink them into utter contempt, and make them hat-life, and esteem it a curse.

What a dark picture would be drawn, if the State should be brought down from her position of resistance! Who could bear to look upon it! What has been the history of our State for the greater part of her existence, but a continuous, noble effort against injustice and oppression, and a firm, unyielding struggle to maintain her rights, so long in jeopardy in this Confederacy, and now about to be finally wrested from her, except she prove true to her past history?

Principle, is the very soul of a government, without it, a State is but a dead carcass, it has no vitality.

God has so constituted human government, in imitation of his own, which is based upon principle, and with him, everything is sacrificed to its maintenance; so should it be with his creature man, if he hopes for God's blessing in the enjoyment of those rights, which his goodness bestows. If we swerve from the course of duty (the support of principle) ruin and disaster await us, and the history of man in all ages, abundantly shows. What true Carolinian, has not often felt his bosom glow, in considering the elevated stand that our statesmen have always occupied at the sacrifice of self, in the support of justice and the Constitution.

We have honored them, because they stood up for Truth. But of what use have been their noble example, their almost inspired teachings, if we are now to turn aside from a manly course of resistance to wrong? We should but shame all our past history, and the mirror of Truth that they have so long held up before us, would but reflect our own hideous deformity.

"God helps those who help themselves." The history of man proves, that he succors those who are engaged in a righteous cause, and who put their trust in him, while they use the powers he has given them, to maintain their rights. God has said, "our bread and water shall be sure," but how?—even in the use of the means he has provided—to work for it. May he inspire our people with wisdom and courage, to keep on with inflexible determination, in the only course of duty, and of safety that is left to us, and success will crown our efforts, for it is by his strength that we shall prevail; "not by might, nor by power, but of me, saith the Lord."

TIMON.

For the Camden Journal.

No. III.

Will Secession produce Co-operation?

Now the question for the people of this District to decide before they take any step in this matter is this, will secession produce that "concert of action" which we all so much desire? If it will it is worth our while to take the step; if we are once certain that it would result in a Southern Confederacy, we ought all of us to be desirous for it. But if we have no certainty that it will produce "concurrent action" on the part of other States, we ought for that very reason to avoid it. If we had ever made a formal pledge of any kind, I grant that we would perhaps be disgraced, if we forfeited our word, our State would be dishonored; but as there is no pledge on our part, we are perfectly free to take whatever steps we may deem most necessary for the protection of ourselves and the South. And while we are on this point let us briefly consider what is the Honor of this State, of which we hear so much: there are perhaps not a great many persons who ever take the trouble to look into the matter, and are contented with a vague, misty idea, that the honor of a State is pretty much the same as the honor of any private individual, forgetting entirely the many and complicated relations in which a State stands to its citizens, which tend materially to modify, and often wholly to alter and subvert all analogy between the State and the individual, which many imagine so apparent. To such as wish to form some idea of what is really meant by the Honor of Carolina, we would recommend Judge Hager's speech, delivered on the Convention Bill, in 1830. He there says, *inter alia*: "Terrible to me, as is this picture, I would, nevertheless, raise my voice even for such a war, if demanded by the Honor of the State. But let us take care that we do not fall down and worship some false God. The honor of Carolina is not that of the duellist, it

is not offered, to blood, if her rights are but touched. No, sir, her honor is of a more rational, more serious character—it demands nothing rash—it sets down naught in malice—it commands us to do no wrong, and is satisfied only, when we do what is approved by reason, judgment, and prudence." It is a grave and serious thing then, and no sickly sentiment, and emphatically above all things, "demands nothing rash." We will now return to the immediate object of this article.

The two most important aspects in which the scheme of Separate State Action presents itself to us, are these: First, its friends say that it will produce co-operation and Secondly: If it does not, it is a good thing of itself. We will consider and face both these views of the question—and first, how is it to produce co-operation? We can only judge, and decide upon the future, by the past. This question of slavery, is one of tremendous importance; so is the question of resistance to a government "long established." It takes years for fruits of this kind to come to perfection; and we can only move under the reasonable belief and expectation, that our secession will be followed by the withdrawal of our sister States from the Union; we must believe that there are so thoroughly disgusted with the Union as this, and so completely in love with the scheme of a Southern Confederacy, as to be perfectly ready to break up the Government and join hand and heart with us. Now for the past, the only guide we can have in this matter. Virginia, who hoisted the flag of resistance so high in 1848, who blew the first blast of the trumpet to rally the people of the South in defence of their ancient liberties, and in whose conduct the people of this district said "they recognized a State ever worthy to lead the van of battle against tyrants and tyranny," has hauled down her colors and tamely acquiesces in the compromise measures of Congress. We cannot therefore reasonably expect that her sword will leap very quickly from its scabbard in assisting us in opposing measures in which she has already acquiesced; on the contrary hear what Mr. Rhett says: "Virginia succumbs, nay, more—she not only submits, but brings herself forward to obtain the submission of others." This sounds disheartening to most of us, but not so to Mr. Rhett, for he is not at all anxious about co-operation, for he goes on to say, "alone we must move, and alone it is best for us to move in the present condition of things." "I rejoice therefore that no Southern Congress will meet; for no Southern Congress can meet to redress the wrongs of the South." "A Southern Congress now would be our ruin," (that is, it would postpone State Action.) These remarks come from the most talented and best known member of the "action party," in fact he has been its leader since 1828. We need not then look to Virginia for co-operation on present issues, if we will. Shall we look to North Carolina? Her elections have just decided that point, any "proof" was needed, Stanley has been returned, one of the vilest submissionists that voted for the Compromise, and who has a dozen times been bought and sold. Clingman was not elected in reference to this issue, as will be seen by a reference to the North Carolina papers. We are glad to see him take his seat in Congress, and have full confidence in his promptness to defend Southern Rights whenever assailed. But we indulge no hope of co-operation from North Carolina in our scheme of secession. I am by no means sure where she would be found if a very considerable rupture were to take place.

Shall we get it from Georgia? No; her people in solemn Convention assembled, have deliberately agreed to acquiesce in the measures of Congress, and the strongest Southern Rights men, McDonald, Colquitt and Smythe, do not pretend to advocate resistance for past aggressions, and the issue upon which they are compelled to fight there now, is the abstract right of a State to secede from this Union. She has indignantly submitted to the hostile legislation of Congress when she had pledged herself to resist the admission of California, and when Carolina had sworn to stand by her side through every change of fortune, and already had her hand upon her sword, ready to draw if Georgia would but unfurl the banner of resistance. She submitted then, and depend upon it, her people are not yet up to the proper mark. If she would not fight for her honor, she will not fight for love of South Carolina. It has been said, that the surest way to office in Georgia, is abuse of South Carolina. Who is crazy enough to believe that at present Georgia would join us if we secede, when the majority there, against McDonald is said to be about ten thousand?

How is it with Alabama? We have it is true a great many friends there as well as in Georgia, but the election of last year shows that the majority there, are not yet up to the proper mark. If they were not, Clemens and King would both be with them. Our enemies then rule in Alabama, and we might as well expect the heavens to fall, or the dead return, as look to Alabama for co-operation on present issues.

Will Mississippi go out with us, or immediately after us? Who expects it? Who believes it? Quitman has left the field, and Foote like the "Ball in the China shop," has it "all his own way." In fact, if the Southern Rights party, had swept the State, there would have been no reasonable hope of her going out, for Col. Davis says in his speech in the extract published in the Journal, if he was asked should Mississippi go out with Carolina, he would say "no" for they were not co-terminous States; in fact it would be of no use to us, and Mr. Rhett the great Apostle of Agitation, says he does not want her, she is "laudbound," and can do us more good in the Union than out of it. I presume no one will dispute that proposition. Mississippi co-operation then is both hopeless and useless. In Louisiana, the gallant Soule stands alone. Texas has been carried to the market and sold. We do not even look for co-operation from Tennessee or Kentucky, they are quarrelling about Whig and Democrat, and Tariff and Internal Improvements. Who then can expect that this little State by withdrawing herself from the Union can embroil all these States with the General Government? Why if the very talk and noise about Secession in May last, has effectually ruined all our friends, what can we expect the dreadful act itself to do? When they shrink from the very

name, can we expect then to embrace with joy the reality? The fact is they snuff Secession afar off, and want at present to have nothing to do with it. Where is the evidence of co-operation? We are told by one of the "lesser lights" of the Central Committee by one of the asteroids, that the committee have the most cheering evidence of co-operation from several Southern States. Where is it? "speak Bezonian?" In my next, I propose to consider if Secession be a desirable thing in itself, for the question is reduced to that now.

KERSHAW.

For the Camden Journal.

LANCASTER C. H., Sept. 16, 1851.

Pursuant to a call signed by over two hundred and fifty citizens, (some of the lists had not been returned) a meeting of those opposed to the separate secession of the State of South Carolina, and in favor of resisting the oppressive measures of the Federal Government by co-operation with the States aggrieved, was held this day at the Court House, for the purpose of organizing and making arrangements for a public meeting, on the 1st of October. On motion, Capt. W. Reed was called to the Chair, and the undersigned solicited to act as Secretaries. George Witherspoon, Esq., briefly stated the object of the meeting to such as had not seen the call. He said that it was necessary to ascertain the true position of South Carolina, and whether or not her people were prepared for the measure of separate State secession, before the meeting of the Convention, ordered by the Legislature at its last session; and in order to test the sentiments of the citizens of Lancaster District, he moved that a committee be appointed to draft resolutions expressive of the opinions of this meeting, and furthermore, to prepare an address to the people of the District. The motion was adopted, and the following gentlemen appointed on the committee:—George Witherspoon, Esq., Thos. Small, Senr., Capt. Ben. Sykes Massey, Jacob Funderburke, Esq. and Col. T. W. Huey.—The committee retired and after a short absence, submitted an address, showing the inefficiency of the measure proposed by the secession party of the State, as a remedy for our wrongs—the fatal results which might flow anything like precipitate and premature action in a matter so grave and important; retarding rather than progressing the great cause of Southern Rights; maintaining that, South Carolina occupies no other position before the world, than such as she has been placed in by the acts of her Legislature, that she is in honor bound to no course of policy, save that of co-operation with the other slave States in any measure of redress, which they together may adopt. Together with the address, the committee submitted the following resolutions:

Resolved 1st, That we believe co-operation to be the only reasonable, practicable, and effectual remedy for our grievances—the only true means of safety to the South, and way of escape from the dangers which threaten us from the unhallored interference of Northern abolitionism.

Resolved 2nd, That the great question in agitation, is not one peculiar to the State of South Carolina alone, but to the whole South, and we have every confidence in a community of interest, and a sense of common danger ultimately producing co-operation, and that to provide at this time in advance for a contingent failure, would be unwise and impolitic, and a reflection upon the character and intelligence of the Southern States.

Resolved 3d, That the single secession of South Carolina at this time, would be unwise and inexpedient, and that at any time, it is a measure desperate and uncertain,—to be resorted to only in the last extremity, and as a forlorn hope.

Resolved 4th, That in view of the apparent position of parties in South Carolina growing out of the hasty election of delegates to the State Convention, it becomes necessary for the people to express their sentiments through the ballot box, in the Southern Congressional election, now pending, in order that the true sentiments of the State may be fairly and certainly ascertained. And that the friends of co-operation and Southern Rights in this District, will pledge themselves to the support of Col. Jas. Chesnut and Col. Jno. S. Preston, the candidates of the co-operation party.

Major Clinton seconded the resolutions, and so far as they opposed the separate secession of the State, he concurred in them, but further, he presumed, he differed with this meeting. He was of opinion that our wrongs could be righted in the Union, and if so, the Constitution, faithfully administered, was our best, safe guard. Martin Crawford also advocated the address and the resolutions, but differed from the preceding speaker. He believed our only safety lay in a Confederacy. He had been in primary meetings of the people, he had been in the Nashville and Charleston Conventions; and he was convinced that the position of the State had been misrepresented by politicians and partisan presses. The Southern address, the formation of Southern Rights Associations, the Nashville Convention, all looked to co-operation, and the State is bound faithfully to carry out that policy. George Witherspoon also addressed the meeting. He wished the majority of the people to say what course the State should pursue, and let the minority, on whatever side it should appear, cheerfully acquiesce, and support the State in any position in which she should be fairly and constitutionally placed. The question was then put and the address and resolutions were unanimously adopted. The Committee of correspondence, presented letters from Senator Butler, and from Col. Chesnut and Col. Preston, encouraging the organization of a co-operation party in this district.

Col. Huey moved, therefore, that a public meeting be held at Lancasterville, on the first day of October next, that our Senator and other prominent gentlemen of the co-operation party, in the State, be invited to attend and address the meeting, that the ladies be respectfully solicited to prepare a picnic for the occasion, and that the citizens of this and adjoining districts, irrespective of party, be invited to attend. Adopted.

On motion, it was ordered that the proceedings of the meeting be published in the newspapers—and that a thousand copies of the ad-