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EXTRACTS FROM THE Speech of Mr. Clingman, OF NORTH CAROLINA.

In the House of Representatives, Tuesday, January 22, on the questions involved in the propositions relative to the new Territory.

Mr. Clingman said, that the committee was aware that he had, on yesterday, intimated a purpose to discuss the questions involved in the propositions relating to the Mexican territory. That subject was regarded by the whole country as one of such immense importance that he offered no apology for debating it. To prevent misconception, (said he,) I say in advance, that I have great confidence in the judgment, integrity, and patriotism of the President. I further admit fully the right of the citizens of each State to settle for themselves all such domestic questions as that referred to in the message. But who are the people entitled so to decide, as well as the time and manner of admission and boundary of new States, are in themselves questions for the judgment of Congress under all the circumstances of each case. The territory of Louisiana, our first foreign acquisition, was retained nearly ten years in that condition before it was allowed to form a State constitution. In the case of Texas—her people being composed almost entirely of citizens of the United States, and having had a State government of their own for ten years—she was admitted at once as a State into the Union. In the present case, there are considerations of the greatest importance connected directly and indirectly with our action on this subject. While adhering to them as fully as the time limited by our rules will admit, I ask the attention of the House.

Sir, the force and extent of the present anti-slavery movement of the North is not understood by the South. Until within the last few months I had supposed that even if California and New Mexico should come in as free States, the agitation would subside so as to produce no further trouble. A few months' travel in the interior of the North has changed my opinion. Such is now the condition of public sentiment there, that the making of the Mexican territory all free, in any mode, would be regarded as an anti-slavery triumph, and would accelerate the general movement against us. It is not difficult to perceive how that state of public sentiment has been produced there. The old abolition societies have done a good deal to poison the popular mind. By circulating an immense number of inflammatory pamphlets, filled with all manner of falsehood and calumny against the South, its institutions, and its men, because there was no contradiction in that quarter, they had created a high degree of prejudice against us. As soon as it became probable that there would be an acquisition of territory, the question at once became a great practical one, and the politicians immediately took the matter in hand. With a view at once of strengthening their position, they seized upon all this matter which the abolition societies (whose aid both parties courted in the struggle) had furnished from time to time, and diffused and strengthened it as much as possible, and thereby created an immense amount of hostility to southern institutions. Everything there contributes to this movement: candidates are brought out by the caucus system, and if they fail to take that sectional ground which is deemed strongest there, they are at once discarded. The mode of nominating candidates, as well as of conducting the canvass, is destructive of anything like independence in the representative. They do not, as gentlemen often do in the South and West, take ground against the popular clamor, and sustain themselves by direct appeals to the intelligence and reason of their constituents. Almost the whole of the northern press co-operated in the movement. With the exception of the New York Herald, (which with its large circulation, published matter on both sides,) and a few other liberal papers, everything favorable to the South has been carefully excluded from the northern papers. By these combined efforts a degree of feeling and prejudice has been gotten up against the South, which is most intense in all the interior.

I was surprised last winter to hear a northern Senator say, that in the town in which he lived it would excite great astonishment if it were known that a northern lady would, at the time of the meeting of the two Houses, walk up to the Capitol with a Southern Senator; that they had been taught to consider southerners generally as being so coarse and ruffianly in manner that a lady would not trust herself in such a presence. This anecdote, sir, does not present too strong a picture of the condition of sentiment in portions of the interior of the northern country. How far gentlemen on this floor are to be influenced in this action by such a state of opinion, I leave them to decide.

The great principle upon which the northern movement rests, which is already accepted by most northern politicians and to which they all seem likely to be

driven by the force of the popular current there, if the question is unsettled till the next Congressional election, is this: That the Government of the United States must do nothing to sanction slavery; that it must therefore exclude it from the Territories; that it must abolish it in the District of Columbia, forts, and arsenals, and wherever it has jurisdiction. Some, too, carrying the principle to its extent, insist that the coasting slave trade, and that between the States, should also be abolished, and that slave labor should not be tolerated in a public office of the United States, such as custom-houses, post offices, and the like. As these things all obviously rest on the same general dogma, it is clear that the yielding of one or more points would not check, but would merely accelerate, the general movement to the end of the series. Before this end was reached, they would probably append, as a corollary, the principle that the President should not appoint a slaveholder to office. It is, sir, my deliberate judgment that, in the present temper of the public mind at the North, if the territorial question remains open till the next election, few if any gentlemen will get here from the free States that are not pledged to the full extent of the abolition platform. It is, therefore, obviously the interest of all of us to settle this question at the present session.

That the general principle above stated is at war with the whole spirit of the Constitution of the United States, which sanctions slavery in several of its provisions, I need not argue here. Taking, however, a practical view of the matter in controversy, look for a moment at the territorial question, the great issue in the struggle. I will do northern men on this floor the justice to admit that they have argued themselves into the belief that they are right in claiming the whole of the territory for free soil. Let me state, for a moment, the converse, or opposite of their proposition. Suppose it were to be claimed that no one should be allowed to go into this public territory, unless he carried one or more slaves with him; it might then be said, just as gentlemen now tell us, that it would be perfectly fair, because it placed every man who might be inclined to go there on an equal footing, and might, by means of having thus a homogeneous population, advance the general interest. Northern men would at once, I suppose, object to this arrangement. I then we should say to them, if you do not like this restriction, let it be settled, then, that every citizen of the United States may go into the common territory and carry slaves or not, just as he pleases. This would seem to be a perfectly equitable and fair arrangement. Northern men, however, object to this, and say that they are unwilling to live in a territory where others own slaves. Then we of the South say to them, that we will consent to divide the territory, and limit our possession with slaves to a part of it, and allow them to go at will over the whole. Even to this they object, and insist that they will not allow us to occupy one foot of the territory. Remember, sir, that this very territory was acquired by conquest, and that while the South, according to its population, would have been required to furnish only one-third of the troops, it in point of fact did furnish two-thirds of the men that made the conquest. And the North, deficient as it was comparatively in the struggle, now says that its conscience, or its cupidity, will not permit us to have the smallest portion of that territory. Why, sir, this is the most impudent proposition that was ever maintained by any respectable body of men.

Sir, I give the North full credit for its feelings in favor of liberty. I can well suppose that northern gentlemen would resist, in the most emphatic manner, the attempt to make any man who is now free a slave; but I regard them as too intelligent to believe that humanity, either to the slave or the master, requires that they should be pent up within a territory, which, after a time, will be insufficient for their subsistence, and where they must perish from want, or from the collisions that would occur between the races. Nor can I suppose that they think it would be injurious to New Mexico and California for our people to go and settle among them. Prominent northern statesmen, both in this House and in the Senate, have described the population of those Territories, and have represented it as being not only inferior to those Indian tribes that we know most of, viz. the Cherokees and Choctaws, but as being far below the Flat Heads, Black Feet, and Snake Indians. I cannot, therefore, suppose that they really believe that those territories would be injured by having infused into them such a state of society as produces such persons as George Washington, John Marshall, and thousands of other great and virtuous men, living and dead. Your opposition to our right will be regarded as resting on the last for political power of your politicians, or on the capacity of your people.

The idea that the conquered people should be permitted to give laws to the conquerors, is so preposterously absurd, that I do not intend to argue it. Doubt-

less these people would be willing, not only to exclude slaveholders, but all other Americans, if, by a simple vote, they were allowed to do so. I may remark further, that but for the anti-slavery agitation, our southern slaveholders would have carried their negroes into the mines of California in such numbers, that I have no doubt but that the majority there would have made it a slaveholding State. We have been deprived of all chance of this by the northern movements, and by the action of this House, which has, by northern votes, repeatedly, from time to time, passed the Wilmot proviso, so as in effect to exclude our institutions, without the actual passage of a law for that purpose. It is a mere farce, therefore, without giving our people time to go into the country, if they desire to do so, to allow the individuals there, by a vote, to exclude a whole class of our citizens. This would imply that the territory belonged to the people there exclusively, and not to all the people of the United States.

Compared with this great question, the abolition of slavery in the District of Columbia is of little relative moment. One effect, however, of the anti-slavery agitation here is worthy of a passing notice. Within the last two years, since the matter has become serious, it has seemed not improbable that the seat of Government might be removed from the District. As this would be extremely prejudicial to the interests of the citizens here, many of them have so far changed in their feelings as to be willing to allow slavery to be abolished, yielding to the force of the pressure from the North; because, so many of their slaves are from time to time taken away by the abolitionists, as to satisfy them that such property here is almost worthless. A great impression was made on them by the coming in last year of a northern ship, and its carrying away seven slaves at once. Seeing that there was no chance of getting Congress to pass any adequate law for their protection, as most of the States have done, they seem to be forced to assent to some extent to the northern movement. Sir, it is most surprising that the people of the southern States should have borne, with so little complaint, the loss of their slaves incurred by the action of the free States. The Constitution of the United States provided for the delivery of all such fugitives, and Congress passed an act to carry it into effect; but recently, most if not all of the northern States have completely defeated these provisions, by forbidding any one of their citizens to aid in the execution of the law, under the penalty of fine and imprisonment for as long a term usually as five years. There is probably no one legal mind in any one of the free States which can regard these laws as constitutional. For though the States are not bound to legislate affirmatively in support of the Constitution of the United States, yet it is clear that they have no right to pass laws to obstruct the execution of constitutional provisions. Private citizens are not usually bound to be active in execution of the law; but if two or more combine to prevent the execution of any law, they are subject to indictment for conspiracy in all countries where the common law doctrines prevail. If the several States could rightfully legislate to defeat the action of Congress, they might thereby completely nullify most of its laws. In this particular instance such has been the result; for though the master is allowed to go and get his negro if he can, yet, in point of fact, it is well known that the negroes, abolitionists, and other disorderly persons, acting under the countenance and authority of the State laws, are able usually to overpower the master and prevent his recapture.

The extent of the loss of the South may be understood from the fact, that the number of runaway slaves now in the North is stated as being thirty thousand—worth, at present prices, little short of fifteen millions of dollars. Suppose that amount of property was taken away from the North by the southern States acting against the Constitution: what complaint would there not be!—what memorials, remonstrances, and legislative resolutions would come down upon us! How would this Hall be filled with lobby members, coming here to press their claims upon Congress! Why, sir, many of the border counties in the slaveholding States have been obliged to give up their slaves almost entirely. It was stated in the newspapers the other day, that a few counties named in Maryland, had, by the efforts of the abolitionists within six months, upon computation, lost one hundred thousand dollars worth of slaves. A gentleman of the highest standing, from Delaware, assured me the other day, that that little State lost, each year, at least that value of such property in the same way. A hundred thousand dollars is a heavy tax to be levied on a single congressional district by the abolitionists.

Suppose a proportional burden was inflicted on the northern States. How would Massachusetts bear the loss annually of one million one hundred thousand dollars, not only inflicted without law, but against an express provision of the Constitution, we may infer from the complaint she

has made of a slight inconvenience imposed on her by that regulation of South Carolina which prevented ship-captains from carrying free negro servants to Charleston.

This whole action on the part of the North is not only in violation of the Constitution, but seems to be purely wanton, or originating in malice towards the South. It is obvious that they do not want our slaves among them; because they not only make no adequate provision for their comfort, but, in fact, in many of the States, have forbidden free negroes to come among them on pain of imprisonment, &c. It cannot be a desire to liberate slaves, because they have never, to my knowledge, attempted to steal negroes from Cuba or Brazil. It is true, however, that having the right now to come among us both by land and water, they have greater advantages and immunities. For if they went into a foreign country, they would incur the risk of being shot or hanged, as robbers and pirates usually are.

Should we give way, what is to be the result? California, Oregon, New Mexico, Deseret, and Minnesota, will come into the Union in less than five years, giving the North a clear majority of ten or fifteen votes in the Senate. The census of the coming year will, under the new apportionment, give them nearly two to one in this House. With immense controlling majorities in both branches, will they not at once, by act of Congress, abolish slavery in the States? Mr. Adams, who, in his day, controlled northern opinion on this question, said that there were twenty provisions of the Constitution which, under certain circumstances, would give Congress the power. Would not this majority find the power, as easily as they have done in their State Legislatures, where they have complete sway, to nullify the provision of the Constitution for the protection of fugitive slaves? Have not prominent northern politicians, of the highest positions and the greatest influence, whose names are well known to all gentlemen on this floor, already declared that there is nothing in the Constitution of the United States which obstructs or ought to obstruct the abolition of slavery, by Congress, in the States? Supposing, however, this should not occur, in twenty years or less, without new acquisitions of territory, they would get the power, by the coming in of new free States, to amend the Constitution for that purpose. But I have no doubt, sir, that other acquisitions of territory will be made. Probably, after the next Presidential election we shall get that part of Mexico which lies along the Gulf as far as Vera Cruz; and from which, though well suited to the profitable employment of slave labor, we should be excluded, nevertheless, by the adoption of the principle that slavery should not be extended in area. Conceding, however, that I am wrong in both these suppositions, and that Congress would neither violate the Constitution nor annul it: what are we to expect? Slavery is to be kept, they say, where it now is; and we are to be surrounded with free States. These States not only prohibit the introduction of slaves, but also of free negroes into their borders. Of course the whole negro population is to be hereafter confined to the territory of the present fifteen slave States. That population in twenty-five years will amount to seven or eight millions, and in fifteen years to fifteen millions. However dense the population might become, the negroes will not be gotten away, but the wealthier portion of the white population (I mean such as were able to emigrate) would leave the territory. The condition of the South would, for a time, be that of Ireland, and soon, by the destruction of the remnants of the white population, become that of St. Domingo. There are those now living who would probably see this state of things; but it would be certain to overtake our children or grandchildren.

These facts are staring us in the face as distinctly as the sun in the heavens at noon-day. Northern men not only admit it, but constantly in their public speeches avow it to be their purpose to produce this very state of things. If we express alarm at the prospect, they seek to amuse us with eulogies on the blessings of the Federal Union, and ask us to be still for a time. They do well, for it is true that communities have usually been destroyed by movements which, in the beginning, inflicted no immediate injury, and which were therefore acquiesced in till they had progressed too far to be resisted. They have, too, constant examples in the conduct of brute animals, that do not struggle against evils until they begin to feel pain. They are doubtless, too, encouraged to hope for our submission on account of our acquiescence under their former wrongs. They know that the evils already inflicted on us, to which I have referred, greatly exceed in amount any injury that Great Britain attempted when she drove the colonies into resistance. Besides, sir, their aggressions have infinitely less show of constitutional right or color of natural justice. But what they now propose is too palpable even for our southern generosity. If after having been free for seventy years, the southern States were to

consent to be thus degraded and enslaved, instead of the pity, they would meet the scorn and contempt of the universe. The men of this generation, who would be responsible, ought to be whipped through their fields by their own negroes. I thank God that there is no one in my district that I think so meanly of, as to believe that he would not readily come into whatever movement might be necessary for the protection of our rights and liberty. I tell northern gentlemen, who are in hopes that the South will be divided, that we shall not have half as many traitors to hang as we did Tories in the Revolution.

If gentlemen mean that the Union, upon the principle of the Constitution, is desirable, I will not controvert that opinion. But the Union never could have been formed without the written constitution. So if you now, by your action, practically destroy the constitution, those injured, if able to resist, will not submit. That instrument was ordained, in its own language, to "establish justice, insure domestic tranquility, and secure the blessings of liberty" to all parties to it—namely, the freemen of the Union. If, therefore, under its form, gross injustice is done, insurrections excited, and the citizens of part of the States politically enslaved, then the Union ought not to stand, as an instrument of wrong and oppression.

There is throughout the South a strong attachment to the Union of the States. This sentiment rests not so much upon any calculations of interest as on historic associations and the recollections of common central struggles and triumphs. Our people take a pride in the name of the United States, and in being members of the great republic that furnishes a cheering example to the friends of liberty throughout the world. But the events of the past few years are rapidly weakening this feeling. Seeing that there appeared to be a settled purpose in the North to put them to the wall, many of our people, regarding a dissolution of the Union as the inevitable result of this aggression, have looked forward to the consequences of such a state of things.

What would be our condition if separated from the North? It is difficult to determine the precise amount of the exports of the slave-holding States, because it is not practicable to arrive at the exact value of that portion which is sold to the free States. But the amount of our leading staples being pretty well known—I mean cotton, rice, tobacco, sugar, &c.—we can arrive at the whole value of our exports pretty nearly. They cannot fall short of one hundred and thirty millions of dollars, and this year, perhaps, considerably exceed that sum. This is nearly as much as the whole of the exports of the United States to foreign 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 to foreign countries generally, would be equal to that sum. Of course we will 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 prices of all manufactured articles are regulated by the production of the great work shops of Europe, where the accumulation of capital and labor keeps down productions 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 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 motive would bring them into the southern country, since both the reasons assigned are much stronger in our case. It has already been proved that we can manufacture some kinds of goods more cheaply than in England. 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 probably for a time be in the hands of the English and other foreigners. This, however, would not be to our disadvantage, since northern ship-owners now charge as much for freight between New York and New Orleans as they do for carrying it to Canton, on the opposite side of the globe. The whole amount of freight on southern productions, received by the northern ship-owners, 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 connection 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 compares it with their situation at first, under low duties, up to the war and tariff of 1816, and its successors, highly protective 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 favourable to my conclusion than I have stated them. My purpose now is simply to present to northern gentlemen such general views as are likely now 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,] "devote 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 are 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 countervailing 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 foreign trade. Charleston and New Orleans would expand rapidly. The like might occur to 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 States 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 and noble-minded men and women as exist 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. Rath-