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## POLITICAL.

### SPEECH

#### BY MR. WM. L. YANCEY.

In Mr. Yancey's speech in the late Southern Rights Convention, he made the following points in support of the minority report, the question being upon the amendment offered by Colonel Williams:

He yielded his assent to the amendment, because the lengthy and heated debate of the day previous, had convinced him that it was only upon some such ground that the members of the Convention could ever harmonize, and preserve the integrity of the Southern Rights party.

There were objections to the amendment but in his opinion, they were of less importance than those which existed against a continuation of such a contest as had taken place between the friends of the minority and majority reports, respectively.

The course which the debate upon the minority report had taken, however, rendered it almost imperative upon him, that he should offer to the convention, and through it to the Southern Rights party and the country, the reasons which had operated upon him in making that report, in conjunction with the delegates from Coosa, Jefferson, Chambers and Russell.

The report recommended a co-operation not an amalgamation, with Democratic party, in support of General Pierce for the office of President. It recognized the necessity of a continued independent organization of the Southern Rights party, and suggested the policy of a support of General Pierce as a party, upon certain specified grounds—neither accepting nor rejecting him as the nominee of another party—nor in any way endorsing the platform of that party, which brought him before the country.

The position which this policy would give to the Southern Rights party, during this election, might be compared to that held by the French army, which co-operated with the American troops during the revolutionary war—struggling against a common enemy, with purpose some what different in detail—though having the common object of freeing the country of a power, which had used its power to oppress.

Like the French army, too, the Southern Rights party, in this contest, would be governed by a separate and distinct organization—acting under its own officers—occupying distinct camp-ground—and rallying beneath its own flag; and at the close of the campaign, dissolving its temporary alliance, without in the least degree having its integrity affected. The general objection urged against this policy is, that we have ever denounced the national party organizations as unsafe and unsound upon the great slavery question, and that we should therefore repudiate all connection with them; and, therefore, the proposed policy has been denounced as little less than treason to one of the great principles of our organization.

Mr. Y. said that this is not an open question. The Southern Rights convention of the 4th of March last, contemplated such action as has been proposed by the minority report.

Mr. Y. quoted in support of this position, the following resolutions of that convention:

15. Resolved, That believing both the old national parties are sensitive to the majority sentiment, and, therefore, in effect antagonistic to our sectional interests, we will preserve our separate organization, and coalesce with neither, but shall leave ourselves free to oppose both, or co-operate, from time to time, with either, according as their doctrines may, more or less co-incide with our own.

18. Resolved, That for a more perfect organization, and to consider our course in the coming Presidential election, it is hereby recommended that a convention of the Southern Rights party of this State assemble at this place, at such time as the central committee, hereafter named, shall designate.

It being clear then that a co-operation with either of the national parties is within the scope and aim of the Southern Rights party, Mr. Y. said that the only remaining questions were:

1st. Is the policy indicated consist-

ent with our aims and principles? 2d. Is not a separate nomination of candidates for President and Vice President, necessary to preserve our identity as a party.

Mr. Y. said that in considering the first of these questions, the opponents of the proposed policy had been too apt to forget the avowed policy of the party, and to base their arguments upon a policy now formally abandoned.

The late March convention, declared that "we are constrained, in deference to the unanimous decision of the Southern States, not to urge secession on account of these measures"—meaning the compromise acts—and in the 15th resolution already quoted, decided that we were "free to oppose both, or to co-operate, from time to time, with either, (of the national parties,) according as their doctrines may, more or less, co-incide with our own."

These principles might be thus briefly summed up:

1. The preservation of the relation of master and slave, in such States as choose to recognize the relation as a part of their fundamental law; and in the territories of the United States in which the master may choose to emigrate.

2. State sovereignty in all matters of internal policy.

3. The right of secession for any infraction of that sovereignty or violation of the constitutional compact.

Mr. Y. insisted that Gen'l. Pierce was a fair representative of these doctrines. He spoke of him as having been educated in the Woodbury school of politics—as a pupil of that pure and distinguished statesman, whose elevation to the chief executive office of the United States would, at any time within the last fifteen years, have been hailed by the South, as an evidence that her constitutional rights would have been respected during his administration.

He reviewed the votes and speeches of General Pierce in the House of Representatives, and in the Senate, during the inefficiency and growth of the anti-slavery agitation, and declared from these the General Principles of the Southern Rights party, and against the Baltimore platform, and against the resolutions of the Abolitionists, and upon the question to receive their petitions, and that which he voted to receive, as, in his opinion, merely the right of petition, he denounced the aims of the Abolitionists in decided terms.

Mr. Y. read Mr. Pinckney's celebrated resolutions, reported in 1836, by a select committee, to whom had been referred all papers relating to the subject of slavery, and of which committee General Pierce was a member. These resolutions were united upon by the Southern Representatives, as presenting the best issue upon the slavery question, and were fiercely assailed by the entire Abolition party. General Pierce advocated the resolutions in the committee and in the House—in all stages.

Mr. Y. showed that in '37, Mr. Calhoun brought forward his celebrated resolutions on the same questions, covering a wider view of the issues presented than even Mr. Pinckney's. One of those resolutions asserted that the efforts of the people of the States, or of the States themselves, to procure the abolition of slavery in the States or territories, "were direct and dangerous attacks on the institutions of the slaveholding States."

Gen. Pierce voted for, and advocated the entire series, as presenting "the true issue hereand to the country—an issue which would raise not a mere question of expediency, but one of a much higher character—in which the public faith is directly involved."

Mr. Y. alluded, also, to the conduct of Gen. Pierce, in New Hampshire, upon the question of the annexation of Texas, when Mr. Hale took ground against that measure as a pro-slavery act, showing that General Pierce gave all his influence to the South, and counteracted Hale's seditious influence. He also alluded to General Pierce's conduct, two years since when Mr. Atwood, the regular Democratic nominee in New Hampshire, for the office of governor, commenced coquetting with the Free-soilers for their support. Gen. Pierce at once took the bold ground of advocating the rescinding of the nomi-

nation—the putting up of a new and sound man in the midst of the canvass—and succeeded in effecting this policy. Mr. Y. contended that a review his entire career showed that it had been that it had been the aim of General Pierce, not only to keep himself above all suspicion of favoring Free-soilism, but to keep, as far as he could, the New Hampshire democracy in a like sound condition.

Mr. Y. also reviewed the past life of General Pierce with reference to the State Rights doctrines, and pronounced him as pure a State Rights man as is to be found out of South Carolina. He insisted, also, that it was a matter worthy of consideration, that Gen. Pierce had not been involved, for years, in a corrupt and corrupting struggle for the Presidency. The office had sought him—he had not sought the office. He had not sold himself nor bought others by a sacrifice of the independence of himself, and the rights of any section, in order to secure his elevation to this high office. His past life was in perfect accordance with gratifying fact—he having repeatedly declined high stations for the peaceful pursuits of private life.

Such a man, Mr. Yancey went on to say, must personally be acceptable to the State Rights men of the whole country. There was one personal objection urged against him, however, and but one. It is charged that he has said that he "deplored the existence of slavery." Mr. Y. said that he did not regard it as a part of the Southern Rights creed that we rejoiced at the existence of slavery; or, that if one "deplored" its existence, he was thereby an enemy to Southern Rights. On the contrary, there were thousands of true-hearted Southerners in our midst, who, while believing that the State alone has control over the question, and that the institution is too intricately interwoven in our social and political system to be now destroyed, would yet gladly get rid of it if it were practicable.

The convention of February, 1851 had this question before it—at the motion of Mr. De Yampert, of Missouri—and refused to adopt a declaration that slavery was a moral and political blessing. Mr. Y., from this, deduced that the mere fact that Gen. Pierce deplored slavery, threw no obstacle in the way of his being supported by any Southern Rights man. When the circumstances under which he made the remark are considered, the declaration was divested of the seeming of an objection. The remark was alleged to have been used in a speech made by General Pierce in his war upon Atwood, for having winked too far, upon Free-soilism; and in that very speech, he told the people that their individual views, as to the good or evil of slavery, must give way to the constitutional protection which the institution enjoyed.

It was said, however, if you support Pierce, you endorse the compromise, which we have so often denounced, and the Baltimore platform is relied upon as authority for this assertion. Mr. Y. here read the resolutions of the late Democratic national convention on compromise, which are in these words:

9. That Congress has no power under the Constitution to interfere with or control the domestic institutions of the several States, and that such States are the sole and proper judges of everything appertaining to their own affairs, not prohibited by the Constitution; that all efforts of the Abolitionists or others made to induce Congress to interfere with questions of slavery, or to take incipient steps in relation thereto, are calculated to lead to the most alarming and dangerous consequences; and that all such efforts have an inevitable tendency to diminish the happiness of the people and endanger the stability and permanency of the Union, and ought not to be countenanced by any friend of our political institutions.

Resolved, That the foregoing proposition covers and was intended to embrace the whole subject of the slavery agitation in Congress; and, therefore, the Democratic party of the Union, standing on this national platform, will abide and adhere to the faithful execution of the acts known as the compromise measures, settled by the last Congress—the act for returning fugitives from service

or labor, included; which act, being designed to carry out an express provision of the Constitution, cannot, with fidelity thereto, be repealed or so changed as to destroy or impair its efficacy.

Resolved, That the Democratic party will resist all attempts at re-novating, in Congress or out of it, the agitation on the slavery question, under whatever shape or color the attempt may be made.

He insisted that this resolution did not endorse or condemn the late compromise; on the contrary, it appeared to him to be a studied avoidance of opinion on the policy of that compromise. It simply pledged that party to a faithful execution of the laws. If this had been stricken out of this platform, and it contained no allusion to those acts whatever, still Gen. Pierce, if elected, would have been bound in the very first act he performed as President—yea, in being made the President—to have taken oath to adhere to and abide by the faithful execution of those laws! And, said Mr. Y., even if we were now to nominate Gen. Quitman, and should elect him to the office, that would, *ex necessitate rei*, be also his first official act!

Mr. Yancey, after a further notice of the Baltimore Democratic platform, passed on to consider the last, or second question, viz: Was not a separate nomination necessary to preserve the integrity of the Southern Rights party? He contended, on the contrary, that such a course would effectually destroy it. He said that it were in vain that we should close our eyes to the circumstances which surrounded us. When the Indian chief fell mortally wounded, and on recognizing, in the shouts of the victorious band, the voice of his friend, and exclaimed, 'the voice of Minarroy in the midst of my foes!' he but uttered a melancholy and soul-subduing fact, which is too true as to the position we occupy in the midst of our countrymen. Contending singly and at every sacrifice for Southern Rights, we have ever been but a small minority, even among Southern; only preserved from contempt, on account of the paucity of our numbers by reason of our earnest faith and self-sacrificing devotion to principles.

No longer seeking a dissolution of the Union—on account of the past—we are seeking to bring about such an administration of the affairs of the country as will vindicate and defend our rights, as well as the rights of all. When forced to fall back upon this policy by overwhelming majorities of our own section, we held out inducements to the national parties to suppose that our support might be obtained, if their nomination was influenced by our claims and just demands. At that time, who hoped or expected such a nomination as that of General Pierce? None. Buchanan was the nearest approach to us, and how far, very far beyond Buchanan is Gen. Pierce, whether considered as a State Rights man or a foe to free-soilism? The Southern Rights wing of the Democracy, after a severe contest, succeeded in originating and making the nomination of Gen. Pierce. It was made confessedly upon the ruin of the hopes of every prominent candidate who had been instrumental in imposing the compromise upon the country, and had made it a hobby-horse for political preferment. It was the death knell to the aims and hopes and schemes of the Foote and Cobb factions in the South.

Mr. Y. said, 'I speak but the voice of a fixed fact, when I say, this question was decided for us before we assembled. More than one half the members of our party—recognizing the good faith in which the nomination was made—looking upon it as a signal triumph over corrupt Presidential aspirants and schemers, and a rebuke to Southern traitors, and as a peace offering to the distracted South—have already enlisted in the support of Pierce. The debate you have listened to already, has revealed the fact, that a large party in this very body, are determined to support that nomination, and have only held back from a previous avowal of that fact out of respect to the decision that the party should come to in this session of the convention upon its course. A separate nomination, apart from all moral and political considerations, would be but a de-

claration of war by one fourth of our party against the balance; and when the war would close, enmities and prejudices would create a gulf between the divided members of our small band, too wide for even after contingencies to span.'

Mr. Yancey concluded by saying, that one objection which had been urged against the course he had recommended, he rather thought, was the reverse of an objection, viz:—That supporting a nomination of ever a sound man, by a national party, was dangerous, as calculated to give ascendancy to that party. He, on the contrary, congratulated the people that the great controlling party of this country had brought forward such a man as Gen. Pierce—had cut itself loose from old fogyism and the long and intricate machinery of Congressional President-making—and had once more turned its powerful influence in a direction in which all well-wishers of the country could wish it God speed. Not that party was even now sound on the Southern issue—but it had scotched, in some measure, the elements of discord in its bosom—and the country had a right to expect from its nominee a sound and healthy administration.

[The above constitutes but a skeleton sketch of a speech, which took two hours of Mr. Yancey's rapid delivery.]

### The Next Legislature.

The last "Hamburg Republican" after adverting to the various subjects that will claim the attention of our next Legislature, concludes with the following judicious remarks on the Electoral question:

The election of President and Vice President by the people, also, that of the Governor, instead of being elected by the Legislature. These two questions are eliciting attention in every portion of the State, and in some sections creating considerable excitement, and made a party question in the election of members to the Legislature. They are of a grave and important nature and in our opinion, of such a character, as to demand at the hands of our Legislature, the abolition of the present system. Our State is the only one in the Union, where that privilege is withheld from the people, and the right reserved to politicians and office-seekers. Why so? Is it because our Legislature is composed of more wisdom than any other State and the people of less. In the first place, we should be proud to entertain such an exalted opinion of the Legislature; but in the second place, we would be sorry to acknowledge such a State as our home, where the people were not intelligent enough to vote for Governor and Presidential electors. No, such is not the case. The truth is, the people have had too much confidence in their rulers to think for themselves until brought to the precipice of destruction; but recent developments have caused the people to think, speak and act for themselves instead of trusting all to politicians. The crisis of last summer opened the eyes of many, and caused a watch of suspicion to be placed over the rulers of the State affairs. It has been argued that in giving the election of President and Vice President to the people, that it would be attended with too much inconvenience! We should like to know, if calling an extra-session of the Legislature is not attended with equal inconvenience as well as an additional tax to the people without any advantage, except gratifying the whims of designing politicians an demagogues? How is it in the election of the Governor? Why, he is chosen, elected and installed in office with reigns in his hands before the people know who are the aspirants. All done by a few scheming politicians. Why is it done? Is it because the people are considered too stupid and not intelligent enough to cast a vote for a man capable of discharging the duties of the office? or is it too much trouble to the people to meet biennially at the ballot box of the precinct and vote for the Chief Magistrate of the State? or is it too Republican like? or is it not aping

enough after the old English customs and aristocratic notions entertained and cherished by many of the lineal descendants. With these suggestions, we leave the subject, with a determination to throw our small mite into the scales whenever opportunity offers. Relying on the intelligence of the voters in selecting representatives, fit and capable of reforming the evils of which we have such just cause of complaint.

### From the Camden Journal.

**Popular Elections.** We are no Unionist, yet, there are some things in our State Government which we should like to see changed. For instance the present mode of electing Electors for President and Vice President, subjects the State to unnecessary expense, and inconvenience.—Every four years an extra session of the Legislature must be held for this special purpose, or the vote of the State is lost. This of course subjects us to a heavy expense, and there is no necessity for it.

The Legislature must either alter the time of its sitting, call an extra session, lose the vote of the State, or give the election to the people, where of right it belongs. It may be urged in behalf of the present mode, that all these difficulties may be removed by altering the time of the meeting of the Legislature. This would subject us to inconveniences also, and reasons may be shown why this change should not be made. We do not however, upon the plea of inconvenience to the State, or from pecuniary considerations, urge a change; these are only collateral reasons, and do not involve in themselves any importance, or touch the principle. We are in favor of committing to the hands of the people the management of this business, from motives of a higher character than that of mere expediency, believing as we do that free suffrage is consonant with the true and genuine principles of liberty, and the groundwork and very basis upon which all republican institutions must rest.

Let the people be educated! Call it by whatever name you may; it is one of our texts, and one too, which we shall ever take pleasure in urging upon the minds of our readers. Call it hobby—be it so, it is a good one. The people should read, think, and act for themselves. How deplorable, and humiliating is the ignorance of the masses upon the most common and simple matters of our government.—The people seem contented to leave the decision of all these matters in the hand of others, who think and act without direct reference, in too many cases, to the good of those whom they represent. "A liberal and enlightened public opinion, whose approbation is the result of mature wisdom, and whose just condemnation is tempered with generosity." This is the idea—a just sentiment, which can only result from the people being educated. We attribute much of the want of general intelligence among the people, to the fact nearly all the important elections are taken from them, and given to the Legislature. It may be urged that, by giving these elections to the people, we open the door for demagogues much wider—that influences will be admitted more injurious in their effects upon society. We think not; a word in reply will suffice for this objection.—Those who are disposed, may now act the part of demagogues to a much greater extent—they can deceive the people much more effectually than they could under the plan we propose.

It is urged, that already too many elections are in the hands of the people, we ask where can this power more properly rest? To deny it, is to strike at once, a blow at the very foundation of all democratic principle, to say that the people are not capable of deciding for themselves. Who then can decide? If such be the case, why let the people say who shall be their Clerks, Sheriffs, Tax Collectors &c? Let others more competent, be delegated with all authority, to do all their thinking and acting for them. Let the people become as pliant clay in the hands of skillful potters, who are to mould and fashion them after their own notions—mere figures, by which the saggacious political arithmetician may make his calculations. The people, if left to the bent of their own inclinations, will be disposed to do right.

The masses of the people of our State, are woefully deficient in knowledge pertaining to our State affairs.—They have never relied upon themselves, but have taken too much for orthodox, because leading men have taught them so. We know of no reason why South Carolina should adhere with such remarkable pertinacity to certain aristocratic notions peculiar to herself, which makes it almost a distinct and isolated State from others, which have the same community of interests, and are identified by common ties of consanguinity and destiny. We

ask, what peculiar benefit have we derived from our singular course? Are we in advance of our compeers in intelligence, happiness or wealth?

Until within a few years, we have been far behind others in every class of enterprise. It is possible that we may yet feel a conscious pride in being Carolinians, yet there is much of which we may not boast. Many of our systems need remodeling, and a general modification might take place, which would result, we doubt not, in good. To make ourselves distastefully intelligible, we are in favor of giving the election of Governor and the electors of President and Vice President to the people.

**WHAT COURSE SHALL WE PURSUE?**—We frequently hear the enquiry, "will the subject of Secession enter into the election?" that is, the approaching election for members of the Legislature. "No, we have had enough of it," is the invariable reply. The feelings of the people, seem to be decidedly against the agitation of the subject. This is right—its discussion would be fruitless as to good, but productive of much evil. In fact, we cannot perceive, how those who have expressed themselves as satisfied with the result of the deliberations of the Convention, in April last, can consistently enter into an excitement and discussion of the subject at this time. In the Convention, both parties united in saying, although South Carolina had sufficient cause to justify her in seceding, that it was not expedient to do so at that time. Has anything turned up, rendering it any more expedient now? Nothing, either in federal legislation, or among the Southern States. The prospects of co-operation, which we presume, more than anything else would add to the expediency of the measure, are certainly no brighter. If then Secession was expedient at that time, it is now, and therefore a discussion of the subject would be useless—a work of supererogation.—*Abbeville Banner.*

**STREET SCENE IN SAN FRANCISCO.**—I wish you could be here, says a late letter to the Boston Traveler, and stroll occasionally through its streets with me. You would, I doubt not, be deeply interested; and many a remark in your peculiar style would be elicited, which would afford me great satisfaction. Promenade, for instance, on Sunday, through our Commercial street, which is the greatest thoroughfare in the city, and extends by the aid of what is called Long wharf, far into the harbor. During this walk you will meet almost every specimen of humanity of which you have ever read or heard; from the aboriginal of our own country to the descendants of Cortez and his followers. Then would the Chinaman call to your mind the picture in your juvenile geography where he is represented with a stick on his shoulder from which is suspended a quantity of rats, cats, or other merchandise, with his closely shaven head, from which depends a long braided queue. Next you will see the dark and villainous looking Lascar, his head surmounted by something resembling a fantastic smoking cap; and numerous interspersed among the crowd, you will hear the chattering of French, German, Italian—in fact, of every nation on earth. Most of the women whom you meet, are the Spanish, Mexican, and Chilean,—hardly ever an American, though frequently French and German.

The Mexicans and the Chileans are for the most part nymphs du pave, educated to their earliest youth. They are called Greasers, and appear in the streets, invariably with a shawl thrown over their heads, and dressed in gay colors. On any day but Sunday you will hear, as you pass along, the clinking of money on the tables in the gambling saloons, which are very numerous and public, and where many innocent young and old men too are victimized and robbed in a few minutes of what it has taken them, perhaps, years of hard toil to acquire. The most elegant saloons in tea city are those where gambling is carried on, and as they appear in the evening, brilliantly illuminated and echoing with the most enchanting music, (for probably no other city in the United States, and few in the old world, can surpass this, in that particular.) it is not to be wondered at that many should be enticed into these roads to ruin.

An Irishman who had just landed, said the first bit of meat he ever ate in this country, was "a roasted potato boiled yesterday; and if you do not believe me, I can show it to you, for I have it in my pocket now."

Down East they put a fellow in jail for swindling. The audacious chap had dried snow and sold it for salt.