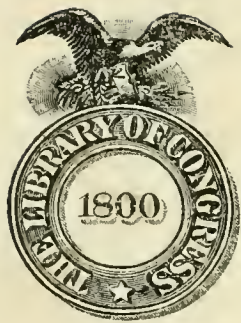


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SPEECH OF HON. ERASTUS BROOKS,

IN THE

Senate, Feb. 7th, 8th, and 13th, 1855,

The Lemmon Slave Case and Slavery—Secret Societies and Oaths—Grounds of Opposition to Mr. Seward—The Common Schools of New York—The Bible in our Schools—The Pure Franchises—A Better System of Naturalization—American Ambassadors Abroad—American Rulers at Home.

WEDNESDAY, February 7, 1855.

Mr. PRESIDENT:—The interest of the occasion has passed. The election of Wm. H. Seward has been consummated, and in the common phrase of the day, I suppose we are to congratulate ourselves that "the country is safe!" The electric wires have borne the news from Albany to the National Capitol and the roar of cannon has proclaimed the result throughout the State. I would not, if I could, mar the joy of those whose hearts have been made glad by the occurrence of yesterday. So far as that act has been consummated in the exercise of a generous friendship I can esteem the sentiment. So far as men are sincere in the avowed conviction that no other man is so fit to represent the State, I can appreciate the feeling which prompts such a discharge of duty, however much I may fail to respect the conviction which prompts such conduct. But so far as men have consented to become the passive instruments of any body, and to sacrifice their own self-respect, and duty to their constituents, they are unworthy of any man's confidence or respect. So far also, as the seductions of flattery and the threats of power have contributed to the end achieved, they who have acted from such considerations carry the deepest punishment in their own bosoms. If such men can be happy, let them rejoice. It seemed to me amidst the riot and revelry of the night past over this election, that there was something like a bitter sarcasm in the music employed to congratulate some of those chiefly instrumental in this result. If music and wine, cheers and the roar of artillery, can satisfy those who turn their backs to their constituents, or if such midnight revelry can stifle the consciences of men, let them be happy.

It was my wish that the public judgment could have met this question in regard to Mr. Seward's election upon its naked merits. I endeavored to persuade those in power here to allow the people to pass their verdict upon the man, and failing in persuasion, I endeavored to provoke his friends in a spirit of defiance to allow the question to go over another year. They had neither nerve nor courage to submit the question to the people of New York. They trembled in remembrance of the popular verdict as it has been demonstrated among the farmers of Orleans, Ontario and Liv-

ingston, since the election of the present Legislature. They knew that this body was elected with but little reference to the U. S. Senatorial question, and that Governor, Lieutenant Governor, all the State Officers, all public questions and all private considerations, had been sacrificed to secure men favorable to Mr. Seward. They knew, too, that men here had been guilty of deep deceit and treachery, that they had proclaimed themselves hostile to Mr. Seward before their election and during the canvass, and that they betrayed the confidence of those who supported them.

The means resorted to, to secure the result which has made many so happy, are such as well may make many blush. A species of political magnetism had pervaded the atmosphere. Men have been tracked from door to door, and house to house, to give a vote which would not have been given, but for the use of such appliances. The political Goths and Vandals, have made a rush upon the Capitol. They have followed men to their chambers. They have feasted them, dined them, supped them, lodged them, coaxed them, and begged, and threatened until many gentlemen, who if they had been left to act upon their own private judgments or upon the will of their constituents have acted in disregard of both. Never in all my life have I seen so humiliating a spectacle as the scenes acted in and around this Capitol within the past few days. Caucus dictation has influenced some. Others who fled from the caucus, were drawn back to the nomination made in caucus. Every one sees, feels, and knows the pressure, and there are those so lost to all self respect, and independence that they have made confession of their weakness. Alas, that party tyranny and discipline should carry men so far.

THE QUESTION BEFORE THE SENATE.

I desire, now, to bring the Senate to the resolutions under consideration. They propose to employ State Counsel upon the Lemmon case.—Will any Senator tell me the precise condition of this suit, or why this resolution is here? I pause for a reply—I receive none. In my judgment, it is here in order to keep up the agitation upon the slave question. The Slaves are free and paid for. The judgment of the court which set them free, is the judgment of the State. The

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act was done in accordance to law, and the act could not have been left undone after the repeal of the nine months' law of 1817, by the act of 1841. The case is not pressed by the State of Virginia, and has hardly been heard from, except for political purposes, since 1852. Why then, I ask again is it here, and action urged upon it from day to day. I have sought information from the highest executive authority of the State, and from the highest judicial authority of the State, and I can learn nothing in the way of the reason or necessity of passing upon such a resolution. The purpose then, which has brought the subject here, is a partizan and political one, and the hope is to keep the community perpetually inflamed upon Slavery issues. In the discussion of Private Bills, of Church Property Bills, and of this Resolve, we have heard but little else from the other side, except what Wm H. Seward has done for the North. He is the only true man Senators can find among all who have represented this State or the free States. Rufus King was placed beside him, among those who have passed from the stage of action, but the Senator, naming Mr. King, forgot that when Mr. Webster proposed a recommendation in Congress, to get rid of the free blacks of the South—the same proposition for which Rufus King urged an appropriation of \$80,000,000—it was opposed by Mr. Seward.—We have had, therefore, if all we hear is true, but one just man in the United States Senate, in the entire history of the State of New York.

But let us see if the North has really been so destitute. Mr. Seward is specially commended for his opposition to the extension of Slavery.—This has been the general sentiment of the North, always. Mr. Webster, a score of times and in a score of places, opposed the extension of Slavery. His opposition may be found in his famous 7th of March speech, so eminently National and Constitutional, but yet strongly against the extension of Slavery. That speech covers the views uttered by Mr. Webster at Niblo's Garden in 1837, where he said "that Slavery was a great moral, social and political evil, and where, on account of Slavery, he opposed the annexation of Texas." Ten years later, at Springfield, Mass, he said "We are to use the first, the last and every occasion which offers to oppose the extension of the Slave power." Similar sentiments were uttered during Mr. Webster's last tour through New York and all the way from Lake Erie to the Hudson. His speeches, whenever he addressed the Senate or public bodies upon the subject, have been in favor of freedom. I acknowledge Mr. Webster to be my teacher upon this subject, and especially in all his Constitutional views upon it. His views are mine. I would give all the guarantees which the Constitution gives, and no more and no less. The Senator from the 26th (Mr. Dickinson), desires some one to rise here and declare "Slavery a National Institution!" He would like, he says, to present such a Senator to Mr. Barnum, and make a public exhibition of him as a living curiosity! There certainly could be but one greater curiosity than this, to be placed at the service of Mr. Barnum, and that would be the

honorable Senator himself, who, rising in his place, calls upon his associates to defend so absurd a proposition. Who, any where, at any time, in the Carolinas, in Georgia, Alabama, Texas, or elsewhere between the Delaware and Rio Grande, has called Slavery a National Institution! No Southern or Northern man, has ever given utterance to a proposition so ridiculous, and yet it has an utterance here, and is answered here, as if somebody defended such an absurdity as a great political truth. No sir, Slavery is a State question and a local question. It has always been treated so in the United States, in England, in France, by jurists at home, by the standard writers on International law, as abundant authorities before me show.—The words Slave and of property in Slaves, were omitted in the Constitution by design, and on appeal from one of the most distinguished of the Virginia delegates (Mr. Madison), in order to avoid the angry discussions which Senators love to create, and I fear for no good purpose. Why sir, what greater regard have these men for the welfare of the negroes than the rest of us? Why do they argue against Slavery here in New York, where there are no Slaves, and upon a proposition which nobody opposes? They put up a man of straw and beat him with wind, in order to agitate and agitate this subject of Slavery, and if possible, more and more to irritate the North against the South and the South against the North.

Mr. President:—If I entertained towards the South, sentiments which have had utterance in the two branches of this Legislature, I would not live in a country where there was Slavery or a South. I would exile myself from my native land forever. I would seek some spot like Robinson Crusoe's Island, or the rock of St. Helena, some solitary spot of earth in mid-ocean, or some mountain top, and there, brooding over the country I had left, and in which I could not live, I would sigh myself away. The golden grains of a Southern harvest, its sheaves of wheat, rich in the fruits of the earth, would present themselves to me only in the sombre hues of Slavery. The tobacco of Virginia, North Carolina and Kentucky, should never pass my lips nor cross my threshold. The rice fields of South Carolina and Georgia, would bring to me a malaria worse than the certain death of those, who, unacclimated, fall asleep and die upon a rice plantation. The sugar of Louisiana, Texas and Florida, would be to me, as acid as vinegar, and as bitter as gall and wormwood. I would go to bed sheetless and shirtless, before I would lie between, or wear apparel or covering made from cotton which grew on a Southern plantation. The South should be to me, not the land of the rice and cane, of the fig and orange, but of the upas tree, and with nothing but deep cimmerian darkness above and below. If I could entertain in my own heart, even for a moment, the thoughts which have utterance here, I would have, if not a country of my own, at least a flag of my own, and there should be no star upon its ground-work to represent the States of Washington, Marion, Oglethorpe or Jackson. It amazes me, that gentlemen in whose breasts must flow

kindly sympathises, can entertain sentiments so hostile towards brethren of their own country, and in a spirit of charity towards these general accusers, I desire to believe they do not mean what they say. I have rarely seen a pro-Slavery man of any party at the North, and I have met with many Anti-Slavery men at the South. You have retarded the Anti Slavery sentiment South. The repeal of the Missouri Compromise, I confess, to have felt as a deep wound upon the country and the whole country, not because of its effect upon Slavery, for I do not believe it will have any effect favorable to that institution, but because it was, in my judgment, an act of bad faith.

SLAVERY AND KNOW NOTHINGISM.

Now, sir, to touch upon another subject, what resemblance or alliance, can there be to warrant the declaration of the Senator from the 27th (Mr Bishop) that there is an alliance between Slavery and "Know Nothingism," as it is called. The most ultra Administration presses of the South, the *Richmond Enquirer* and *Washington Union*, for example, are united with the extreme presses of the North in denouncing the great American movement of the day. And why?—They fear that this country may become harmonised, united, and one in feeling as it is one geographically and under the Constitution. Cease to agitate for Southern Slavery at the South and against Southern Slavery at the North and their vocation is gone.

The Senators from the 26th and 27th, delight to picture forth the horrors of "Know-Nothingism," secrecy and Slavery. Vitality is given to a Virginia law, which is a dead letter, and repealed I believe, because unconstitutional. Let me tell both of these Senators that the election of Mr. Seward gives more joy to the friends of the Administration in Virginia, to-day, than any other event which has transpired within a twelve-month. And why? Not because Mr. Seward is loved there, but because his name is used by politicians as a bugbear to frighten men from their propriety, and because Mr. Seward being elected here, the hope is that that event may help to secure the vote of Virginia for Mr. Wise in the month of April.

We are told, too, and most exultingly here, that there is no Whig party South! No sir, not even such men as John Bell and Mr. Cullom of Tennessee, Col. Hunt of Louisiana, and a score of as true men as ever breathed the breath of life, and who stood by the Missouri Compromise to the bitter end, are Whigs in our estimation.—They are loyal to the Government, National in sentiment, just to the North, and yet not Whigs because not Abolitionists. Nobody is deemed a Whig, now-a-days, whose song is not heard in the paraphrase of

*Slavery the woods,
Slavery the floods,
Slavery the hollow mountains ring.*

SECRET SOCIETIES AND OATHS.

Mr. President:—I come now to speak of other matters which have been made prominent during this discussion.

Gentlemen profess to be alarmed at the ex-

istence of secret societies, and particularly at what are called these "Know-Nothing Associations." Well, sir, if what we hear be true, what secrets have they which have not been promulgated to the four winds of heaven. Is there any thing hidden which has not been revealed? The principles are as well developed as the light of the sun. Every body knows them, and if need be, every body may know their defenders. And who have been among the chief assailants of these organizations? The very men who entered them, who deliberately and voluntarily took upon themselves the obligations of secrecy and of honor, who received their places in this very Legislature as members of these orders, who received support and confidence by means of their pledges, who claimed support on the very ground of these pledges, are the first to break their vows. They betray their constituents without a blush, break their bonds wittingly and purposely, and thus commit the double offence of ingratitude and dishonor. The man, in my judgment, who would violate a pledge thus taken, and held for a long time with profit to himself, would not hesitate to break his oath to support the Constitution. But whence this new born zeal in regard to secret societies? It comes from men who have nothing to say adverse to systems of political caucusing, who belong to central, county, town, ward, and executive political committees, all of whose proceedings are in secret, and all of whose action is purely political. One may be a free and accepted Mason, an Odd Fellow, belong to the Order of United Americans, or Irishmen, or one of the Scotch, Irish, German, French, or other of the secret foreign societies of the country, Orangemen or Ribbonmen, Jacobin or Jesuit, and it is all well. But for native Americans to resist any of the combinations against their country, or to unite upon common measures for the defence of their countrymen, or to seek to reform abuses in the franchise, or to purify the ballot-box, or to inculcate a pure Protestant faith, is looked upon as treasonable. We forget that we, ourselves, are all members of a secret political society, and that on every Wednesday, when the sun is at meridian, as on this day, we exclude the public from our doors, and among ourselves, discuss the characters of men, and receive or banish them from the public service at our own good will and pleasure. Their reputation for life, may depend upon our action here. The Senate of the United States exercises the same power and in the same way, and the additional power of acting with the President of the United States in regard to all treaties among the Indian tribes and with foreign nations. The whole interior exercise of power, with all the State Governments and in the Federal Government, is nearly a sealed book to the public. Every administration from the days of Washington has had voted to it a secret service fund, which is generally used exclusively by the President of the United States, and employed upon secret missions abroad or at home. But Americans may not belong to a secret organization for the protection of their country. Why, sir, George Washington thought it no dishonor to

belong to such an organization, and his oath, written in the word of God, is sacredly preserved. In England to-day, as among the most precious memorials of the survivors of the secret order of which he was a member. Yes sir, and he kept his oath of secrecy. When the 28th regiment of the mother country was in the United States, a regiment at one time commanded by the gallant Wolfe, at the siege of Quebec, George Washington held some small command in it. There was a secret order in the regiment, and Washington was one of that order. The war of the revolution separated him from his companions, but not from his oath. He found himself opposed to the very troops with whom he had formerly served. The British were defeated, and the emblems of the lodge were taken in a chest among the trophies of the battle. The bible was there on which he had sworn his masonic oath, and chest, emblems, bible, and all, were promptly returned by him to the foe, with all the honors of war. The chest was a second time captured by him, and a second time returned in the same handsome and delicate manner. *Washington kept his oath*, and "the lodge of virtue" loved him for it as a friend and brother, and they revere his memory as tenderly to-day, as their predecessors honored it when Washington was alive. But Senators here are alarmed upon the subject of oaths. Let them be assured that no true American would ever take any political oath, except to serve his country with fidelity. Let them rather be alarmed for those whose obligations, like a certain class of marriage vows, have "proved as false as dicers' oaths." The Constitution makes provisions for the punishment of treason against the State and for the manner of conducting the trial. But there is no written law for the punishment of moral treason. Yet in the sight of God and man, the offence is the same. It seems to me, sir, that the man who would voluntarily take an obligation, knowing what it was, receiving marked and positive benefits from it, elevated perchance, to high official position by his very association in, and support from such an organization, nominated by it for public office, elected by it to public office, receiving still higher benefits when in public office, by silence, acquiescence or positive assurance that he was true to his original faith, and would be true to those who had reposed confidence in him as a man, as a friend and a brother, and who would then break all these solemn vows from fear or favor, or otherwise, has reached the highest degradation and the lowest disgrace. He is ready to commit the unpardonable sin of ingratitude, and among all honorable men, there can be no greater offence than this.

There is no danger, Mr. President, that the measures of any secret political organization in this country, will not be known, and the debates of the present session abundantly testify to the truth of this. Still less is there any danger that Americans will prove unfaithful to America. They will never take an oath of enmity to their country or in violation of the Constitution of the State they serve, or the Government of which they are citizens. They will nev-

er do injustice to men of any faith or country.— I imagine, sir, that those who make and give pledges in these organizations are without coercion, and just as free to retrace their steps, as they were to take them. I suppose the door out is as plain as the door in, but they cannot enter to betray, and if they remain they must be true to those to whom they are bound, and if they leave they cannot, as honorable men, betray those whom they leave behind, and whose secrets they have secured.

GROUND OF OPPOSITION TO MR. SEWARD.

MR. PRESIDENT:—My opposition to Mr. Seward arises, not mainly or materially from his extreme Anti-Slavery opinions, nor alone from the dangerous doctrines to the civil law and Constitution which have been the fruits of his higher law sentiment as uttered in Ohio and in the United States Senate. There are other and older offences, some of them personal towards public men and private citizens, and some of them official and bearing upon the great public questions of the country. Towards Mr. Seward personally, I have no feelings of animosity. I admire his abilities. I have been instructed by his labors, and I wish him in all good works all honor and all prosperity. I war against many of his opinions and I remember with regret and condemnation many of his public services and private acts as the Governor of this State. Senators here would censure almost any other public man holding the precise views of Mr. Seward upon the Slave question. They have declared for the abridgment of Slave territory without qualification. They have indulged in unsparing censure towards all those entertaining any opinion short of this. They would be horrified if I were to tell them in my place here to-day, as I shall, that Mr. Seward declared his readiness, under certain contingencies, to admit even *California as a Slave State*, California without Slaves under the Mexican law, and free territory by the local law; but it is true nevertheless. I read from Mr. Seward's revised speech delivered in the Senate of the United States on the 9th of March, 1850, and headed "California, Union and Liberty." On the 4th page, 2d column, of this speech I read:—

MR. SEWARD—* * * California ought to come in, being a free State; and under the circumstances of her conquest, her compact, her abandonment, her justifiable and necessary establishment of a Constitution, and the inevitable dismemberment of the empire, consequent upon her rejection, I should have voted for her admission even if she had come as a Slave State.

MR. FOOTE, of Miss.—Will the honorable Senator allow me to ask him if the Senate is to understand him as saying that he would vote for the admission of California, if she came here seeking admission as a Slave State.

MR. SEWARD—I reply as I said before, that even if California had come as a Slave State, yet coming under the extraordinary circumstances I have described, and in view of the consequences of a dismemberment of the empire consequent upon her rejection I should have voted for her admission, even though she had come as a Slave State.— But I would not have voted for her admission otherwise."

Here then, Mr. Seward is upon the record, in a certain contingency, for the admission of a Slave State and for the extension of Slavery. What does the Senator from the 27th think of that?

MR. BISHOP—Mr. Seward meant if the people came with a Constitution having Slavery.

MR. BROOKS—Precisely so. Now I am not condemning Mr. Seward's course in this matter and

upon this subject, but the inconsistency of his advocates here. They would not support any man, or repose confidence in any man, who, under any contingency, would consent to vote for the admission of a Slave State. But behold how ready they are to excuse their Northern Idol now, when out of their own mouths he condemns their own faith!

The same admission is distinctly made again and again, on the 7th page of the same speech. "When the States are once formed," he says, "they have a right to come in as Free or Slave States, according to their own choice." And again in reply to Mr. Foote, he remarks, "I said *I would have voted for the admission of California, even as a Slave State, &c.*" Again, on the 9th page, last paragraph, he says, very inconsistently it appears to me, considering what has gone before, "Congress may admit new States; and, since Congress may admit, it follows that *Congress may reject new States.*" That is, Congress may reject a State, but not for Slavery!

Now sir, I commend Governor Seward's doctrine on this point, to some of his over zealous supporters in this Chamber. I commend his moderation, also, as set forth in a letter written to James Watson Webb, six years ago, when Mr. Seward was before the Legislature for his first election to the United States Senate. There, he pledged himself to Col. Webb, and through him to the Legislature, that he would not enter upon a useless agitation of the subject of Slavery.— He says, and I especially commend what he says to the Senator from the 26th:

"The Union of these States is indispensable, in my judgment, to the accomplishment of any good, even in regard to the institution of Slavery. * * * I am in favor, as I think every Whig is, of circumscribing Slavery within its present bounds. * * * I shall labor by free and kind and peaceful discussion to form public opinion and direct it to a Constitutional, careful, and peaceful removal of it. But that removal must be through the agency of those only to whom its responsibilities belong, and the Constitutional barriers which protect the Slave States, in the exclusive right to discharge those responsibilities will be as sacred in my regard as those which protect the Free States in their rights."

This, sir, was a letter written to secure the votes of National Whigs, but I commend its tone and spirit to the peculiar disciples of the author.

Sir, my opposition to Mr. Seward has been ardent and consistent for fourteen years, and I have found many reasons, I am sorry to say of a public character, for persevering in it without abatement to the end. I have regarded him as a man of large influence and as one who has not hesitated to use it in disseminating very low principles of political morality. I have thought that he took pleasure in arraying class against class and in the inculcation of opinions of a radical and dangerous character. Whatever his ultimate views or ends, he has not hesitated to level downward and to burrow low in order to upheave the slumbering masses and to excite their deepest passions. He has had no high mark and standard for men to point to as the

pole star of truth and duty, but with artful words, and I fear with no elevated ideas of what a public man ought to do in the way of example, he has addressed himself to classes and castes.— He has not hesitated to put shame upon his own countrymen, and honor to those of foreign birth, and to believe and promulgate calumnies against Americans, in order to show his partiality for Irishmen. I refer to his Auburn letter, dated June 28th, 1844, and addressed to John Kilcher, Dennis Halpin, and P. McQuade, wherein he charges "*Native American citizens*" with having fired dwellings, Libraries, Hospitals, Churches occupied by a community of Irishmen, and Irishwomen, and Irish children, and in the night time and with sword and bayonet in hand! It was a libel upon his countrymen, and such an one as ought to crimson the cheek of every man who supports him within the sound of my voice, and hear how easy he can extenuate the wrongs of Irishmen, while so ready to send sporting upon the wings of the wind, these cruel assaults upon "*Native American citizens.*" They "tell me," he says, "that in Philadelphia some Irishmen fired on a meeting assembled for political discussion. *It may be so, but I suspend my judgment; it is the strong who accuse the weak.* If however, Irishmen did so invade the rights of citizens they committed a crime against Liberty and law, which not even their just complaints against Native Americans intolerance and proscription can in the least degree palliate or excuse."

Then follows a renewed assault of harsh epithets upon Native Americans, in the full and willing belief that all that has been said against them is true, and finally those "young friends of Ireland," as they are addressed are told:—

"Whoever else fails you, be assured that I am firm, and true, and faithful. Hold on still to the truths asserted in the Declaration of Independence, that all men are born free and equal, and to the consequent truth that all men have an *inalienable right to free suffrage, as a condition of submission to authority.*

* * * "The ruins of St. Augustine will prove the grave of intolerance in America. The blackened walls which remain bear an appropriate epitaph: "The Lord seeth." The voice of O'Connell will gather tones, and the velocity of electricity coming through the gates of Newgate. We shall yet see the Liberator of Ireland upon the wool sack in College Green," &c.

His letter to St. Patrick's Society in this city in 1844, declaring all to be equal in natural rights—and declaring that any where, in church and in state and in the political arena, in favor and in reproach he was the friend of Ireland, was of the same anti-American character.

With such sentiments from such a source, no one need wonder at the remark made in this Chamber that Americans alone are the authors of all the mobs in the United States. Prophecy and appeal seem, however, in this case of no avail; but what a voluntary record of shame to Americans to win favor from Irishmen. No wonder that the author of such a letter could cry shame to Ireland for erecting a monument to William Prince of Orange. Let me quote once more from

his public speeches, wherein he volunteers to assail the American movement and to speak as he did ten years before, for Ireland against America. He says:—

“ Emboldened by popular forbearance the spirit of proscription has approached Congress with a demand for the full disfranchisement in America, of all men not born on the American Soil. I say disfranchisement, for 21 years residence, which is now insisted on as a condition of naturalization, would be virtual disfranchisement. Exiles of Ireland for freedom and for conscience sake you are justly alarmed and grieved by such wrongs in the land to which you were invited as an Asylum.”

I wish now to give another reason for my opposition to Mr. Seward. I do not think he was a true friend to Henry Clay, or that he gave him an honest, hearty and generous support when before the people in 1844, as the Whig candidate for President of the United States. It was a support of a cold, heartless and indifferent kind on his part, and that coldness and indifference was participated in by many of Mr. Seward's friends in New York, and was among the chief causes which lost him the vote of this State, and the majority of the electoral votes of the country. I repeat, sir, in answer to the inquiry of the Senator from the 26th, that Mr. Seward was no true friend of Mr. Clay, and that nobody understood this better than Mr. Clay himself, for with many others, who could be named, in his life time, he spoke freely to me of Mr. Seward's policy and of his dislike to the man.

Nor can I forget Mr. Seward's conduct as Governor of New York, to Hiram Ketchum, one of my constituents, and my friend, a gentleman of intelligence and honor, and respected by all who know him. He had been a Whig from the start. He had served his party with all the fidelity of a loyal partizan. He had also been a faithful member of the Public School Society of New York. He had, for many years, served that great interest with marked ability and great discretion. His fellow citizens had the utmost confidence in his integrity and capacity, and some few of them petitioned Gov. Seward to nominate Hiram Ketchum to the office, then much more lucrative than at present, of Circuit Judge. Mr. Ketchum was told by Gov. Seward, in person, in the executive chamber, unsolicited and unasked, that there was his appointment, pointing to a sealed package, and that it would be sent to the Senate. Well, sir, it was sent to the Senate. In the meantime, Mr. Ketchum, who was always too much of a man to be a wily politician, came to Albany to oppose the attempted innovations upon the schools of New York. He was heard before a select committee of the Senate. He spoke in opposition to the report, and bill prepared by the then Secretary of State, and that bill, mainly under Mr. Ketchum's influence, was defeated here in the Senate. For this act, executed in accordance with public sentiment in the city and State, for this free speech from a trustee of one of the Public Schools for twenty-five years, for this attempt to prevent a division of the

School Funds, and the destruction of all that was mainly useful and beneficial in our Common School system, Mr. Ketchum was struck down by Gov. Seward! His *nomination was withdrawn from the Senate by Gov. Seward* in obedience to the demand of the Romish Hierarchy, and no reason was ever given him or his friends for the act. If it was done under this instigation of Roman Catholic influence, as I believe, or for party purposes, it was a most unmanly and ungenerous act. It was punishing a man for doing that, for all the children of New York, and all the parents of New York, which Bishop Hughes was doing or desired to be done for the Catholics alone. It was striking at a Protestant for his American opinions, and gratifying and rewarding a Catholic for sectarian opinions. From that day and that act, opposition to Gov. Seward, has grown with my growth and strengthened with my strength,

But the end is not yet. The whole political element of the Seward party proper and of its leader, has been one of political depression and corruption. It has had a central power here, at the seat of Government as bad, and as potent for evil, as that of the old Albany Regency. It has pensioned presses supported by the Legislature, and pensioned partizans paid in public office, and the latter have swarmed here like locusts pending the discussion of this Senatorial question. The work of corruption commenced years ago, when Gov. Seward attempted to defeat, and as I have understood, actually drew up a veto message to the REGISTRY LAW, a law which he opposed vehemently, and because it bore hard upon foreigners who were not willing, even to show themselves to be naturalized citizens under the liberal law of a five years' residence in the United States. That law aimed at an honest franchise and a pure ballot-box, and without a Registry Law, we could not have either in New York.

These are my reasons, in part, for opposing Gov. Seward; but I have a still longer and more important record against him. I might allude to the double part acted by his confidential friends towards Gen. Taylor, when the latter was a candidate for the Presidency. I might allude to a public meeting called in the city of Albany, in the summer of 1848 for that very purpose.

Mr. DICKINSON. It was a meeting of Silver Grays.

Mr. BROOKS. No sir.

Mr. DICKINSON. Yes sir. John A. Collier was the man.

Mr. BROOKS. The Senator has lost his reckoning. He is in error, as I can show, and just as unjust to “the Silver Grays,” as he was when yesterday he called Mr. Ullmann “a pirate” and “a hypocrite.” Such epithets sounded most harshly upon my ears. Mr. Ullmann received the votes of more than 122,000 of the freemen of New York, for the highest office in the gift of the people of the State. Such epithets applied to him, are a reflection and assault upon their good sense and honesty. But I suppose the Senator spoke in a Pickwickian sense, for he told us afterwards that Mr. Ullmann might be a gentleman in private life. “A pirate and

hypocrite," and yet a gentleman! It is written by somebody, that "the Prince of Darkness is a gentleman," and I suppose the Senator only meant that Mr. Ullmann was a devil.

But to go on with my record in regard to Gov. Seward; let me quote the following from his published works:—

SCHOOLS FOR THE CHILDREN OF FOREIGNERS.

"The children of foreigners, found in great numbers in our populous cities, and towns, and in the vicinity of our public works, are too often deprived of our system of public education in consequence of prejudices arising from difference of language or religion. It ought never to be forgotten that the public welfare is as deeply concerned in their education, as in that of our own children. I do not hesitate, therefore, to recommend the establishment of schools in which they may be instructed by teachers, speaking the same language with themselves and professing the same faith."

OPINIONS UNCHANGED.

"Whatever may have been thought heretofore, I can afford now, at least, to be frank and honest. I re-affirm all I have before promulgated concerning the policy of this country, in regard to foreigners, and the education of their children. Moreover, I invite all who may take the trouble to look through the records of my public action and to institute an inquiry into my private correspondence and conversation, and if a word or thought inconsistent with the public opinions I have expressed, shall be produced, I shall cheerfully acknowledge the justice of those who temporarily delay the accomplishment of the great public measures I advocate, by questioning the sincerity with which they have been recommended."

THE RIGHT OF SUFFRAGE TO ALL WHO ASK IT.

"I am of opinion that it would be wise to remove this and other obstructions to naturalization and believe it would be better for the permanent interest of the country to confer the right of suffrage upon *all who ask it*, and who have not rendered themselves unworthy of it, by crime, after a period of residence *less than that prescribed by the naturalization laws.*"

Upon these topics, but mainly upon the Common School System of New York, I propose to address the Senate briefly to-morrow.

THURSDAY, February 8th.

The special order having been announced at 12 o'clock,

Mr. BROOKS said: When I was upon the floor yesterday, Mr. President, in the course of some general remarks upon State politics, I alluded to the conduct of certain leading politicians in this city, so called Whigs, who endeavored to defeat General Taylor, after his nomination at a public meeting in this city. My motive was to contrast that act of hostility towards the Whig Candidate for the Presidency, with the flattery and fawning which followed the President in person after he was inaugurated and clothed with high executive power and patronage, and I should be glad to

picture some of the scenes in this Senate which transpired at Washington during the brief, but eventful months of General Taylor's public service. Suffice it, for the present, that I offer proof here as to the truth of all I did assert. I said that a public meeting was called in this city by that class of Whigs known as Mr. Seward's peculiar friends, and that it was called by them from a feeling of hostility to General Taylor. The Senator from the 26th said "No;" I said "Yes," and there the question was left for the night. Now, Sir, in the *Evening Journal* of August 28th, 1848, there is the correspondence of Wm. Bull Pringle, President of a South Carolina Convention tendering General Taylor a nomination, and General Taylor's acceptance of the same. The comments of the editor of the *Journal* will be found with the correspondence.

In the same number of the *Journal* this also appears:

"It is due to Mr. Fillmore to say that the meeting on Saturday evening, (over which Judge Parmelee presided,) was called without his advice or approval. * * * And finally, to prevent misapprehension, it should be known that *we* alone are responsible for the meeting of Saturday evening."

The Tuesday following, August 29th, 1848, an adjourned meeting was had at the Hall of the Capitol, Judge Parmelee, the present Mayor, presiding. Mr. Collier chairman of the committee on Resolutions addressed the meeting for half an hour *deprecating hasty action*, and stated he could not hesitate between General Taylor and General Cass, who was a Loco Foco of the worst casto, and Martin Van Buren."

Sir, This is the record, and it answers the remark of one of Mr. Seward's friends here that Silver Grays had any thing to do with getting up this Albany meeting to defeat General Taylor's election.

But, Sir, the end is not yet. This Anti-Taylor Meeting originated in the *Journal* office of this city. One of its Editors was busy in circulating the posters or circulars for such a meeting on the Saturday afternoon of the evening on which the meeting was held. The Editor-in-chief had prepared Resolutions opposed to General Taylor, and they were in more than one man's hands during the evening. The meeting was attended by Mr. Collier and some other National Whigs in order to prevent the execution of the purpose for which it was called. In the mean time the originator of the meeting went to Troy, and was there upon the Sabbath, as I have been assured, begging the Whigs of Troy, one of them I think now in Congress, and one of them an ex-Speaker of the Assembly, to get up a meeting opposed to General Taylor! It was the Silver Gray Whigs of this and of that city, who opposed this nefarious scheme to defeat General Taylor, and with him of course Mr. Fillmore.

THE COMMON SCHOOLS.

Mr. PRESIDENT.—I come now as promised, to our Public Schools. The Common Schools of the United States are the glory of our land, and the chief corner stone of the Republic. The Pilgrim Fathers after they had formed their

Constitution on board the *May Flower* and made provisions for the inculcation of a pure Protestant faith on the basis of the Bible, made provision for the establishment of Common Schools. They left the old world where the Church and State were one, to secure both the freedom of religious worship, and the blessings of civil liberty. On the banks of the Kennebec, at Plymouth, on the Connecticut, the Narraganset, all over New England, they made provision for a Common School in every town and for a Grammar School in every County. In both the Old Colonies of Plymouth and Massachusetts Bay, the decree was that if a child over sixteen and under twenty one years committed a certain capital offence should be allowed to arrest judgment upon himself, by showing that his parents had neglected his education. Even in Ireland, from which Country it has been said by some, the Red men first found their way to this Continent, the Courts made provision that when a child committed an offence, judicial investigation should be had as to the fact whether it had received a proper education, and if not, the child was set free and parents delivered up to punishment.

I see before me the Pilgrim Band in old Massachusetts, as they are pictured in the beautiful song of Mrs. Hemans. I see the breaking waves, the rock bound coast, the stormy sky and amidst the music of the roaring spray I hear their anthems of praise to Almighty God.

"Amidst the storms they sang,
And the stars heard and the sea,
And the sounding aisles of the dim woods rang,
To the anthems of the Free."

The Bible was their oracle, the Church their shrine, and the School House their secular sanctuary. The face of Nature was bleak and forbidding, but their hearts were warm, and devoted to religion and learning. In the full freedom to worship God they found compensation for all the hardships of winter and the solitude of exile.

New York has copied much of her school system from New England, until to-day it is unsurpassed, and the brightest jewel in the crown which constitutes her civic glory. If for one thing more than another, she deserves to be called the Empire State, and to wear upon that escutcheon the proud word *Excelsior*, it is for her Free Schools. Her political history upon this subject has been almost a continued tribute of praise. Education was among the subjects considered by the first Legislature under the Constitution. George Clinton, one of our most honored public men, in the name of the Supreme Being, asked the Legislature to aid in the revival and encouragement of Seminaries of learning. In 1795, and sixty years ago next April, an act was passed for the encouragement of Public Schools, and twenty thousand dollars was tendered annually as the first State offering for the education of the poor children of the State.—The law provided that they should be educated in whatever branches of useful knowledge were necessary to complete a good English education. Secular knowledge, as distinguished from sectarian knowledge was the germ of our present beneficent system of education. In 1801 the State resorted to Lotteries and four were established in the State, and in the name of lite-

rature in the expectation that streams of knowledge would freely flow from this impure fountain. In the mean time Governors Clinton, and Lewis, and Tompkins, each in the name of Religion, and Liberty, for the sake of good Government and good morals, and on behalf of the welfare of the rising generation entreated the Legislature to deliberate wisely and act promptly for the free diffusion of knowledge all over the State. Fifty years ago next April the system found a platform to stand upon and the foundation has been made broader and stronger from that day to the present. In 1805 the proceeds from the sales of half a million of acres of public land were devoted to school purposes, and around this nucleus has been gathered and added the proceeds of Lotteries, fees from courts, stocks of banks and various aggregations until the \$20,000 appropriated in 1795 have become a fund of several millions of dollars. In 1811 Governor Tompkins, acting upon the idea of Montesquieu that in a republic education must be nationalized, pressed the subject home still more earnestly upon the Legislature, and then in the midst of the war, was passed the act appointing five commissioners for the establishment of Common Schools. One year later their report was adopted and New York commenced the improvement of a system which now seems to be almost perfect. These commissioners urged the employment of Teachers prepared for the inculcation of truth and virtue and gifted with all other qualifications which would enable them to act the part of good instructors. Upon the subject of books they suggested in language which has my hearty concurrence, that the reading of the Bible in Schools might be salutary. "It should be regarded," say they, "as a book intended for literary improvement not merely, but as inculcating great and indispensable moral truths also." It was then the custom of the New York Free School in my own city to have select chapters read at the opening of the School in the morning and at the close of the School service in the afternoon. "This," say the Commissioners "is deemed the best mode of preserving the religious regard which is due to the sacred writings." May the day never come when in New York it shall be deemed unlawful to read the Bible in our Public Schools. From 1812 to 1824 our School system went on improving. New York city was not only ready to meet the tax imposed for School purposes, but she even petitioned to have additional taxes imposed upon her citizens for the education of her poor, when permitted to dispose of her own School revenues. A direct tax was laid for school purposes, and in 1814 a law passed compelling all the towns and counties of the State to impose a tax upon themselves equal to the amount received from the School fund. New York, under the act of 1824 raised in 1838, \$140,000 for the city Schools, \$34,000 of which was paid under the compulsory system she had voluntarily imposed upon herself for a good purpose.

But the law of 1824 did not suit the Roman Catholic Bishop of New York, and it did not suit Mr Seward, and hence the difficulties which arose in 1840. Under the previous state of things

in the city as administered by the Public School Society, composed of the Clintons, the Bleeckers,, the Trimbles, the Rutgers, the Ketchums, the Grinnells, and some of the best men in the city, the funds had been appropriated to the African, Economical and Orphan Asylum Schools of the city, and to such of the incorporated religious societies in the city as should establish religious societies which schools should receive in proportion to the number of scholars between the ages of 14 and 17 years, and taught therein without charge. The Bethel Baptist church by a special act, passed in 1817, received special benefits, and there was under that act good cause for apprehending that the fund would be used for sectarian purposes. The law on this ground was repealed and the Catholics joined in the call for repeal, which was effected in 1823. The discussion in New York and Albany resulted in an act giving the disposal of the city School fund to the Common Council of the city. The Common Council heard all sides, and very wisely, in my judgment voted in 1824 to exclude all religious corporations.

Then came the struggle of 1840, when the Roman Catholic Bishop entered the arena to make open war upon our schools. He and his associates first appeared before the Common Council, and then at Albany. They were beaten in both places, and in this city especially, notwithstanding the exertion used by Governor Seward against the Public School society, and in behalf of Bishop Hughes. Both the city and State authorities were appealed to, to destroy one of the most beneficial systems of free and equal education that ever honored and exalted a public body. I propose to consider what these measures were; and begin with the following extracts from the memorials of the School society to the New York Legislature, which represented the state of things which existed prior to 1840.

CONDITION OF THE CITY SCHOOLS IN 1852.

* * * "The Free Schools under our care are open to all religious denominations.—No distinction of sect or name is known in admitting scholars. The government of the State, in a spirit of wisdom and munificence, has made a liberal annual allowance towards sustaining the expenses of their education, and if our income exceeds the expenditures, the surplus is appropriated towards erecting buildings for Schools, which are the property of the public, for the perpetual reception of indigent children. Five houses have already been constructed, principally by the aid of private donations, in the different parts of the City of New York. They constitute a real estate which will be held in perpetuity for the benefit of the lower classes of the community, and what may be estimated at the value of sixty thousand dollars."

* * * "About three years ago, the Society for the prevention of Pauperism in the city of New York, made an Annual Report, in which it was stated, among other things, that there were about eight thousand poor children in this Metropolis, who were growing up destitute of instruction."

* * * "Your memorialists deem it proper to state, that the Free School Society of New York, is composed of more than six hundred of the most respectable citizens, and that religious distinctions are unknown in their constitution. For seventeen years have they prosecuted the grand design of their institution with ardor and success. They have contracted debts and incurred heavy responsibilities on many occasions."

We come now to the opposition to the School law.

ROMAN CATHOLIC PRAYER TO THE NEW YORK COMMON COUNCIL.

* * * "Your petitioners, therefore, pray that your Honorable Body will be pleased to designate as among the Schools entitled to participate in the Common School Fund upon complying with the requirements of the law, and the ordinances of the corporation of the city, or for such other relief, as to your Honorable Body shall seem meet. St. Patrick's School, St. Peter's School, St. Mary's School, St. Joseph's School, St. James's School, St. Nicholas' School, Transfiguration Church School, and St. John's School."

REMONSTRANCES TO THIS PRAYER FROM THE TRUSTEES OF THE PUBLIC SCHOOL SOCIETY.

* * * "With the religious opinions of the denomination of christians referred to, your remonstrants have nothing to do. In opposing the claims of the Roman Catholic, and several other Churches, to the School money, they have confined their remarks to the broad general grounds, alike applicable to all."

* * * "It will thus be seen, that the charge made in the petition of the Roman Catholics, that such of their children as have attended the Public Schools are generally, and at an early age, imbued with a principle, which they impute to a portion of the Trustees, falls to the ground, and is proved to be unfounded, as it is illiberal and ungenerous."

* * * "The subject of objectionable matter in the books used in the Public Schools, is so fully discussed in the papers, now submitted to your Honorable body, that little more would seem to be called for under this head.—Finding their strenuous and long continued efforts to induce the Catholic clergy to unite in an expurgation of the books unavailing, the Trustees commenced the work with them, and it is now nearly completed. If anything remains to which the petitioners can take exception, no censure can, by possibility, attach to your remonstrances; and the Trustees assert with confidence, that if any has escaped them, there is now less matter objectionable to the Roman Catholics, to be found in the books used in the Public Schools, than in those of any other Seminary of learning, either public or private, within this State."

Here was the petition, and open to the Common Council, and which resulted in the defeat of the petitioners. Then came the appeal to the Legislature in a Sectarian form, and in a petition which said:—

"Your memorialists being members of the

Catholic Church, and connected with the several Catholic congregations in the city of New York, would respectfully represent to your Honorable body, &c."

The complaints were the same as in the city, and resulted in the following

PROPOSITION ON BEHALF OF THE SCHOOL SOCIETY.

"In compliance with the request of the Committee of the Board of Aldermen, the undersigned, Committee of the New York Public School Society, submit the following propositions as a basis of a compromise with their Roman Catholic fellow citizens, on the subject of the Public Schools; which propositions they are willing to support before the Trustees of the Society, and which they believe will be sanctioned by that Board.

The Trustees of the New York Public School Society will remove from the class-books in the school, all matters which may be pointed out as offensive to their Roman Catholic fellow citizens, should anything objectionable yet remain in them."

* * * * *

"Every effort will be made by the Trustees of the Public School Society, to prevent any occurrences in the schools which might be calculated to wound the feelings of Roman Catholic children or to impair their confidence in, or diminish their respect for the religion of their parents. Anxious to keep open every avenue to such an arrangement as will lead to a general attendance of the Roman Catholic children at the Public Schools, and fully aware that some things may have escaped their observation which might be modified without violation of the conscientious rights of others, the undersigned wish it to be distinctly understood, that in offering the foregoing propositions, as the basis of an arrangement, it is not intended to exclude other propositions which the Roman Catholics may make, provided they do not interfere with the principles by which the Trustees feel themselves bound." * * * *

All this was not satisfactory. There had been all this expurgation of books, and after a fashion which ought to have satisfied the most relentless censor of the Press, and the most bigoted devotee of the Romish Church. Books had been banished from the Libraries, and black lines drawn around objectionable passages in school books, after the fashion of the expunging resolutions in the United States Senate. Pages were pasted together and stars inserted, and history made a blank of, and a lie, in order to satisfy the complaints and bring the Irish children within the Public Schools. Even a passage from one of the brilliant speeches of Lord Chatham was blotted out because it alluded to Papal tyranny, as in this country and England freemen are accustomed every day to speak of the despotism, wickedness or imbecility of their public servants. But all this was struck out in a spirit of compromise, and in the hope of persuading the Irish Catholics to send their children to the Public Schools, as most of them would have done but for the tyranny of their Priests.

And what was the ground of complaint? It was that the Bible was read in our Schools,—

that children of all denominations were taught under the same roof,—that American and Foreign born boys and girls, and boys and girls of American and Foreign born parents were placed on an equality, taught by the same teachers, instructed from the same books, supported from the same School Fund. What was good enough for a poor American boy was not good enough for an Irish child. He must have a School of his own, or as Governor Seward in his message says, "Teachers speaking the same language with themselves, and professing the same faith!" What would such a School be but a Romish School, a Sectarian School, an Irish or a German Catholic School, and that supported by American Protestants. No, Sir. The law of perfect equality, forbidding sectarianism, and which knew no sects, no creeds beyond the plain letter of the Bible, was not satisfactory to Bishop Hughes. Children were taught their commandments: "Thou shalt not lie," "Thou shalt not steal," "Thou shalt not bear false witness," &c., and this, in 1840-'41, was called sectarianism. The Bible was offensive in itself, and the wish was to banish it from the presence of children, as it is now banished even from Catholic Sabbath schools, under the plea that the teachings of the Bible cannot be comprehended. Abstruse science and frivolous fiction could be comprehended, but not the simplest truths of love, repentance, forgiveness and faith.

Rather than have no Bible in our Schools, I would see the Douay Catholic Bible there in the hands of judicious teachers, even with all the marginal notes concerning feasts, fasts, penance, transubstantiation, &c. In the hands of true Christian Teachers, obliged to decide between no Bible and the detested Rhemish Testament, which I am glad to see disowned by Arch Bishop Hughes, I would accept the latter, and seek to remember the good of the text and forget the superstitions and brutalities of the comments. All that Protestants have ever asked for is the reading of the Bible in our schools without note or comment, and the inculcation of such general religious truths of love to God and man, obedience to duty, respect for the truth and integrity as are accepted by members of every denomination of Christians and even by nearly all practical unbelievers in religious truth.

I repeat, Sir, it was for defending this great idea of a free and equal Education for all and for free speech and a manful discharge of duty to the Free Schools of the City of New York that HIRAM KETCHUM was personally and publicly wronged by Governor Seward here in the Senate of New York. He had been largely instrumental in saving the Schools in the city. He had resisted the innovations attempted here and sanctioned by high Executive authority. He had defeated the Bishop of New York who had threatened to overthrow the Whig party unless one of its most distinguished members was punished. The sacrifice was demanded from Governor Seward and it was made, and without one word of apology or explanation to the man selected as a victim to priestly vengeance.

It was then Bishop Hughes used both the altar and the forum to conduct the strife against

the Free School System of New York. He became a Politician and night after night harangued the Irish Catholics against Protestants, and all men who were advocates of our Public Schools. He wooed his People with the zeal of a Loyola and threatened them as a Pontiff.

Let me recall some of the occurrences which transpired at Carroll Hall and throughout the city in 1841. We were on the eve of an important election. The Roman Catholics had their anti-School candidates, and from an extra of the *Freeman's Journal*, dated November 1, 1841, I read the following specimen of Bishop Hughes' speech and of the audience whom he addressed:

EXTRACT FROM BISHOP HUGHES.

"I will now require the Secretary to read the names placed on the ticket, of that ticket I have approved. It presents the names of the only friends we could find already before the public, and those whom not being so prominently before the public, we have found to ourselves.

The Secretary then read the following list:—

Senators.

Thomas O'Connor, I G Gottsberger,

Assembly.

Fighe Davey, David R F Jones,
Daniel C Pentz, Solomon Townsend,
George Weir, John L O'Sullivan,
Paul Grout, Auguste Davezac,
Conrad Swackhammer, William McMurray,
William B Maclay, Michael Walsh,
Timothy Daly.

Each name was received with the most deafening and uproarious applause, and their terrific cheers were given at the close on the subsidence of which the Bishop proceeded:

"You have now, gentlemen, heard the names of men who are willing to risk themselves in support of your cause. Put these names out of view, and you can not, in the lists of our political candidates find that of one public man, who is not understood to be pledged against us. What then is your course?"

"You now, for the first time, find yourselves in the position to vote at least for yourselves.— You have often voted for others, and they did not vote for you, but now you are determined to uphold with your own votes, your own rights! (Thunders of applause which lasted several minutes,) will you then stand by the rights of your offspring, who have for so long a period, and from generation to generation, suffered under the operation of this injurious system? (Renewed cheering) Will you adhere to the nomination made? (Loud cries of "we will" "we will" and vociferous applause.) Will you be united? (Tremendous cheering—the whole immense assembly rising *en masse*, waving of hats, handkerchiefs, and every possible demonstration of applause.) Will you let all men see that you are worthy sons of the nation to which you belong? (Cries of "never fear—we will!" "we will till death!" and terrific cheering.) Will you prove yourselves worthy of friends? (Tremendous cheering)—will none of you flinch?—(The scene that followed this emphatic query is indiscribable, and exceed all the enthusiastic,

and almost frenzied displays of passionate feeling, we have sometimes witnessed at Irish meetings. The cheering, the shouting, the stamping of feet the waving of hats and handkerchiefs, beyond all powers of description.")

* * * "You will have nothing to do with men who go to the Senate and Assembly, pledged to act against you. (Loud cries of "no, no, no," "that we won't," and great cheering.) They may find votes enough to send them. (A voice, "no they sha'nt!" let them go.) But they will, in that case be obliged to confess that they were sent by your enemies. Let them do the work of their masters. (Laughter and cheers.)

Now, Sir, I ask if such an exhibition was becoming the office of Bishop, or even the Church of Rome. And it was to exclude the Bible from our schools, or to secure the School monies in order to establish Schools where the Bible would be excluded, that the Tighe Daveys, the Paul Grouts, the Timothy Daleys, &c., were to be sent to the Legislature.

The blind by the delicate touch of their fingers spread over the raised letters which some good angel has directed the genius of man to prepare for their special service, are enabled to read, and rejoice to read the promises of God from His own Book. There is more true melody in such an inspired sensation of touch than in the music of a thousand Æolian harps, for it is the harmony that reveals the ways of God to man. The deaf and dumb quick as motion and thought can trace and conceive an idea, see, comprehend and utter all the truths recorded upon the sacred page. They know and feel what the psalmist meant when he said. "There is no speech, nor language where their voice is not heard."

I must recall here as most worthy of remembrance an occurrence in our State Institution for educating the deaf and dumb, and one which every man ought to cherish and sustain as the apple of his eye. It was an event growing out of an unpremeditated examination of a child, as to the Creator, the Saviour, and that mysterious providence which gives to one the blessings of voice, and speech, and sight, and to another the absence of all these gifts. Not in all the books of the deepest philosophy, not even upon the pages of inspiration can we find a brighter example of christian power and religious resignation. I read from the address at the laying of the corner stone of the new edifice at Fanwood, near Fort Washington.

"Who made the world?" was the question once propounded to a little boy in the Institution. Without an instant's delay, the chalk had rapidly traced the answer:

"In the beginning God created the Heavens and the Earth."

"Why did Jesus come into the World?" was the next question proposed. With a smile of gratification, the little fellow wrote in reply:

"This is a faithful saying, and worthy of all acceptation, that Christ Jesus came into the world to save sinners." The astounded visitor, desirous of testing the religious nature of the pupil to the utmost, ventured to ask,

"Why were you born deaf and dumb, wher. I can both hear and speak?" With the sweetest and most touching expression of meek resignation on the face of the boy, the rapid chalk replied: "Even so, Father, for so it seemeth good in thy sight."

Need I say more to show that the Bible ought to be read in all our Schools, or give additional reasons why every child, Protestant and Roman Catholic, American and Irish, German and Swede, should be instructed from its pages. I shall rejoice when all, of every clime, no matter where born, or whence they came, or what their condition, shall be educated free and by the aid of the State.

Mr. DICKINSON.—Little nigger children too?

Mr. BROOKS.—Yes, negro children too. I t' ank the Senator for this new born demonstration of his, in regard to negroes, a class of people who are used, and traded in as merchandize, by half the politicians of the State. Oh, the disinteresteness of these lovers of negro freedom at the South! Why do they not let their charity begin at home? Why do they not begin with our own State Constitution, which imposes peculiar hardships upon the free negroes of the State, and among them a property qualification of \$250, before they can enjoy the right of franchise? What a commentary is this great fact upon your zeal for the rights and freedom of the Southern negro!

Mr. DICKINSON.—Is the Senator aware that the Hon. Wm. H Seward was opposed to the property qualification clause? And will the Senator vote for expunging that clause?

Mr. BROOKS.—I may or may not. It will be time enough to answer that question when we are required to act on the subject. I do not think Wm. H. Seward a Judas Iscariot. I believe there are a great many men in this country worse than Mr. Seward. I am not personally opposed to that gentleman. It is his principles, his radicalism, his sectionalism, his appeals to low passions, his spirit of demagogueism, that awakens my opposition. I do not like his past war against our Protestant School system,—and he boasts that he has not changed,—nor his zeal for foreign Schools with Irish or German teachers, and of a Sectarian faith.

Nor do I like his course in regard to foreigners generally, especially since so many foreigners have come into this country, with a disposition to become its masters, and to rule, rather in accordance with the red republican principles of Europe, than according to our ideas of a sovereignty founded upon the intelligence of the people. I see a world-wide difference between the Lafayettes, the De Kalbs and the Kosciuskos of the American Revolution, and the swarms of men who now people our shores from the old world. Then they came with religion, with education, with capital, with a knowledge of the country, with a desire to be Americans at heart and in principle. If poor, they did not seek to pauperise the country. If criminals, they were punished for their crimes. It was not the fashion then to send here criminals from European prison-houses, nor paupers from European pest-houses. Five and ten thousand of the best cit-

izens of the old world come annually among us. Now two hundred, three hundred, and three hundred and fifty thousand come every year.—The 120,000 immigrants between 1790 and 1800 swelled to 1,542,850 between 1840 and 1850. Every wind and every tide brings them among us, and while we bid God speed and a warm welcome to all who are of us and among us in heart, to all who are poor, industrious and honest, to all who are exiled by oppressors for their love of liberty and truth, we do not welcome the debased in character, the degraded in habits of thought or life, nor those who are of the bloody revolutionary stamp, or in any way red republican in their principles. Albert Gallatin and Alexander Hamilton, were born abroad, but they were no such men as these. I honor the lives of such civilians, whose services adorn so many pages of our civil history. I honor, also, the memory of the brave men whose hands and hearts were devoted to our service in the field in the war of Independence. How different from the Soules, the Belmonts, and De Leons, who now represent this Government in Europe. It is hardly possible that men born and educated abroad, can represent the Government as well as those born and educated at home. I should respect them less, if they had no love for their father land.—They would be more or less than men, to be thus indifferent to their birth places. Even Gallatin was so timorous of our success in arms, as to advise against the employment of the very navy which contributed so much to our renown in war, and nothing but the repeated and earnest entreaties of Bainbridge and Stewart could persuade President Madison to pass unheeded the advice of the then Secretary of the Treasury.—Washington never spoke more like the Father of his Country, than when he declared that the civil and military arm, should both be in the hands of Americans.

Is there any hardship in such a rule? I mean in its general principles, for all rules, for special reasons, may have their exceptions. I do not ask that foreign born citizens shall be denied the American franchise. But let me ask what illiberality there would be in saying to the immigrant—"You are welcome to our shores, you shall have protection in person and property, you shall be our equals in everything but the franchise, your children shall have this privilege and enjoy all the rights and honor given to the children of native born citizens for all generations from the foundation of the Government." Or if we were to declare that a twenty-one year residence in the country would be necessary to the enjoyment of the privileges given to Americans at that age, who can say that such a restriction would be unjust?

The American feeling which pervades the country to-day has been forced upon us by the ignorance, impudence and audacity of many of the multitudes who have come among us. In my own city as elsewhere, many of these new comers are making open war upon Institutions as old as the country. They do not like our Sabbaths as days for religious observances, they do not like the order, sobriety and restrictions which prevail even in this very free country. In

one of these "Platforms," and the same is in circulation North and South, East and West, they say: I deem it important to give them their Reform Record in full.

REFORM IN THE LAWS OF THE GENERAL GOVERNMENT, AS WELL AS IN THOSE OF THE STATES.

"We demand: 1. Universal suffrage. 2. The election of all officers by the people. 3. *The abolition of the Presidency*: 4. *The abolition of Senates*, so that the Legislatures shall consist of only one branch. 5. The right of the people to call their Representatives (cashier them) at their pleasure. 6. *The right of the people to change the Constitution when they like*. 7. *All lawsuits to be conducted without expense*. 8. *A department of the Government to be set up for the purpose of protecting immigration*. 9. *A reduced term for acquiring citizenship*."

REFORM IN THE FOREIGN RELATIONS OF THE GOVERNMENTS.

* "1. *Abolition of all neutrality*. 2. *Intervention in favor of every people struggling for liberty*."

REFORM IN WHAT RELATES TO RELIGION.

"1. A more perfect development of the principle of personal freedom and liberty of conscience; consequently an Abolition of laws for the observance of the Sabbath; b. Abolition of prayers in Congress; c. Abolition of oath upon the Bible; d. Repeal of all laws enacting a religious test before taking an office. 2. Taxation of church property. 3. A prohibition of incorporations of all church property in the name of ecclesiastics."

REFORM IN THE SOCIAL CONDITION.

"1. Abolition of land monopoly. 2. Ad valorem in taxation of property. 3. Amelioration of the condition of the working class—*a*. By lessening the time of work to eight hours for grown persons, and to five hours for children; *b*. By incorporation of mechanics' associations and protective societies; *c*. By granting a preference to mechanics before all other creditors; *d*. By establishing an asylum for superannuated mechanics without means at the public expense. 4. Education of poor children by the State. 5. Taking possession of the railroads by the State. 6. The promotion of education—*a*. By the introduction of free schools, with the power of enforcing the parents to send their children to school, and prohibition of all clerical influence; *b*. By instructing in the German language; *c*.—By establishing a German University. 7. The supporting of the slave emancipation exertions of Cassius M. Clay by Congressional laws. 8. Abolition of the Christian system of punishment, and introduction of the humane amelioration system. 9. Abolition of capital punishment."

To correct some of the abuses incident to all these innovations I have proposed here

To sustain our Common Schools in their purity.

That the Bible shall be read in our Schools.

That the Naturalization Laws shall be administered by our Judges and without fraud.

That we shall maintain a pure franchise.

That our foreign Ambassadors shall be American.

And that AMERICANS shall RULE AMERICA.

These are subjects which enlist our sympathy and which have my entire heart. I am not indifferent to other evils. If it was in my power I would meliorate the condition of the whole human family, but charity begins at home, and mine begins in the United States. If I were an Irishman I would defend an Irish Nationality, and if I were an Italian, I would pray for the independence of Italy. As a Hungarian, Hungary should have my whole heart, and so, too, if Switzerland, Poland or Germany were my native land. I wish well to them all, and regard them all in that spirit of broad philanthropy which declares that God has made of one blood all the nations of men who dwell upon the face of the earth. Senators on the other side have sought for no good purpose, and in no true love for Slaves, to identify some of us here with a defence of Slavery because we could not vote for Wm. H. Seward. I have only to say for myself in conclusion that I have no attachments to any kind of servitude mental, physical, or partisan. More than thirty years ago, when a small boy, upon a tomb stone in the grave yard of Old Concord, Massachusetts, I learned my first lesson in the cause of true freedom, and I have not forgotten it from that time to the present.

"Man wills us slaves,
God wills us free.
I will as God wills,
God's will be done."

Rejoinder to Mr. Dickinson.

IN SENATE, February 13.

MR. PRESIDENT:—I do not propose to repeat what I have said upon the General Politics of the State, or to enlarge upon the reasons which prompted me to vote against Wm. H. Seward. I do mean, however, to clinch fast as a well driven nail, the reasons and facts before given for my vote. To RECAPITULATE then let me say that Mr. Seward was not only untrue at heart to Mr. Clay, but that he was largely responsible for his defeat in 1844. He went over the State during the canvass with Mr. Clay upon his lips, and something else his heart. He denounced slavery and slaveholders with unsparing severity. He pictured the slaveholder in all the deformities of a Tyrant and an oppressor, and a Plantation life as the concentration of all that was corrupt and horrid. Throngs of excited people were told that Mr. Clay was the owner of ninety slaves, that he lived upon a large plantation, and then, with their passions aroused against slavery and slaveholders, and the dark picture drawn against slavery they were asked to vote for Mr. Clay as the Whig nominee for the Presidency. This support was ungenerous and unkind, and like that of the vulture to the lamb. It made thousands of votes for Mr. Birney and took thousands from Mr. Clay. Such support was of a piece with the invitation to Mr. Clay to visit New York as a guest. He came and those who had invited him turned their backs upon him after he had entered the territory as he supposed of friends. Mr. Clay was told at Geneva at the house of Gideon Lee, and by Solomon Van Rensselaer, a name and memory always to be hon-

ored, that the professions of friendship towards him by Mr. Seward were hollow, and that Mr. Seward would not see him.

I must now recall, said Mr. B., a new incident or a forgotten incident in the History of the Compromise Measures, as they have been alluded to to-day in defence of Governor Seward's course in 1850. I wish here in reply and defence to make the letter of Senator Rusk, of Texas, a part of the History of the country in order to show the double part which was played upon the Ten Million Texas Bill at Washington in 1850. National Whigs have been denounced all over the State for that measure. Let us see where Mr. Seward stood upon it, or upon a measure like it.

LETTER FROM MR. RUSK.

WASHINGTON, Sept. 11, 1850.

Dear sir:—I have received your note of this date making enquiry in relation to certain propositions made to me by Mr. Seward, of New York. Some months since, while the Bill reported by the Committee of thirteen, usually called the Omnibus Bill, was before the Senate, Mr. Seward called upon me and said he thought Texas was in bad company—that he was disposed to treat her kindly—that he did not believe she had a good title to New Mexico, but, he believed the United States were bound to pay her debt—that he would vote to do so, at any time, if Texas would relinquish her claim to New Mexico—that all his friends would do so, and that if I would draw him up a Bill to that effect, he would have it introduced into the House of Representatives and had no doubt it would pass. He said he was a better friend to Texas than many of those who were supporting the Omnibus Bill and, that, it would be better for Texas to disconnect herself from the Bill before the Senate. I listened to all this, but did not draw up any Bill at the time, nor for several days afterward. He asked me, I think, four or five times, whether I had drawn up the Bill, to which I answered that I had not. He then left for home and was gone several days. When he returned, he again asked me whether I had yet drawn up that Bill. I replied that I had not, when he again urged me to do so. I then learned from him, that he had spoken to another member of the Senate upon the subject. I concluded to draw up a Bill and did so, fixing the line at 34 degrees of North latitude and inserting twelve millions of dollars, as the compensation. To this he objected, but proposed a Bill to pay the debt of Texas, provided it did not exceed ten millions, Texas relinquishing her claims to New Mexico proper, as she stood previously, under the organization of Mexico. He said this was a ground upon which he and his friends could sustain themselves, and that, if I would draw such a Bill, he would have it introduced into the House of Representatives. I thereupon caused a Bill to be drawn by one of the clerks of the Senate, which I handed to him. Sometime afterward, the Omnibus Bill was defeated. Mr. Pearce's Bill was then introduced and, on its passage, Mr. Seward voted against it. Sometime afterwards, Mr. S. approached me and said he had no objection to the ten millions but did not like the word "cede," in the Bill. He remarked that he had voted against it. I told him I had observed the fact and was astonished at it, after what he had said to me. I said that the Bill conceded no territory to New Mexico than her former limits, to which he answered, that the word "cede" gave rise to his only objection to the measure and that he saw there were enough votes without his, &c.

Soon after the Bill went to the House, I learned from a highly respectable source, that Mr. S. was exerting himself to defeat it, and immediately called upon him and reminded him of his previous conversation with me on the subject. I then told him that after what he had said in the Senate, I had no disposition to assail a man who had declared "he would not defend himself," but when he had sought me and made declarations which were calculated to deceive and mislead me, in a matter of vital importance to Texas and the whole country, he assumed a different position, of which he should not avail himself with impunity, and that I desired then, to know whether he had been exerting himself to defeat the Bill. He replied that he had heard the charge—that it was untrue—that it was made by Mr. Fillmore and his friends, to get votes for the Bill—that, so far from attempting to defeat the bill, he had advised his friends who could sustain themselves at home, in such a course, to vote for the Bill—that there was no danger of its not passing—that he was in bad health and was going home, not expecting to be back until after the final vote upon the Bill. On the following day he left the city and was absent during several days, but I do not remember how long.

This is, in substance, what passed between us. I enclose you a copy of the Bill which I handed to him.

I must, in justice to myself, say, that, if Mr. Seward did, as is stated, exert his influence to defeat the Bill, he did not deceive me for I placed no reliance upon his statements from the beginning, and did not, in the slightest degree, alter my course, in consequence of what he said to me.

Yours truly,

THO. J. RUSK.

So much for Mr. Seward's consistency upon the compromise measures.

The anti-Taylor meeting held in Albany we will consider next. The Senator from the 26th, (Mr. Dickinson,) insists that Mr. Fillmore was privy to it, and a counsellor of it. I read from the Albany Journal evidence to the contrary, but the charge is reiterated, and to vindicate the memory of an old and distinguished friend not here to defend himself, and to vindicate the truth of history which has here been assailed, I feel called upon to do that which I would have gladly avoided if I could, and to bring Mr. Fillmore himself to answer the unjust imputation upon his honorable associations with General Taylor. Here is his letter in answer to one from me, written after the imputation had been made and repeated.

MR. FILLMORE'S LETTER:

BUFFALO, N. Y., Saturday, Feb. 10, 1855.

MY DEAR SIR—I have yours of the 9th inst., in which you inquire "whether I was privy to and advised any resolutions drawn by Mr. Weed or others, to be acted upon at the Albany meeting in August, 1848, (26th,) to defeat General Taylor;" to which I beg leave to reply, that I neither drew, nor advised the drawing, of any such resolutions; that on entering Mr. Weed's printing office just at dusk, I found him engaged in drawing such resolutions for the meeting which had then been called. He read them to me, which was the first knowledge I had of them, and I protested against them and the meeting, and on my remonstrance, as I understood, Mr. Weed consented not to present them, but to have the meeting postponed. These are the facts but in my retirement I would choose to avoid all notoriety, and especially such as arises from political controversy; nevertheless, if it be essential to the truth of history that you should make known the contents of this letter, you are at liberty to do so. I am truly yours.

MILLARD FILLMORE.

I come now to Mr. Seward's official injustice to HIRAM KETCHUM, also denied by the Senator from the 26th. That Senator asserted that Mr. Ketchum's nomination was "several weeks in the Senate Chamber, before it was withdrawn." The Senator is in error. Mr. Ketchum's nomination was sent in not before the 11th of the month, and the Senate adjourned on the 26th. It was alleged that the nomination was withdrawn, also at the instance of Mr. Tallmadge of N. Y., Erastus Root and Mr. Dickinson. Mr. Root is dead, and there is no voice from the grave to confirm or deny the allegation in regard to his acts. Mr. Tallmadge, however, denies the act, and writes to me that he was neither a Senator nor in Albany at the time in question. The Senator himself, here to defend Governor Seward, is the witness left, and I am convinced that even he errs in regard to the fact he states. Let me read the letter from Mr. Tallmadge.

FEBRUARY 10, 1855.

MESSRS. EDITORS:—I perceive by the report of proceedings in the Senate of New York, in your paper of last evening, Mr. Dickinson is reported to have said that Governor Seward withdrew the nomination of Hiram Ketchum from the Senate, for the office of Judge of the Supreme Court, to which he had been nominated, from representations made to him, by Governor Root, Mr. Dickinson and myself.

My friend, Mr. Dickinson, must be in error in regard to myself, as the nomination was made to the Senate in April 1841, and my term of office as Senator expired on the 1st of January, 1841.

At the time of presenting the nomination of Mr. Ketchum I was not a member of the Senate, and could not, therefore, have advised the withdrawal of his name.

I may be permitted to add that an acquaintance with Mr. Ketchum, in both his private and professional character, for more than 30 years, has inspired in me the greatest regard for his private worth, and the highest respect for his elevated professional position. Respectfully yours,

F. A. TALLMADGE.

[Mr. Brooks read a similar letter to himself.]
And I have by me Mr. Ketchum's own letter

which in justice to his name and his wrongs as well as my own vote, I desire to read to the Senate.

LETTER FROM MR. KETCHUM.

No. 31 WALL STREET, Feb. 12, 1855.

DEAR SIR—You have seen fit to introduce in the debate in the Senate, the school question and my nomination to the office of Circuit Judge, in May, 1841, and the withdrawal of that nomination by Governor Seward. Since these topics have been brought before the Senate, I am desirous that the facts should truly appear. Senator Dickinson says my nomination was before the Senate for weeks. It was sent to the Senate May 11, 1841—certainly not before that date, and the Senate adjourned May 26. He says also, that Gen. Root, Mr. Tallmadge and himself made a representation to the Governor that my nomination would not be confirmed, and that he withdrew it. It appears that Mr. Tallmadge was not at that time, a member of the Senate, and denies the transaction, so far as he was concerned. The other witness, Gen. Root, is dead. I never heard of the facts stated by Mr. Dickinson, before he made the statement. The facts relating to the whole subject are briefly these: In the year 1824, the Legislature gave to the Corporation of the City of New York, power to distribute the portion of the School Fund assigned to and raised for that City, among such institutions and schools, as it should by ordinance designate. Under this law the Common Council excluded from a participation in this fund, all religious denominations, including, of course, the Roman Catholic schools. In 1840, the Roman Catholic schools petitioned the Corporation for a participation in this fund. In October of that year they were heard before a full Council, through Bishop Hughes, at great length. Others were heard. I appeared on that occasion. The Corporation investigated the subject, with care and patience, and many of its members visited the schools, and then rejected the petition, with, I think, entire unanimity. The Roman Catholics then applied to the Legislature; their petitions were referred to the Secretary of State, Hon. John C. Spencer. In 1841, he made an elaborate report, suggesting a plan which allowed the formation of voluntary associations for the establishment of schools. These associations when formed, would have been corporations quite as close as the Public School Society. They would, moreover, have allowed Roman Catholics to form associations among themselves, establish schools for their own children, appointing their own clergy as teachers, and these clergy would have drawn their salary from the School Fund. It is believed the plan was submitted to, and had the entire approval of Bishop Hughes.

After this report was drawn, Gov. Seward came to the City of New York and requested an interview with the Trustees of the Public School Society. The interview was held, the plan was urged by the Governor, the Trustees were not convinced, and they opposed it. On the 30th April, 1841, the Trustees sent to the Legislature a remonstrance against this report, and prayed to be heard. This remonstrance was referred by the Senate to the Committee on Literature composed of Gen. Root, Mr. Verplanck and Mr. Hunter—This Committee held a meeting to hear parties in the Capitol on the 8th of May, 1841. This meeting was attended by a number of Roman Catholics from the City of New York, representing the schools of this denomination. They were heard through two gentlemen of the bar—Wright Hawkes, Esq. and the late Mr. McKeon. I was heard on behalf of the Public School Society at some length. On the 11th of the same month, Tuesday following, the Committee reported a bill. On the same day, I understand my nomination was sent to the Senate. On the 22d of May on motion of Mr. Verplanck, the bill was considered in Committee. On the 25th of May, the Senate proceeded to a further consideration of the report, and Senator Nicholas moved that the further consideration be postponed to the first Tuesday of January next, ensuing. On this motion the Yeas and Nays were taken, there were eleven in the affirmative and two in the negative. The bill was, therefore, lost. On the published list of the Yeas and Nays, neither the name of Senator Root nor Senator Hunter appears.

After this vote, as I was informed, the Governor withdrew my nomination. On the 26th—the next day—the House adjourned.

Now, from that day to this, I have been of opinion that Governor Seward—who was very anxious for the passage of this bill, and expressed to me on the 8th of May his full belief that it would pass—withdrew my nomination because his favorite measure failed, and to show his entire sincerity to the friends of that measure, Bishop Hughes, and the Roman Catholics of the city of New York.

I was, therefore, sacrificed upon the soil of my native State, not thirty miles from my birth-place, to please those of another religion and not born in my country. I know I shall be pardoned for saying that I did not contemplate this transaction with complacency in this view of it, but Senator Dickinson puts a new face on the whole affair. According to his statement, my withdrawal was from kindness and delicacy to me. What a pity that such kindness should have lain concealed from the public for fourteen years.

Yours, very respectfully and truly,

MIRAM KETCHUM.

Now sir, have I or have I not made out my own case? But it is said I have been inconsis-

tent to my obligations to the Whig Party, because I did not vote for Mr. Seward, and my last words to the Young Men's Whig General Committee of New York, are quoted against me, because I am not upon the record as the Senator would have me.

I was for three years the Chairman of this Committee and one year at the head of its Executive Committee, and only during those four years a member. In all that time the Senator cannot find one word or thought of mine or of the Committee sustaining Mr. Seward's course. It was a National Whig Committee. It knew no North, no South, no East, no West, and nothing but the country. It was conservative, tolerant, national, and I was proud to be its officer. I stand here to-day where I stood then, and through the Administration of General Taylor and Mr. Fillmore, and I defy the Senator, or those who are filling his quiver full of arrows against me, to point to even one inconsistency of mine. The friends of Mr. Seward did all in their power to oppose my elevation there, and my election to the place I hold. I felt the force of this hostility all the way from this Capital, and all because as a Whig and a citizen I chose to be no man's man, and would not sustain the corrupt and corrupting dynasty here in Albany.

Nor will I ever be a sectional politician, or square my political allegiance by geographical metes and bounds. All this side of the Mason and Dixon line, and all this side of the Potomac are dear to me as a northern man, but there is something beyond, also, which I regard as a part of my country. I know no difference as a public man, attached to a national party faith, between a brother on the banks of the Mississippi or the Savannah, and one on the shores of the Kennebec or Hudson. I would embrace them all as of "one country, one constitution, and one destiny." In the sentiment of a pure and patriotic affection I would hug them all to my bosom as of one national family. I would span the whole continent from ocean to ocean with the bow of promise, and girdle the continent with more than a belt of steel. I would be tolerant and just to all men, regardless of what the North said against Slavery or the South said for Slavery. The Constitution of the country is the only legal arbiter between North and South, and whatever that demanded I would be as ready to give as to exact, and if I could not do this, I would disown my birthright.

There are as good Whigs South as North, and there are men there whom I have named by scores who have stood by the Constitution, and its compromises, and by us, with all the zeal and friendship of those who love their country with a holy affection. Let us, Mr. President, cease to hate one another. Above all, do not let us use our public places and influence here in the Senate of this great State to arouse enmities against men living under the same constitution, the same flag, and destined, for good or evil, to the same end. We can maintain our own rights and discharge our own duties to the North, without warring upon the constitutional rights of any other people.

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