lon as a State, and not as an unorganized mass of individuals, and that the action of each State was independent of the others, and if any proof of this fact be wanting it may be found in the action of North Carolina, which State did not enter the Union until more than a year after it was formed by the admission of nine States, which number was required by the Convention that adopted the present Constitution of the United States.

It is true that no provision is made in the Constitution for dissolving the Union, and it is very probable that the patriots who framed the instrument had no idea that a loathsome fanaticism, pandered to by Northern politicians, would ever make it necessary for the safety of the South that they should dissolve the compact on account of its violation by the other section of the Confederacy; but it must be remembered as a rule of universal application, that a violation of a compact or agreement by one party releases the other party from its binding obligation, and the only question is, who is to judge of the infraction. From the very nature of the case, in a compact with sovereigns, there can be no umpire unless one is provided by the instrument itself, and in the language of Mr. Jefferson, "each State must judge of the infraction and the mode and measure of redress." A compact between sovereign States, with the understanding that the majority should put their construction upon its provisions, would not be worth the paper upon which it was written. Majorities need no protection, for they can protect themselves, but minorities insist upon constitutions to restrain the majority, and to allow it to put its construction upon the compact, is equivalent to giving them the absolute power to govern the minority irrespective of any restraints.

The simple statement of the case is this: each State entered the Union under the Constitution; the Federal Government is the agent of the States, created for special purposes, and circumscribed in its action by the articles of agreement, or in other words the Constitution. Whenever the States having the power to control this agent, permit or command him to violate the compact, each State, not having surrendered its sovereignty, has a right to remonstrate or withdraw as she may think proper, and no earthly power has the right to prevent.

It is urged by some as an argument against secession, that the existing Government would be destroyed by a State seceding; that the revenue laws would become imperative, and the wheels of Government stand still My answer is this, that in the exercise of an undoubted right and being forced to exercise it by the party that is likely to suffer, it cannot complain of the consequences of its own acts. If South Carolina, secede, the Government will be in no worse condition, except for a very short time, than it would have been if South Carolina had never entered the Union, which is acknowledged on all hands she was not bound to do.

The idea that a majority must always govern, which has taken possession of the Northern mind, is as mischievous as it is fallacious, and is contradicted by all the analogies of a Republican government. If a mere majority is to govern, why have two houses of Congress—a Senate and House of Representatives? Why give the President the veto power? Why submit the action of all three to a judicial tribunal? Why require juries to be unanimous in giving their verdict? The conclusion is irresistible that it is for the protection of minorities and the safety of the citizen. I may be asked if a minority should govern. My answer is, no; but they should be able, by constitutional restrictions, to restrain the majority from acts of injustice and oppression. In the copartnership formed by individuals, the majority is not permitted to construe the article of agreement to the injury of the minority, but in this case there is a disinterested tribunal to decide the question. In a compact between States, from the nature of the case, there can be no tribunal to decide violations of it, and the remedy must be a dissolution of the agreement, without any right on the part of the majority of the States to prevent the withdrawl of any of the parties, otherwise might would make right, and a compact be an unmeaning and worthless piece of parchment.

It follows from the views presented, that the Federal Government cannot rightfully use force to prevent a State from seceding, or force her back into the Union; but in the language of the late Judge Harper: "men having arms in their hands may use them;" and I cannot too earnestly urge upon you the importance of arming the State at the earliest practicable period, and thus be prepared for the worst. It is gratifying to know that if we must resort to arms in defence of our rights, and a blow should be struck at South Carolina, before the other States move up in line, we have the tender of volunteers from all the Southern and some of the Northern States to repair promptly to our standard and share our fortunes.

In urging the State to arm, it is not to be understooed that we are defenceless; by examining the report of the Adjutant and Inspector General herewith transmitted, you will see that we have sufficient arms to supply the number of soldiers that will probably be necessary for some time to come, and many of our arms are of the most approved patterns; but no one can tell what a day may bring forth, and it is a wise precaution to prepare in time. I cannot permit myself to believe that in the madness of passion an attempt will be made by the present or next administraton to coerce South Carolina, after secession, by refusing to surrender to her the harbor defences, or by interfering with her imports or exports; but if I am mistaken in this, we must accept the issue, and meet it as becomes men and freemen, who in all the calmness of determined resolution, infinitely prefer annihilation to disgrace.

We can penetrate the dark future; it may be "filled with ashes, tears and blood," but let us go forward in the discharge of our duty, with an unwavering trust in God, and a consciousness that any thing is preferable to dishonor and degradation.

WM. H. GIST.

NOTE.—In addition to what has been said of postal matters, the present arrangement might be continued, by an agreement between the State and the Federal authorities for a given time, and until other States secede, and a formation of a Southern Confederacy, when the whole subject can be intrusted to them; and if no arrangement of the sort can be carried out, and Government insist on considering the State still in the Union after the ordinance of secession has been passed, the present arrangement must cease, and some other, under State authority, be substituted.


# The Carolina Spartan.

SPARTANBURG:

Thursday, December 6, 1860.


We are authorized to announce MAJ. G. W. H. LEGG, as a candidate for COLONEL to command the 36th Regiment, S. C. M., at the ensuing election.

We are authorized to announce Lieutenant Colonel A. J. FOSTER, as a candidate for COLONEL to command the 36th Regiment, S. C. M., at the ensuing election.

## Election for Delegates.

The people of Spartanburg are reminded that an election for Delegates to the State Convention will be held at the several election precincts on Thursday, the 6th instant. The election is to be held but one day for town and country, and according to the Act the "Managers shall meet on Friday, the 7th of December, count the votes and declare the election."

This is an election of vast importance, not only to our District and State, but to the whole South, inasmuch as the action of South Carolina will determine that of her sister Southern States. It is therefore necessary that our citizens should look well to the men who are to represent them.

## Judge Longstreet.

We last week gave two of Judge Longstreet's articles, and this number will contain two more. We shall continue the series. They will form an interesting history of the present times, abounding in facts and statistical information thrown together in a chaste and beautiful manner, which will cause them to be read and admired throughout the State. These articles appear in the *Guardian*, whose efforts in behalf of our cause has been materially strengthened by their judicious and manly arguments.

## Military Election.

J. C. Winsmith, Esq., was, on Saturday last, elected First Lieutenant of the Morgan Rifles, *vice* A. T Cavis resigned.

This gallant corps has tendered its services to Governor Gist, as we announced some time since: it is now thoroughly organized, and awaits the call of His Excellency, should circumstances render it necessary for the sons of Carolina to battle in defence of her rights and honor.

## Masonic.

The following officers have been elected to serve SPARTAN LODGE, No. 70, for the ensuing year: viz:

WM. LOCKWOOD, W. M.
WM. H. TRIMMIER, S W.
CHARLES MOORE, J W.
T. J. ELFORD, Secretary.
JOHN M. BENSON, Treasurer.

## Personal.

Among the visitors now in our city, says the *Carolinian*, are Maj. Ben. McCullough, of Texan fame, and Col. Bilbo, of Tennessee. Both of these gentlemen are politically up to the requirements of the present issue, and will meet any that future events may present. They are stopping at Hunt's Hotel.

## Admissions to Equity.

COURT OF APPEALS.—COLUMBIA, November 28.—Applicants for admission to practice in the Equity Courts of this State were examined, and the following gentlemen licensed as Solicitors: M. J. Hough, Wm. Munro, Thos. E. Powe, jr., Emmett Seibels, G. A. Wardlaw, J. C. Winsmith, O. J. Youmans.

## Result of Lincoln's Election.

This great event, fearfully anticipated, is upon us in the fullness of a reality, and its effects are constituting the staple of many an editorial, North and South. From the tenor of the whole, we infer that in the Northern region the right of secession will be denied, and a pseudo-conservatism will be suggested, ultimately reliant upon the tender desire of the South to accept such promises and intimations as the basis of full and final adjustment of the question. Whether we, in Southern latitudes, will swallow the sugared bait, remains to be seen. In a review of the questions and measures which have produced this sectional election, upon strictly sectional principles, during the last forty years of American history, we opine, no ground of a fixed hope can be found, that the North will do us justice, or satisfy the demands of the South upon Constitutional considerations. We have ever believed that the pulpit and moral action of the North had become so prostituted and tinctured with the spirit of abolitionism, as to incapacitate them to mete us out justice in regard to our peculiar institutions. The vote of Lincoln, confined as it is to the eighteen free or non slaveholding States, with not a single vote in the fifteen Southern States, is a decided proof and conclusive argument that our Government is sectionalized totally and hopelessly. With such a painful state of facts, can we trust him or those whom he so ingloriously represents? His election brings with it the legitimate results of the false teachings of his party. Pledged to abolish slavery, they have succeeded in doing so, so far as the ballot box is concerned—all the remanent duty connected therewith is to secure the amending power, and thus change the Constitution. That done, their victory is complete. Will they stop to effect that object? Can you of the South trust them? At first, they craved the right to petition Congress. That granted, they asked for the Missouri Compromise. That granted, they demanded that all the Territories should be free. That done, they have elected their candidate, who prescribes the cardinal item of his political faith to be the extermination of slavery.

## Congress.

Both Houses organized on Monday and a quorum of each was present. All the South Carolina Delegation were present, but the Hon. W. Porcher Miles.

Both Houses appointed Committees to wait upon the President and adjourned before one o'clock.

A Union meeting was appointed for Monday Evening, but was indefinitely postponed at the suggestion of Senator Crittenden.

## Cross Anchor Minute Men.

An Association of Minute Men has been formed at Cross Anchor, in this District, and the following gentlemen were elected officers: T. B. Furguson, Captain; F. N. Walker, first Lieutenant; N. P. Floyd second Lieutenant, and H. Bobo, Ensign. About sixty names were enrolled, among whom were several gentlemen over fifty.

The company were entertained in the Hall of the new store of Mr. W. J. Whitmire. The ladies of Cross Anchor gave their happy smiles and good wishes for the GALLANT BOYS. They have a handsome flag.

## Meeting at New Prospect.

We understand a large and enthusiastic meeting was held at New Prospect on Saturday last, Henry Dodd, Esq., presiding as Chairman and W. T. Wilkins acting as Secretary.

Col. T. O. P. Vernon, Gen. B. B. Foster, Simpson Bobo, and Rev. J. G. Landrum delivered eloquent and able addresses. The following Resolutions, we are informed, were unanimously adopted: The Resolutions indicate strongly the spirit which pervaded the meeting.

WHEREAS, the recent election of Abraham Lincoln to the Presidency of these United States, by a purely sectional party, utterly hostile to the rights, interests and prosperity of the slaveholding States of this Union, leaves South Carolina no alternative but submission or resistance: Therefore,

1. *Resolved*, That this meeting, unwilling to submit, do most cordially approve of and ratify the action of our Legislature, calling a Convention of the people of the State, to see that South Carolina suffer no detriment.

2. *Resolved*, That we conceive of no constitutional, rational or effectual mode of resistance, other than to resume all the powers delegated by the State to the Federal Government, by seceding from the present Union, and establishing our separate independence as a Sovereign State.

3. *Resolved*, That we cordially approve of the nomination of Delegates made at the late Mass Meeting, held at Spartanburg Court House, on the 24th November.

At a meeting, held December 1st, of the Minute Men of Spartanburg, the following resolution was moved and unanimously adopted:

*Resolved*, That the thanks of this Association be tendered to Mrs. Dr. J. J. Vernon, Miss Mary Vernon and Miss Minnie Smith, for the beautiful Flag which now waves from the Liberty Pole. R. E. L. EWART, Sec'y.

## News Scraps.

The funeral of Mrs. Susan Capers, widow of the late Bishop Capers, took place in Columbia on Sabbath morning last, at the Washington Street Church.

The Commercial Bank, of Columbia, has offered to take at par twenty-five thousand dollars of the bonds of the State issued for the purpose of arming for general defence.

RICHMOND, November 30.—Governor Letcher has issued a proclamation announcing the election of nine Bell and six Breckinridge electors in that State.

WASINGTON, November 26.—Advices from South America, state that Mr. Clay, the American Minister, had received his passports, and would leave for Washington on the 12th. Immediately on the receipt of the official intelligence of Mr. Clay having demanded his passports from the Peruvian Government, the President tendered the Peruvian Minister his passports.

MILLEDGEVILLE, November 26.—The bill for the relief of the banks passed both Houses today by a large majority. A veto is expected, but the bill will probably pass over the veto.

WASHINGTON, November 16.—Hon. Thomas Corwin arrived here to-day. His conversation indicates that Lincoln's Cabinet will be highly conservative.

The Chemical Bank was expelled from the clearing house for refusing to put its specie reserve into the common fund according to the programme assented to by the banks of the City.

NEW YORK, November 26.—*Thompson's Bank Note Reporter* quotes uncurrent funds of all the banks South of Washington at ten per cent. discount; Maryland and Washington City three to five per cent.

CHARLESTON Nov. 28, 1860.—The following Banks of this city suspended specie payments to-day: The State Bank, the Bank of the State of South Carolina, the Bank of South Carolina, and the South Western Railroad Bank. The Planters and Mechanics' Bank will suspend to-morrow.

NEW YORK, Nov. 29, 1860.—Money is easier. Stocks are dull and lower.

PHILADELPHIA, Nov. 29, 1860.—A meeting of the cotton and woollen manufactures was held to-day. They express the belief that they can curtail operations without stopping their mills.

The Commercial and Exchange Banks of Columbia, suspended on yesterday, following the lead of the Charleston Banks, all of which had suspended.

Lincoln's majority in New York is 47,727.

Breckinridge's majority in North Carolina is 3,549. Douglas received 2,701. Breckinridge 48,539. Bell 44,990. Two or three counties were thrown out for informalities.

Dr. Hayes writes a few days after crossing the Arctic Circle at 66 deg. 30 min., the sun set at 10: 30 P. M., and rose at 2: 40 A. M., twilight continuing so that that the voyagers wrote out their Journals at midnight without the aid of lamps.

In Dr. William Longshaw's letter, who returned from ill health from Dr. Hayes' Arctic Expedition, we notice the death of Gibson C. Carruthers, of S. C., aged about thirty one years. He was buried on the 11th of August, at Upernavik, on the coast of Greenland. He was a carpenter, and served in Grinnell's first Expedition.

TALLAHASSEE, Fla., November 29.—The Legislature of Florida has unanimously passed a bill providing for a Convention, to meet on the 3d January, 1861. The feeling and determination of resistance is growing stronger.

NEW YORK, November 30.—The Government has not paid the Custom officials their salaries to-day, which has occasioned some alarm among the employees of Uncle Sam.

One of Dolner Potier's vessels is flying the Palmetto flag in our harbor to-day.

Stocks are down, and the inevitable crash is coming.

## The President's Message on the Crisis

WASHINGTON, November 28.—The President's message was not completed till to-day. It will go in type to-morrow. The passages upon the troubles of the day are very patriotic, prudent, wise, mild and forbearing. I have reason to believe that a constitutional convention of all the States is presented by the President, with the approval of all the Cabinet, as a measure proper at this time.

The views taken by the President as to the abstract right of secession are not perhaps coincident with the views of all the members of Cabinet but a difference of opinion in the Cabinet on that subject will not involve any rupture. Secretary Cobb may be obliged to return to Georgia very soon—probably next week—as he is called upon by his prominent connection with the politics of Georgia to take a part in them. He will be a leading man in the Georgia Convention. Of course he will leave the Treasury Department very soon, in view of the duties to which he is called by his State.

But in leaving the Cabinet of Mr. Buchanan he is governed by no unfriendly feeling towards the President or his associates in the Cabinet. Therefore, it may be properly stated that there will be no rupture of the Cabinet, but merely a change.

It is not true that Chief Justice Taney has resigned, or intends to resign or has ever signified any intention or wish to resign his post. He is in better health than usual, and declares his purpose to die in harnes.

[*Correspondence of the Baltimore Sun*

## Colonel Dawkins:

The following letter to the Committee of Invitation will explain the reason why Colonel Dawkins was not with us on sale-day.

UNION C. H., Dec. 3, 1860.

*Messrs. Wm. H. Trimmier, Hiram Mitchell, J. J. Boyd, J. J. Vernon, J. A. Lee:*

GENTLEMEN: I received, in Columbia, on Friday night last, yours of the 29th November, inviting me to address, on to-day, the people of Spartanburg "upon the all absorbing question of 'Secession,'" accompanied by a similar written request, signed by eighty-five citizens of your District. I regret, extremely, my inability to comply with the request, coming from so large and respectable a portion of your people, and amongst them a number of my most cherished friends. I left Columbia on Saturday morning, where I had been for several days engaged in the discharge of a public duty, with the view of attending to business appointments here, which I could not neglect without occasioning inconvenience and loss to others.

I consider the question of *Secession*, by this State, as settled by the call of the Convention, endorsed as it has been by public sentiment: and it is the patriotic duty of every citizen of this State to sustain the ordinance of secession, whether wise or unwise. Indeed, every co-operationist in 1851, unless we are mistaken in the sentiment of the other Cotton States, should now go for secession, as the most efficient and practical, and I may add, the only remedy for existing evils! We have now every reasonable assurance that Georgia, Alabama, Mississippi and Florida will, at the earliest practicable day, join us, and we will then be united in action as we are now in feeling and interest. We may reasonably expect that other Slave States will, at no distant day, join us; and so believing, interest and honor alike require that we should not longer continue in a Union where the majority are antagonistical to us and our institutions, and that majority purely sectional.

I trust that the patriotism of those who may be called on to act, will so conduct the matter as to lead to favorable results, and, at all events, to save our honor. I thank you, gentlemen, for the flattering terms of your invitation, and beg you to return my thanks to the several gentlemen who have united with you.

Very respectfully, yours, &c.,
T. N. DAWKINS.

For the Carolina Spartan.

MR. EDITOR: Allow us to present the following ticket to the consideration of our fellow-citizens:

### Peoples' Ticket.

COL. R. C. POOLE,
MAJ. T. O. P. VERNON,
WM. JAS. SMITH, ESQ.,
CAPT. D. B. ROSS,
GEN. J. W. MILLER,
MAJ. J. B. DAVIS.

All these gentlemen have been several times nominated though the Press, and strongly urged privately to allow their friends to use their names for the Convention; and the four whose names stand first have already formally accepted the nomination. It is to be hoped that Gen. Miller and Maj Davis, well knowing that many of their fellow citizens desire them to go into the convention, will allow their friends to use their names for that position. All these gentlemen are well known to the voters of our District, and their political positions cannot be doubted. If elected they will act for the good and honor of our State. They will certainly receive the strong support of

MANY CITIZENS.

For the Carolina Spartan.

## Wm. Jas. Smith's Circular.

*To the Voters of Spartanburg District:* In the two last numbers of the Carolina Spartan, I see my name announced among many others, to be one of six, to represent Spartanburg District in the State Convention, appointed to meet in Columbia on the 17th of December next. At this crisis in our history as a State, such a position is neither to be declined or sought for; yet, should the Voters of Spartanburg choose to honor me with an election, I will be grateful for their confidence, and will act to the best of my ability for the welfare of my native State.

Presuming that the Voters of the District will expect each nominee to define his political position, and as the next issues of our District journals will not appear until the day previous to the Election, I am under the necessity, as a means of reaching the public, of issuing a Circular. Ever since I arrived at an age to discriminate between right and wrong, I have been a firm believer in the doctrine of States Rights.

I was a secessionist in 1851, believing that South Carolina should have acted at that time; but as our Southern sister States thought differently, I failed in my much desired object. Since that time, aggression after aggression, by Northern fanaticism, has united the South, and now Georgia, Alabama, Mississippi, and Florida are only awaiting the action of their State Conventions, to unite with South Carolina in forming a Southern Confederacy. The aggressions above alluded to, have only more powerfully impressed me that secession is the only remedy.

The South has been patiently enduring the wrongs inflicted upon her by her Northern brotherhood—has earnestly and peacably asked for her rights, under the Constitution—her rights, nobly fought for, nobly bought by the blood of our Revolutionary fathers—but how has she been spurned, and repeatedly insulted, until forbearance in our case, indeed, "will cease to be a virtue;" and our only hope, yes, our only remedy, now is secession. This is our sovereign right, and peacably we should be allowed to exercise it; but if the Federal Government choose to coerce us, will not every son of South Carolina nobly defend her, even at the risk of life? I know not the result of this seemingly bold act, so deemed by the fanatics and Black Republicans of the North, this "braggart" and "boasting," as they insultingly call it; but I feel that every Southern man, not only of our loved Carolina, but of her Southern sister States, will surely come out boldly in this emergency, and have for his watch-word, secession. Yes, secession from a Union with our foes—those opposed to our institutions—those who would have us slaves—who have sworn, like the youthful son of Hanno, eternal enmity to the South.

In conclusion, whether the voters of Spartanburg elect me or not, I am ready to serve my State in any capacity, however humble; with life and property, and under the Lone Star and the Palmetto Tree, will I defend her honor, trusting in the God "that ruleth all things well," that ere long, the sun may rise on a glorious Southern Confederacy.

WM. JAS. SMITH.

AT HOME, Nov. 29, 1860.

MEMPHIS, Tenn., December 1.—There was a large assemblage of our citizens yesterday. At night, a series of resolutions were passed to accept the irrepressible conflict, and calling on the Governor to convene the Legislature. The meeting recommended the call of a convention of the people, telling the Southern States that Tennessee will stand by the action of the Southern Convention, for weal or for woe.

HAMBURG, S. C., December 1.—There was an enthusiastic convention of thousands of Georgians and Carolinians in this town, to-day. Speeches were delivered by Senator Hammond, Dr. Miller, and others, and were truly Southern in expression.

ST. LOUIS, MO., Nov. 29, 1860.—The troops at Smithville are awaiting information from Fort Scott. They will propably return, as Gen. Harney has orders and full power to arrest Montgomery.

All the banks of St. Louis had suspended except the Machanics' Bank.

NASHVILLE, November 26.—The Planters, Union and State Banks, of this State, suspended to-day, at the request of the community.

For the Carolina Spartan.

MR. EDITOR:—I find an article in the last issue of your paper inquiring of me, as Chairman of the Mass Meeting, of the 24th instant, why I did not myself put the question to the people for the adoption of the Report of the Nominating Committee. In answer to this inquiry, I will simply state, that when the Chairman read the Report, with my name at the head of the list, I felt some delicacy in asking the people to confirm my own nomination; I therefore requested Mr. Cannon to submit the question.

Respectfully,
JOHN G. LANDRUM.

SPARTANBURG, Dec. 1st, 1860.

MR. EDITOR:—*Dear Sir:* Through your columns, I perceive that a Member of the 36th Regiment has nominated me for Colonel of that Regiment, to fill the vacancy caused by the resignation of the former incumbent. Unsought and unlooked for by me, this unmerited compliment to my military skill, I thankfully and gratefully acknowledge. I cannot but accept the nomination: I dare not refuse at a time when my beloved State may need my services. Standing as I do, on a strong *Secession Platform*, a place where I have ever been found firm and unwavering, gladly do I avail myself of any post in which my feeble abilities can add one iota to my country's weal. If I be elected, no effort of mine will be wanting to prove myself worthy of the charge. Should I be called on to act in my country's defence, *unflinchingly* would I lead on to *Victory or Death!* Be assured, when action is required, *I* will never be found wanting: willingly would I offer myself as a victim on the *Altar of Liberty*. Like the *Roman—Curtius*, boldly would I leap into the yawning gulf to save thee, *South Carolina*, my *beloved*, my *noble State!*

Permit me to subscribe myself, with the highest respect, Yours Truly,
G. W. H. LEGG.

To the Editor of the CAROLINA SPARTAN.

## Correspondence.

We publish the following correspondence sent in by the Committee of Invitation to the Mass Meeting—the letters were crowded out last week:

CHARLESTON, Nov. 22d, 1860.

*To Messrs. J. J. Boyd, and others—Committee:*

GENTLEMEN: I received your letter to-day, inviting me to attend a mass meeting of our fellow-citizens of Spartanburg District, on the 24th instant.

Although my reply must reach you after the day appointed for your meeting. I still deem it respectful to you to acknowledge the receipt of your kind invitation, and to express my regret that I shall be denied the pleasure of being with you on this important occasion.

The unexampled unanimity which exists among our citizens throughout the whole State has convinced our adversaries that South Carolina is unalterably resolved to secede from this Union.

I am happy to inform you that Charleston is determed to send a delegation pledged to immediate secession uninfluenced by any contingencies whatever. I am perfectly satisfied that when the great event of South Carolina secession (for *great* indeed it will be) is announced, all hesitation on the part of any of the other cotton States will be instantly displeased and they will soon be at our side. The faith of duty becomes plainer to us as we advance. We must be prepared not only to disregard the threats of our enemies but to turn a deaf ear to the entreaties of our friends. All that remains now for the people to do is to send firm steadfast and immovable delegates to the Convention.

It was my privilege to be in the Senate Chamber on the last night of the recent session of our Legislature, and I heard, with profound gratification the high-toned and patriotic sentiments expressed by your long tried and Senator, Mr. Cannon; and I feel assured that Spartanburg will record her large and influential vote in favor of immediate action.

I have the honor to be, very respectfully,
Your obedient servant,
W. F. COLCOCK.

RIDGELIFF, Nov. 22d, 1860.

GENTLEMEN:—Your invitation to the Mass Meeting at Spartanburg, to morrow, comes too late for my acceptance, if my health permitted. I have, however, no hesitation about giving you my views of the present state of affairs. I regard it now as a settled matter that South Carolina will, by her Convention, which is to meet on the 17th December next, secede from the present Union, with or without co operation from other Southern States. There can be no doubt that she intends to make a full and resolute trial of the extreme remedy—not of Revolution, but of the Constitution, for she will be doing nothing more than exercising a right expressly reserved to her in the bond of union. It will be a great *change*, but not a *revolution*, according to the political definition of that word usually recognized.

I will say, frankly, that ever since the era of nullification, I have entertained great doubts whether a single State could successfully and prosperously exercise this great right, without the support of one or more adjoining States, equally aggrieved with herself, and possessing the same social and industrial institutions. I have thought, moreover, that in breaking up the Federal Government, it was all important that the seceding States should at once adopt the present Federal Constitution, without *any* modification, and re-organize in conformity with it; for I foresee the most terrible results from any attempt, in these days, to improve on that. I trust that when the Convention withdraws our State from the Union, it will make all those changes in our present State Government which may be necessary to meet the new condition of affairs, provisional, in view of the probable early secession of other Southern States, when the Federal Constitution can be adopted *without change*. As Georgia and Alabama have both called Conventions, I entertain the most sanguine expectation that we can do this before the 4th March next. It seems to me scarcely possible, now the people are fully aroused to an indignant sense of the exactions and insults of the non slaveholding States, and the dangers of a longer connection with them under a common Government, that these Conventions will hesitate. I only regret that they do not assemble before one, and set us an example to follow.

Whatever happens, the die is cast with us. South Carolina does not wish to create a Republican Nationality for herself, independent of her Southern sister States; what she desires is Southern Slaveholding Confederacy, and to exemplify to the world the perfection of our civilization, the immensity of our resources, and that the wonderful progress of these United States is mainly due to us. She will, by no means, presume to attempt to force any other State into any measure which it does not entirely approve. She knows she cannot do it. Yet, come what may, for herself, she is resolved to make the effort, staking all she is and has upon it, to free her people from alliance with those who, not content with reaping the better half of the harvest produced by her lands and labor, are now instigating servile insurrections, and seeking our destruction with knives, torches and poison. I do not see, myself, how we can now take any "steps backwards," or stop at any half way house. No faith can be placed in such people. Yet, having with us the right, the Law and the Constitution, let us be scrupulously careful to move, however sternly and decisively, calmly and wholly within the limits of the Constitution and the Law. Such a course will ensure the respect and sympathy of the world and the blessing of Providence.

I have the honor to be, with great respect,
Your obed ent servant,
J. H. HAMMOND.

To Messrs. James J. Boyd, Simpson Bobo, Warren DuPree, H. Mitchell, James G. Harris, Sr.

[For the Carolina Spartan.]

## To the Citizens of Spartanburg District.

FELLOW CITIZENS: Not having had the opportunity of meeting with you since my return from Columbia, and letting you know from the stump what were my political Sentiments, in regard to the momentous questions, which now engage the public mind, I take the only method at my command for communicating with you through the public press. We are on the eve of eventful times; times that will require all of our energies and all of our patriotism. The crisis is upon us and must act like men who know our rights and dare defend them at all hazards, or submit like slaves to the tyrannical yoke of a dominant, sectional, and thoroughly abolitionized party. Our only means of escape—our only hope, and only remedy, in my opinion, is in secession from the General Government.

I am, and have been for ten years past, in favor of secession with co-operation. I am, and have been entirely satisfied, that we have no reason to entertain hopes of obtaining our rights in the Union; but, before discussing this matter, permit me to relate to you my course in the Legislature. I was in favor of a Convention to meet some time in January next; but a majority of the Legislature were in favor of an earlier day, and after the test vote was taken as to the time, I voted for the Bill fixing the time of the election on the 6th day of December next, and the day for the assembling of the Convention of the 17th of the same month. This Bill, as you know, passed both branches of the Legislature without a dissenting voice. My reason for desiring a later day was, that the people should have time to make, with cool and deliberate judgments, their selection of whom they desired to have represent them in this Convention; that they should have time to understand fully the political views entertained by those whom they might select, and that anything like precipitate action might be avoided. But the argument that delays were dangerous prevailed, and the Bill passed as above stated. In this connection, without desiring to dictate to you what course you should pursue, I would simply add that you should select your truest and best men to represent you—men who will weigh well the circumstances with which they may be surrounded, and will act with prudence and firmness.

We at the South, I believe, all agree upon the doctrine of State Sovereignty, and hold to the belief that a State has the right to retract all the powers which she delegated to the General Government when she entered the Union, and for sufficient cause to secede from that Government. We claim now that we of the South have sufficient and abundant reasons for dissolving this compact. Never before in the history of our country has the Government been under the entire control of a sectional party. That party, however, is not simply *opposed* to us, but but openly avows its *hostility* to an institution which is interwoven with our whole social and political system, and upon which depends our very existence as a people. Let those who are opposed to the present policy of secession listen to the following words of John C. Calhoun, Carolina's greatest and purest statesman:

"Never was there an issue between independent States that involved greater calamity to the conquered than is involved in that between the States which compose the two sections of this Union. The condition of the weaker, should it sink from a state of independence and and equality to one of dependence and subjection, would be more calamitous than ever before befel a civilized people. It is vain to think that with such consequences before them, they will not resist, especially when resistance may save them and cannot render their condition worse."

Can secession, then, make our condition worse, cost what it may? Look at the facts as they exist: Lincoln, the author and first proclaimer of the "irrepressible Conflict," a man unknown to fame, and only made prominent by his bitter and openly avowed hostility to the institution of the South—who believes in a "higher Law" than the Constitution or the Bible—has been, by an overwhelming majority in every free State, and without a single Electoral vote in any slave State, elected President of the United States for the next four years. Elected, too, by a party whose only political faith consist in its hatred of the South and Southern interests. Have we any thing to hope for under his Administration? No! Even if he were disposed to play the traitor to those who have placed him in power and to favor Southern interests he could not withstand the storm that would be raised against him. Would you be willing to trust a man who would thus betray his own friends—those who had elevated him to the highest office in the gift of the American people? Never! But there is no danger of his acting the traitor to his own party, and to the principles which he has heretofore proclaimed. But there is danger, to the South in the programme which his party have marked out for him, and which we have every reason to believe he will carry out to the letter. What can he not do for the subversion of our interests, and for the destruction and complete subjugation of the South, with the immense patronage and the vast amount of money which he will control as the President of this mighty Government of States? As President, he will have more than fifty thousand appointments to make, and each and every one of those appointed for the South will become an emissary for the complete triumph of Black Republican rule for ever abolition and extinction of slavery.

Ten States have nullified the Fugitive Slave laws of Congress, and have passed laws to confine any owner of a fugitive slave who goes in to these Territories to recover him under the laws of Congress with imprisonment from five to fifteen years, and have denied the use of all jails to any arresting officer and punish said officer as they do the owner of said fugitive slave. Mr. Lincoln's supporters have declared their design, to extinguish slavery by constitutional means if possible, or, if necessary, by force. You are all aware that they succeeded in electing a Speaker of the House of Congress in advance, unfriendly to the South; now the election of Lincoln has given them the Executive power, and I assure you, they will use all this power in many ways too, tedious for me to attempt to enumerate, for our oppression and ruin. We all know of the John Brown raid committed by this party who have elected Lincoln—those of his followers who, were too eager to await *Constitutional forms* to abolish slavery. We all see and know these things, and much worse are to be feared—that of inciting our slaves to commit all kinds of crimes, by attempting to poison their masters, &c. Will you submit to a man with such avowed principles of hostility to your interests and safety to rule over you? I feel satisfied in saying you will not. I know too well the patriotic sentiments of the citizens of the old "Iron District" to doubt for a moment but that they will be ready to stand in defence of their State, if need be, in the field of battle, rather than to submit to such a man to rule over them. For one, I am ready to defend and stand up the acts of my State, let what will come.

But the Union men say, wait until Lincoln commits an overt act; that he is powerless to carry out his ends, for the Senate and House of Representatives will prevent him. Even if this were true, which I do not admit, I ask you to look at the past, with a Conservative, Democratic, States Rights, Constitutional-abiding President. But Lincoln will not be powerless; he will have in his control, as I have already stated, near fifty thousand appointments to various offices, and he will have *influence* enough with the Senate, the House, and the Cabinet, to carry out all his fiendish purposes. If we wait for Lincoln to commit an overt act, submission to his rule, I fear, will destroy the tone of Southern sentiment, and honor will be demoralized and debased. We will not, we can not, escape if we submit to it; he who would submit to the rule of one Black Republican President, I fear will not be prepared to resist an hundred more. We are bound to secede, if we save our honor and our liberty. We have now *strong* assurances of co-operation from Georgia, Alabama, Mississippi, and Florida; and the only question to be decided at this time is, which is the most effectual mode of redressing our wrongs and securing ourselves for the future? This is a matter for your Convention to determine. We must meet the issue, let what will come, to submit at this time to a Black Republican ruler, under any pretext, I regard as dangerous as it is degrading. I, for one, am not ready nor willing to yield to it; and I feel assured that, with the promises of co-operation we have from our sister Southern States, now is the time for resistance, let the consequences be what they may.

Your obedient servant,
B. F. BATES.

November 22d, 1860.

For the Carolina Spartan.

COLUMBIA, Dec. 1, 1860.

MR. EDITOR: In the *Spartan* of the 29th November, I see a communication signed "Enquirer," expressing great dissatisfaction with the nomination made by the Mass Meeting, at Spartanburg Court House, on Saturday, 24th November, inquiring of the Chairman of the meeting "when he expected to submit the report of the Nominating Committee to the consideration of the meeting," and charging me with "thrusting the regular Chairman of the meeting aside," and on my own appointment proceeding to discharge the duties of the chair myself. Another charge was, that I reported the nomination as having been unanimously made, when he was informed that some of the nominees received a bare majority. To the first charge I reply, that after I had made the report as Chairman of the Committee, I was in the act of handing it over to the Chairman of the meeting. But he requested me to submit the question to the crowd, which I did. Does this look like I was thrusting the chairman aside and acting on my own appointment? To the next charge, I answer that the vote in the Nominating Committee was taken by ballot, and after the votes were counted, and the result declared, a motion was made by a member of the Committee that the nomination be reported unanimous, which motion passed in the affirmative; no one objecting that I heard. Certainly if any member of the Committee was not satisfied that the report should be made unanimous, he had the opportunity to object. I think I have satisfactorily answered the charges, and now appeal to the Chairman of the meeting and the members of the Committee to say whether I am correct, for although my accuser has in effect charged both the Chairman of the meeting and the Committee, (or at least a majority of them) with *collusion* to proscribe the friends of certain men or measures, I am proud to be associated with such gentlemen. "Enquirer" says "had the report been submitted to the meeting by its Chairman, I was ready to move a recommital of it myself." It seems strange that any man entertaining the views expressed by "Enquirer" should stand by and see what he deems so gross an outrage on the rights of people without raising his *patriotic* voice against it—simply because the question was not submitted by the Chairman of the meeting. Would he stand quietly and see the Chairman thurst aside and the duties of the Chair *usurped* by another who was then proceeding to force a nomination which "Enquirer" pretends is so very objectionable upon the people. To say the least of it he has been derelict to his duty. But "Enquirer" denounces the nomination in *unmeasured* terms without giving his objections. If he had pointed out the objectionable *men* or *men*, and informed the public wherein the fault lay, reported who amongst them was so unfit to represent the District in the Convention; then the people might have acted with new lights before them. But on looking a little farther, I see he has given a reason why the nomination should not have been made which no doubt, "Enquirer" deems sufficient. What is that? After speaking of the late divisions in the District, he says "they have been divided upon personal considerations between Cannon and Winsmith," and further, that it was to be hoped "that the delegates would have been selected indiscriminately from railroad tax men, and anti-railroad tax men, from the friends of Cannon and from friends of Winsmith," and "that there is not a single man on it who voted for Winsmith in the late election." I will not follow "Enquirer" through all his *tirade* of *abuse*, who, after all this public exposition of what he denounces as an outrage, the only reason given is that the nominees did not vote for Winsmith or against the Railroad Tax. But possibly there may be another reason, perhaps some aspirant did not find his friend's name in the nomination, but as to this I cannot say. I will further state that I had no agency in forming the Committee; did not know who was appointed until the Chairman made known their names, and therefore could not have attempted to procure a Committee for such unworthy purpose as "Enquirer" would seem to believe, and the high character of Rev. Mr. Landrum, Chairman of the meeting, and the following gentlemen composing the committee, viz: G. Cannon, Govan Mills, J. Earle Bomar, J. W. Miller, J. B. Davis, Henry Dodd, J. C. Zimmerman, Rev. M. C Barnett, W. C. Bomar, J. M. Elford, Patrick Petty, Samuel Smith, Joel Ballenger P. P Bescham, Wm. Hoy, E. S. Allen, W. H. Trimmier, Rev. H. H. Durant A. B. Woodward, J. C. Winsmith, W. P. Compton, W. T. Wilkins, W Ballenger, D. A. Chamblin, is a *rebuke* to such *insinuations*.

Why does not "Enquirer" come out like a man under his true name and attack the objectionable manor men? no, a *fictitious* names more convenient. But the whole article breaths a spirit of *malice*, *disappointment*, and an apparent desire to keep up old party feelings. For myself permit me to say I have labored both here and at home to unite our people as one man, although my influence may have been small, I claim credit for good intentions. I *pity the man* who, in this important *crisis* of the country would form a moment think of acting upon such *base* motives as to make one voting for any individuals a q