

The Organizer.

VOL. VI.

OXFORD, MISS., DECEMBER 14, 1850.

NO. 27.

THE ORGANIZER.
PUBLISHED EVERY SATURDAY MORNING.

TERMS.

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Letter of Hon. James Buchanan.

The following extracts are taken from a letter recently written by Hon. James Buchanan, late Secretary of State, in answer to an invitation to attend a Public meeting held in Philadelphia, on the 21st ult. Although not agreeing with Mr. Buchanan in all the views contained in his letter, we believe he draws an honest and faithful picture of the slavery agitation.

The signs of the times are truly portentous. Whilst many in the South openly advocate the cause of secession and disunion, a large majority, as I firmly believe, still fondly cling to the Union, awaiting with deep anxiety the action of the North on the Compromise lately effected in Congress. Should this be disregarded and nullified by the citizens of the North, the Southern people may become united and then farewell to our blessed Union. I am no secessionist; but a brave and wise man looks danger steadily in the face. This is the best means of avoiding it. I am deeply impressed with the conviction that the North neither sufficiently understands nor appreciates its danger. For my own part I have been steadily watching its approach for the last fifteen years. During that period I have often sounded the alarm; but my feeble warnings have been disregarded. I now solemnly declare, as the deliberate conviction of my judgement, that two things are necessary to preserve this Union from the most imminent danger—

1. Agitation in the North on the subject of Southern slavery must be rebuked and put down by a strong, energetic, and enlightened public opinion.

2. The fugitive slave law must be executed in its letter and in its spirit.

On each of these points I shall offer a few observations.

Those are greatly mistaken who suppose that the temper which is now raging in the South has been raised solely by the acts or omissions of the present Congress. The minds of the Southern people have been gradually prepared for this explosion by the events of the last fifteen years. Much and devotedly as they love the Union many of them are now taught to believe that the peace of their own firesides, and the security of their families, cannot be preserved without separation from us. The crusade of the abolitionists against their domestic peace and security commenced in 1835. General Jackson in his annual message to Congress, in December of that year, speaks of it in the following emphatic language: "I must also invite your attention to the painful excitement produced in the South by attempts to circulate through the mails, inflammatory appeals, addressed, in the passions of the slaves in prints and various sorts of publications, calculated to stimulate them to insurrection, and produce all the horrors of a servile war."

From that period the agitation in the North against Southern slavery has been incessant, by means of the Press, of State Legislatures, State and County Conventions, Abolition Lectures, and every other method which fanaticism and demagogues could devise. The time of Congress has been wasted in violent harangues on the subject of slavery. Inflammatory appeals have been sent forth from this central point throughout the country, the inevitable effect of which has been to create geographical parties, so much denuded by the Father of his Country, and to estrange the Northern and Southern divisions of the Union from each other.

Before the Willmot proviso was interposed the abolition of slavery in the District of Columbia had been the chief theme of agitation. Petitions for the purpose, by thousands, from men, women and children, poured into Congress session after session. The rights and wishes of the owners of slaves within the District were boldly disregarded. Slavery was denounced as a national sin and a national disgrace, which the laws of God and the laws of man ought to abolish, cost what it

might. It would not to the fanatics that the abolition of slavery in the District would convert it into a citadel in the midst of two slaveholding States, from which the abolitionists could securely scatter arrows, firebrands and death, all around. It mattered not to them that the abolition of slavery in the District would be a violation of the spirit of the constitution and the implied faith pledged to Maryland and Virginia, because the whole world knows that those States would never have ceded it to the Union, had they imagined it could ever be converted by Congress into a place from which their domestic peace and security might be assailed by fanatics and abolitionists.—Nay, the abolitionists went even still further. They agitated for the purpose of abolishing slavery in the forts, arsenals and navy yards, which the Southern States had ceded to the Union, under the constitution, for the protection and defence of the country.

This stood the question when the Willmot-Proviso was interposed, to add fuel to the flame, and to excite the Southern people to madness.

2. I shall now proceed to present to you some views upon the subject of the much misrepresented fugitive slave law. It is now evident from all the signs of the times, that this is destined to become the principal subject of agitation at the next session of Congress, and to take the place of the Willmot Proviso. Its total repeal or its material modification will henceforward be the battle cry of the agitators of the North.

And what is the character of this law? It was passed to carry into execution a plain, clear, and mandatory provision of the Constitution, requiring that the fugitive slaves, who fly from service in one State to another shall be delivered up to their masters. This provision is so explicit that he who runs may read. No commentary can present it in a stronger light than the plain words of the Constitution. It is a well known historical fact, that without this provision, the Constitution itself could never have existed. How could this have been otherwise? Is it possible for a moment to believe that the slave States would have formed a union with the free States, if under the fugitive slave law, by simply crossing the boundary which separates them would acquire all the rights of freedom? This would have been to offer an irresistible temptation to all the slaves of the South to precipitate themselves upon North. The federal constitution, therefore, recognizes in the clearest and most emphatic terms, the property in slaves, and protects this property by prohibiting any State into which a slave might escape from discharging him from slavery, and by requiring that he shall be delivered up to his master.

But, say the agitators, the fugitive slave law, framed for the purpose of carrying into effect an express provision of the constitution, is itself unconstitutional. I shall not stop to argue such a point at length, deeming this to be wholly unnecessary. The law, in every one of its essential provisions, is the very same law which was passed in February, 1793, by a Congress, many of whose members had come fresh from the convention which framed the federal constitution, and was approved by the Father of his Country. If this be so, it may be asked whence the necessity of passing the present law? Why not rest upon the Act of 1793? This question is easily answered. The Act of 1793 had entrusted its own execution not only to the Judges of the Circuit and District Courts of the United States, but to all State magistrates of any county, city, or town corporate.

The decision of the Supreme Court of the United States, in the case of Pigg vs. the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania, deprived these State magistrates of the power of acting under the law. What was the consequence? Let us take the State of Pennsylvania for an example. There were but three individuals left in the whole State who could judicially execute the provisions of the Act of 1793—the Circuit Judge and the two district Judges. Two of these Judges reside in Philadelphia, and one of them at Pittsburgh, a distance of more than three hundred miles apart. It is manifest, therefore, that the law in many, indeed in most cases, could not have been executed for want of officers near at hand. It thus became absolutely necessary for Congress to provide United States officers to take the place of the State magistrates who had been superseded. Without this a constitutional right would have existed with no adequate means of enforcing it. The fugitive slave bill was passed chiefly to remedy this defect, and to substitute such officers instead of the State magistrates whose powers had been nullified under the Supreme Court.

It is worthy of remark, that several of our northern legislatures availing themselves of the decision of the Supreme Court, and under the deep excitement by the agitation of the Willmot Proviso, passed laws imposing obstacles to the execution of the provisions of the Constitution for the restoration of fugitive slaves. I am sorry, very sorry, to state that Pennsylvania is among

the number. By our act of 3d March, 1847, every case of our public jails is denied for the custody of the fugitive; and the person who shall offend against this provision shall be deprived of his office, and is punished with a heavy fine and a disqualification ever again to hold a similar office.

These and other objections urged against the fugitive slave law are, that it will promote kidnapping; and that it does not provide a trial by jury for the fugitive in the State to which he has escaped.

The very same reason may be urged, with equal force against the Act of 1793; and yet it existed for more than half a century without encountering any such objections.

The defeat of the Willmot proviso, and the passage of the fugitive slave law are all that the South have obtained by the compromise. They ask for the Missouri compromise, which it is known that for one I was always willing to concede, believing this would be the most just, equitable, and satisfactory arrangement of the territorial question between the North and the South. But that has passed away. California has been admitted as a State into the Union, with a positive prohibition of slavery in her constitution; and whether the Mexican law abolishing slavery is force or not in the remainder of our territorial acquisitions, does any man believe that slavery will ever prevail among the Mormons in Utah, or among the inhabitants of the snow-clad hills and mountain valleys of New Mexico? Besides, the slave trade has been abolished in the District of Columbia. What then of the compromise practically remains for the South but the fugitive slave law, passed to carry out a clear constitutional provision? It is the only compensation which they have received for what they believe to be the great injuries they have sustained. Will they then patiently submit to have this law repealed, essentially modified, or nullified? Before its passage, the constitution had become, in regard to fugitive slaves, almost a dead letter.

It is a notorious fact, that all along the border which separates the free from the slave States, every facility was afforded for the escape of slaves from their masters. If they could pass the line, their safety was almost certain. They were secretly ever, in the language of the constitution, "delivered up on the claim of the party to which such service or labor may be due." In many instances the master or his agent who pursued them was insulted, a scold, beaten and imprisoned; and few men could be bold enough to incur the hazard of such a dangerous undertaking. In this manner the southern people were annually deprived of their property, guaranteed to them by the constitution, to the amount of hundreds and thousands of dollars. The constitution was nullified, and this law was passed for the protection of their constitutional rights! Let the voice which speaks in tones of thunder from the united South answer this question. They will at last, I trust and believe, submit to all the provisions of the compromise, provided the fugitive slave law be faithfully executed in the North, but they go no further. All the resolutions even to the Union meetings in the South speak this language. Future aggressions must cease or the Union will be in imminent danger.

Let us then resolve to put down agitation at the North on the slave question, by the force of enlightened public opinion, and faithfully execute the provisions of the fugitive slave law. Should this be done, it will eventually extinguish those geographical parties—so dangerous to the Union and so much dreaded by the Father of his Country—which have sprung into existence; it will ameliorate the condition of the slaves, by enabling their masters to remove the restrictions imposed upon them in self defence, since the commencement of the present troubles, and will restore the natural and constitutional progress of emancipation which has, in several States, been arrested by the violence of abolitionists.

The Union cannot long endure, if it be bound, together only by paper bonds. It can be firmly cemented alone by the affections of the people of the different States for each other. Would to Heaven that the spirit of mutual forbearance and brotherly love which presided at its birth could once more be restored to bless the land!

A FUGITIVE CITY.—A wealthy Friend [Quaker] of New Bedford, writes to the Chronotype, who inquired of him, whether a fugitive slave would be safe in that city: "I prefer to be a freesoiler and hold to the 'higher law.' God helping I mean to obey that. Therefore send along the 'good likely' fugitive, and if he is hungry we will feed him, if he is cold we will clothe him. We do not counsel blood-shed, but shall suffer fines and imprisonment to any extent rather than allow that law to be carried out. So let him come! we will do all we can for him, both for the outer and inner man."

EFFECTS OF SECESSION.

From the Mississippi.
"As a political economist and statesman, he (the Governor) ought to show before he recommends or suggests to Mississippi, as one of the aggrieved States, 'prompt and peaceable secession,' that the safety, value and productiveness of slave property will be at least equal after secession, to what they are now."—Flag of the Union.

Could Governor Quitman have hurried aside from the clear and concise exposition of wrongs to be redressed, legitimate to the character of an Executive Message, and indulged himself in an essay upon the conservative powers of a government of united interests, we do not know any one who would have more heartily entered upon the task, or who could have better traced the vast benefits to be conferred upon Mississippi by secession. His graphic pen would quickly have dispelled the woe and gloom and senseless chimeras, which submission to wrong has conjured up in the imaginations of the Federal Unionists. Governor Quitman had another task to perform, and how well he has sustained himself we shall leave to the liberal criticisms of our own and sister States to decide.

No country on the face of the earth possesses more of the elements of prosperity than our own sunny South. It is wrong to suppose that a dissolution of the Union could be attended with any destruction of our interests, or jeopardise our peace and tranquillity. Let us look around and see the bountiful resources at our command.

Our crop of cotton the past season will amount to at least three hundred thousand bales, and that is a failure. In a good season we may soon realize double the amount. But this year will realise to our cotton planters about sixteen millions of dollars. How much of this large amount now goes to the northern manufacturer? We shall make a slight estimate. The State Auditor's report for 1849, gives the following items:

Amount of merchandise sold by agents for the State	\$3,128,418
Merchandise sold at auction, or by transient vendors	30,944
	\$3,159,362

It is fair to say that at least six millions of the above goes into the pockets of northern men. Now a large portion of this amount would be spent in our State, or at least in a Southern Confederacy if one were formed; because even a revenue tariff upon merchandise, say of twenty per cent., would force the northern capitalist either to transfer his investment to the South or cause his place to be supplied by the manufacturer of England. A duty of 20 per cent., would effectually exclude northern manufacturers, and there could be no hope left them but to invest their capital in southern manufactures.

We annually consume one million dollars of domestics. All this could be manufactured in Mississippi.—Here, then would be room for a profitable investment. We are now realizing twenty per cent. profit upon this manufacture. Establish a tariff of twenty per cent., and the inducement to manufacture will be greatly increased.

But there are other articles purchased from the north which would afford labor for our own mechanics. The Auditor's report for 1849 shows that there are—

4992 carriages in Mississippi, valued at	\$671,700
7446 watches, worth	241,419
12,818 clocks, worth	125,542
1036 pianos (say)	4,000
Gold and silver plate	45,325
1622 pianos	190,449
	\$1,378,435

Here is over a million and a quarter of dollars, which under a revenue tariff of twenty per cent., might go into the pockets of our own mechanics. Nearly the whole of the above amount is now enriching the northern manufacturer.

We only refer to these items because we have some official data concerning them. There is no doubt that the figures fall far below the actual value. There are other mechanical pursuits which would receive a great impulse. The cabinet maker is scarcely known as a trade in Mississippi, most of our furniture being purchased at the north. It is estimated that at least \$300,000 is annually spent at the North for furniture brought into our State. This amount would give employment to six hundred mechanics, and afford a fine income to the State.

It is estimated that the boots and shoes imported from the North exceed a million of dollars annually. These can all be made by negro labor, and would give employment to three thousand negroes at an annual profit to their owners of three hundred dollars each.

the North would, under a tariff upon the northern article, yield a revenue to our mechanics of about five hundred thousand dollars per annum.

Iron now lying in the bosom of our hills and valleys would be mined and sent into market. A revenue duty of twenty per cent. would be all-sufficient to induce laboring men and capitalists to send the iron ore of Alabama, Georgia, South Carolina and Mississippi, into market.

The city of Natchez, Vicksburg, and other towns on the Mississippi, would become great importing depots of European merchandise, for the supply of the State, and our low duties would tempt thousands of western merchants to lay in their supplies at these cities. A low system of duties would reduce the cost of consumption in Mississippi twenty per cent., and consequently give that great advantage to the cotton planter over other southern States.

We have plenty of idle capital. In 1849, according to the auditor's report, there were \$5,432,000 dollars at interest. The whole of this sum would be immediately put into circulation. Our citizens would withdraw their moneys now invested in northern States. The whole of the moneyed means of the South are at once concentrated upon the development of our resources when a tariff upon northern manufactures is established. The sixteen millions of dollars received annually from our cotton, instead of building up northern mechanics, manufacturers and merchants, would then to a great extent be distributed at home. We would see everywhere thriving villages, and a large class of comfortable farmers. In the eastern part of this State, owing to the fine water courses, many large manufactures would be established, and with them would come markets for all kinds of agricultural produce.

We see these facts, and we might trace much further the effects of secession upon our home labor, that so far as the pecuniary interests of the masses are concerned, we have nothing to apprehend from parting with the free soil portion of the confederacy.

In any other point of view we might discuss this question, and show the extreme folly of imagining that the people have anything to fear, should they, in justice to themselves, be compelled to separate from the North. Would the North fight us? Never, never! She would do so, if she could find sympathy with a large body of citizens in our Southern States—never without; but this could not occur, because whatever course Mississippi and other southern States take, it must be sanctioned by the people in their sovereign capacity, and hence even men opposed to secession will never take up arms against their own State after it once declares in favor of secession. We can therefore have few traitors, should the southern States determine upon secession.

New York correspondence of the Southern Press. New York, Nov. 15, 1850.

The reaction is now a manifest thing. The compromise of Mr. Clay, Mr. Cass, Mr. Webster, Mr. Fillmore, and Gen. Foote, the men who stood out on the footboard of the omnibus to call up the passengers—"Ride up sir—only twelve inside—Mr. Clay is a safe driver, sir." From Mr. Clay down to Gen. Foote, North and South, there has been an awful breaking up of the crockery ware of the President-makers.

Our southern elections have "inscribed upon their banner, in characters too legible to be misunderstood," the motto of "Repeal the fugitive law—the Proviso for New Mexico and Utah—abolition of Slavery in the District—no more slave States—no more annexations of slave territories—no connivance in the support of slavery in the States."

The results ought to satisfy the veriest southern doughface, of the amiable temper of the North. Seymour, by the Castle Garden meeting, was identified with the odium of the unionism—conservatism obedi-

ence to the laws as they are. It destroyed him—it elected Hunt, while the Democratic State ticket, otherwise, is successful by majorities ranging from one to seven thousand. Freesoil and abolition did it. They have the Legislature—they have the State. So much for Mr. Fillmore and Mr.

How is Massachusetts? Never has there been such a triumph of abolition in this country as that of Horace Mann over Daniel Webster. Call you this the law and Constitution abiding Massachusetts? The "higher law" of abolition is supreme. Very like conciliation and harmony. Look out for a particularly offensive assault upon the South at the opening of Congress. This much for Mr. Webster.

Abolition rides it rough-shod over Michigan. Gen. Cass was kind enough to dodge the fugitive slave bill, but he was proved to have encouraged Mr. Buell, of the House, to go it. Mr. Buell is down, and Freesoil runs in Michigan. So much for Gen. Cass.

Delaware is accounted a sort of slave State. Mr. Wales voted, in the Senate, for some of the compromise bills. He is condemned, although almost as good a northern man as Seward. He is too much southern even for Delaware, and he and Clayton are laid over among the wrecks of the adjustment. Beautiful harmony—delightful concord! most fraternal spirit of conciliation, how it spreads!

Illinois, Iowa, and Wisconsin tell the same story! No compromise with the hunters—no concessions to slavery—no quarters to soul-sellers of the South! Splendid! Satisfactory, no doubt, to Gen. Foote, and Sam. Houston; but if Henry Clay does not plead guilty of deception or delusion at the coming session, he will fall short of public expectation.

The Tariff, you know, was the passenger in the boat of the omnibus. The tariff was to be the share of Pennsylvania and New Jersey in the compromises. They have not been rewarded as yet, with those desirable increased bounties in the way of protection. They know they must have some southern votes to get them.—Hence the triumph of the compromises in the late New Jersey and Pennsylvania elections. Let the coming season close without doing something for the iron business, and you will hear different music from the keystone State.

What is the South about? We see that some wise "faces" propose that if Congress pass the ten million bill over again, or admit another State in the same way that California was admitted, it must be resisted. "Knock me down again," said the peace man, and I will regard it as an insult. We look with anxiety to Nashville. It is time there was some definite southern platform laid down—something upon which to stand and to rally. This backing out from one position to another, as the North advances, is worse than an unconditional surrender. The North is in for the extermination of slavery. Mercy, says the South.

Jenny Lind is still the lioness, tho' the Italian, Parodi, is winning golden opinions at each representation, at the Opera House. Stocks are up—cotton is up, and there is a very general impression that the South is too weak to resist, and ought to have the privilege to bluster; that the Union can stand anything, and that the prosperity of New York is founded upon the imperishable basis of the commercial centre of from thirty to forty States. Hence every thing in New York City goes on prosperously, while the interior is in a ferment, of which even South Carolina resistance affords but a weak comparison.

It is time that the South should proceed to determine upon an unconditional surrender, or a spirited resistance to meet the avalanche of Abolition, which will pour down upon it with the meeting of Congress.

Old Bull, the violinist who created such an excitement, a few years ago, in this country, gave lately a concert at Christiana in Sweden and his rendition was so perfect to Constantinople passing through Finland and Russia, and then visit the largest cities of Asia and Egypt it was thought to be possible that he might again visit the United States.