

REMARKS BY THE PUBLISHER.

We cannot too earnestly direct the attention of the reader to the contents of this little pamphlet, for we verily believe, in the language of the Address, that it is "*no longer to be disguised*" that a dissolution of these United States, is not only secretly designed, but openly avowed. And measures so novel and startling, opposed equally to the admonitions of history and the father of his country, are predicated upon the remarkable discovery that the United States contain a variety of interests. What a specious pretext for the sacrifice of national character, and the fabric of our liberties to the lust of ambition! And what is still more strange to say, nullification is the magic wand which is to lay the demon of oppression in the hands of the very magician which so recently conjured him up! Nullification is the unnatural offspring of consolidation, and the ranks of disunion are filled by the late champions of Anti-Radicalism! Here the pen of the wondering historian is destined to record a political metamorphosis not less surprising than the physical, where the loathsome maggot becomes a splendid butterfly.

It may be somewhat difficult to decide who is the sire of the celebrated foundling, Nullification, which has made so much noise South of the Potomac; but whoever he may be he has no pretensions to more disinterestedness or devotion to the South than George Washington, or more chivalry and patriotism than Col. Drayton—while the former of these ever to be honored patriots, admonished us to frown indignantly upon the first dawning of disunion, we are assured by the latter that the tariff is a less evil than disunion.

In whom then shall we confide as our political Palinurus? Drayton and the father of his country, or in the anonymous father of nullification? whose cunning device is a *Grecian gift*—a *Trojan Horse*, the insidious vehicle of revolution and civil discord! Shall we follow the consistent Radical whose banner is reform, or the converted Anti, who would untie the knot with the sword, and water the tree of American liberty with the blood of citizens?

#5

PROCEEDINGS

AND THE

RESOLUTIONS AND ADDRESS

ADOPTED BY

THE STATE RIGHTS' PARTY

IN CHARLESTON.

At a Meeting held at the Carolina Coffee-House,
on Thursday Evening, 9th Sept. 1830.

 PRINTED BY A. E. MILLER.

RALLY OF THE STATE-RIGHTS' PARTY.

Pursuant to a Resolution passed at a meeting of a few of the friends of State Rights, inviting the State Rights' Party of the City of Charleston, to meet at the Carolina Coffee-House, on Thursday 9th Sept. to partake, after the transaction of business, of a subscription supper, between 6 and 700 persons assembled at an early hour to participate in the business and festivities of the evening. The extensive suite of apartments in the upper-story of that building was thrown open to the company, and was crammed to excess. The staircases and passages leading to the apartments were also crowded; in fine, every spot from which there was any probability of either seeing or hearing, was occupied. Never has there been seen in this city such an assemblage of the Sons of Carolina, whether we consider them as men of property, deeply interested in her soil and peculiar institutions, or as Patriots, burning with indignation at the wrongs of their native State, and glowing with ardent desire to place her once more upon a constitutional equality with her Sisters of the Confederacy.

In consequence of the inclemency of the weather, and the weak state of his health, the venerable KEATING SIMONS, the President of the Meeting, was prevented from attending during the early part of the evening, and ELIAS HORRY, Esq. was called to the chair. Mr. STEPHEN ELLIOTT was appointed Secretary. As soon as the meeting could be organized, Maj. JAMES HAMILTON, jun. offered the following Resolutions, which were adopted unanimously, and with the greatest enthusiasm:

1st. Resolved, That we will yield to no party, whatever may be its designation, in a cordial attachment to the Constitution and the Union of the States. The first, we desire in its original purity, and the last in its perpetual duration.

2dly. *Resolved*, that, without impeaching the motives, we pity the delusion which could induce any man, or set of men, under *whatever party designation*, to characterise the State Rights principles of THOMAS JEFFERSON as leading "to anarchy, disunion and civil war."

3dly. *Resolved*, that we view, with deep regret and marked abhorrence, the efforts made to alarm the public mind in this community, by which an unhappy excitement has been produced unfavourable to a just understanding of the rights and the injuries of the South.

4thly. *Resolved*, that we consider the election of the Collector of the Customs as a dangerous precedent, and calculated in the language of our patriotic and venerable Chief Magistrate, to bring the power of the Federal Government in pernicious conflict with the freedom of elections.

5thly. *Resolved*, that as the members of this meeting were the original friends of ANDREW JACKSON in 1824, and not the eleventh hour converts of 1828, or the still more miraculous converts of the 28th of August, 1830; we claim, with some colour of consistency, both the right and gratifying office, of avowing our affectionate regard for his person, our decided approbation of the general course of his administration, and our inflexible determination to afford to it our cordial and undivided support. That whilst we are incapable of perceiving in his veto on the Maysville bill, a remedy for the evils under which the South suffers, we, nevertheless, recognize in this heroic discharge of duty, one of the means by which, in the opinion of this venerable patriot, "the Federal Union must be preserved," by arresting the passage of laws in violation of the Constitution, and fraught with fraud and injustice.

6thly. *Resolved*, that we see in the language of a great majority of the presses of this city, and the whole course and current of the measures of our opponents, the insidious and settled purpose of depriving a majority of our delegation in Congress of the confidence and support of their constituents at home, and for no

other reason than an excited zeal on the part of these public servants, for the interests and honor of South-Carolina. That this patricidal effort to extinguish her best and brightest lights, we view with indignation, and we will resist by every manly and zealous exertion in our power.

7thly. *Resolved*, that HENRY LAURENS PINCKNEY, as conductor of a public press, and as late chief magistrate of this city, is entitled to our warmest approbation, gratitude and support, for the zeal, talents, energy and enlightened patriotism with which he has discharged his duties in both capacities; and we regard with abhorrence, that spirit of persecution which has proscribed a faithful public servant for daring to speak out against the wrongs inflicted on his country.

8thly. *Resolved*, that a committee of five be appointed to report forthwith an address to the State Rights' party of South-Carolina, to accompany these resolutions, and that they, together with the address, be published in the *Mercury*, and in a pamphlet form, for extensive circulation throughout the State.

The Chairman appointed Maj. JAMES HAMILTON jun. Capt. JAMES LYNNAH, GEORGE HENRY, JAMES ROSE, and JAMES CUTHBERT, Esq's. as a Committee under the 8th resolution. During the consultation of this Committee, the Secretary read the following letter from the Hon. LANGDON CHEVES:

"Cannonsboro' 9th September, 1830.

"Gentlemen—I regret that I cannot accept your kind invitation to 'the State Rights' Supper' of this evening. I am slightly indisposed, and, as you know, estranged from the city by many years' absence. Under these circumstances, at this season of the year, I deem it prudent not to remain in the city so late in the evening as your festivities would oblige me to be there. But though I shall not join you personally, my heart, in its feelings and aspirations, will be with you.

I am, gentlemen, very truly, and with great respect,
Your obed't serv't,

LANGDON CHEVES.

"To the Chairman of the Committee."

About 9 o'clock the meeting was informed that Mr. KEATING SIMONS had arrived, and the veteran was conducted to the Chair amidst loud and reiterated applauses. It was a glorious sight to see this old Soldier of the Revolution---animated by the same spirit, which led him, when a beardless youth, to rally under the standard of MARION---coming, spite of his infirmities and the inclemency of the evening, to cheer by his presence and example our struggle in the good old cause of constitutional freedom. On his right was seated another revolutionary hero, Major JAMES HAMILTON, Sen. who might answer the charge of disaffection to his country, as did the Roman of old, by pointing to the battles which he had fought in its defence.

Major HAMILTON from the Committee of five reported the following Address, which was unanimously adopted, and long and loudly cheered.

TO THE STATE RIGHTS' PARTY

In the adjoining Country Parishes, and the Interior of South-Carolina.

FELLOW-CITIZENS!

THE State Rights' party of Charleston are fully aware of the deep mortification you will feel in learning the defeat which we have sustained in the recent election for the Corporate Officers of this City. Whilst nothing can be more humiliating to ourselves, than this unexpected event, we deem it a matter of no small importance, not only to apprise you of the causes which have contributed to this temporary reverse, but to assure you that although the enemy have taken one of our most vigilant sentinels off of his post, yet our banner is still flying in sympathy with your own sentiments, and that we are still animated by the enthusiasm which belongs to the good cause in which we are mutually engaged.

Our defeat, fellow-citizens, has arisen principally from the four following causes:—

First, the industrious circulation of the report that the measures, which the State Rights' party wished to adopt in resisting that scheme of fraud and injustice miscalled "the American system," were calculated to involve the country in all the horrors of

revolution and civil war. This charge, kept up unceasingly for the last six weeks in five presses out of six in the city, was rendered infinitely more potent from its private dissemination by citizens occupying high public stations, principally under or connected with the Federal Government. Every entreaty that could be employed, every alarm which could be excited, and which the most diseased imagination could conceive, even if it were as fertile as that of the memorable witness of that still more memorable plot against the unfortunate Catholics in the time of Charles 2d, were put in requisition to work upon the fears of the timid, and on those who were ignorant of the true merits of the points at issue between the State of South-Carolina and the General Government. This unfounded slander circulated in a manner calculated to baffle correction, thus unceasingly reiterated, at length affected some of the most moderate men of our own party, who we fear acted under a delusion for which they will hereafter find it difficult to make atonement to the cause which they profess to support. When we add to these the appeals which were unceasingly made to the basest passion of our common nature, that the efforts of the State Rights' party were calculated to depreciate the value of every species of property in our city, you may very well conjecture sufficient causes for our temporary discomfiture.

Secondly:—We had arrayed against us the influence of the President of the Bank of the State of South-Carolina, emphatically your Bank, who was among the most zealous in his efforts against us, and among the most industrious in his cry of civil war, blood and revolution. The President of the Bank of the United States was not less active, and the head which presides over this great and influential Federal Institution, was seen superintending with an anxious scrutiny the Polls at the election. To these we must likewise add, the influence of the Federal Judiciary and that of the Custom House, which must necessarily be felt when its chief officer is a candidate.

Thirdly:—We had likewise arrayed against us a large proportion of the commercial interests of this City, a fact which would indeed be inscrutable as our contest is for free trade, were we not able to say that this interest is largely connected with the commerce of the North, and no less largely with the interests of its Manufacturers. Our opponents, with no very flattering com-

pliments to their Northern allies, are now attempting, as if to remove a foul stigma, to diminish the support which they derived from these confederates. With what justice, you can well estimate, when we assure you that it is our solemn conviction, that two-thirds at least of the trade of Charleston is either directly or incidentally connected with the commerce of the North.

Fourthly :---By an union of the old Adams and Clay parties of this City, who found a fit opportunity by confederating with new allies, to attempt the overthrow of the original Jackson party, which comprises the great body of the State Rights' party. We find these parties by assuming our name and title, have paid an unintended compliment to our principles---but we are free to confess that we much prefer their opposition to the compulsory companionship which this assumption would seem to betoken. Every consideration of justice and gratitude compels us to acknowledge the zealous support we have received from a large majority of our adopted fellow-citizens. They have been true to the honour of the State, and have participated largely in the indignation excited by the common calumnies of our opponents against the State Rights' party of South-Carolina.

These calumnies, it is entirely unnecessary to tell you, have been connected with two questions, one of them an abstract point supposed by some persons of eminent wisdom and authority to be inseparable from a State in its sovereign capacity as a member of this confederacy, and another a question of mere expediency whether the mode and measure of our redress from unconstitutional exactions, should be determined by a Convention or the Legislature.

The State Rights' party of Charleston, knowing the division of sentiment among ourselves on these questions, have not made the issue, by tendering pledges on one side or the other, either to our candidates or the candidates of our opponents, yet we have been persecuted with an unexampled rancour, as if such an issue had been tendered. We thought we were bound to tolerate a difference of sentiment on mere questions of remedy among those who were heartily united on the vital necessity of resisting constitutionally and firmly, great and intolerable wrongs. We thought, and still think, that it best comports with public sen-

timent of this city, that our members should go to the legislature entirely unpledged to pursue after a full and joint conference with the representatives of the State Rights' party, that course by which the interests, peace, safety, and honour of our State could be best promoted. Yet we have been charged with desiring a Convention, exclusively for the purpose of bringing the State into a dangerous conflict with the General Government. We boldly affirm that the question of remedy, or how that remedy must be sought, we were willing to leave, where by the Constitution it must be left, with the legislature of our own State; and if we did not join in the libels uttered against the doctrines of THOS: JEFFERSON, and the still more flagrant calumnies against the people, uttered by some of those who appeared afraid to trust them in one of the primary and elemental assemblies, from which all just power is derived, we would fain hope our attachment to the Union is not with any colour of propriety or justice to be drawn in question, on that account.

We are constrained to admit that we have lost the day, but we are not beaten. The result of the 6th has left a stigma upon our city, which *we must*, and which all others who value its character *ought* to regret. The majority of our opponents was, after all, only eighty-four, and every one can name at least this number of the advocates of the Tariff, may it not be said the agents of the manufacturers? If the suburbs of the city comprehended within the neck, which contains a fixed population, had been brought to the polls, no doubt is entertained that the majority would have been reversed. We hope this for the honour of the country—we must believe it for that cause, but if Charleston be fated to be governed by Northern traders, officers of the Federal Judiciary, Custom-House officers, and officers of the United States' Bank, we know this is not the temper of the State, and nothing will be lost but the character of a city which we all love and wish to cherish. The country will still be safe. All that remains incumbent on the friends of the city and State, is to do *their* duty—let them not give up the ship—she must be fought to the last, and if the flag of Constitutional Rights and Free Trade be hauled down, let it be by the hands of our opponents. Strike it we will not.

Fellow-Citizens, we shall endeavour to make this distinctly obvious, not by a city election, but by a general one for the legisla-

ture, that Charleston is still in sympathy with the rest of the State. Should we fail, we shall deeply deplore the sentiment of disgust and unkindness with which the people from the mountains to the sea shore, will regard this once proud and venerable metropolis. But out of the worst apparent evils good often arises. The Vandal act of the enemy during the late war, in sacking the national capitol, excited the whole nation, and united them in their efforts. The monstrous spectacle of the chief city of a free State oppressed and insulted as this is, putting into its local offices and clothing in its official robes, the very agents of that oppression, and inculcating submission to the wrongs the people suffer, will rouse them from the torpor which they labour under, and unite them in support of the honour, interests, and character of the country.

Fellow-Citizens—We refer you to our resolutions for our principles, and for a refutation of the base and unfounded libel, that we either desire or contemplate a dissolution of the Union of these States. Our own aim is, our rights under the sacred compact, by the firm maintenance of which, we shall do more towards preserving the Union of these States, than can be accomplished by the submission of our opponents, whether it takes the form of foul calumny against us, or an *exclusive* moderation in themselves.

In one word, we send you our fraternal and affectionate salutations. Believe us, that in the end our opponents can as little separate Charleston politically, as they can geographically, from the State. We are prepared to live or die by the Palmetto standard, and desire no higher blessing to crown our efforts, than that this standard may be entwined in friendly concord with the banner of the Union. We say *esto perpetua*, and invoke you to the practice of that which we are ourselves prepared to adopt as our motto—Firmness, Union, and Perseverance.

At the close of the Address, General HAYNE was loudly called for by the meeting, when he rose, and briefly returned thanks in behalf of himself and his colleagues, for the honour conferred by the adoption of the resolution which had just been unanimously passed. He bore his testimony to the high character and distinguished services of his colleagues, and vindicated Mr. McDUFFIE from the imputations which had been cast upon him, declaring emphatically that he did not believe there lived a man possessed

of a loftier spirit of patriotism; purer principles, greater disinterestedness, or a more generous devotion to his country.

General HAYNE next expressed his cordial participation in the feelings which had brought the company together, and his confidence that firmness, perseverance, and union among ourselves, would yet secure a glorious triumph to the cause of *State Rights*, on the success of which depended, not only the welfare of the Southern States, but the preservation of the Constitution, and the permanence of the Union.

Mr. H. L. PINCKNEY was next called for by the meeting and upon his appearance, was greeted with the most heartfelt enthusiasm. In reply to the resolution relating to himself Mr. PINCKNEY addressed the meeting to the following effect:

I want words, fellow-citizens, to express the emotions which agitate my bosom. At any time, and under any circumstances, the approbation of such an assembly as this, of my official and professional conduct, could not fail to excite the deepest gratitude. But it is peculiarly gratifying under disaster and defeat. I accept it as a testimony, of which nothing can deprive me, that, although discomfited, I have not fallen in the estimation of those whose praise is honour, and whose good opinion is dearer than success. But I value it still more highly as a manifestation of your unalterable attachment to the great principles of political liberty, which, though checked for a moment, are yet destined to achieve a decisive and triumphant victory. The cause in which we are engaged, fellow-citizens, is the sacred cause of patriotism and of honour. We are contending for our rights as freemen, and for the protection of our properties from the iron grasp of avarice and extortion. Our object is to support the sovereignty of our State, and the liberties of our people—to counteract and remedy gross and dangerous infractions of the Federal Constitution, and to bring back that sacred instrument to its true reading and construction—to arrest the progress of consolidation—to create a spirit of justice and equality in federal legislation—and thus to secure and establish forever the rights of the States and the perpetuity of the Union. These are the principles which we contend for—and yet, strange as it may seem, these principles—so perfectly pure and patriotic and constitutional in themselves, and involving, as they do, every thing dear to our people in a political, pecuniary and personal point of view—these principles have been bitterly assailed, studiously misrepresented, and even for a time actually overcome, by the most extraordinary combination; the most anomalous political party, which has ever existed in this city, or in this country. Carolinians

have united themselves to the enemies of Carolina. The original and inveterate opponents of Jackson have hoisted his flag and assumed his name. The supporters of Clay and the American System, have miraculously adopted State Rights' Resolutions, and now profess to support State Rights' doctrines. Men, notoriously hostile to each other, have become suddenly reconciled, and now labour together *as harmoniously as they can*; and to crown all—for indeed, without this, even all the rest would have been insufficient—men, who formerly belonged to the Jackson party, threw all their influence and power into the scale of its opponents, for the very generous purpose of destroying their own best friends, and of putting down the party to which they themselves are indebted for all their honours and distinctions;—And this monstrous combination has succeeded. The Jackson and State Rights' party, for the first time, has lost a battle—lost it by defection on our side, and by the most heterogeneous amalgamation of conflicting principles and of personal and political enemies on the other. But what then, my friends, shall we strike our flag? Shall we acknowledge ourselves vanquished, and retire from the field, and give up the city to the enemy? or shall we organize for another fight—take our stand boldly and manfully—and endeavour to prove, by the result of the approaching election to the Legislature, that Charleston is still a part of Carolina. I conscientiously believe that we have at this moment a decided majority of the legitimate voters of the city, and I feel perfectly assured, that we stand abundantly strong upon the Neck. But be this as it may, there can be no doubt that we possess sufficient vigour to authorize another grapple with our foes; and I trust, therefore, that a strenuous and united effort will be made to redeem the honour of our city, and to sustain the important cause in which we are engaged. Should we succeed, it will crown us with honour, and give new energy and vigour to our friends in the interior. Should we fail, we will at least be able to tell our Parent State how many of her sons are true to her in Charleston, and what she may expect, in the prosecution of her rights, from her chief city and commercial metropolis. At all events, whether victorious or not, let us resolve to continue true to ourselves, and our principles. Let us resolve to *do our duty to our country*—and then, if discomfiture (which I do not apprehend) should again befall us, we will at least be able to say, with proud hearts and clean hands “If Rome must fall, that we are innocent.”

Gentlemen,—In the resolution just adopted, you speak of me as the special victim of persecution and proscription. It is true, Gentlemen, that I have felt, and feel deeply for *our cause*; but no blow inflicted on myself, individually, by our enemies, has created a sensation at all to be compared with that which has been produced by the kindness of my friends. It is true that I was denounced day after day, and week after week, as a disunionist and a traitor—I was assailed with the

most untiring and ferocious malignity—I was traduced and vilified by almost every press—and hunted down by those who, having no respect for themselves, were incapable of observing common decency to others. But, notwithstanding, all the calumnies which were poured upon me, seven hundred and fifty of my fellow-citizens—aye, all those who would scorn to desert *either their friends or their principles*—nobly and generously sustained me, and indignantly threw back the accusation in the teeth of my accusers. And for this generous and manly support, I thank you, Gentlemen, with all the gratitude of which my heart is capable; and I aver, with equal sincerity and truth, that I would rather be defeated with you, than have triumphed with the opposition. I envy no party a victory which has been obtained by the sacrifice of the character of our city, and of the dearest rights and interests of our people. I had rather mourn with Carolina, than rejoice with those who have deserted and betrayed her. I would rather lie upon my pillow, even though it be wet with tears, with the proud consciousness of having done my duty to my native State, than receive the false and hypocritical huzzas of those, who feel no interest in her welfare, no sympathy in her sufferings, and the effect of whose victory may be to bind her forever to the foot-stool of oppression. Yes, Gentlemen, I had rather be defeated with you, than have succeeded with them. But, at the same time that I say this, I would embrace this opportunity thus publicly to express my desire, in relation to the ensuing State election, to occupy that position *alone* in which I may be most serviceable to the party. By withdrawing my name, I may be able to do many things as an editor which I would be restrained from doing as a candidate. It may also abate somewhat of the *personal rancour* with which our party is pursued, and may thus remove an impediment in the way of its success. But, upon this subject, as upon all others (having thus expressed my own personal disposition,) I shall cheerfully submit to the decision of the party. I have no desire but for its honour and its welfare. Through weal or through woe, I shall go with it to the last. And now, my friends, let us organize for another contest, and let all honorable means be used to insure success. Let the campaign be opened at once, and vigorously prosecuted. Let us omit no effort to strip the mask from our enemies—to expose and refute their calumnies—to undeceive the people—and to exhibit the character and principles of our party in their true colours to the world. Let us resolve to conquer and we will conquer. All the power of the Custom-House, and of the Bank of the United States—all the power of the Federal Judiciary, and even to a certain extent, of the Bank of our own State—may be again arrayed against us—but we will be both able and ready to meet and overcome them, relying, as we do, upon the virtue and intelligence of the people. The State Rights' party has been defeated, but not subdued. It will rise with Antæan vigour from its

fall. The delusion which has given its adversaries a temporary ascendancy will be dispelled, and Charleston will yet prove that she is true to the State, and to the great cause of Southern rights and interests.

On motion, *Resolved*, that the Chairman, at his leisure, do nominate a committee of thirteen citizens, nine from the city, and four from the Neck, to report a ticket with all convenient despatch, for one member to Congress, one State Senator, and sixteen Representatives, which, laying aside all personal prejudices and preferences, we pledge ourselves, steadfastly, zealously and without division, to support, as the true Jackson and State Rights' Ticket, at the ensuing State elections in October.

Resolved, that the thanks of this meeting be presented to our venerable and patriotic chairman, KEATING SIMONS, Esq. for his attendance this evening, notwithstanding the inclemency of the weather and his infirmities, and for the ability with which he has presided over the proceedings of this meeting; and that its thanks be returned to ELIAS HORRY, Esq. for a like performance of his duties, whilst acting as Chairman, and for the efficient and zealous aid he afforded Mr. SIMONS as Vice President of the meeting.

There being no further business before the meeting, on motion, the company adjourned to supper.

KEATING SIMONS, *President*,

ELIAS HORRY, *Vice President*.

STEPHEN ELLIOTT, *Secretary*.