

countries. It must be remembered, however, that though the free States furnish part of our exports, yet that which they do afford is scarcely so much as the portion of our own products which goes to them for consumption. If, therefore, we were separated, our whole exports to the North and foreign countries generally would be equal to the sum. Of course we should import as much, and in fact do at this time consume as much. A duty of thirty per cent. on these imports (and most of the rates of the present tariff law are higher) would yield a revenue of nearly forty millions of dollars. As the price of almost all the manufactured articles are regulated by the production of the great workshops of Europe, where the accumulation of capital and labor keeps down production to the lowest possible rates, I have no doubt but that sum would be raised without any material increase of the prices which our citizens now pay. We might, therefore, expend as much as the Government of the United States ever did in time of peace up to the beginning of General Jackson's Administration, and still have on hand twenty-five millions of dollars to devote to the making of railroads, opening our harbors and rivers, and for other domestic purposes.—Or, by levying only a twenty per cent. duty which the Northern manufacturers found ruinous to them, as they said, under Mr. Clay's compromise bill, we should be able to raise some twenty-five millions of dollars. Half of this sum would be sufficient for the support of our army, navy, and civil government. The residue might be devoted to the making of all such improvements as we are now in want of, and especially checking our country over with railroads. Subjecting the goods of the North to a duty, with those from other foreign countries, would at once give a powerful stimulus to our own manufactures. We have already sufficient capital for the purpose. But, if needed, it would come in from abroad. English capitalists have filled Belgium with factories. Why did this occur? Simply because provisions were cheaper there and taxes lower than in England. The same motives would bring them into the Southern country, since both the reasons assigned are much stronger than in our case. It has already been proved that we can manufacture some kinds of goods more cheaply than the North. In New England, too, owing to her deficient agriculture, everything is directed to manufacturing, and the system is strained up to a point which is attended with great social disadvantages, so as to retard population. In the South it need not be so. The climate and soil are very favorable to agricultural pursuits. Our slaves might be chiefly occupied on the farms, while the poorer class of our white population, and a portion of our females, could be advantageously employed in manufacturing. We should thus have that diversity in our pursuits which is most conducive to the prosperity and happiness of a people.

Our carrying trade would for a time be in the hands of the English and other foreigners. This, however, would not be to our disadvantage, since Northern-shippers now charge as much for freight between New York and New Orleans as they do for carrying it to Canaan, on the opposite side of the globe. The whole amount of the freight on Southern productions, received by the Northern-shippers, has, on a minute calculation, been set down at forty millions one hundred and eighty six thousand seven hundred and twenty-eight dollars (\$40,186,728). The whole value which the North derives from its Southern connexion has been estimated, by some persons most familiar with these statistics, at more than eighty-eight millions of dollars. Whoever looks into the condition of the different States prior to the formation of the Union, and compare it with their situation at first, under low duties, up to the war and tariff of 1816, and its successors, highly protractive as they have been, will find the facts fully sustaining the opinions I have expressed. Northern writers of elementary books, made for school children, of course represent things differently, and deceive the careless and ignorant. My opinions on these points have been settled for a long while past, though I have not heretofore been in a position where I thought I could exert any controlling influence, or effect any desirable object, by giving utterance to them.

In throwing out these views, Mr. Chairman, I have not sought the utmost degree of precision but I have no doubt but that all the facts will be found on examination not less favorable to my conclusion than I have stated them. My purpose now is simply to present to Northern gentlemen such general views as are likely to be adopted by the South. Your course of aggression is already arraying against you all the highest minds of the South—men of high intellect, and higher patriotism, whose utter indifference to all personal considerations will make them, in the language of my eloquent friend from Georgia, (Mr. Toombs,) "devoted all they have and all they are to this cause."

But gentlemen speak of the difficulty of making the boundary; and the condition of the border States of Maryland and Kentucky is particularly referred to. Undoubtedly each State would have the right to determine for itself to which section of the Confederacy it would belong. If these two States were to unite with the North, then, as it would not be possible for them to change their condition immediately with respect to slavery, if they ever did, they would, for many years at least, form a barrier against the aggressions of the free States, until, in short, the South would have become too great and powerful to need such aid. I take it however, that their interest would lead them to prefer an association with the South. With reference to fugitive slaves Maryland would not be materially worse off than I have shown her to be, if she were not in fact less molested. There would, however, be some great counter-vailing advantages. She is in advance of most of the Southern States in manufactures, and a duty on Northern imports would give her for the time better prices on such things as now come from the North. Baltimore would, perhaps, from its considerable size and its capital, become the New York of the South. New York itself must at once lose more than half its for its foreign trade. Charleston and New Orleans would expand rapidly. The like might occur in the cities of Virginia. Even the little towns on the eastern coast of my own State would more than recover the trade which they had prior to the war duties and the tariff of 1816.

The northern tier of counties in Kentucky would perhaps be obliged to remove their slaves

to the South. But there would be to her advantages in the change similar to those of Maryland. Kentucky supplies the South with live stock to a great extent; but she has to encounter the competition of Ohio and other Northwestern States. If the productions of these were subjected to a duty, she might for a time have a monopoly in the trade. I would do injustice to these two States if I supposed that they would be governed solely, or even mainly, by calculations of interest. Maryland and Kentucky are filled with as courageous, as generous on earth; and, following their bold impulses, they would make common cause with their oppressed sisters of the South, and, if necessary, take their places where the blows might fall thickest in the front of the column, with the same high feelings that animated their ancestors on the battle-fields of the Revolution.—Rather than that they should separate from us, I think it far more probable that some of the Northwestern free States would find it to their advantage to go with the South. But we have been threatened that the North will take possession of the Lower Mississippi. The British tried that in 1815, but found Andrew Jackson and some of the Southwestern militia men in the way. In the thirty-five years that have since passed, those States have become populous and strong, and would doubtless be able to protect their waters from aggression.—The Southern States, having now a free population of six millions, and producing in succession such soldiers as Washington, Jackson, Scott, and Taylor, need have no serious fears of foreign aggression.

I submit it, then, Mr. Chairman, calmly to Northern gentlemen, that they had better make up their mind to give us at once a fair settlement; not cheat us by a mere empty form, without reality, but give something substantial for the South. We might acquiesce in the Missouri compromise line. I should individually prefer, under all the circumstances, giving up the whole of California, provided we could have all on this side of it, up to about the parallel of 40 deg. not far from the northern line of the State of Missouri, rather than its southern—36 deg. 40 min. We would thus, by getting the whole of New Mexico, and having the mountain chain and desert on the west, obtain a proper frontier. We might then acquire, at some future day, whether united or divided, possession of the country along the Gulf of Mexico, well suited to be occupied by our slave population. I mean, that no restriction ought to be imposed by Congress on this territory, but that after it has been left open to all classes for a proper period, the majority may then, when they make a State constitution, determine for themselves whether they will permit slavery or not. The South will acquiesce in any reasonable settlement. But when we ask for justice, and to be let alone, we are met by the senseless and insane cry of "Union, Union!" Sir, I am disgusted with it. When it comes from Northern gentlemen who are attacking us, it falls on my ear as it would do if a band of robbers had surrounded a dwelling, and when the inmates attempted to resist, the assailants should raise the shout of "Peace—union—harmony!" If they will do us justice, we do not need their lectures. As long as they refuse it, their declarations seem miserable, hypocritical cant. When these things come from the Southern men I have even less respect for them. Even the most cowardly men, when threatened with personal injury, do not usually announce in advance that they mean to submit to all the chastisements which an adversary may choose to inflict. And those persons who seeing the aggressive attitude of the North, and its numerical power, declare in advance that for their part they intend to submit to whatever the majority may do, are taking the best course to aid our assailants, and need not wonder if the country regards them as enemies of the South.

If Northern gentlemen will do us justice on this great question, we may consent to submit to lesser evils. We may acquiesce in a most oppressive revenue system. We may tolerate a most unequal distribution of the public expenditures. We may bear the loss of our fugitive slaves, because the Legislatures of the Northern States have nullified essential provisions of the Constitution, without which the Union could not have been formed, because mere pecuniary considerations are not controlling with us. We may even permit such portions of the Northern people as are destitute of proper self respect, to send up here occasionally representative whose sole business seems to be to irritate as much as possible Southern feeling, and pander to the prejudices of the worst part of the Northern community. We may allow that the Northern States shall keep up and foster in their bosoms abolition societies, whose main purpose is to scatter firebrands throughout the South to incite servile insurrections, and stimulate by licentious pictures, our negroes to invade the persons of our white women. But if, in addition to all these wrongs and insults, you intend to degrade and utterly ruin the South, then we don't go it. We do not love you, people of the North, well enough to become your slaves. God has given us the power and the will to resist. Our fathers acquired our liberty by the sword, and with it, at every hazard, we will maintain it. But before resorting to that instrument, I hold that all constitutional means should be exhausted. It is, sir, a wise provision of Providence, that less force is required to resist an attack than to make it. The Constitution of the United States has been well framed on these principles. While, therefore, a majority is necessary to pass a measure, one-fifth of the members may demand the yeas and nays. In spite, therefore, of any change of rule which a majority can make, while this constitutional provision stands, a minority of one fifth or more, if firm and sustained by the people at home, can stop the wheels of the Government. If it is ascertained that no proper settlement can be gotten of the territorial question, it would be in the power of the Southern members to defeat all the appropriation bills, and bring the Government to a dead halt. Perhaps it might be well to give such a cup to Northern gentlemen; for I well remember that when the civil appropriation bill was under consideration, with the amendment from the Senate known as Walker's, which would have settled the question of slavery in the Territories, a number of Northern gentlemen resolved to defeat the bill, and all other business by constantly calling for the yeas and nays, if they did not succeed in striking out that amendment. I recollect perfectly that, while I was pressing a Pennsylvania

member to vote against striking out that amendment, which was the pending motion, a member of high standing from Massachusetts said to me, "You need not give yourself any trouble about this matter; if we do not succeed in changing it, we shall defeat it by having the yeas and nays on motions to adjourn, and calls of the House, till the end of the session." From similar declarations made to me by a number of Northern gentlemen, I went through the House, I had no doubt but that, as he said, enough had agreed to have enabled them to effect their purpose, if the motion to change the character of the bill had failed. It is not long since, too, another citizen of Massachusetts (Mr. John Davis) defeated the two million bill then pending in the Senate, by speaking till the end of the session. As Northern gentlemen have, therefore, been accustomed to this mode of resistance to such measures as they did not like, I take it that they would hardly complain of this kind of retaliation.

I tell gentlemen that if we cannot in advance, and as noble minded men and women as existed get a fair settlement of this question, I should be pleased to see the civil and diplomatic appropriation bill, the army and navy bill, and all other appropriations fail. We should thereby make every officer, and every expectant of public money interested in having justice done to the South. It would be far better to have this temporary inconvenience for a year or two, than that we should have a bloody revolution, or something worse. I hold it to be the duty of every Southern Representative to stay here and prevent, till the close of our official term, the passage of any measures that might force the people to any unjust submission. In the mean time, the Southern States could, in convention, take such steps as might be necessary to assert her right to a share in the public territory. If this interregnum were to continue long, it might force both sections to make provisional governments, to become permanent ones in the end.

But it is advised in certain portions of the Northern press that the members of that section ought to expel such as interrupt their proceedings. Let them try such an experiment. I tell gentlemen that this is our slaveholding Territory. We do not intend to leave it. If they think they can remove us, it is a proper case for trial. In the present temper of the public mind, it is probable that a collision of the kind might electrify the country, as did the little skirmish at Lexington the Colonies in their then excited state. Such a struggle, whoever might prove the victors in it, would not leave here a quorum to do business. Gentlemen may call this treason—high treason—the highest treason that the world ever saw. But their words are idle. We shall defeat their movement against us. But even if I thought otherwise, I would still resist. Sooner than submit to what they propose, I would rather see the South, like Poland, under the iron heel of the conqueror. I would rather that she should find the late of Hungary.

It was but the other day, and under our own eyes, that the gallant Hungarians asserted their own independence. Though in the midst of, and struggling against, those two immense empires, that could bring more than a million of armed men into the field, they were successful at first in beating down the power of Austria. It was not until some of her sons became traitors that Hungary was finally overpowered, borne down and pressed to death by the long columns and gigantic strength of Russia. It is necessary, let such be our fate.

"Better be Where the extinguished Spartans still are free, In their proud charnel of Thermopylae." Rather let the future traveller, as he passes over a black and desert waste, at least exclaim, "Here lived and died as noble a race as ever the sun shone upon." If we were to wait until your measures were consummated and your coil, like that of a great serpent, was completely around us, then we might be crushed.—Seeing the danger, we have the wisdom and the courage to meet the attack now, while we have power to resist. We must prove the victors in this struggle. If we repel the wave of aggression now, we shall have peace. The Abolitionists, defeated before the country on the main issue, will not have power to molest us.

I have thus sir, frankly spoken my opinions on this great question, with no purpose to menace, but only to warn. Gentlemen of the North ought themselves to see that while submission to what they propose would be ruinous to us, it would not in the end be beneficial to their section. Seeing then, the issue in all its bearings, it is for them to decide. They hold in their hands the destiny of the existing Government. Should circumstances divide us, I wish that you may prosper. From all my knowledge of the elements of your society, I have my doubts. That we shall, under the favor of Providence, in all events take care of ourselves, I have no fears. In conclusion, I have to say: Do us justice and we continue to stand with you; attempt to trample on us, and we part company.

We cannot fail here to acknowledge, and we do it with pride and pleasure, the prompt and noble manner in which Western Virginia has identified herself, by the votes of her sons upon this subject, with Eastern Virginia and with the South. She has shown that Virginia is "one and indivisible" upon questions connected with slavery institutions, as with all others. She stands by the side of the East now as she did in her contests with foreign foes. The warm and generous Southern blood has not been chilled by the mountain breezes. It courses through the veins, and inspires the hearts of as gallant and hardy a race of men as the sun ever shone upon. Let the East remember her heroic and faithful sister. Let her bind her interests to her own with links of iron, and grapple her to her soul with "hooks of steel." Let the sons of the Commonwealth adopt as their motto,—*The Rights of the States—The Union of the States—The Union of Virginia!*—Rich. Republican.

We received a private letter last evening, from an esteemed friend, informing us that he had just made a visit to that venerable patriot Ex-Governor Johnson. We are informed that the "good old man" is recovering his health, and that he is able to be about. Can Union—can Pinckney congressional district—can South Carolina send us a wiser, a more faithful or better citizen, to the Southern Convention, than David Johnson, should his health permit. Spartan.

## THE JOURNAL.

CAMDEN, S. C.

TUESDAY EVENING, FEBRUARY 12, 1850.

### MR. CLINGMAN'S SPEECH.

The Washington correspondent of the Charleston Courier writes as follows of Mr. Clingman's speech: "That speech has not been and will not be answered by the Northern men, because they could not answer it in any terms but those of a determined defiance—which they are not prepared to adopt." Our northern brethren will find, if they prosecute their plans, and still insist upon their aggressive measures, many more true Clingmen to the South, who knowing their rights will dare maintain them at any and every hazard. We have already arrived at that point where forbearance ceases to be a virtue. If the Union can be preserved upon fair and honorable terms, gladly would we see it, but "delays, always dangerous, are sometimes fatal."

### THE NORTH AND THE SOUTH.

It is a fact, as was remarked to us the other day, the North has a great advantage over the South, by the immense circulation of newspapers and other publications, such as periodicals and miscellaneous books. These pour in upon us as a flood, to the exclusion, we fear, in a great measure, of our own, making an easy channel through which their principles may be insidiously conveyed. There is not, we venture the assertion, a Post Office South where Northern publications are not received in some shape or other, which, if not all openly opposed to our institutions, are, many of them, strongly tinged with the prejudices of a Northern birth—of a misguided and misapprehended philanthropy, or a wild fanaticism and wicked interference with matters which they have no right to disturb. They do not so much seek to benefit the condition of those in whose cause they appear to be deeply interested, as to secure their own selfish ends. There is not a more certain and effectual means by which the seeds of sedition can be sown amongst us at the South, than by an indiscriminate reception of emanations from the Northern press. Our publications, on the other hand, scarcely reach the North: We are almost entirely shut out—the voice of the Southern press is but faintly heard. Confined to the cities and large towns, and by the time the mass of the people get it, we are misrepresented, ridiculed and vilified, without the means of self-defence. We are ourselves, to some extent, to blame for this state of things. Northern *Weeklies*, *Models* and *Fashions*, have been preferred and liberally patronized, whilst Southern enterprise, in this regard, has been suffered to droop and die. A few years only has elapsed since *nothing perfect* could come only from the North. A glaring mark of our weakness has been the encouragement given to *wandering professors*, who have found at the sunny South many green spots, where they have practised their sciences successfully, and afterwards have ridiculed our credulity. We do not condemn the whole Northern press—there are a few honorable exceptions—but some which have promised to herald forth the rights of the South are not altogether consistent. With such, we desire "to part company."

### THE PANORAMAS.

Why don't some of those grand classical Panoramas which have been figuring so largely in other places, come to Camden? We would like to take a peep at a few, and believe they would be liberally patronized.

"The Union is safe. The Northern members are backing out from the Wilmot Proviso. At the beginning of the session, Root's resolution, or any resolution carrying out the Wilmot Proviso, would have passed by a large majority." "The delay occasioned by the difficulty in making a speaker and clerk was a public benefit, by showing the members that the passage of the proviso will work off entirely the two regular old line parties, and substitute sectional parties. About twenty-three Northern members, mostly Whigs, united with the southern members in laying Mr. Root's resolution on the table. This will quiet the matter in the House. The northern Whigs are now disposed to favor the President's proposition; or, in some way, to evade or defer the slavery question."

"Jos" should know that the favoring of the President's proposition is by no means a thing to ingratiate the Northern Whigs into Southern favor, or to form the Union phalanx stronger. The President's proposition is all the North could ask—is all the South could lose. Northern cunning has many ways to gain its end. Now, to save the Union they would make the greatest sacrifices—they would give up their long-cherished scheme, the Wilmot Proviso, and fall back—be content—with the President's proposition. What lose they in that proposition? A measure which has in toto for its effect the deprivation of every Southern right, of principle or interest, bold in its form and flagrant in every feature, is relinquished—and for what? For the preservation of Southern rights, principles, honor, or interest? For equality and a right construction of the constitution? No; but for a measure accomplishing the same effect, embodying the same principle—with no other recommendation than the gloss attached to it in its passage through the White House. A mighty concession indeed!—the concession of a coward afraid to meet you on the field, but who attacks you while sleeping on your couch. We suppose they will even concede to Clay's resolutions. The entire object is to produce an apathy relative to the Southern convention, and after it has passed, to renew again their diabolical acts. Let the South recollect that the banner of compromise is one on the folds of which is inscribed "Victory to the North—Destruction to the South."

### TO THE FEW PAPERS SOUTH OPPOSED TO A SOUTHERN CONVENTION.

We are glad to see the number is very few, but how there should be that few, we are at a loss to say. There are always some men willing to say to other men, "thy servant is a dead dog;" but we little supposed such puny souls were found among the editorial corps South. Where, in the shade of reason, do they find an argument against it? Has the time not arrived? or would you wait and see your house in ashes before endeavoring to extinguish the flames? Years ago, when first this

troubled question was hinted at in the Legislative Hall, a member remarked that on the presentation of Abolition petitions, or a bill to restrict slavery in the District, the South should immediately dissolve the Union, and settle the question where cannon were the orators, and powder and lead the arguments. Southern members called him fanatical, as well as Northern; but had his counsel been taken, no longer would we have been subject to the unconstitutional insults of the North. And now, when every man in whose veins courses a drop of patriotic blood, would destroy the Union or Northern aggression,—would to save the first and appeal the last, meet in a Southern Convention,—some Southern editors "see no necessity for a Convention." What!—would you calmly sit still and see the constitution, upon which your rights depend, or at least the rights of the South, thrown aside, your liberties destroyed, for which your fathers fought, and be made the vassals of those who pride themselves in holding in bondage men as white as themselves? If so, yield like dastards born for a slave mart. The Southern convention, we believe is the surest preservative for the Union. Let the North see that the South is not so tame as to be their vassals, and that our talk is not all bluster, and the Union may be preserved. But the North has shown her character, and such a brotherhood we for one are not anxious long to acknowledge.

Mr. Gayarre has been nominated to be Secretary of State of Louisiana, and the Senate has confirmed the nomination. Mr. Gayarre is widely known as the author of a "Romance of the History of Louisiana," one of the most beautiful and interesting works of the day. He has also been a member of the House of Representatives from Louisiana.

### Editorial Gleanings.

"You raise my dander," as the goose said when the boy pulled him through the hole by the tail.

CALIFORNIA GOLD AT THE MINT.—The amount of California gold received at the Mint in Philadelphia during the year 1849, was \$6,375,616; in the New Orleans Mint, \$716,000. The gold coinage at the Mint in Philadelphia city for the year, was \$7,048,332; silver coinage, \$922,050; copper, \$11,934; total, \$8,913,256. The first California gold sent to the Mint was in December, 1848, by Mr. Carter of Boston.

HUMAN ADVANCEMENT.—"Resolution," says a writer, "is omnipotent." And if we will but solemnly determine to make the most and the best of all our powers and capacities, and will but "seize and improve even the shortest intervals of possible action and effort," we shall find there is no limit to our advancement.

The wild woman of Texas has been seen again, and strong forces are engaged in an attempt to capture her.

Revolutions of religion are going on in all the Methodist Churches in Cincinnati.

The Anti Slavery Society passed a resolve, in Faneuil Hall, Boston, against the poet Longfellow, on account of his verses in favor of the Union.

Burton, at his theatre in New York, is said to have made over six thousand dollars by the performance of the "Serious Family" alone.

Deaths in Philadelphia recently for one week, 134—consumption 14.

There were 66 deaths for one week, recently in Boston—by consumption 10.

A colored man, at the west end, says he goes for his union, hit or miss.

For the Camden Journal.

STONEY HILL, LANCASTER DISTRICT, } February 4, 1850. }

Messrs. Editors: We would like to know what has become of the Representatives of our District, as we see the Members of the State Legislature in other Districts have given notice of the pending election on the first Monday in April next, to elect electors who shall choose delegates to the Southern Convention, according to a resolution at our last session.

Yours, &c. P. T. H.

Correspondence of the Daily Carolinian.

CHARLESTON, FEB. 10, 9 a. m. Gentlemen: Our cotton market yesterday during the fore part seemed to have come to a stand, the weather was bad, and buyers otherwise unwilling to enter the market while later accounts were momentarily looked for, and the transactions, in consequence, up to half past 1 o'clock p. m. amounted to but 126 bales. Immediately after that time, however, 600 bales changed hands between two parties, the later accounts by the Europa possibly known by the buyer, as they were afterwards published at 3 o'clock in the Evening News. As it was, the sellers got their previous asking prices, and as it now turns out, perhaps as much, if not more, than they would have been able to realize to-morrow. From what I can learn, the reported advance of 14 at Liverpool has not come up to the expectations of holders, and it was doubted yesterday whether any advance would in consequence be the result in our market. Prices yesterday ranged from 12 to 12 1/4. The following are the particulars: 8 bales at 12; 80 at 12 1/4; 19 at 12 1/4; 133 at 12 1/2; 463 at 12 3/4.

There was but one arrival yesterday—the steamship Republic, from Baltimore. The Northerner, for New York, was detained beyond her regular time of leaving yesterday afternoon on account of the heavy sea on the bar. She left the wharf this morning at 5 o'clock.

The Court of Appeals, now sitting in this city, gave its decision yesterday in the case of the State against J. W. Sutcliffe, who about a year ago was tried in the Court of Common Pleas for arson, and found guilty. Sutcliffe's Counsel had first moved for a new trial, which he afterwards abandoned, and instead claimed for his client the benefit of clergy, on the ground of a technical omission in the indictment. This omission as far as I was able to ascertain, consisted in the leaving out the word *dwelling*; the indictment charging S. only with burning a house, instead of a dwelling house. The Court sustained the claim of the prisoner, and the sentence, which otherwise would have been death, was commuted to imprisonment and fine. Judge O'Neill, in pronouncing sentence on the young man, delivered in a most feeling manner one of the most able and impressive addresses