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WHOLE NO. 503.

IN SENATE, MARCH 7, 1850.

The following original and exceedingly clever Parody, is from the pen

now, as to California and New Mexico, hold slavery to be excluded from the Territories by a law even superior to that which admits and sanctions Texas. I mean the law of nature—physical geography—the law of formation of the earth. That law has forever, with a strength beyond the terms of human enactment, that slavery cannot exist in California or New Mexico. Understand me, sir; I mean slavery as we regard it; slaves of color, of the colored race, transferred by sale and delivery like other property. I shall not discuss that point. I refer to the learned gentlemen who have undertaken to discuss it; but I suppose there is no slave of that description in California now. I understand that *peonism*, a sort of penal servitude, exists there, or rather a sort of voluntary sale of a man and his offspring for debt, as it is arranged and exists in some parts of California and New Mexico. But what I mean to say is, that African slavery, as we see it among us, is as utterly impossible to find itself in California as to be found in Mexico, as any other natural impossibility. California and New Mexico are Asiatic in their formation and scenery. They are composed of vast ridges of mountains of enormous height, with sometimes broken ridges of deep valleys. The sides of these mountains are barren, entirely barren, their tops capped by perennial snow. There may be in California, now made free by its constitution, and I doubt there are, some tracts of valuable land. But it is not so in New Mexico. Pray, what is the evidence which any gentleman has obtained on this subject, from information sought by himself or communicated by others. I have inquired and read all I could in order to obtain information on this subject. What is there in New Mexico that could by any possibility induce any body to go there with slaves? There are some narrow strips of tillable land on the borders of the rivers; but the rivers themselves dry up before midsummer is gone. All that the people can do is to raise some little articles, some little corn for their tortillas, and all that by irrigation. And who expects to see a hundred black men cultivating tobacco, corn, cotton, rice, or any thing else, on lands in New Mexico made fertile only by irrigation? I look upon it, therefore, as a fixed fact, to use an expression current to the day, that both California and New Mexico are destined to be free, so far as they are settled at all, which I believe, especially in regard to New

Mr. President, in the excited times in which we live there is found to exist a state of crimination and recrimination between the North and South. There are lists of grievances produced by each; and those grievances, real or supposed, alienate the minds of one portion of the country from the other, exasperate the feelings, subdue the sense of fraternal connexion and patriotic love and mutual regard. I shall bestow a little attention, sir, upon these various grievances produced on the one side and on the other. I begin with the complaints of the South. I will not answer, further than I have, the general statements of the honorable Senator from South Carolina, that the North has grown upon the south in consequence of the manner of administering this Government, in collecting of its revenues, and so forth. They are disputed topics, and I have no inclination to enter into them. But

Complaisant has been made, originates certain resolutions that emanate from Legislatures at the North, and are sent here to us, not only on the subject of slavery in this District, but sometimes recommending Congress to consider the means of abolishing slavery in the states. I should be sorry to be called upon to present any resolutions here, which could not be referable to any committee or any power in Congress; and, therefore, I shall be unwilling to receive from the Legislature of Massachusetts any instructions to present resolutions expressive of any opinion whatever on the subject of slavery, for two reasons; because, first, I do not consider that the Legislature of Massachusetts has any thing to do with it; and next I do not consider that I, as her representative here, have any thing to do with it. Sir, it has become, in my opinion, quite too common; and, if the Legislatures of the states do not like it, they have a great deal more power to put it down than I have to uphold it. It has become, in my opinion, quite too common a practice for the state Legislatures to present resolutions here on all subjects, and to instruct us here on all subjects. There is no public man that requires

Then, sir, there are those abolition societies, of which I am unwilling to speak, but in regard to which I have very clear notions and opinions. I do not think them useful. I think their operations for the last twenty years have produced nothing good or valuable. At the same time, I know thousands of them are honest and good men; perfectly well meaning men. They have excited feelings, they think they must do something for the cause of liberty, and in their sphere of action they do not see what else they can do, than to contribute to an abolition press or an abolition society, or to pay an abolition lecturer. I do not mean to impute gross motives even to the leaders of these societies; but I am not blind to the consequences. I cannot but see what mischiefs the interference with the south has produced. And is it not plain to every man, Lotany gentleman who doubts of that, recur to the debates in the Virginia House of Delegates in 1832, and he will see with what freedom a proposition made by Mr. Randolph for the gradual abolition of slavery was discussed in that body. Every one spoke of slavery, as he thought; very ignominious and disparaging names and epithets were applied to it. The debates in the House of Delegates on that occasion, I believe, were all published. They were read by every colored man who could read; and if there were any who could not read, those debates were read to them by white men. At that time Virginia was not unwilling nor afraid to discuss this question, and let that part of her population know as much of it as they could learn. That was in 1832. As has been said by the honorable member from Carolina, these abolition societies commenced their course of action in 1835. It is said—I do not know how true it may be—that they sent incendiary publications into the slave states; at any event, they attempted to arouse and did arouse, a very strong feeling in other words, they created great agitation in the North against Southern slavery. Well, what was the result? The bonds of the slaves were bound more firmly than before; their rivets were more strongly fastened. Public opinion, which in Virginia had begun to be exhibited against slavery, and was opening out for the discussion of the question, drew back and shut itself up in the castle. I wish to know whether any body in Virginia can now talk as Mr. Randolph, Gov. McDowell, and others talked there, openly, and sent their remarks to the press, in 1832. We all know the fact, and we all know the cause, and every thing that this agitating people have done has been, not to enlarge but to restrain, not to set free but to bind faster the slave population of the South. That is my judgment. Sir, as I have said, I know many of them in my neighborhood, very honest good people, misled, as I think, by strange enthusiasm; but they wish to do something, and they are called on to contribute, and they do contribute; and it is my first opinion this day, that within the last twenty years as much money has been collected and paid to the aboli-

There are also complaints of the North against the South. I need not go over them particularly. The first and gravest is, that, the North adopted the constitution, recognising the existence of slavery in the States, and recognising the right to a certain extent of representation of the slaves in Congress under a state of sentiment and expectation which do not now exist; and that by events, by circumstances, by the expansion of the slave population, the North finds itself, in regard to the influence of the South and the North, of free States and the slave States, where it never did expect to find itself when they entered the compact of the constitution. They complain, therefore, that instead of slavery being regarded as an evil, as it was then, an evil which they hoped would be extinguished gradually, it is now regarded by the South as an institution to be cherished and preserved and extended; an institution which the South has extended to the utmost of her power by the acquisition of new territory. Well, then, passing from that, every body in the North reads; and every body reads whatsoever the newspapers contain, and the newspapers, some of them, especially those presses to which I have alluded, are careful to spread about among the people ever reproachful sentiment uttered by any Southern man bearing at all against the North; every thing that is calculated to exasperate, to alienate; and there are many such things, as every body will admit, from the South or some portion of it, which are spread abroad among the reading people; and they exasperate, and alienate, and produce the most mischievous effect upon the public mind at the North. Sir, I would not notice things of this sort appearing in obscure quarters; but one thing has occurred in this debate which struck me very forcibly. An honorable member from Louisiana addressed us the other day on this subject. I suppose there is not a more amiable and worthy gentleman in this chamber—a gentleman who would be more slow to give offence to any body, and he did not mean in his remarks to give offence. But what did he say? Why, sir, he took pains to run a contrast between the slaves of the South and the laboring people of the North, giving the preference in all points of condition, and comfort, and happiness, to the slaves of the South. The Senator doubtless did not suppose that he gave any offence, or did any injustice. He was merely expressing his opinion. But does he know how remarks of that sort will be received by the laboring people of the North? Why, who are the laboring people of the North? They are the North. They are the people who cultivate their own farms with their own hands; freeholders, educated men, independent men. Let me say, sir, that five-sixths of the whole property of the North is in the hands of the laborers of the North; they cultivate their farms, they educate their children, they provide the means of independence; if they are not freeholders, they earn wages, these wages accumulate are turned into capital, into new freeholds, and small capitals are created. That is the case. And what can these people think when so respectable and worthy a gentleman as the member from