

The Camden Journal.

VOLUME 11.

CAMDEN, SOUTH-CAROLINA, JULY 5, 1850.

NUMBER 53.

THE CAMDEN JOURNAL.

PUBLISHED BY

THO. J. WARREN & C. A. PRICE,
EDITORS AND PROPRIETORS.

THE SEMI-WEEKLY JOURNAL.

Is published at Three Dollars and Fifty Cents, if paid in advance, or Four Dollars if payment is delayed for three months.

THE WEEKLY JOURNAL.

Is published at Two Dollars and Fifty Cents, if paid in advance, or Three Dollars if payment is delayed for three months.

Any person procuring five responsible subscribers shall be entitled to the sixth copy (of the edition subscribed for) gratis for one year.

ADVERTISEMENTS will be inserted at the following rates: For one square (14 lines or less) in the semi-weekly, one dollar for the first, and twenty-five cents for each subsequent insertion.

In the weekly, seventy-five cents per square for the first, and thirty-seven and a half cents for each subsequent insertion. Single insertions one dollar per square.

The number of insertions desired, and the edition to be published in, must be noted on the margin of all advertisements, or they will be inserted semi-weekly until ordered to be discontinued, and charged accordingly.

Semi-monthly, monthly and quarterly advertisements charged the same as for a single insertion.

Liberal discounts allowed to those who advertise for three, six, or twelve months.

All communications by mail must be post-paid to secure attention.

SPEECH OF HON. JOHN McQUEEN, OF SOUTH CAROLINA, IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES, SATURDAY, JUNE 8, 1850.

The House being in Committee of the Whole on the state of the Union, and resuming the consideration of the California question, the President's Message in relation to that subject being before the Committee—

Mr. McQUEEN said:

Mr. CHAIRMAN: I think it more than likely that nothing I may submit will change the views of members of this body, or stay the aggression which, for some time, I have too plainly seen rapidly advancing from the northern portion of this Confederacy upon that part of it from whence I come; yet I feel it my duty to employ one hour, the first I have attempted to consume in this House, or in any other legislative body, in portraying some of the most prominent facts and indications which threaten not only the ruin and degradation of the South, but, in my judgment, the downfall of no very distant day of this once happy Confederacy. That we have arrived at a period, when it becomes every honest man to reflect, and gravely reflect, upon the true condition of the country, none can doubt; and to view that condition properly, the various causes which have produced it should be most carefully examined.

It is useless to disguise the fact, that a system of aggression, regular and unabating is going on against the South which persisted in by the North, and submitted to by the South, must end in nothing less than our utter degradation. Sir, I do not speak with a meaning, when I say our utter degradation and ruin; nor can any artifice however ingenious, or any device however cunningly shaped, so cover up the truth as to hide it from the most ordinary capacity.

What, then, is the great and moving cause which has brought us to this unhappy and dangerous condition? In my judgment it proceeds from more causes than one. It proceeds from a misconception or misconstruction of the true principles upon which this Confederacy was entered into by our ancestors, and a sickly, fanatical sentiment, entertained now too generally by the inhabitants of what they please to call the free States, in relation to an institution of which they really know but little, and with which they have no more right to interfere, than they have to dictate to the inhabitants of the southern States, in what churches and at what altars they shall worship that God who gave them being. Sir, if this Government were a union of undefined powers, concentrated in one common head here the rights which the North now claim in relation to slavery might, with some degree of plausibility, be asserted. And tainted as they are by an education founded in falsehood, slander, and misrepresentation, there would be some apology for the claim. But, fortunately for us, the Government never was constituted, or intended to be, one grand consolidated engine of powers, that might to-day be wielded by an unrestrained majority to the destruction of any one section of the Confederacy, while to-morrow, that section getting the ascendancy might, in turn, convert it into an engine of revengeful destruction, until its devastating powers should annihilate the whole. No, sir; no. The framers of our Constitution were too sagaciously relieved from a struggle in which the question of equal rights and just powers were deeply involved, to allow them to have forgotten the rights of the several colonies, who in one common cause had waged a war of seven years against oppressions. Each colony was too jealous of its own sovereignty ever to have merged it in one common sovereignty, which, by a bare plurality of numbers, might be perverted to any purpose that fanaticism and madness might suggest.

When the framers of the Constitution came together to adopt a plan of government for their common defence, it did not enter into the mind of any one that they were other than delegates from thirteen independent sovereignties—dependent of each other and independent of the world. It never entered their brain that they were authorized to transfer that high and exclusive sovereignty inherent in the people of each State, to any power on earth, to be wielded by a mere majority against one-half of the States, even to their destruction. Nor would those who so often even have recognized their acts, had they attempted to do so. We see the prudent jealousy manifested in the express reservation of all powers not expressly granted to the general agency. Who for a moment can suppose that Rhode Island would ever have consented to commit her fate to the hands of New York and Massachusetts, upon the monstrous

principle that her internal affairs were to be regulated by an unrestrained majority? She did refuse for two years to give her sanction, as it was; and I venture the assertion that no three States in the Union ever would have ratified the Constitution, had the northern sentiment of the present day even been suspected, by which the right of legislation is here claimed from the establishment of a flower garden to the degradation and destruction of one-half the States. Had those who formed the Constitution returned to those who sent them, and said, We have entered into a compact by which for your general welfare and happiness we have mingled your sovereignty with that of the other States, to be regulated by the opinion of a majority of all the people of the States, unrestrained by any other check than their opinion and will,—they would have been burned in effigy sooner than received to the bosom of their people. Their names would have been consigned to the scorn and indignation of all, rather than perpetuated in history as a band of sages who had erected a beacon to guide the civilized world in the way of freedom and the highest enjoyment of human happiness. But, sir, it would be a libel upon their wisdom, their sagacity, and patriotism, to give such construction to acts. They never contemplated the present state of things under their Constitution. They never supposed that a sickly fanaticism would profess to move under its letter or spirit, until agrarianism and desolation shall pervade the land.

It is well known that it is to the North we are mainly indebted for that unlimited construction of the Constitution of which I have spoken. She, from her very nature and climate, is denied the production of many of the staples necessary for the food and the raiment of the human family, and consequently must live upon the products of other places; her inhabitants must live by their genius and wits, rather than the first service allotted to man by his Creator. This necessity early established in their judgment the right to tax the agriculture of the South with tribute to their mechanic pursuits; and, as a matter of course, construe the compact of Government to answer that purpose. This principle established, the door has been thrown open to any other heresy that may have its time until, under the broad aegis of a general welfare constitution, nothing that a majority, however mad, may design, will not be accomplished.

But I have not time to dwell longer on this branch of my subject, and will come now to what I consider the immediate cause of the serious difficulties in which we find ourselves. And no one need be told it is the actual war, (though not yet of the sword,) carried on by one half of the States of this Confederacy against the other, emanating from a sickly fanaticism among those who, if it were an evil, should be most lenient toward those who have amongst them African slaves. They claim that they are too holy and pure to allow slavery to exist within this Confederacy—that they themselves, though once contaminated with it, have from the motives of philanthropy and benevolence, long since abolished it; but not content with their own holiness and sanctity, have a duty devolving on them of wiping it off the face of this continent, as a thing too abominable for their toleration. And yet, who does not know that it was northern capital and northern seamen mainly who brought from Africa the thousands whose posterity are the objects of so much strife? Nor is it true, that they abolished slavery, as they pretend they did, within their own limits. In this whole matter they have the grace to claim that which the truth of history denies them. The South, as is well known, was greatly opposed the shipment of Africans within their borders, but the northern philanthropy of that day forced it upon them for their general "welfare and happiness;" and now, when they have civilized and christianized them, the same North, in its next generation, aggregates to itself to tell us that it is a black stain upon our country, and they will take such a course as we had better prepare for—they will give us twenty five years to see the black pall of slavery banished from this continent.

Sir, I have said that the North profess a virtue in the abolition of slavery which the truth of history denies them. They never did diminish, to any considerable extent, the number of slaves in this Confederacy. They passed acts, it is true, in their several States, when they found that neither their soil or climate rendered them longer profitable, but they were prospective in their operation, and before they took effect, they took good care to sell in the South the most saleable of their negroes and pocket the money. They turned loose upon the world those who were old and unfit for sale, a philanthropic and holy act, by which they had purified their souls and washed from amongst them the black stain of slavery; whilst, in fact and in truth, they simply transferred them to a more genial clime, but took good care to transfer themselves, by the operation, to that class which they call the upper ten thousand, whilst their children to this day are basking in the influence thus commenced and secured. And it does seem to me unfortunate that gentlemen, at this day, who profess to believe the Bible, and claim so much purity in themselves, should forget that part of the Decalogue which tells us that God is a jealous God, visiting the iniquities of the fathers upon the children unto the third and fourth generation, and that they should not reflect how damning a sin they are proclaiming against their ancestors, and content themselves with prayer for its forgiveness, and let us alone. We feel at least as capable to pursue the path of duty to ourselves, our country, and our God, as they do. If it be a sin, which I earnestly deny, it is now our sin. We are content to answer for it, and it is arrogance, rank and insulting, to presume to dictate to us,

under an insidious, hypocritical, or fanatical sentiment, against the Bible, from the earliest history of the world to the present moment, and against our peace and unquestionable rights in this Confederacy, which I trust in God, every true hearted southerner will defend against further aggression, as they would their hearthstones and their lives. But to return from my digression: I have said that the northern States never have, to any considerable extent, diminished the number of slaves in this Confederacy, and will refer to one or two instances of the *modus operandi* of their emancipation to show that fact.

In 1790, according to the census, there were in New York, 21,324 slaves and 4,654 free colored persons; between 1790 and 1800, I presume it will not be contended there was any emancipation in that State, and it is fair to suppose the number of free colored could not have increased by the manumission of slaves to any extent of consequence. In those ten years the free colored increased to 10,374, making about 1,000 over double, whilst by the census of 1800 there were still in the State 20,343 slaves; and had they increased by procreation in the same ratio with the free colored, there should have been about 45,000. And should it be said that manumission of slaves increased the number of free colored, still 19,000 must have been sold to the South, or the parents of those who would have raised that number, supposing the free colored not to have increased at all; but I presume few if any were at that day set free, and it is fair to continue the calculation upon the basis of the increase of free colored during that period. By the census of 1810 there were 25,333 free colored, making an increase of about the same ratio, and the number of slaves was 15,017—showing a diminution of only a few over 5,000 in those ten years, whilst again their increase would have swelled the number to about 43,000, of whom about 28,000 must have found a southern market. Now can it be said that during this interval, any were set free by legislative enactment, because an act which had been passed in 1801 only declared that children born after July 1799 should be free, but that they should continue in the service of their owners until they arrived at the age of twenty-eight years; and they could not until July, 1827, have been classed in the census as free. But by the same act of 1801, a door was left open by which the operation I am describing might be carried on by law; as owners were allowed, under certain regulations, to carry their slaves beyond the limits of the State, and no law was passed until 1827 abolishing slavery within that State. In 1820 the free colored were 29,279, showing an increase in ten years of only 3,946, when the number of slaves was 10,958, being reduced within the ten years 4,929. Now supposing the free colored had not increased at all, nor the slaves either, and that every one of the 3,946 increase of free colored had been caused by the liberation of slaves, still there were about one thousand slaves disposed of in some other way. But taking my original data, there should have been at this time about fifty thousand free colored and 39,001 slaves, and about 25,000 of the latter must again have found a more southern clime. During that period, there was an accountable falling off of the increase of free colored, which may be accounted for, perhaps, by the supposition that in those transition times many of them might have traveled off with those who, under the law, had a right to carry their slaves out of the State; and this may, to this day, furnish a reason why gentlemen of the North are so very cautious in proving laws against kidnapping; for I have never been aware that free negroes were ever carried south by southern ships or southern traders. By following the calculation through the census of 1830, equally clear results will be found.

I have not time to trace this process through the New England States, but I believe the same system of boasted emancipation took place in every one of them. I shall but refer to the State of Rhode Island, one of the earliest cradles of African slavery in this Confederacy. In 1790, she had by the census 3,469 free colored, and 952 slaves—she was then deep in her transition state. In 1809 she had 3,304 free colored, and 381 slaves; supposing her free colored had not increased at all, yet there are 165 unaccounted for, who may have fallen into the hands of kidnappers; but there are also unaccounted for 571 of the slaves, who could not have been liberated and added to the list of free colored, for that had diminished; and I leave it to the holy philanthropists and abolitionists of the North to trace the destinies of that unfortunate band of brothers, together with the increase of both classes for the 16 years. Their posterity may, perhaps, see where they found a market from the fact, that after the slave trade was limited to 1808, the ports of Charleston, South Carolina, being opened for the importation of Africans in the year 1804, and remained four years. By the census of Charleston, during that time there were two hundred and two vessels entered the port of Charleston with African slaves; and from the custom-house books, and from under the hand of the collector at that time of Charleston, he gives authentic information, that of these two hundred and two vessels which were engaged in that trade and entered the port of Charleston, 108 of their cargoes were owned by foreign countries, (many of them in Great Britain), 14 in southern States, and 79 in northern free States.

The truth is, the free States, as I have said, never did liberate their slaves; they sold them to the South, and built much of their manufacturing and commercial interest upon the money; and by a system of aggression as unwarranted as the present, they have taxed their labor and plundered their owners ever since, through the instrumentality of this Government, to add to their own aggrandizement.

I venture the assertion, that no such instances of emancipation have ever been known in

the North as have taken place in the South. It is well known to all gentlemen in the South, that one man in Louisiana liberated twelve hundred slaves, whilst the whole State of Rhode Island in 1800 had not a great many more than twice that number. I also deny that those who have been turned loose on the charities of the North are, or ever will be, in as comfortable a condition as those who are slaves with us.—They are in a cold and ruthless climate, amongst a white race as distinguished for cupidity and sharpness as any that ever inhabited a spot of this Globe. Inferior in intellect and genius to the whites—destitute of friends who are in affluence and power to employ and assist them; owning little or no land—unable to compete with Yankee ingenuity—indisposed at best to labor honestly—incapable of social equality—without food and clothing, or even fuel to warm their wretched bodies during the piercing blasts of winter—they naturally betake themselves to every species of horrible and loathsome vice known in the world; and in proof of this I need but cite to the places of public resort, where they are allowed to congregate about the cities. You cannot hide from their squalid wretchedness; nor need the philanthropist go in search of more victims of misery on earth, for the exercise of his benevolence, than he may find in the cities—in the streets—in the cellars—in the almshouses—in the suburbs—in the prisons and in the penitentiaries of the free States. And even those you find in best employment amongst them are generally carrying out the truth of the Scriptures, that "servants shall they be." No preamble or misrepresented clause of the Declaration of Independence, or the grossly perverted passages of Scripture, will ever change this last condition until God has changed his nature, or his promises are violated.

Nor would I stop here, sir, I would carry the war into Africa if I had time to do so, and make the comparison, without fear of successful contradiction, between the condition of a very large portion of the white population of the North and the slaves of the South; in which much that I have said in relation to the free negroes of the North would be equally applicable to the lower order of the whites, with this distinguished difference, that forgeries and counterfeits, swindling and other artifices, requiring a higher order of intellect, are mainly confined to the whites. In proof of this, I need not only refer to the records of your courts, your mobs, your State prisons, your penitentiaries, your stool pigeon associations, your underground railroads, and every species of horrible device.

I have recently seen an account of five hundred true bills, I think, in one week, (I am sure in one Court,) in the pious city of Boston, for every species of crime. There have been expended in the county of Philadelphia, according to a published statement I have clipped from a paper, since the year 1842, upwards of \$142,000 for the suppression of mobs; whilst, upon the other hand, I see it repeatedly stated that there are eighteen thousand human beings living under ground and in cellars, packed together in rags and horrible wretchedness, in the great city of New York. I saw myself three years ago, there, scenes such as my eyes had never beheld, and such, I trust, as I may be spared seeing again—amongst them a few that I never shall forget—two of them I will mention: The one was a blind man, led amid the throng on the great and crowded Broadway, by a string attached to a dog (who seemed to have been his depest sympathizer.) He held in his hand a plate, as he passed, that had nothing in it as bright as silver, when I stopped to add a trifle. The other was a woman, seated on the steps of the notorious Astor House, with a shriveled and writhing infant on her knee, and whilst I was in the act of giving her a pittance, I was accosted by a citizen, who said she was doubtless an impostor, who had borrowed the child and bandaged it with bands to impose upon strangers.

In vain shall it be said such scenes and circumstances are confined to the cities. They are not to be found, either amongst the whites or the blacks, in the country or cities of the South. Go to the farms and cities of the South, and see the African, fed, clothed, and happy, and let your false clamor stand rebuked forever. Nay, more; whether these things be in the cities of the North or elsewhere, they are gathered to the polls when it comes to voting, and swell the abolition fame, which comes here to denounce and insult us, in relation to an institution that, could they change and be elevated to its scale of happiness and contentment, they would be more improved in their condition than the philanthropy of the North will accomplish for them whilst they remain on this earth.

It is from this very city of New York there comes so strong a tide of abolition, as furnishes a distinguished member in the other end of the Capitol, who stands up in the presence of Senators, the people and in the face of Heaven, and calls upon his God to witness his oath to support the Constitution under which he takes his seat, and yet declares, in his place, that so great is his philanthropy, he will yield in his conscience to a sense of higher duty, when slavery is in question, and whenever it is convenient to accomplish his purpose. Much better would it be to exercise their benevolence among the wretches who are panting among them, and let those only take oaths here, who are prepared to observe them. When they have relieved their own sufferers, we might better be prepared to hear them, and believe in their professions. Until they do this, I have no faith in their philanthropy, and would much sooner suspect that the religion of the Senator would find its happiest goal within the walls of a White House.

Sir, there is a state of things at the North, with all their boasted piety and philanthropy, which I trust will never be realized at the south. Look for a moment at their thousand societies

and associations, anti-sabbath, anti-marriage, anti-rent, &c. with their infidel conventions, and views of socialism and agrarianism, which seem to be rapidly tending to such a state of things as will pull down in the deepest depths of agrarianism and confusion, all that the wisdom of a century has done for the country. I but recently saw from the columns of a paper, having perhaps, as large a circulation as any in the Union, published in New York, by a gentleman last winter a member of this body, in substance, such sentiment as this: That the pirate who presented his pistol, and forced the surrender of a surplus over that which was necessary to one's own support, had the right to do so, and that the land owner had no claim on his lessee, unless it were necessary for his own support. Such an abominable sentiment as this has been published before, from the Roman Tribune, and formed a great element in the course of things that pulled down that Republic. It was alike familiar in the Jacobin clubs of France, preceding the time when Robespierre, Danton and Marat ruled the destinies of that people, and held up to the world a spectacle that humanity would hide from in disgust. It remains to be seen what may be its effects in this progressive age of monstrosities of the North. It remains to be seen how long before those of every hue and clime, when made freemen and citizens by northern sentiment and practice, having forced the southern States to withdraw from an association made insufferable to them, will vote themselves a share, without law or right, of the substance of the country, when the veriest vagabond upon the earth, may share equally with the honest man of the country, and when those whose sympathies are now so deep for the black race, may have their own status controlled by them, as in the crusade now against the South, their favorites are sent to this and the other end of the Capitol to rule the storm against us; but time admonishes me I must pass on.

I have said that actual war against the South exists in the conduct of the free States in relation to slavery; and I think every candid man who views things as they are, should sustain me in this position. Every State in this Union had slaves when this Confederacy was formed, unless Massachusetts. She, I believe, had some, though not to be found in the census of 1790; and it may not be too often repeated, that no association would have been formed had slavery not only been recognized, but more carefully guarded than any other species of property. Indeed it was to slaves and their proceeds that this government must have mainly looked for support—lands were then abundant and cheap, and no one supposed that impost duties under any scale of importation ever could answer the exigencies of the Government; hence the provision that slaves and their proceeds should only be taxed in proportion to the representation of the States. Very soon however, a spirit of fanaticism commenced its progress, which has progressed from various causes until we find ourselves in our present condition, with discord and strife from one extremity of the Confederacy to the other, that I, for one, do not believe will ever be reconciled until the southern States will either be degraded and ruined, or that spirit of resistance which I think the duty of freemen, will vindicate her rights and her honor. I shall not attempt the enumeration of the thousand facts which lead me to this conclusion—I only refer to a few of them as I pass on. In the progress of this spirit Abolition societies were formed, public opinion began to receive the taint, men who were in most instances low and obscure, became orators, and acquired consequence that nothing but superstition or fanaticism would have allowed them.—Women and the youth of the country were taught to look upon the owners of slaves as fiends from purgatory; slanders of the grossest type were circulated to effect this purpose; emissaries from England were received and listened to as ministers from God; they propagated a thousand libels upon the South, represented cases of cruelty and blood, of which the southern people never heard; nor had they, unless upon their own ships whilst engaged in dragging the African from his native land. Ministers of the Gospel desecrated the pulpit with the grossest perversion of Scripture in aid of this unholy work. The Blue Laws were abolished, or rather worn out, by their own satiety, and the public mind found food in this unrighteous warfare upon the rights and peace of those whom, for the purposes of spoil and plunder, they would call brothers. Amid such a state of things there never have been wanting in any country demagogues to take advantage of the tempest and ride themselves into place; and in thirty years after the adoption of the Constitution, such was the influence of Abolitionism that in the admission of Missouri the Confederacy tottered on its pillars at the hands of the North. Here was the first daring outrage in our National Legislature to limit the extent of slavery, and the first unfortunate error by the South in confiding in pledges made by the North on this subject. They gave up a right at the shrine of peace and the Union, and they have in return for it a violated faith by the North, and the assertion that a precedent has been established by which the Constitution may at all times be trampled under foot. Congress had no authority to make the Missouri compromise as a constitutional act, and never did alter or amend the Constitution, by that act. Indeed Congress cannot alter the Constitution; and although members might vote for an act as a compromise of their rights, yet the people would at all times have the right to repudiate it. If they fail to do so, still the act cannot change the principles of the Constitution. The Constitution is one thing, and a right under it is another. And although the people acquiesced in the disposal of a part of their territories to buy their peace at one time, it furnishes no reason why that act becomes an article of the Constitution. And even