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## GOVERNOR'S MESSAGE, NO. 1.

EXECUTIVE DEPARTMENT,  
Columbia, Nov. 23, 1841.

Fellow Citizens of the Senate

and House of Representatives:

I congratulate you on the recurrence of this occasion of assembling in the service of your constituents, under circumstances as auspicious to the useful discharge of your duties, as I trust they will be conducive to the harmony of your deliberations.

While, in the general health of our citizens, and the abundance of the harvest, we have experienced the usual beneficent distribution of the blessings of an overruling Providence, we have not less cause for congratulation in the reviving prosperity of our people, from the unexampled depression and embarrassment of the times. Already has credit begun to regain confidence and stability—capital to seek permanent investments—commerce to pursue its accustomed channels—property to resume a fixed and reasonable value—and the energy and enterprise of our people to embark with new and invigorated hope, in its various employments, and pursuits.

Not the least gratifying reflection arising from these cheering auguries of our condition, is derived from the consciousness that they are the results, not of any pampering patronage of the Government—not of the artificial stimulants of Legislative aids or interference—but of a wise and vigilant economy in the people, awakened by the disastrous experience of the past, to improve the permanent and enduring sources of their prosperity. If some of the lingering effects of the late derangement in the monetary affairs of our country are still painfully experienced, in the reduced value of property,—diminished as it must be from the inflated standard of a depreciated and expanded currency—or in the difficulty of discharging debts, incurred in the flood-tide of extravagant prices, and a redundant circulation—they are to be regarded as the unavoidable consequences of former errors and delusions, and perhaps the surest indications of a progressive state of convalescence and improvement.

Nor have we less cause to exult in the hope, that our Government may now be regarded, as having passed in security, through the most trying and difficult exigencies, that ever tried its virtue, or tested its stability.

In the events of a single year, the sudden ascendency of a party, actuated by a high wrought enthusiasm—impelled by the disasters of the times to seek relief in change, and rashly imputing them to the conduct of our Rulers—seemed to threaten the subversion of the well-established principles of '93 and '99, and of the republican policy of the Government, as well as the overthrow the exponents, by whom they were administered. But a few weeks' experience of power, have as suddenly disbanded, dissipated, and resolved this magnificent array of party power and organization into its distinct and original elements. The deliberations of the late Session of Congress have dispelled the delusion of party-zwal and fervor. Its impracticable expedients and distracted councils have I trust, again gathered and assembled the Republican portion of the nation, in the unity and strength of one fold, and one conviction. And if the great measure of "deliverance and liberty," important as we still regard it to the faithful as well as equitable administration of the financial affairs of the country, has been repealed, in form and in name, we have still the unquestionable assurance of its final success, in the overruling necessity resulting from the signal failure of every other substitute or device.

Among these abortive expedients, none was regarded with more intense and absorbing solicitude, than the proposition to re-establish a National Bank. On no occasion has the exercise of the conservative power vested in the Federal Executive, been received with warmer approbation by the people of this State; or been more wisely and fortunately interposed, to arrest the most dangerous, and obnoxious, of all the premeditated violations of the Constitution. Of all the great measures of national policy, productive of the bitterest contention among the great parties of this union and which has always and justly been regarded as fraught with the most powerful influences (for good or for evil,) on our political institutions, the establishment of a National Bank, is certainly the most obvious and important. If such has been the experience of the country, in the primitive and purer ages of the Republic, under the regulations of a Bank, arising out of the embarrassments of the first war, and the exigencies of the last—of comparatively limited capital, and directed by the wisest and ablest officers—what were we to anticipate from an institution organized as the instrument of a party then in power—operating amidst the ruins of a disordered currency, and the wreck, weakness, and dismay, of State and local institutions. The expiring struggles of the late United States Bank to perpetuate its existence against the fiat of the people, and the constituted authorities of the country, are recent in the recollection of all of us, and form an important epoch in the history of our Government. Doubt-

ful as that contest must be admitted to have been, waged even as it was against an Administration, perhaps the most efficient and energetic that has ever controlled the destinies of this nation, what were we to anticipate, when our Rulers themselves should have become its allies, its party, or its pageants. In this view, it would have changed the character of our Government, become part of our political institutions, and consummated the greatest of all the deprecated evils that could befall a country—"the union of purse and sword, in the Federal head"—or worse, in the hands of a Federal party. Well may such an institution be supposed to have had the power to regulate the currency; but it would have been with the iron rule of despotism—restraining all interests, absorbing all capital, measuring all profits, overpowering all competition, and attracting the wealth and prosperity of every other portion of the union, to the centre of its operations.

It was an honest confession, of one of the ablest presiding officers of the late United States Bank, before a committee appointed by Congress to investigate its affairs, that it was at any time within its power to crush State and local institutions!—What an appalling fact for the contemplation of the Sovereign States of the Union! What a prophetic warning to the institutions chartered by their authority! The institutions of the country to be uprooted and erased at the bidding of a heartless, soul-less, cent. per cent. calculating corporation! The rights of the States, and the liberties of the people, to be subjected to the dominion of a sordid monied Autocracy! And yet, such is the supremacy over law, liberty, and the constitution, to which such an institution would inevitably have attained. Encroachments upon the liberties of the people, in other times and nations, were to be apprehended from the swords of conquerors, and the usurpations of ambitious rulers; but experience has shown that in our own age and country, the strongest contests to maintain constitutional, and even sovereign rights, have been waged against an ambitious money power, in all its various forms, of Bank monopolies, and protective tariffs. Well therefore, may we congratulate the country, on having escaped the ambitious pretensions of an institution which after imperiously dictating the humiliating duty to the Federal Executive, of violating his constitutional obligations, now threatens, through the vengeance of a disappointed party, the rash and iniquitous retribution of abolishing the most useful and conservative, of all the prerogatives of his department.

The revision of the duties on imports, justly regarded by the people of this State with a solicitude proportioned to the burdens which the Protective Policy has hitherto imposed on them, has been made, neither in that spirit of equity, or of compromise, which we had just reason to anticipate, from the principles and concessions of the Act of '33. The history of the opposition of this State, to a Tariff for protection, can neither be obliterated or forgotten. And the high considerations which actuated her, in consenting to compromise her interests, for a term of years, to the peace and safety of the Union, should be a warning, as well as an inducement, to respect her rights, as well as her forbearance. While the government is acknowledged to be embarrassed of debt, and manufacturing interests perhaps the least oppressed and the most prosperous of any in the Union, the renewal of a policy by indirect means, which is now universally admitted to bear unequally upon the productive industry of different portions of the Union, is a most flagrant abuse of power, as well as a most wanton violation of faith. The living generation who were the witnesses of the struggles and pledges in the late contest for her constitutional rights, have not yet passed away.—The monuments of the times have not yet perished,—the very altars consecrated by her vows, still stand before us—preparations for defence, are still in readiness and requisition,—the age, its records, and recollections, have scarcely become a part of history, before the very burdens and oppressions which they were intended to resist, are renewed with a shameful infidelity, which seeks neither pretext or justification. A home valuation, cash duties, and an unreasonable and exorbitant revenue of more than thirty millions, it is believed are little less onerous in amount or unconstitutional in effect, than the enormous forty per cent. duties which the sovereignty of this State was so sternly interposed to resist. And if upon the principle of all protective duties, they are destined to increase to an extent and enormity to which our experience of the past, as well as the tendency of the times, most emphatically forbodes, then it will be for you to say, whether South Carolina has so fallen from her high eminence of sovereignty and independence, as to admit by a silent acquiescence in these wrongs and grievances, that there is no "mode, no remedy, no measure of redress." If she was sufficient then for the emergency, she is doubly adequate and fortified now in the union and strength of all her citizens to meet aggressions upon her rights, come

from what source they may. Nor is it less becoming the dignity and character of a free State, in assuming a position of defence which she is resolved to maintain, to manifest a due and timely regard for all the means and appliances of rendering that position, as strong and impregnable in fact, as it is in equity, and in argument. Disregarding all theories, that so often confound the convictions of the best and purest minds, and resorting to the resources which she can so amply command through her organized government, and with which God and the People have endowed her citizens, would not be invincibly united in her defence.

Another topic, of not less importance in itself, or of deep moment to the citizens of this State, is the act distributing the proceeds of the public lands. As a source of revenue which it is proposed to abstract, at the very instant when the Federal Treasury is said to require to be replenished, it would seem like wantonly seeking a pretext to increase taxation. But considered in any point of view, it can be regarded in no other light than that of a distribution of the public revenue. In one year, during a previous administration, the proceeds of the sales of public lands, produced a revenue of upwards of twenty millions—a maximum to which, in more prosperous times, it would possibly again attain. Its average may even now be estimated at five millions, which, if annually withdrawn from the Treasury, leaves that deficiency at least to be supplied by increased duties on imports. That the government can exercise the power of taxation to raise revenue for distribution, is a principle I presume, which this State is not prepared to admit. Under the operation of the various pre-emption laws, and the frequent reductions in the price of public lands, those very States which were the largest contributors to the "Public Domain" or whose "blood and treasure" were most lavishly expended to acquire it, have at the same time been subjected to the greatest sacrifices, in the emigration of their citizens, and in the diminished value of their products, reduced by an unequal competition with the more abundant and teeming resources of those new and fertile regions, which their enterprise and industry have been seduced and abstracted to cultivate, to the waste and abandonment of their own. It was enough to have borne all this with patriotic devotion to the interests of our common country; but when it is proposed to divert that domain from the sacred purposes for which it was ceded, to afford a pretext for additional burdens and taxation on one class of industry, to give protection and bounty to another, it assumes a character of the highest injustice, as well as the most palpable infractions of constitutional principles.

But the most dangerous, as well as the most humiliating effect of this measure, is the condition of dependency, to which it reduces the States, upon the bounty and benefaction of the government—existing as they would, in the relation of subsidiaries upon the profits of their own estate—receiving its charity, doled out from their own wealth, and sublated to a state of homage, servility, and compliance, by bribes, stolen and lavished from their own Treasury. Is it not to be regarded as the first step to the assumption of State, debts—designed to consummate a consolidation of interests, obliterating all distinctions of sovereignty, or pride of independence, and tending to concentrate Empire and Dominion over the rights of the States, and the liberties of the people?

I trust however, that the spirit of reform, which has been so powerfully evoked by the errors of the late session of Congress, and so decidedly manifested in the results of the late popular elections throughout the Union, will prevent the spoils and plunder of this system, from ever soiling the Treasury, or contaminating the coffers of a single State in the Union. Let us pause, at least for a moment, in the hope, that the correct principles and high motives of an unthought, unterrified, and incorruptible Democracy are operating their sure and salutary influences on the councils and measures of Government.

Among other Resolutions, which, as the official communication of a sister State, it is my duty to submit to a co-ordinate branch of the government of this, is one proposing to alter the Constitution, to limit the eligibility of the Federal Executive to one term of office. The experience of this State furnishes no reasons for such an innovation upon the long established usage and principles of the government. I cannot conceive that it can be productive of any other effects than to increase the usually over-wrought excitement of the Presidential canvass—to render its recurrence more frequent—to disconnect the relations of sympathy between the Executive and his constituents—to divest him of the most powerful motives to regard the will or to merit the approbation of the people—and to make him the instrument of a party, to minister to its purposes, and to pander to its lust of domination.

In all the history of our government, the influence of the Executive power, to modify its action on the reserved rights of the States, has been of a conservative,

rather than of an aggressive character. More than twice has it been interposed to rescue the people from the domination and abuses of a National Bank. It was in defence of our rights and our institutions, that the determination of a late Executive to refuse his constitutional sanction to the abolition of slavery in any of its forms, was so fearlessly avowed; and this State, I presume, can have no interest or motive to remove the few salutary checks and embarrassments to the so often unjust and inconsiderate legislation of a majority in Congress, and to induce it to war against the dignity and prerogatives of a department, the weakest and most conservative, perhaps, in the government.

I also submit for the serious consideration of the Legislature, a copy of the communication of the Governor of Virginia, on the proceedings of the General Assembly of that State, on the subject of her late controversy with New York; and Reports and Resolutions from the State of Alabama, responding to the views and declarations so solemnly announced by this State, on questions deeply involving the right of property, and the security of the domestic institutions of the South. Bound by every consideration of duty, of interest, of honor, and of equity, to repel so flagrant a disregard of the rights of a sister State, we could always be ready and prompt to redeem the pledge of our alliance to a cause with which our rights are so intimately identified. Relations of amity cannot be better preserved even between separate nations, in which the rig of property are not regarded as they exist, under the respective laws of each; much less can sovereign States be permanently allied in a bond of union, under the same laws, government and constitution, where fugitives from the justice, plunderers of the property, and violators of the laws of one find refuge and impunity under the sanction of the constituted authorities of the other. No wrong is more readily resented by nations—no injustice can more deeply stain the faith or more essentially impair the friendly and intimate relations of confederated States. It would be a reproach to the character of our institutions, if claims which are recognized and reciprocated by the comity and justice of all civilized nations, should be scornfully refused and contemned by states federated under the same laws and constitution. If obligations of the constitution, which require one state to deliver, on demand, fugitives from the justice of another, are to be disregarded,—our institutions assailed,—the plunderers of our property encouraged and protected,—then must we regard the perpetrator of these aggressions, "no matter by whom committed," as a foe to our rights and an enemy to our peace. Whether the wrong in this case has been done to Virginia or South Carolina, the principle is the same, the interest involved common to both, and the responsibility of protecting them should equally devolve on every state in the Union, in which justice exercises dominion, or similar institutions exist. Persisting in such a course of unprovoked hostility to the institutions of the South, New York can only be regarded in the light of any other aggressing power—in peace friends, but enemies in war. The adoption in all such instances, of a similar course of vigilance to that which the state of Virginia has instituted, would perhaps be a wise and salutary precaution, to prevent the recurrence of similar aggressions upon the rights and property of our own citizens and institutions. We ought, upon every principle of equity and of interest, to make common cause with any state whose rights and institutions are thus wantonly violated and assailed.

The position which it may become this state to assume, on any of the important questions presented, would seem to suggest the importance and necessity of cultivating and improving her means of safety and defence. It would be mere mockery to vaunt of rights, liberty or sovereignty, without the spirit, ability or resources to defend them. It would be better at once to endure threatened or impending ills, unaggravated by opposition, than by unmeaning denunciations and impotent exhibitions of resistance, to provoke and increase their bitterness. Prohibited both by the character of our institutions, and the restrictions of the constitution, from resorting to other means of cultivating our military resources than through that of a well trained and organized militia, it should be cherished to the highest state of perfection, and with a pride and assiduity to make it the most efficient, as it is the only means of defending the rights, the honor, and sovereignty of the State. The improvement in which it so rapidly progressed, under the influence of the late Brigade Encampments, offers the highest encouragement to the continuance of your patronage, as well as the happiest illustration of the beneficial effects of the mode in which it has hitherto been conferred. Assembled in these Normal Schools of drill and tuition where a patriotic emulation was excited—where knowledge was imparted and received, under the criticism of the most improved and accomplished officer—where such favorable opportunities were afforded for discriminating the qualifications, both

of the soldier and the citizen—and where that martial pride and feeling was acquired, which is the best, perhaps, the only foundation of an elevated patriotism, combining so many motives, stimulants, advantages and incentives, it is not surprising that from its results I should be able to give you the gratifying assurance that our militia now comprises in its organization, a class of officers whose knowledge and accomplishments would do credit to any age, or service, or country. With such inducements before us, it is deeply to be regretted that an experiment productive of so many advantages and improvements, without any detracting consequences what ever, should have been so prematurely abandoned.

Already are the effects of that abandonment visible, in the waning enthusiasm of the service, and the resignation of some of our ablest officers, from a conscientious regret and despondence, for the future usefulness and efficiency of their exertions.—Such indications as these should be regarded as a solemn invocation to restore a system from which the State has derived such important benefits. Confined perhaps as those encampments should be, to commissioned officers, it is not to be presumed that any officer would be so insensible to the honorable pride of his vocation, or to the confidence which the State "reposes in his courage and fidelity," as to regret the privations and inconvenience of five days camp service, to learn the art of defending his country and his institutions. With some slight and salutary modifications of the law by which they were regulated, it is confidently hoped that they may be made the school of correct morals, as well as of patriotism and military discipline. With the alteration or addition of such provisions as may promote this desirable object, the bill under the consideration of the Legislature at its last session, in December, and revised by the Adjutant General, with the accompanying report, is respectfully referred to your consideration.

Amid all the portents of the time—the peril that every where surrounds our domestic institutions, the emergency that may call upon us to vindicate our rights and principles—I cannot but again and most seriously invoke your attention to that organization of our military resources and defences, without a regard to which, no state action can be efficient, and the assertion of sovereignty itself be but a bye-word and reproach, without dignity, and without effect.

The contingency of a National War, (remote and distant I trust it still is,) cannot be overlooked, among the numerous other inducements to improve our military resources. The most exposed, perhaps, as we are, to its ravages from the neglected condition of our coast—the greatest sufferers, from the burdens which its expenses are destined to impose—no matter how provoked or originating, whether by the ambition of one power, or the officious border aggressions of the other,—there can be I am sure, no selfish or ignoble considerations, that would ever restrain the most generous contributions upon the part of this State, of treasure or of arms, to save the national honor from tarnish or disgrace.

By an act of the Legislature, in December, last, the duty was devolved upon this department, of proposing the acceptance of the several Banking Institutions of this State, an Act to amend their Charters, with a view to prevent the future suspension of specie payments. The Bank of the State, the South Western Rail Road Bank, the Union Bank, and the Planters' and Mechanics' Bank, with a commendable desire to conform to the wishes and objects of the State, have, in good faith, and sincerity, accepted its provisions.

In executing the instructions of the Legislature, in that spirit of mildness and forbearance in which I am sure they were conceived, I deemed it proper to overlook the delay of a few weeks, after the precise period fixed by law, for the acceptance of the two latter institutions; appraised as I was that it had arisen from unavoidable circumstances, and not from a wilful neglect or refusal to comply with the requisitions of the law.

It is due to the high character which these institutions have hitherto sustained, and I am sure reflects no injustice upon the motives of the Legislature, to state that the object of this enactment was to prevent anticipated evils, rather than to punish past or existing abuses. The Federal Government having, in the exercise of a wise and sound policy, abandoned that control over the currency which it had hitherto usurped, the necessity of a stricter supervision over the monetary affairs of this State, had become more obligatory upon those, to whom the people have entrusted the power of regulating them.

In such a state, of things, it could not be deemed an unnecessary or officious act of caution, upon the part of this State, if she resorted to all the ordinary and legitimate means of rendering her own currency, sound, safe, adequate, and stable.—The exercise of these means she has hitherto delegated, in a great (and perhaps an imprudent) extent, to her Banking institutions, by the extraordinary privileges and immunities with which she has endowed