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## REMARKS AND RESOLUTIONS OF MR. CALHOUN, In the United States Senate.

Mr. Calhoun rose and said: Mr. President, I rise to offer a set of resolutions in reference to the various resolutions from the State legislatures upon the subject of what they call the extension of slavery, and the proviso attached to the House bill, called the three million bill. What I propose before I send my resolutions to the table, is to make a few explanatory remarks.

Mr. President, it was solemnly asserted on this floor some time ago, that all parties in the non-slaveholding States had come to a fixed and solemn determination upon two propositions. One was, that there should be no further admission of any States into this Union which permitted by their constitution the existence of slavery; and the other was, that slavery should not hereafter exist in any of the territories of the United States; the effect of which would be to give to the non-slaveholding States the monopoly of the public domain, to the entire exclusion of the slaveholding States. Since that declaration was made, Mr. President, we have abundant proof that there was satisfactory foundation for it. We have received already solemn resolutions passed by seven of the non-slaveholding States—one-half of the number already in the Union, Iowa not being counted—using the strongest possible language to that effect; and no doubt in a short space of time similar resolutions will be received from all the non-slaveholding States. But we need not go beyond the walls of Congress. The subject has been agitated in the other House, and they have sent you a bill "prohibiting the extension of slavery" (using their own language) to any territory which may be acquired by the United States hereafter. At the same time, two resolutions which have been moved to extend the compromise line from the Rocky Mountains to the Pacific, during the present session, have been rejected by a decided majority.

Sir, there is no mistaking the signs of the times; and it is high time the Southern States, the slaveholding States, should inquire what is their relative strength in this Union, and what it will be if this determination should be carried into effect hereafter. Sir, already we are in a minority—I use the word "we" for brevity sake—already we are in a minority in the other House, in the electoral college, and, I may say, in every department of this government, except at present in the Senate of the United States—there for the present we have an equality. Of the twenty-eight States, fourteen are non-slaveholding and fourteen are slaveholding, counting Delaware, which is doubtful, as one of the non-slaveholding States. But this equality of strength exists only in the Senate. One of the clerks at my request has furnished me with a statement of what is the relative strength of the two descriptions of States, and in the electoral college. There are 228 representatives, including Iowa, which is represented there. Of these, 138 are from the non-slaveholding States, and 90 are from what are called slave States, giving a majority in the aggregate to the former of 48. In the electoral college there are 168 votes belonging to the non-slaveholding States, and 118 to the slaveholding, giving a majority of 50 to the non-slaveholding.

We, Mr. President, have at present only one position in the government, by which we may make any resistance to this aggressive policy which has been declared against the South; or any other that the non-slaveholding States may choose to take. And this equality in this body is of the most transient character. Already Iowa is a State; but owing to some domestic calamity is not yet represented in this body. When she appears here, there will be an addition of two representatives here of the non-slaveholding States. Already Wisconsin has passed the initiatory stage, and will be here at the next session. This will add two

more, making a clear majority of four in this body on the side of the non-slaveholding States, who will thus be enabled to sway every branch of this government at their will and pleasure. But, sir, if this aggressive policy be followed—if the determination of the non-slaveholding States, is to be adhered to hereafter, and we are to be entirely excluded from the territories which we already possess, or may possess—if this is to be the fixed policy of the government, I ask what will be our situation hereafter?

Sir, there is ample space for twelve or fifteen of the largest description of states in the territories belonging to the United States. Already a law is in course of passage through the other House creating one north of Wisconsin. There is ample room for another north of Iowa; and another north of that; and then that large region extending on this side of the Rocky Mountains, from 49 degrees down to the Texan line, which may be set down fairly as an area of twelve and a half degrees of latitude—that extended region of itself is susceptible of having six, seven, or eight large States. To this, add Oregon, which extends from 49 to 42 degrees, which will give four more, and I make a very moderate calculation when I say that in addition to Iowa and Wisconsin, twelve more States upon the territory already ours—without reference to any acquisitions from Mexico—may be, and will be, shortly added to these United States. How will we then stand? There will be but fourteen on the part of the south—we are to be fixed, limited, and forever—and twenty-eight on the part of the non-slaveholding States! Twenty-eight! Double our number! And with the same disproportion in the other House and in the electoral college! The government, sir, will be entirely in the hands of the non-slaveholding States—overwhelmingly.

Sir, if this state of things is to go on. If this determination, so solemnly made, is to be persisted in, where shall we stand, as far as this federal government of ours is concerned? What, then, must we do? We must look to justice—to our own interests—to the constitution. We will have no longer a shield even in equality here. Now can we rely upon the sense of justice of this body? These are the solemn questions which I put on all sides.

Sir, look to the past. If we are to look to that—I will not go into the details—we will see from the beginning of this government to the present day, as far as pecuniary resources are concerned—as far as the disbursement of revenue is involved, it will be found that a portion of the community which has substantially supported this government without receiving any thing like a tantamount support from it. But why should I go beyond this very measure itself? Why go beyond this determination on the part of the non-slaveholding States, that there can be no further addition to the slaveholding States, to prove what our condition is?

Sir, what is the entire amount of this policy? I will not say that it is so designed. I will not say from what cause it originated. I will not say whether blind fanaticism on one side, whether a hostile feeling to slavery entertained by many not fanatical on the other, has produced it; or whether it has been the work of men, who, looking to political power, have considered the agitation of this question as the most effectual mode of obtaining the spoils of this government. I look to the fact itself. It is a policy now openly avowed to be persisted in. It is a policy, Mr. President, which aims to monopolize the powers of this government, and to obtain possession of its patronage.

Now, I ask, is there any remedy? Does the constitution afford any remedy? And if not, is there any hope? These, Mr. President, are solemn questions—not only to us, but let me say to gentlemen from the non-slaveholding States, to them. Sir, the day that the balance between the two sections of the country—the slaveholding States and the non-slaveholding States—is destroyed, is a day that will not be far removed from political revolution, anarchy, civil war, and wide-spread disaster. The balance of this system is the slaveholding States. They are the conservative portion—always will be the conservative portion; and with a due balance on their part may, for generations to come, uphold this glorious Union of ours. But if this policy should be carried out—if we are to be reduced to a handful—if we are to become a mere ball to play the presidential game with—to count something in the Baltimore caucus—if this is to be the result—wo! wo! I say to this Union!

Now, sir, I put again the solemn question—does the constitution afford any remedy? Is there any provision in it by which this aggressive policy—boldly avowed, as if perfectly consistent with our institutions and the safety and prosperity of the United States—may be confronted? Is this a policy consistent with the constitution? No, Mr. President, no! It is, in all its features, diametrically opposed to the constitution. What is it?

Ours is a federal constitution. The States are its constituents, and not the people. The twenty-eight States—the twenty-nine States (including Iowa)—stand under this government as twenty-nine individuals, or as twenty-nine individuals would stand to a consolidated power. It was not made for the mere individual prosperity of the State as individuals. No, sir. It was made for higher ends. It was formed that every State constituting a portion of this great Union of ours should enjoy all its advantages, natural and acquired, with greater security, and enjoy them more perfectly. The whole system is based on justice and equality—perfect equality between the members of this republic. Nor can that be consistent with equality which will make this public domain a monopoly on one side—which, in its consequences, would place the whole power in one section of the Union to be wielded against the other sections of the Union? Is that equality?

How do we stand in reference to this territorial question—this public domain of ours? Why, sir, what is it? It is the common property of the States of this Union. They are called "the territories of the United States." And what are the "United States" but the States united? Sir, these territories are the property of the States united; held jointly for their common use. And is it consistent with justice, is it consistent with equality, that any portion of the partners, outnumbering another portion, shall oust them in this common property of theirs—shall pass any law which shall prescribe the citizens of other portions of the Union from emigrating with their property to the territories of the United States? Would that be consistent—can it be consistent with the idea of a common property, held jointly for the common benefit of all? Would it be so considered in private life? Would it not be considered the greatest outrage in the world, and which any Court on the face of the globe would at once overrule?

Mr. President, not only is that proposition grossly inconsistent with the Constitution, but the other, which undertakes to say that no State shall be admitted into this Union, which shall not prohibit by its Constitution the existence of slaves, is equally a great outrage against the Constitution of the United States. Sir, I hold it to be a fundamental principle of our political system, that the people have a right to establish what government they may think proper for themselves; that every State about to become a member of this Union has a right to form its own government as it pleases; and that, in order to be admitted, there is but one qualification, and that is, that the government shall be republican. It is not so expressly prescribed by the instrument itself, but by that great section which guarantees to every State in this Union a republican form of government. Now, sir, what is proposed? It is proposed, from a vague, indefinite, erroneous, and most dangerous conception of private individual liberty, to overrule this great common liberty which a people have of framing their own constitution! Sir, the individual right of men is not nearly so easily to be established by any course of reasoning, as his common liberty. And yet, sir, there are men of such delicate feeling on the subject of liberty—there are men who cannot possibly bear what they call slavery in one section of the country—and it is not so much slavery as an institution indispensable for the good of both races—men so squeamish on this point, that they are ready to strike down the higher right of a community to govern themselves, in order to maintain the absolute right of individuals in all circumstances to govern themselves!

Mr. President, the resolutions that I have proposed present, in exact terms, these great truths. I propose to present them to the Senate; I propose to have a vote upon them; and I trust there is no gentleman here who will refuse a direct vote upon these propositions. It is manly that we should know the state of things. It is due to our constituents that we should insist upon it; and I, as one, will insist upon it that the sense of this body shall be taken: the body which represents the States in their capacity as communities, and the members of which are to be their special guardians. It is due to them, sir, that there should be a fair expression of what is the sense of this body. Upon that expression much depends. It is the only stand which we can have. It is the only position which we can take, which will uphold us with anything like independence—which will give us any chance at all to maintain an equality in this Union, on those great principles to which I have had reference. Overrule these principles, and we are nothing! Preserve them, and we will ever be a respectable portion of the community.

Sir, here let me say a word as to the compromise line. I have always considered it as a great error; highly injurious to the South, because it surrendered, for mere temporary purposes, these high principles of the constitution upon which we ought to stand. I am against the compromise line. Yet I would have been content to have con-

tinued the compromise line. One of the resolutions in the House, to that effect, was offered at my suggestion. I said to a friend there [Mr. Burt], "Let us not be disturbers of this Union. As abhorrent to my feelings as is that compromise line, let it be adhered to in good faith; and if the other portions of the Union are willing to stand by it, let us not refuse to stand by it. It has kept peace for some time, and in the circumstances, perhaps it would be better to keep peace as it is." But, sir, it was voted down by an overwhelming majority. It was renewed by a gentleman from a non-slaveholding State, and again voted down by an overwhelming majority.

Well, I see my way in the constitution. I cannot in the compromise. A compromise is but an act of Congress. It may be overruled at any time. It gives us no security. But the constitution is stable. It is a rock. On it I can stand. It is a principle on which we can meet our friends from the non-slaveholding States. It is firm ground, on which they can better stand in opposition to fanaticism, than on the shifting sands of compromise.

Let us be done with compromise. Let us go back and stand upon the constitution!

Well, sir, what if the decision of this body deny to us this high constitutional right, which in my opinion is as clear as any in the instrument itself—the more defined and stable, indeed, because deduced from the entire body of the instrument, and the nature of the subject to which it relates? What then? That is a question which I will not undertake to decide. It is a question for our constituents—the slaveholding States. A solemn and a great question, Mr. President. And if the decision should be adverse at this time, I trust and do believe that they will take under solemn consideration what they ought to do. I give no advice. It would be hazardous and dangerous for me to do so. But I may speak as an individual member of that section of the Union. There I drew my first breath. There are all my hopes. I am a planter—a cotton planter. I am a southern man and a slaveholder—a kind and a merciful one, I trust—and none the worse for being a slaveholder. I say, for one, I would rather meet any extremity on earth than give up one inch of our equality—one inch of what belongs to us as members of this great republic! What! acknowledged inferiority! The surrender of life is nothing to sinking down into acknowledged inferiority!

I have examined this subject largely—widely. I think I see the future if we do not stand up now; and in my humble opinion, the condition of Ireland is merciful and happy—the condition of Hindostan is peace and happiness—the condition of Jamaica is prosperous and happy, to what the southern States will be if now they yield!

Mr. President, I desire that the resolutions which I now send to the table be read.

[The resolutions were read as follows:]

Resolved, That the territories of the United States belong to the several States composing this Union, and are held by them as their joint and common property.

Resolved, That Congress, as the joint agent and representative of the States of this Union, has no right to make any law, or do any act whatever, that shall directly, or by its effects, make any discrimination between the States of this Union, by which any of them shall be deprived of its full and equal right in any territory of the United States, acquired or to be acquired.

Resolved, That the enactment of any law which should directly, or by its effects, deprive the citizens of any of the States of this Union from emigrating with their property into any of the territories of the United States, will make such discrimination, and, would, therefore, be a violation of the constitution, and the rights of the States from which such citizens emigrated, and in derogation of that perfect equality which belongs to them as members of this Union, and would tend directly to subvert the Union itself.

Resolved, That, as a fundamental principle in our political creed, that a people in forming a constitution have the unconditional right to form and adopt the government which they may think best calculated to secure their liberty, prosperity, and happiness; and that in conformity thereto, no other condition is imposed by the Federal Constitution on a State in order to be admitted into the Union, except that its Constitution shall be strictly republican; and that the imposition of any other by Congress would not only be in violation of the Constitution, but in direct conflict with the principle on which our political system rests.

I move that the resolutions be printed. I shall move that they be taken up tomorrow; and I do trust that the Senate will give them early attention, and an early vote upon the subject.

Here the honorable Senator resumed his seat.

Mr. Benton then rose and said: Mr. President, we have some business to transact. I do not intend to avoid business for a string of abstractions.

Mr. Calhoun. The Senator says he can-

not take up abstractions. The Constitution is an abstraction. Propriety is an abstraction. All the great rules of life are abstractions. The Declaration of Independence was made on an abstraction; and when I hear a man declare he is against abstract truth in a case of this kind, I am prepared to know what his course will be! I certainly supposed that the Senator from Missouri, the representative of a slaveholding State, would have supported these resolutions. I moved them in good faith, under a solemn conviction of what was due to those whom I represent; and due the whole South and the whole Union. I have as little desire as any Senator to obstruct public business. All I want is a decision, and a decision before the three million bill is decided. If the Senator from Missouri wants to-morrow morning, very well. The resolutions can be taken up on Monday.

Mr. Benton. I will pursue my own course when the time comes. I know what are abstractions, and what are not. I know what business is, and what is not. I am for going on with the business of the session; and I say, I shall not vote for abstractions, years ahead, to the exclusion of business. He says he calculated on my course. He is mistaken. He knows very well, from my whole course in public life, that I never would leave public business to take up firebrands to set the world on fire.

Mr. Calhoun. The Senator does not at all comprehend me.

Mr. Benton. I am from the right place. I am on the side of my country and the Union.

The resolutions were then ordered to be printed.

## Slavery in Mexico.

It has been asserted that slavery did not exist in Mexico. It is true under that name it does not, but under the name of peonage it does and its worst form, confined to no color, but as a perpetual bondage and punishment for debt. Many large proprietors control in this way hundreds of peons, both men and women. The debt is perpetual—it generally increases instead of diminishing, and is rarely ever paid—the peon being charged with interest as well as with clothing, subsistence, medicine, &c. In this way it is believed that more than a million of peons are held as slaves, and may be seized as fugitives if they dare to leave the employ of their master; and the fruits of their labor go to the master and not to the peon. In the speech of the Hon. Mr. Roberts, of Mississippi, by whom public attention has been called to the subject, these laws are given.—Union.

THE LAST JOKE.—A few days since a country gentleman stepped into a store in Columbia—"Have you any sugar?"

"We aint got anything else," was the reply.

"Well, put me up 150 pounds and make out your bill. I'll call and settle, and get the sugar, in an hour or so."

In an hour or two after, this gentleman called, paid his bill, and got the sugar.—As usual, the store-keeper said—

"Anything else sir?"

"I did want some two or three bags of coffee, some rice, spices, oil, etc.; but I got them at some other store. You told me you didn't have anything else but sugar."

## Mechanics.

They are the palace builders of the world. Not a stick is heven. Not a stone is shaped in all the lordly dwellings of the rich, that does not owe its beauty and fitness to the mechanic's skill; the towering spires, that raise their giddy heights among the clouds, depend upon the mechanic's art and strength for their symmetry and fair proportion. There is no article of comfort and pleasure, but bears the impress of their handy work. How exalted is their calling, how sublime their vocation? Who dares to sneer at a fraternity of honorable men? Who dares cast odium upon such a patriotic race? Their path is one of true glory, and it is their own fault if it does not lead them to the highest posts of honor and renown.

## The Passions.

Men should endeavor to control their passions, for one half the illness to which the flesh is heir to is produced by unbounded anger or extreme grief. This has made a black head of hair grey in a single night. But its most remarkable effect was of recent occurrence. A poor man, whose wife had been ill and died, as soon as the breath had left her, retired to an adjoining room in perfect health, laid himself down and said he "did not care for the world, he would rather die." Before he was long done investigating the cause of the fatal demise, he was seized with a violent fever, the bereaved man had never before had such a heavy load of care upon his mind. He had no value for his life, and he would have been content to have died at that moment. The doctor, who was called, found him in a state of perfect health, and he recovered, but he was left with a string of abstractions.

Mr. Calhoun. The Senator says he can-