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Intelligence
A REPLY TO THE

ER OF THE HON. LANGDON CHEVES.

His former opinions contrasted with his present views.—The determination of Great Britain from 1600 to destroy manufactures in the Colonies up to the War of Independence, with the view of making them the more dependant.—Her determination the same after the Revolution up to the present time.—Our country's efforts to counteract her.—George Canning the author of Nullification.—The causes which led to the formation of the Union—A coalition between the abolitionists of America and the disunionists of South Carolina, with free-trade and abolition societies, to emancipate the slaves of the South and dissolve the Union—Four millions and a half subscribed to in England, to accomplish the work of revolution and disunion proven—with other very important information, deeply affecting the South.

By a SOUTHERNER.

Sir—You have seen fit to place yourself *voluntarily* before the public, and especially the Southern public, in your late letter, teaching doctrines and recommending measures I shall combat. I combat them; 1st, Because they are the very doctrines and measures an English Statesman would advocate and recommend on the floor of the British Parliament, as a policy to destroy the American union. 2d, Because you charge a majority of the people of the United States with being faithless and derelict to the principles of our fathers and the Constitution, while you denounce those very principles established by them in their policy of the tariff. 3d, Because you charge a majority of the people in the four extremes of the Union, who support Mr. Clay, as enemies to the South and her peculiar institutions. 4th, Because you seek to efface from the minds of the people of the South, by an unworthy appeal to their fears and prejudices, all memory of those who through blood and suffering, ordained and established the Union and the Constitution. 5th, Because you seek, from motives and purposes unworthy of one professing to be a patriot and statesman, (and which, if your recommendation was adopted, would make us ignominious and ungrateful descendants of a noble ancestry, disgracing us in the eyes of God and man) to attack and dismember that illustrious monument of our father's toil and patriotism, the Federal Union.

I confess, Sir, your *voluntary* to the South created some little fluttering of the public pulse, for you have been a public man, and your recorded votes, reports, sayings and speeches, when figuring in "matters of state," put along and mixed in with this bull you have just issued to the people of the South, makes the move ineffible medley and halderdash imaginable. Suppose, Sir, you just favor the same people of the South with some of your votes, reports and speeches, while a member of Congress and President of the Bank of the United States, as a practical commentary on this new issue of opinions. Or give us your votes, reports, sayings and speeches heretofore proclaimed, as the basis, and this letter as a commentary on them. Or, tell us whether you spoke the truth in sincerity to the people, while a member of Congress—or, whether we are to obey the advice you gave us, after an appeal to God, to obey the Constitution and faithfully to perform your trust, as a representative of the American people, or the advice you now give us in your *voluntary*? If you say obey both, you will bring us to a dead halt—for they conflict. If you insist on our obeying both, you will have to come out of your retired state with another *long* letter, to explain. If you cannot succeed in this way, I would advise you to apply to Mr. M'Duffie for the use of his forty bale theory, (which is said to be a certain cure for government evils,) and you may work out of the difficulty, and if that will not give you ridance as the last resort I know of, (or I would advise you better,) get one of his long bayonets, so that you may be six inches unto death, in one or the other of these conflicting views, before it can rise up in judgment against you, and then give us another *voluntary*, and the clouds may disappear, and we see our way clearly. I advise this course, because you could not have volunteered from your

retired state, to mingle in the noise and strife of politics, without a motive, and as the matter now stands, we are covered in the fog. You make the occasion, sir, one of interest. You have left your retired life—the result of your not wanting to serve the people in the public councils, or they not wanting you, so we beseech you to explain. But to your *voluntary*.

After the excuse you give for this *voluntary*, you enter upon your labors, by telling your readers you “stand in the midst of common sufferers.” Bah—and therefore recommend as a “rightful remedy” for “redress of these grievances” the following plan to get rid of it. “Let associations be formed in every Southern State, and, if possible, every South-Western State, and let them confer together, and interchange views and information; let *leading men* through committees and *private* correspondence, collect, compare and concentrate their views, *with like men*, in their respective States, and when *ripe for it*, and not before, let representatives from these States meet in convention, and if circumstances promise success, let them *then* deliberate on the mode of *resistance*, and the measure of redress.” Resistance and revolution, eh! There is then to be a secret move: to organize revolutionary clubs—*privately* gotten up and *privately* conducted. Managed on the plan of the midnight conspirator. No one is to know any thing of the dark plots—the oaths binding life and limb to desecrate the graves of our fathers—to batter down all the noble monuments of their genius—to destroy a constitution framed in wisdom and good-will—a union breathed into existence by patriotism and prayer—deface from a flag that has waved on land and sea over every foe victorious, the stars that now glitter in the constellation of these States, and leave the stripes to degrade us. *Secret* associations, *privately* conducted, to resist the laws and authority of Congress, to attack the union and drench the land in blood. The spirit of a Cataline is then to be upon us. His mode of destroying Rome is to be adopted by Cheves and his co-mates in treason. The mode of the Jacobins to destroy France, is to be used to destroy America. Will you, as one of the rules of these *privately* conducted clubs, adopt their old ‘*law of suspect!*’

As the friends of Washington, Green, Madison, Marion, Marshall, Franklin, Adams, Sherman, Pinckney and Jefferson, whose names you must not use as a covert for your treason, without making yourself and the cause the more ignominious, we thank you for so much of your plan. We will be prepared for you, come when you will. There is one gratifying consideration, however, attending this disreputable proposition to the Southern States, and that is, the source from whence it comes will kill it all over the Union. I do not allude to you solely—but, Sir, to any of that class of leaders of which you constitute one. It has been long since well understood among these Southern States of the Union, the people of which you now address in language and for purposes unbecoming you as a man and a statesman, that disappointed ambition is the result of all the treason against the people and government of the Union, and for which reason they score your rantings, ravings and unmeaning complaints.—The people of every creed and party, all over the Union, you know, have lost confidence in you. They know you seek again, as the Tories did, the “flesh pots of Egypt.” They know you are wanting in good faith to the Union of your fathers—that you wish to efface from our minds every vestige of their memory, and they would as leave hug a viper to their bosoms, as call you to their aid. They had enough of such men in the revolution. And I repeat, Sir, again your proposition, with that of your allies, will ring your death knell the Union over.

Are you to be connected with the secret agents England is said to have among us—agents who, we are told, are to be employed in discovering the best mode of abolishing the peculiar institutions of the South, or use it as a means of producing a rupture of the Union. It is said their mission is a *secret one* and *privately conducted!* Are these clubs which you recommend forming, to be in any way connected with theirs? It is alledged the purpose is the same. Why not at

once interlock and unite with them? Was this too much of a secret to let out? What is the object of your associations being *strictly private*. If the North are oppressing you so as to make you cry out the way you do, why manage your business *secretly* and *privately*? Do you wish to be always braying out like an over-burthened ass, under a load too great for his strength, and then go *secretly* and *privately* about removing it? If the tariff oppresses you, why not explain how? If it is a *grinding* oppression on your backs, why not show it to the people? You say the people will not stand oppression, which is true—and if you feel it, they feel it, and when a burthen is so oppressive to all the people, they'll throw it off instantly, without the aid of these clubs *privately conducted*, and the trouble will all be over and you will escape the suspicion of designing to sell your country for thirty or more pieces of silver—or like Alexander's generals after his death, plot the dismemberment of the empire, that *you* might reign over a fragment. The tariff cannot be so oppressive to the people as you allege—for the manufactures are but very few. They could not elect a single member of Congress from any district in the Union, let alone a President. The feeling then that leads the people to sustain them, is *purely* national, and a desire to be independent of the world. This is what our fathers taught us, when they established the system. And were they not as wise and as patriotic as you and your colleagues? Did they not love their country as well as you—and if we are to judge from your conduct, far better—for if with your present feelings, had you lived in their day, you would have drawn the sword against them. They resisted England then, as we do now, because she wished to destroy our manufactures. Do you suppose that they who fought through a war of eight years, against *oppression*, would be the first to establish and fasten it on themselves and children, in the very first act of their lives? Sir, you are hard up for an excuse for your treason. You cannot convince the people of this country that you simply design to reduce the tariff, and quiet the excitement on the subject of abolition. And permit me to say, in passing, your letter, so unworthy of you, will make more abolitionists than it will cure, and make more unionists than disunionists. But I will take the hobby you have made of this question, from under your feet, before I shall have done. Some other design is to be cloaked up under the mask of these clubs, than the curing of these two evils. Burr had his excuse for an attempt to dismember his country—and Arnold, when he wished to sell his chief and country too, had his excuse.

There are said to be two formidable associations in England—one preaches free-trade, and the other abolition—both avowedly formed to operate on these States. Are these secret clubs of yours to carry on a *private* correspondence with these two societies? In the principles of free-trade, you agree with one, and it will, for *England's sake*, help you to destroy your country—and if some of your men speak your *private* sentiments, you would rather give up slavery and the Union, and belong to England, to get rid of the tariff and the North. And if these views are a part of the *private* sentiments your clubs are to “*compare and concentrate upon*,” you can *privately* correspond with the other, and when you are ripe for it, and *not before*, you can use these two affiliated clubs with their agents in this country, in plunging the spear of disunion into the breast of your country, and rob the graves of your fathers.

Your letter, Sir, will be food for the abolitionists—will be applauded by the enemies of your country every where, and you will receive the grateful thanks of every crowned head in Europe. Such men as you, Sir, are the very men whom England wants in her designs to sow the seeds of discord, anarchy and revolution in our midst. Such men as you, Sir, might well be employed secretly to organize, and *privately* to conduct a crusade to overthrow the liberties of your country. Your whole policy unites you as a deliberate foe to Southern institutions and constitutional liberty. Your union with the abolitionists of England and the North, while you cry out, off with their heads, is complete. Your union

with the enemies of the Union, to make her *dependent on England*, is also complete, your affected hatred to her notwithstanding. You have formed, Sir, a hideous union against the Union—stick to your colors—run up the royal jack where the flag of the Union might wave in your secret clubs.

If the disappointed leaders in this State cannot be satisfied with things as they are, leave us alone. If you wish war to signalize your courage and bravery, band together, like the Tartar Khan, and make for Cuba, and protect that island from British capture. If you love Texas, more than you do the Union, some of you go there and help to carry the arms of the Lone Star to the capitol of the Montezumas. And if you must fight, go to Canada, and raise rebellion there as they are in want of *leaders*. But if you are caught, I tell you beforehand, you will both *know* and *feel* oppression, for to Botany Bay you must go.

It is our lot, Sir, to live in a hemisphere and on a continent of recent discovery, whose mountains, hills, valleys, plains, rivers and lakes, have been the theatre of triumphs and disaster. It is now classic ground. The graves of those who fought and those who reasoned lie beneath the soil from whence they drove their first and last enemy, and they have bequeathed it to us to cultivate and live in peace. O God! let not a fratricidal foe lay the destroying hand on a Union which now shields them and it from harm and desecration. Their funeral pageant is over—the grateful duty of mingling the cypress and the laurel on their lamented tombs are over, but their memories still live and trust shall ever add an imposing lustre to our national deliverance. After they had won their independence from a mother too ungrateful to be obeyed, through an eventful struggle of eight years, at the point of the bayonet, our fathers collected together and sat down, full of anxiety, and reasoned, one with another, about the best mode of preserving that independence they had just secured for their country. That deliberation led to the formation of the present Federal Constitution and government. Under that constitution, he who was “first in war, first in peace, and first in the hearts of his countrymen,” was called by the unanimous voice of all the people of the Old Thirteen, as their Chief Executive. Unto that solemn and trying trust, he was committed amidst the prayers and benedictions of his admiring countrymen. In their presence, and before his God, he took the oath of office, faithfully to obey and honestly to administer that Government to the best of his ability. It was a hallowed and sublime spectacle. People of South Carolina love you not this Union? Will you forsake the pride of character which the history of its formation confers on you, to unite your fortunes with a band of political desperadoes, who seek its destruction? Are you willing to tear from your brows the laurels which now play in evergreen around them, to have the blood of your brethren, and unite under a mercenary horde of leaders in casting *your* destiny with *your* deadliest foe? Have the deeds and the memory of your fathers no claim on your patriotism and love of country? Must all go—flag and all?

You charge, Sir, a majority of the people of the United States, as being faithless and derelict to the principles of our fathers and the constitution, while you denounce those very principles and the authors of them, they established in the policy of the tariff. The absurdity of this charge is so glaring and flagrant, that I cannot account for it upon any other ground than that you wilfully perpetrated that which you knew to be untrue, or you are ignorant of the history of your country. If you mean the Union cursed and heaven smitten band of unprincipled leaders in this State, as our fathers, we plead guilty, and your conflicting expositions of the constitution, the constitution—we are sinners—and then there would be a mitigation of the offence, for no one could be certain that your opinions to-day would be your opinions to-morrow. If you mean Washington and his compeers in the field and cabinet, we deny the charge and burl indignantly, the foul slander in your teeth. If you wish to use the names of the ven-

erated dead as a covert for your treasonable designs on the Union, I will drag you from your hiding place and slay you as an open enemy. Do not dare, Sir, to connect and blend their sainted spirits with your Jacobinical and Catalinian conspiracy, on the graves of our ancestors and the Union they have formed.

The boy at school who knows anything of the early progress of the Federal Government, knows you have written false history. For a demagogical politician whose home is the nearest grog-shop, and who takes his lessons of political economy from the pit of slander, might well be pardoned for such a declaration, for his known profligacy and ignorance would be ample excuse. *But for a *judge*, a retired statesman, to be the author of such a gross perversion of the truth, finds no pardon in any breast. The founders, Sir, of this Union, Government and Constitution, were the authors of the protective policy. The first act of the first Congress, history tells us was to pass a protective tariff, *further* to protect and maintain the independence of the country. Washington, to impress the act more deeply on the minds of his countrymen, signed and approved the bill on the Fourth of July. As soon as he was elected President, he ordered a new suit of American manufactured cloth, to be inducted into office with, and wore it then to set an example to his fellow-citizens, to teach them, by his example, to look to their *own* hands and soil for support and prosperity—to trust no country or clime, let alone Great Britain. Congress coming to his aid, and approving of his example by the first act of their lives, made it a national feeling, and a national policy. Is it these men you mean to stigmatize and to brand as robbers, oppressors and public plunderers? They were the authors of it—the authors of your freedom. Do you mean to slander them in their graves! And are we such very slaves as not to repel it, again st you and your colleagues, who, if all the tears you have caused to be shed over the sufferings and heart bleedings you have inflicted on them, from your destructive commotions and measures, were collected in one reservoir, the whole of you might swim in it!

The language and the measures used by Great Britain, when we were colonies, against our fathers, are the same you now would use and recommend, against their descendants. That the colonies should not be permitted to manufacture even a hobnail, was not the mere idle remark of an English Statesman: for as early as 1699, Parliament declared, that “no wool, yarn or woollen manufactures of their American plantations, should be shipped thence, or even laden in order to be transported to any place whatever.” In 1719, Parliament resolved “that the creating manufactures in the colonies, tended to lessen *their* dependence upon *Great Britain*.” This *dependence* on Great Britain is what you seem to desire, peaceably if you can, and forcibly if you must. You seem to shed as many tears over the loss England suffers from the encouragement of domestic labor here, as Naunacus did over his oracle. You lament we are *free* and *independent* of her, and because it is so, you are ready to club together to destroy the Union, or force us to accept free-trade for the benefit of England. In 1737, they directed the Board of Trade to inquire and report “with respect to the laws made, manufactures set up, or trade carried on, *detrimental* to the trade, navigation, or *manufactures* of Great Britain.” The next year the board made their report, and a precious document it is, and would have been a very good letter for you; Would, Sir, that space permitted me to quote more largely from it—short extracts must do. Massachusetts, it alledges, had passed an act to encourage the manufacture of paper, “which law interferes with the profit made by the British merchant on foreign paper sent thither.” This is your doctrine—“make their merchants and manufacturers ‘*prin.es*,’ and our countrymen hewers of wood and drawers of water for them.

Again they say—New England, New York, Connecticut, Rhode Island, Pennsylvania, and in the county of Somerset, in Maryland, they had *fallen into the* manufacture of woollen and linen cloth. Also “brown holland for women’s wear, which lessens the *importation of calicoes*.” Also “some linen and cotton

for ordinary shirtings;" and "ships for the French and Spaniards." They had also "erected six forges* and nineteen furnaces;" also New York and New Jersey manufactured "great quantities of hats, of which the company of hatters in London have complained." In 1732 an act passed Parliament "to prevent the exportation of hats from the colonies." By this act no master could have more than *two* apprentices, and who must serve seven years. No *negro* could be taught a *trade*. The lading a horse or cart for exporting hats or other manufactured articles was a heavy penalty. In 1750 Parliament prohibited the erection or continuance of any mill or other engine for rolling or slitting iron or any plating forge, or any furnace for steel, under the penalty of £200, and moreover declared them to be a public nuisance which the Governors of all the colonies were required to abate within thirty days under a penalty of £500. Subsequently Parliament prohibited the exportation to this country tools to make iron. These and similar acts of oppression that might be named, aroused the spirit of liberty, which eventually burst forth in the Revolution, was complained of in the Declaration of Independence, partially provided for in the Confederation, and finally secured against in the Constitution. In the first treaty in 1783, between England and the United States, England demanded a guarantee that we would do *no manufacturing, protect or encourage the same*, but to bind ourselves to import all our manufactured articles from them. It was resisted on the part of our negotiators as a direct insult offered to freemen. Had the negotiation fallen into the hands of you, M'Duffie, Rhett and Holmes, with your present feelings, you would have sold every factory and every mechanic shop in the land—and if she had asked you to give back the Southern country into her hands, you would have done that if you dared. For your secret clubs to be privately conducted to dissolve the Union under the disguise of a "redress of grievances," if they mean any thing, mean combined opposition to nullify the laws of the Union, and divide the country for yourselves or for England. The cause which led Great Britain, after she found resistance to the colonies in vain, even more than the capture of Cornwallis, to acknowledge our independence was the impression (and so stated at the time by those favorable to an immediate recognition) that they would be able to get a guarantee on our part not to manufacture ourselves, but to import from her, and to have the shipping between the two countries done in British vessels. The English merchants, when they petitioned the King to recognize us as a nation, urged these as considerations for so doing—England succeeded in the latter, but failed in the former. Washington knowing she would never give up any policy she desired, urged the people of the Union to adopt at once, to counteract her designs, the protective policy. Not to manufacture ourselves, but to import all from her—and have the commerce between the two countries, done in English vessels, and *our ports open to her goods free of duty* was yielding nothing comparatively for independence, which, had they yielded, as you would have done with your present views, it would have been a factitious and not a real independence. What is independence to a nation, but the ability and power to be beholding to none, and is it not the *right* as well as the *duty* of every nation to aid, defend and protect her own resources? Would not national pride and the first law of nature constrain us to it. The moment a nation yields up her substance and labor for the benefit of others, she yields likewise her honor and a part of her independence, and leaves herself open a prey to the grasping cupidity of foreign powers. And what, as a consequence follows? The people or nation to whom she yields her substance, labor and honor—thus sacrificing her own people—hold her in ineffable contempt for her baseness.

England has accomplished more for her people by her treaties, than she has ever done by her arms, though her poets tell us in her praise,

* One was in South-Carolina

"Her course is on the mountain waves,
Her home is on the deep."

By her treaties she has been enabled to have her manufactured articles exported free of duty or what was tantamount to it, (not forgetting to bind them to go no where else) with almost every country she trades with, into their ports, while she has excluded their raw materials into her ports by a tariff of prohibition.— Her agricultural productions are not suffered to leave her shores, and she protects them by bounties and tariffs. The consequence is, she has no need of the agricultural products of foreign nations with which she trades, which makes her omnipotent over both their manufactured and agricultural products, and destroys both at once with her policy. By this policy, she compelled the manufacturers of Flanders to leave their homes and go to England. By it, she has made herself all powerful and almost omnipotent with the nations of the earth; and by it she has made them *dependents* on her sovereign will and pleasure. And is this the position you wish us to hold to her, as a fawning, sycophantic, cringing *dependant*? and to obtain which, you are ready to dash the Union to pieces. We stand forth now her mighty rival for the markets of the world. She has not forgotten the defeats she has received at our hands in "battle array," and in diplomacy, and I trust she shall never accomplish her designs upon us, the meanness of your soul with those of your colleagues engaged in her interest and against ours, to the contrary notwithstanding.

In 1791, England through her Board of Trade, made another effort to have the United States bound by treaty, not to raise the duties on her goods. Thus defeated again, her anger knew no bounds. No efforts were relaxed, no means were shunned to attack, now our commerce as well as manufactures, for a succession of years, until forbearance ceased to be a virtue. Congress, to counteract these aggravating outrages on the labor and industry of the people, passed first, the Non-intercourse act—and in 1809 the embargo act. Nothing daunted yet, England insulted our flag, oppressed our commerce, and impressed our seamen into her service, adding injury to insult. These repeated outrages led to the war of 1812, and gave us justice for injuries received.

At the close of the war England, true to herself, as she always is, commenced again to ruin our manufactures. In 1815, Lord Brougham declared in the house of Commons that "it was well worth while to incur a loss upon the first exportation, in order by the glut to *stifle in the cradle*, those rising manufactures in the United States which the war had forced into existence." Failing in this, as I shall hereafter show, she then made a personal application to politicians in this country to commence the work of nullification to the laws of Congress and to preach free trade as the great elixir of national prosperity. George Canning, when he became Prime Minister of England pledged himself to the people of Great Britain "*that he would make the people of America reduce their tariff or dissolve their Union*" Mr. Tyler was written to by him to enlist his service to reduce the tariff, which he will not deny. The London Times, in commenting upon the letters written by Turnbull signed "*Brutus*," remarked "*that they showed the master hand of Canning and his policy*." After they had succeeded in reducing the tariff through the Compromise, we find them taunting us with our pusillanimity in the following sarcastic strain for the alleged victory over us through the Edinburgh Review:

"In the four quarters of the globe, who reads an American book? or goes to an American play? or looks at an American picture or statue? What does the world yet owe to American physicians or surgeons? What new substances have their chemists discovered, or what old ones have they analyzed? What new constellations have been discovered by the telescopes of Americans? What have they done in mathematics? *Who drinks out of American glasses? or eats from American plates? or wears American coats or gowns? or sleeps in American blankets?—Who!*"

While I admit the tariff of '28 was too high, (but which was intended only to counteract the new British tariff,) the Compromise was an injury to us and a

victory to them. The result was, as I have stated before, as soon as we yielded one inch to them, they would taunt us with our pusillanimity and treat us with disdain and contempt. He was not the only one who thus taunted us in their leading Review, but Rothchild the great Banker, after the Compromise was passed, said, "*He would neither aid or lend money to a people who basely deserted their own interests to become dependents on foreign powers.*"

In 1842 (for she invariably has something to do with the tariff when ours is under review,) she almost tore the island from the sea where she rides, by her policy, mistress of the world, to make us believe she was going to become instant a free trade power. And for what reason—clearly to prevent the passage of our late tariff, and at the same time in her fashionable saloons ordering her nobility to appear in no other dresses but of *British manufactures*; and at the same time also by Sir Robert Peel's Sliding Scale she was laying a tax on every article that was before admitted duty free from this country into her American Colonies. And under this very sliding scale how are our grain growing States placed by its operations on their produce. A British merchant at a large meeting in Derby said, "he had once imported flour from New-York; but he should deserve to be branded as a gambler and have his credit destroyed, if he were to venture again upon a like experiment." A late London paper says, "*The American tariff appears to be growing popular even with the South, except in South Carolina, and if Mr. Clay is elected their President, we fear we will have to ABANDON THE CONTEST.*" Probably when she reads your letter she will renew it.

Let me call your attention to the following notice, and you will see how England understands what is her true policy.

" FASHION.

" **HER MAJESTY'S STATE BALL** —The following notice has been issued from the Lord Chamberlain's Office. All persons invited to the Ball at Buckingham Palace, on the 12th of May, (1842,) are expected to appear in dresses of *British manufacture*. Ladies not to wear plumes or trains. Gentlemen to appear in costume, uniform or full court dress."

This does not show that England regards manufactures the last resort, nor does it look like free trade. This she was enforcing from her own people when she was anxious to "*stifle in the cradle,*" the rising manufacturers in the United States, by urging us not to pass the tariff of 1842.

I have some half dozen English papers, all of which denounce Mr. Clay and his party, and give us the information "*that they are as hard at work to defeat his election, as the democrats of America are, and to elect Mr. Polk.*" They tell us without any reservation, that "*they have collected about \$2,500,000 for the Free Trade party of the United States,*" They tell us, also, that "*so long as Mr. Clay is living, they fear nothing can be done with the United States to benefit them.*" Of the disunionists of South Carolina, they say, "*if they succeed, they must share the reward of the treason, but they cannot help dispising the traitors!!*"

Sir, I wish now to call your attention to evidence incontestible, that you are laboring in conjunction with the people and Government of Great Britain, to destroy that very policy which led to the establishment of this Union, or to attack the Union, and by so doing, destroy both. I will give you the names and the amount subscribed, to propagate free trade in the United States by the free trade association in London. Mr. Murray says, "after the free trade business was over, he read over the following list of subscriptions *already received, the announcement of which was received with loud and hearty cheering by the audience.*"

The following are the subscribers and their subscriptions. The Honorable, the Lord Provost £100. A. and J. Dennistoun, George Square, £200. Charles Tennet & Co. £200. William Dixon £200. S. Higginbotham £200. Dunlap, Wilson & Co. £200. Buchanan, Hamilton & Co. £200. A Friend £60. Neal Thompson £50. James Scott £50. Alexander Graham £50. D. M.

Phail & Co. £50. William Stirling & Sons, £50. S. R. & Thos. Brown, £50. J. & A. Anderson £40. William Gemuell £40. Robert Dalgish £40. John Whitehead £30. George Smith £30. John Kerr £25. James Oswald £25. W. G. Mitchell £21. A. & D. J. Banatyne £21. John Young £21. Robert Stewart £20. Andrew Mitchell £20, and Alex. Macgregor £20. There are now millions of dollars worth of *British manufactures* in New York, with orders to be sold under the factory prices, so as to undersell the American manufacturers, the loss on which is paid by the *secret service money of the Government of Great Britain, so that they may stifle in the cradle, the rising manufactures of this country.* Does not this State of things against your own country, cheer your soul? Does it not make your heart leap with joy? Their object, as they state, is to promote free-trade for America and elect Mr. Polk by that *sound conservative party* you are connected with. They look upon Mr. Clay's election as the worst calamity which could befall them, and so do you. The proceedings of the meeting develop the astounding fact, that "about four hundred and forty thousand pounds have been subscribed for printing tracts in New York, for circulation in the United States." And you are to excite the public shame, because the people will not submit to this outrage—this bold and daring effort on the part of England, to extort from us and our Government, unconditional *submission* and *dependence* for "life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness" to her sovereign will and pleasure. And while she raises money by the millions, to force us to submission, you come forward, hired or unhired, paid or unpaid, as a co-worker, to commit war on the graves of those who ordained and established this Union. You would have her bow, would you, to England? Cringe and beg for forgiveness of her, for so long following the advice of our fathers, and daring to look to ourselves—to defend our firesides, our homes, our pursuits, our flag, our country, our all. History will assign you a character I would not wear for a continent. The flag of disunion, black with treason, shall never wave on these shores, and he who dares attempt it will find a traitor's grave.

I have thus, Sir, given you a long, but true account of those dangerous, wicked and ruinous measures of Great Britain to crush, disarm and manacle the industry of this country. To make the national policy of our own Government subservient to her will and domestic interests. No man after the history I have given can array himself against the protective policy as you have done without denouncing the cause of the revolution, the revolution itself—Washington and his illustrious co-peers in the field and in the cabinet—without becoming the advocate of England and the traducer of his own country. Let me now (although your English feelings may prevent you from seeing anything to excite your pride, yet my honest *American* brethren will feel it) present to you the efforts of our own country to counteract her mischievous designs upon our commerce and manufactures. In the first place I have the gratifying evidence to present that the *origin of this Union* which you now wish to see severed was the offspring of the protective policy. I quote Mr. Madison's account of the causes which led to the formation of these *United States*, found in Niles' Register, vol. 43, Sup. p. 35. He says,

"During the delays and discouragements experienced in the attempt to invest Congress with the necessary powers, the State of *Virginia* made various trials of what could be done by her individual laws. *She ventured on duties and imports as a source of revenue.* Resolutions were passed at the time, to *encourage and protect* her own navigation and ship building; and in consequence of complaints and petitions from Norfolk and Alexandria, and other places, against the monopolizing navigation laws of *Great Britain*, particularly in the trade between the *United States* and the *British West Indies*, she deliberated, with a purpose controlled only by the inefficacy of separate measures, on the experiment of *forcing a reciprocity by prohibitory regulations of her own.*"—(See Jour. House Del. 1785.)
Such a tendency of *separate* regulation was, indeed, too manifest to escape anticipation. Amongst the projects prompted by the want of a *Federal authority over*

commerce, was that of a covenant first proposed on the part of Maryland, for a uniformity of regulations between the two States, and commissioners were appointed for that purpose. It was soon perceived however, that the concurrence of Pennsylvania was as necessary to Maryland as of Maryland to Virginia, and the concurrence of Pennsylvania was accordingly invited, but Pennsylvania could not more concur without New York than Maryland without Pennsylvania; nor New York without the concurrence of Boston, &c. These projects were superseded for the movement by that of the Convention of Annapolis in 1786, and forever by the Convention at Philadelphia in 1787, and the Constitution which was the *fruit* of it."

Now, Sir, here is incontestible evidence from under the hand of Madison (and who should know better) that the Union took its rise from the *protective policy*,—each state individually feeling themselves unable to counteract that insidious and grasping policy of Great Britain which I have shown you she pursued and is *still* pursuing, desired a more perfect Union of the States and people than the Confederation gave to counteract her measures—and the present Union and Constitution you despise so much was, as he says, the *fruit* of that desire.

In 1790 when the first tariff bill was passed, our fathers, as if "to make assurance doubly sure" what they meant in the preamble, they entitled the bill an act "For the discharge of the debts of the United States, and the *encouragement and protection of manufactures*." Another motive, too, operated on the minds of its authors, and that was, to lay the axe at once at the root of the tree to counteract the designs of Great Britain. Now, Sir, you will perceive they were the authors of the protective policy, and is it on their heads you hurl the vile slander of "oppressors and robbers." For this bill, the whole South Carolina delegation voted. They were those too, who voted and fought against Great Britain, and our then, like the present, domestic tories—the authors of your freedom—and if you succeed in your designs on the Union on account of the policy they established, you will have to fight your way, over the blood of martyrs and the skeletons of the brave. Let me call your attention to a few extracts from men "whose fame is in all the land."—Washington, in his first message to Congress said, "*That the measures of the last session had proved satisfactory to their constituents.*" He told them farther, "that the encouragement of agriculture, commerce, and manufactures was a duty they owed the people." They replied "*We concur with you in the sentiment, that agriculture, commerce and manufactures are entitled to legislative protection.*" Mr. Jefferson said, "It behooves us to *protect* our citizens, their commerce and navigation by counter prohibitory duties, and regulations." Mr. Baldwin, from Georgia, in the first Congress said, "Thinking discrimination necessary and knowing the voice of the people calls for it, we will not answer the end for which we come here by neglecting or refusing to make it."

Our fathers felt it their right and their duty to protect our citizens in all their pursuits. The efforts of General Washington with both houses of Congress during his administration; likewise under John Adams' administration; but more especially under Mr. Jefferson's, to counteract the measures and designs of Great Britain to ruin our commerce and manufactures, continued unabated.

Again in 1809, still to counteract the rigidly adhered to policy of Great Britain on the manufactures and commerce of this country Congress passed the following resolution in addition to the embargo act.

"Resolved, That the Secretary of the Treasury be directed to prepare and report to this House at their next session, a plan for the application of such means as are within the power of Congress, for the purpose of *Protecting and fostering the manufactures of the United States*, together with a statement of the several manufacturing establishments which have been commenced, the progress which has been made in them, and the success with which they have been attended, and such other information, as in the opinion of the Secretary, may be material in exhibiting a general view of the manufactures of the United States."

On the passage of this resolution the following is the accorded vote of four of the South Atlantic States. Virginia, yeas 12, nays 6—North Carolina, yeas 8, nays 3—South Carolina, yeas 6, nays 1—Georgia, yeas 1, nays 4.—Total, yeas 27, nays

16. This vote shows, as all other previous votes show, upon the tariff that the protective policy was the offspring of the South.

In 1816, the year succeeding that which Lord Brougham made the remark to which I have referred you, on your side of the question the tariff again came up.—To again counteract the designs and to prevent the people of Great Britain from “*stifling in the cradle*” our manufactures the tariff again was increased. I find that the whole delegation from our State voted for the bill—and for the minimum clause also, which was the offspring of *South Carolina*. One of the delegation said their object then was by increasing the tariff to “*put the manufactures beyond the reach of contingency.*”

In the year 1817, the American Society for the encouragement and protection of American manufactures in New York, with Hon. D. T. Tompkins, at its head, elected John Adams, Thomas Jefferson, James Madison, James Monroe, and many other distinguished statesmen honorary members; all of whom, addressed replies approving in the highest terms, the object of the Association. I will simply quote Mr. Jefferson's.

MONTICELLO, JUNE 27, 1817.

Sir—I am thankful for the honor done me, by an association with the American Society for the encouragement of Domestic Manufactures, instituted in New York. The history of the last twenty years has been a sufficient lesson for us all to depend for necessaries on ourselves alone; and I hope that twenty years more will place the American hemisphere under a system of its own essentially peaceably and industrious, and not needing to extract its comforts out of the fires raging in the old world. The efforts of the members of your institution being essentially engaged in their respective vicinages. I consider myself by their choice, as but a link of Union between the promoters there and here of the same patriotic object. Praying you to present to the Society my just acknowledgments for this mark of attention, I tender to yourself the assurance of my great respect and consideration,

THOMAS JEFFERSON.

Mr. LYNCH, Secretary, &c:

The tariff of 1824 was another effort on our part to resist the movements in Great Britain on our commerce and manufactures—England was then again preaching free trade for us and protection for herself. At the head of this movement stood the celebrated Canning. In 1826 I believe he received orders from his King to form a new ministry, and to give confidence to the people of Great Britain to his cabinet, for it was a heterogeneous combination of parties, he gave the celebrated pledge I have before stated. From that effort of his, either to reduce our tariff or dissolve the Union, arose the agitation of free trade and nullification in South Carolina. At all events, the agitation here commenced about that time. He dying in the mean time, not however, until he had placed the seeds of discord in our midst. His successor went to work to finish what he had begun, viz. to amend their tariff with a view to this country. Congress, still true to the Union, passed the tariff of '28, and no doubt in their zeal to protect us and to counteract Great Britain overshot the mark—still they are entitled to the gratitude of their country. But the propositions of free trade and reciprocal duties from Great Britain to us so full of delusion, was caught up with enthusiasm, and especially by Southern politicians until the torrent became irresistible. The politicians of South Carolina having become suddenly the victim of and the enemy to the Administration, at once “*lashed the ocean into a tempest,*” and rushed headlong in their madness against the thick bossis of the Union. Fortunately, as in the Missouri question, HENRY CLAY was in the councils of his country, and offered the Compromise which, while it saved the principle of protection, poured oil upon the troubled waters.

I wish now to draw your attention to a few things, which, if not true, you and your colleagues are much abused, and you and they must come out and prove the contrary, or your silence will convict you. It is said, nullification was started some how in this way. Gen. Jackson was requested to make you his Secretary of the Treasury, which he refused to do—that you and all of your colleagues then swore vengeance on his head, with some honorable exceptions. While you and others were getting ready to enter into the incipient measures of resistance, Van Buren gets Jackson and Calhoun hold of each other's ears, and Calhoun comes home and steels with his friends, your thunder, and raises the shout of resistance and nullifi-

cation. As soon as you had found out that he had got a hold of your thunder, and had the State with him, you came out instantly denouncing nullification and resistance as a heresy and revolutionary. Now he is opposed to it, you are out to get the start of him on a more extensive plan. General James Hamilton, the "hero of the sugar hogsheads," and you may be able to say whether this rumor is true. The whole business (if the public could only find it out) of the last rebellion and insurrection was an infamous affair with some. That after it had started, it is known that letters were written by certain persons here to England, and that a certain man who is now a disunionist, was sent to England, or went with his own free will, (but it was always understood he was sent,) to look after the "*welfare of South Carolina.*" That it was known that Canning was in correspondence with Southern politicians in this country until his death, that his successor followed his example, and that while this certain gentleman was in England, the issue was made directly with the General Government, as Canning had determined he would make it, by the disorganizers in South Carolina, to "*compel the AMERICANS to reduce the tariff or dissolve the Union.*" Probably Mr. McCord, the disunionist, can tell us somewhat about his trip to England. There were in the revolution a good many who went to England, but never came back that hated their country so. I would like to know from James Hamilton, known as the great letter writer—and in Alabama as "*Dandy Jim of Caroline,*" whether Lieut. Trelawney of the British Navy—was sent here to take charge of the *South Carolina Navy!!!* in case the State came to an open rupture with the Government. I challenge certain persons who received letters from Englishmen to publish them, and we can soon see why they wish free trade and disunion, and whether their movements are dictated by patriotism or not. That that whole plot—originating in infamy and terminating in disgrace—was a base attempt on the part of some to overthrow this Union, I verily believe; and I believe farther, the facts will one day come out and overwhelm the conspirators with irretrievable disgrace and infamy. There were many who knew not the designs of the disorganizers—yea, many leaders, who were deceived, and thousands of the people who acted from the purest motives in the exciting scenes of nullification—a work of so much injury to the Government and people.

Well, Sir, what was the result of that contest? Did England offer to enter into reciprocal commerce? No, Sir, she held on to her *old* policy of protection, and when she found she had caught us, she jeered and ridiculed us for our credulity, pusillanimity and baseness. How did it operate on us? Why, Sir, the country was soon flooded with English goods. Our own manufacturers finding themselves unable to resist the torrent, set to work to cramp their operatives by lessening their wages. Their operatives resisting them, set in motion violence and mob law where before was peace and quietness; and from this cause I attribute much of that spirit of popular resistance to the constituted authorities of the land for the last eight or ten years. This confusion continued to reign until almost every factory was stopped, and starvation and distress stared every man in the face. The contest was not simply with the manufacturer and his operatives—but between the manufacturer and the importer. The importing merchants finally became victorious, which led them to suppose there was no duty whatever to be paid as thousands of their bonds are still unredeemed.

But, Sir, what was the effect upon the Government. During the seven years the compromise existed, there was a deficit of \$7,583,000, in defraying the expenses of government yearly, being a clear loss of the seven years, of \$53,088,000. The expenses of the Government during this whole period, was \$176,067,000, and the income \$122,979,000. Had it not been for a part of the public lands lying in these States, you wish now scattered into particles and fragments, we would have had a debt saddled on us at this time, of \$53,000,000. As it is, there is now a Government debt of some \$25,000,000, incurred by the issue of *shin-plasters*, to meet the wants of the Treasury. Does not this exhibit of the individual suffering inflicted by our own government, in bowing the knee to

Baal, in yielding to the intrigues of Great Britain—and the national sacrifice of dignity, character and honor of the whole country—a nation so reduced by British intrigues, as not to be able to borrow at almost any interest, a dollar for its own necessities, from its own or foreign citizens, show we were deceived and injured. Is this not enough to “arouse the national shame,” and to treat her with scorn for her treachery, and inflict condign punishment on the heads of any of her American emissaries, who may attempt the like movement again.

Sir, I have not the time or the inclination to enter upon a never dying constitutional question. Let us turn to the great charter from whence all our power to lay and collect taxes is found. The eighth section of the first article of the Constitution, is in these words:

“The Congress shall have power to lay and collect taxes, duties, imposts and excises, to pay the debts and *provide for the common defence and general welfare of the United States*, but all duties imposts and excises shall be uniform throughout the United States.” This clause, in conjunction with the clause to regulate commerce, gives Congress the power to protect manufactures as well as agriculture, as necessary to commerce, and all three are essential for the common defence and the general welfare. If she had the power to protect commerce solely, and not the power to protect that which creates commerce, she would be divested of one of the highest and most important functions of government, viz. to provide for its own means of support and defence. The power is ample; she has it even under the treaty making power. The States certainly had it before the Union was formed, and exercised it. If they have not got it now, where is it? It certainly must be somewhere, and that somewhere must be in the Federal Government. The Government of the Union is simply after all, an instrument created to protect the States and their people and property—and if she has not got the power to protect the labor and the means which sustains the States, from foreign aggression, she would be without the means to protect them in war. But, Sir, I have the evidence of all the Presidents. Out of the distinguished men who filled the Executive and Legislative departments of the Government, at the time it went into operation, twenty-one had been members of the Convention who framed the Constitution. We find them saying that “the whole government agreed in their official declarations and acts, founded on the principle, that to *protect and encourage manufactures* under the power to *regulate commerce*, and to lay *imposts*, was the UNDOUBTED RIGHT and DUTY of Congress.” The following Senators and Representatives of this state voted for the first *protective tariff*, having no constitutional scruples. Pierce Butler and Ralph Izard, *Senators*. Thos. Tudor Tucker, Wm. L. Smith, Cedanus Burke, Thomas Sumter and Daniel Huger, *Representatives*. The unconstitutionality of the protective policy by the general government, is not an American idea. It was taught us by Great Britain.

Mr. Madison, in his letter to Mr. Cabell, written in 1828, says, “That the encouragement of manufactures was an object of the power to regulate trade, is proved by the use made of the power for that purpose, in the first session of the first Congress under the Constitution.” “It does not appear from the printed proceedings of Congress, on that occasion, that the power was denied by any of them.” In speaking of the dogma of free trade, he says; “If *revenue* be the *sole* object of a legitimate impost, and the encouragement of domestic articles be not within the power of regulating trade, it would follow that no monopolizing or unequal regulations of foreign nations could be counteracted; that neither the staple articles of subsistence, nor the essential implements for the public safety, could, under any circumstances, be ensured or fostered at home, by regulations of commerce, the usual and most convenient mode of providing for both.” A member from this State, in Congress, said “that despoiling of getting rid of the tariff of '28, *political* men went about among the people and sat up the doctrine

that the tariff was *unconstitutional*." A government that can't protect its people from *injury* can't defend them from insult.

But, Sir, if I understood some of you who are spending so much breath about revenue, protection and taxation, you are for abolishing revenue by imposts altogether, and instituting in its place direct taxation and excises. Direct taxation is a tax placed upon the valuation of property, and was first instituted in 1798, in expectation of a war with France. Another in 1813—also 1815 and 1816 were other acts passed. The amount raised from 1798 to 1840, by direct taxation, was \$12,744,737 56. Mr. McCulloch, in his Commercial Dictionary, thus defines an "Excise to be duties laid on such articles as are *produced and consumed at home*." They arose in England in 1643. Mr. Justice Blackstone says of them in his, (Com. book 1, ch. 3,) "that from its first origin to the present time, its *very name* has been *odious* to the people of England." It was recommended by Alexander Hamilton, and a law was passed, from which was collected \$22,265,242. In a little while the name became so odious, that he changed it to "Internal Revenue," but he soon found that his new name would not protect it—that all must go. The government, after trying both of these means, found that the people liked neither, and in addition to that it made a tremendous addition to the patronage of the Executive, by an enormous increase of officers. Now, suppose you had the sub-treasury, with its thousands of officers and collectors of excise and direct taxation, along with the State tax collectors, the consequences would be that a multitude of officials would be spread over all the land, like the frogs of Egypt, until they would be found in every man's bedchamber. The expenditures of government would, under such a condition and mode of raising its revenue, be from sixty to seventy millions a year, instead of thirty or forty millions, at the farthest, as it is now. A system like either of these, belong to those who are suffering under "*grinding oppression*."

This system Sir, with low wages and free trade, would make a magnificent state of things amongst us. Suppose you establish free-trade, excises and direct taxation, with low wages, what must be the condition of the operatives and what the value of your negroes to you. Let us see how it operates in other countries, where excise, direct taxation and custom duties are levied.

England, a man, his wife and two children, capable of assisting, \$2.33 a week.

France. Calais common laborers 7 $\frac{1}{2}$ d per day, with board and without dwelling. Boulogne 5d per day, do. do. Nantes, 8d per day, without board and without dwelling. Marseilles, 4d to 7d per day, with board and without dwelling. The food in some districts consists in rye bread, soup made of millet, cakes made of Indian corn, *now and then* some salt provisions and vegetables; rarely, if ever, butcher's meat." In others, "wheaten bread, soup made with vegetables and a little grease or lard twice a day, potatoes or other vegetables, but seldom butcher's meat."

Sweden. The daily wages of a skillful agriculturalists are 7d or 8d, while the unskilled obtain no more than 3d or 4d, and board themselves. Agriculturalists in the Southern provinces live upon salt fish and potatoes. In the northern provinces, porridge and rye bread form their food.

Bararia. Laborers are paid at the rate of 8d per day, in the country, without board.

Belgium. A skillful artisan may earn in summer, 1s 2d to 1s 5d, in winter, 10d to 1s 2d; unskilled half as much, without board; live upon rye bread, potatoes and milk. Agricultural laborers have less.

Germany. Dantzig laborers 4 $\frac{1}{2}$ d to 7d per day, without board. Mecklenburg 7d per day do. Holstein 7d per day, do.

Netherlands. South Holland laborers, 3d to 4d a day, with board. North Holland 20d per day, without board. Antwerp, 5d per day, do. West Flanders: 36s to 104s per year, with board.

Italy. Trieste laborers, 12d per day, without board; do. 6d per day, without board. Istria 8d to 10d per day, without board. Lombardy, 4d to 8d per day, do. Geneva, 5d to 8d per day, do. and without lodgings. Tuscany, 6d per day, without either.

Saxony. "In 1837, a man employed on his own loom, working very diligently from *Monday* morning to *Saturday* night, from *five o'clock* in the morning, until dusk, and even at times with a lamp, his wife assisting in finishing and taking home the work, could not possibly earn more than 20 *roschen* (about 60 cents) per week. Nor could one who had three children aged 12 years and upwards, all working at the loom, as well as himself, with his wife employed doing up the work, earn more than \$1 weekly.

I regret I have not the statistics of the wages of other countries just now.

This is the condition of things you would fasten on this country, and which requires a standing army all over Europe, to keep it in existence. This system of yours and your colleagues has filled all Europe with wretchedness, pauperism and starvation, and if you suppose its introduction here will injure simply the laborers of the North and East, you are vastly mistaken. The value of the white laborer when cut down, must cut down the black labor also. Your negroes would be a burthen to you. They would not earn their doctor's bill, which this system of wretchedness would inflict on them. It should be the interest of the South to keep up labor, and to foster and encourage industry the Union over that their property in negroes might be the more valuable, and the interest on the capital invested in them, the more profitable. Nothing can preserve labor so well, and give employment to all our citizens, than the encouragement and protection of all our home interests, agricultural, manufactural and mechanical. It gives us a home, and a home market for all our varied produce, and a home of comfort and independence. It makes us rich within ourselves, happy in the enjoyment of our rights, and free from foreign control.

Sir, a word or two more on low wages. In monarchies and aristocracies there are classes of the very wealthy and the very poor. In a republic, both extremes are avoided. There is more uniformity of character and standing, and all classes assimilate more to each other. But, sir, if any one should be infamous enough to desire such a state of things, it would be impossible to effect it. The very attempt would shake the whole *Union* from centre to circumference. Reduce the price of labor, and the value of produce and of property of all kinds, goes down with it. The man who to-day is the holder of property, but indebted, to-morrow becomes a laborer, and the tendency of things would thus be to drive all the property into the hands of the wealthy; but would the all-potent, but all-wretched people let it remain there? Are there no demagogues, and is there no delusion in a republic? And do we of the South expect that amidst this general wreck and ruin, we will escape unscathed? As well might we expect to keep that portion of the Atlantic which washes over our shores at a level of forty feet above where it dashes against New York. Rest assured, Sir, wretchedness, like water, will find its own level. There are some 200,000 negroes, whose masters hire out as mechanics in the South, and who under the operation of this system, would be a curse on their hands. I pity the intellect as well as the knowledge of any man who would advocate this system among us, and I object to any man who would attempt, knowingly, to entail it upon us and our posterity.

From a statement lately made, based on accurate information, we learn that the capital invested in Manufactures in the United States, amounts to \$400,000,000. The amount invested in Cotton manufactures is \$51,102,359. The amount of persons engaged in and dependent on their existence and protection, is 4,000,000, and who consume at the lowest, 40 cents each worth per week, making in the aggregate, a home market for \$83,200,000 of our agricultural product consumed by them yearly. About 1,200,000 are located in the South. Of those engaged and dependent on the existence and protection of commerce, we learn amounts to about 800,000, with a capital of \$369,597,168, who consume at the same rate each 40 cents per week, of agricultural products, \$16,640,000 worth yearly. The capital invested in agriculture is \$694,453,000. You state that "manufactures should be the last resort in every country—that commerce is the proper handmaid of agriculture, and agriculture the blessed employment of man." Now I wish to show you how absurd your position is, and I will use that familiar and common place style that you and all of us can comprehend. I wish to shew you first, however, how commerce and agriculture depend upon the mechanic arts

What use would be your plantation without the plow, the hoe the axe and the harrow? What use the earth that grows your cotton, corn, wheat, rye, barley, potatoes; &c. without the plow to furrow up the land? What use your plantation without a house to live in, and how could the boards, the spikes, nails, hinges,

paints, &c. to build and complete the house, he had until they were made? The first thing a farmer or planter thinks of, when he goes on to his land cleared or un-cleared, is to have a place to shelter himself from rain and snow, and the heat of the sun. Your farm and negroes would be of no use to you, unless you had the instruments to till the earth. If you wish to bring the people to the customs and habits of the aborigines, why we tell you we will not consent to it—if you desire it, you can leave us, carrying with you the rest of your colleagues, for the Rocky Mountains, and you will find their descendants there, only, do not go to nullifying their laws and form clubs to dissolve their union. Tell McDuffie to take his forty bale theory, that he may teach the Indians the true principles of “grinding oppression,” as he can’t get us to understand it—not forgetting his long bayonets, in case you are all made chiefs you can show your people how to be in to an enemy six inches before he can reach you.

Well now, here is a capital of \$400,000,000 employed in the mechanical arts and pursuits, and being only \$294,000,000 less than that employed in agriculture, and near \$32,000,000 more than that employed in commerce foreign and domestic, and you do not doubt the Constitutional power to protect both, while you deny the power for manufactures necessary to sustain and carry on both agriculture and commerce. Now suppose your cotton was attacked while shipping to New York or Liverpool, would you not find the power in the Constitution to protect it? and if your Government did not protect it, would you not condemn her? Would you not “resist” and use the “rightful remedy?” And here is one of the three great elements of national prosperity having a capital of near \$32,000,000 more than that employed in commerce, and yet you cannot find any constitutional power to protect it from harm.—You are willing to appropriate by taxing the people millions for the protection of commerce and not one cent for manufactures, and without which, there would never be a ship upon the ocean. What is protection as understood by governments in its legitimate sense? It is simply nothing more than the support and protection of all those means or elements, internal and external, which constitute the national defence. Now has she the power over a part and not over the other? and are you going to hold her responsible for the ruin of that over which she has no power, and without which, she could not protect us in war?

But this is a never dying Constitutional question. Let us go back to our plantation and commence our familiar talk. Suppose, after you had got your house built, you would then want an axe to cut wood to make fires with—a knife to cut off poultry’s heads, stick to death pigs and sheep—an oven, skillet or gridiron to cook them—a kettle and pot to boil your tea and coffee in, and then a mill to grind your corn and wheat into grits and flour to you bake in your oven. Do all these things grow in the soil? Then you want a saddle and bridle to ride your horse with—a spinning jinney and a loom, and needles so you can clothe your nakedness; will you find them by the wayside? Is the clothing a man’s nakedness the “last resort?” and because he does do it, should the “public shame” be excited against him? Now here is \$400,000,000 employed in making these very articles you need—in the success of which, depends their very happiness and comforts in this life, and almost life itself of a population of 4,000,000, and against which, is directed all the powers of the world, who give you the work of their “thrifty hands,” and which you need as much as that which they take from you, and that to the amount of \$83,200,000, and \$66,800,000 more than those engaged in commerce take from you per year, and yet you have no desire to see their interests protected as well as yours.

Now, Sir, let us see how commerce would stand without manufactures and the mechanic arts. Suppose, after you had raised your cotton (for I must take you on that, as you can see or know any other agricultural product,) how would you get it to a home market without wagons, rail roads, steamboats, canal boats, lighters, &c.? And how to a foreign market without ships, schooners and other crafts until they were made? All these instruments necessary to carry your agriculture abroad,

and without which, commerce could not be conducted, are the offspring of the mechanic arts and manufactures. Why, Sir, of the sail that waits the vessel, you raised the raw material, the manufacturer made it into canvass—the merchant used it for his ship and sold it to others for the same purpose, and it becomes an instrument and emblem of all three. Even that flag, that “*gloribus flag*,” which you now despise so much, came into use in the same way. And, as if Heaven intended to mark the connexion of all these great interests “strong in death” we go down into the grave in the shroud,—the fruit of all three—as when man perishes, all perish, while the earth, as our “best friend” covers us in repose.

Are you willing to appropriate millions for the Navy, which you once voted for and now regret to protect, for commerce, and not a cent for the mechanic arts and manufactures, without which you could not have a ship of war built? Are you willing to expend millions for ministers, charge d'affaires, and consuls to live abroad to make treaties for and look to the welfare of our commerce and citizens engaged in it, the world over, and nothing for manufactures and the mechanic arts! What would your battle ships be to you without cannon, guns, swords, powder and ball to protect our commerce in peace and our honor in war? And of what use would your nullification be to the Union in case you were resisted without these “*implements of war*.” Are you Sir, willing to pay millions to keep up an army to protect us in war and not one cent for the weapons they fight with and the clothes they are to wear? Must we be as straitened again, as in the last war, to import clothing for the army from Great Britain? Sir, you are absurd, you sit up there in Pendleton, on the broad side of a cotton bale, and imagine it constitutes the only element of the national wealth and the national defence. Why, Sir, the little State of New Jersey, while it is an agricultural State, and, its agricultural produce exceeds in value that raised in South-Carolina, still its manufactures exceed in value, by several millions, the whole entire cotton crop of South Carolina and Georgia; and even the potatoe crop of the United States, at fifty cents a bushel, exceeds in value the cotton crop of South Carolina, Georgia and Alabama; and yet, Sir, who ever heard of legislation or nullification for potatoes?

Suppose, Sir, by the operation of that policy, which England has produced in all the states and commonwealths of Europe, they were all, from low wages, able to ship cotton into South Carolina and sell it on the wharves of Charleston for less than you could produce it, would you not be able to find the power in the Constitution to protect you from the ruin this state of things would bring upon you? Do you not think this sad condition would make you tariff men—and would you not, if the North were to refuse you protection from this injury, regard it as the most “grievous oppression?” Well now, Sir, here is another element of the national wealth and necessary to the national defence, placed in this very condition, and you cannot find any power in the Constitution to shield it from harm. Suppose, Sir, a foreign army, in its aggression upon our shores, were to burn and plunder these factories and workshops, would not Congress be derelict and recreant to its trusts, if it did not shield and protect them from this aggression? and if it has the power in such a case, has it not the power to shield them from the operation of those laws and that policy of foreign states which strike at these interests in peace? How would our cities be built up without the use of the mechanic arts and manufactures? How would religion, literature, politics and philosophy be disseminated without manufactures? How bury the dead? I might ask, how could we accomplish any thing that heaven has assigned to man in his earthly progress, without the mechanic arts and manufactures? The first Congress felt themselves bound, and the people of all trades and pursuits held them to the obligation that the power was ample to shield all the avocations of the people from harm? The ship-wrights from Charleston, in their petition to the first Congress, recognized the principle of protection, and held their Government bound to shield them from the injury, which foreign coasters produced on the carrying trade between the different ports of the States, and Congress by law amply complied with their request. Now, no foreign vessel can clear from any of

our custom houses as a coaster. Now, if you wish free trade and to be consistent, why not expunge that navigation act from the statute book, and invite the Danes, Swedes, French, English, Russian, Prussian, Mexican and other foreign vessels to a share in this trade?

Sir, I wish now to draw your attention to the operation of Sir Robert Peel's Sliding Scale upon the grain-growing States. By this scale, the duty on grain, is arranged according to the price, the one decreasing, as the other increases. Thus, for instance, the price ranges from 50s. per quarter, or \$1.50 a bushel to 73s. per quarter, or \$2.19 a bushel; and the duty from 26s. 8d. per quarter, or \$1.09 a bushel, to 1d. per quarter, or 3 cents per bushel. When wheat is \$1.50 a bushel the duty is \$1.09; and as the price goes up to the famine point of \$2.19, the duty comes down a shilling or two. But as England produces a sufficient supply in good seasons, and at all times a large quantity, very little grain is imported except at famine prices. The price is arranged by taking the weekly average of 150 towns, and is constantly fluctuating, from the operations of the London speculators. In 1828, the price changed thirty-five times, and in the average from 1831 to 1838 the duty was never below 20s. 8d. per quarter, or 61 cents a bushel. By this constant fluctuation produced by her laws, the United States is almost entirely shut out of her market, while she has made the most pressing offer to us to become the best customer for her manufacturers. A mercantile house in England would not dare give an order in this country for grain, because, before it could be filled, the orders to the near ports in Europe would be answered, the market glutted, the price lowered, the duty raised, and the merchant ruined. Suppose wheat in this country is worth \$1.20 a bushel and in England \$1.06, and the duty down to 21 cents—and suppose a London merchant, with a fair prospect, gives an order in this country for wheat, but before it arrives the market is filled from Europe, and the price falls 1 shilling per bushel, which it frequently does in a week—what is the consequence? Why, Sir, when the American wheat comes in, it is worth 55 shillings per quarter, or \$1.52 a bushel, and the duty has gone up to 42 cents, and the merchant instead of making a profit of about 50 cents a bushel on an order for 50,000 bushels amounting to \$25,000, he loses about 14 cents a bushel, and on the whole \$7,000. Do you wonder at the British merchant saying, "he should deserve to be branded as a gambler and to have his credit destroyed, if he were to venture upon a like experiment again." Sir, of England's seven hundred prohibitory duties, not one of them is rescinded by this new bill. By it she still retains all her prohibition and all her protection.

This is the operation of her laws upon the labor of the agriculturist of the free States. Now, let us see its effects upon the agricultural labor of the Southern and slave States. Our tobacco is taxed over twelve hundred per cent. This crop is valued at about \$7,000,000, and out of that amount \$4,500,000 goes to foreign ports, on which is raised a revenue of \$45,000,000, and principally in England. Our sugar is taxed to prohibition. She makes a discrimination in favor of cotton raised in the East Indies over American cotton of nine hundred per cent. on the duties. It is supposed, that the yearly cotton crop in the East Indies is even greater than that raised in the United States. A writer in the Southern Review, in speaking of the cotton crop of the East Indies says, "The extent of the wheat crop of the United States cannot be estimated by the exports, without taking into account the domestic consumption. So in regard to the cotton crop of India. Although the exports of cotton from America be ten times greater than the exports from India, it should be considered that the Asiatic consumption is much greater than the American, because the population is so much greater."

By turning to the London Athenæum of November 23, 1839, will be found a "report on the cotton trade of India." That report says, "the people of Hindostan are as capable of furnishing Europe with cotton, as the *inhabitants* of North America, and that, under proper arrangements, both the quantity and quality of their produce would suffice for all the requirements of British manufactures without the necessity of relying on the *slave labor* of America." Gen. Briggs, one of the East

India Company's Agents estimates the present Asiatic consumption at 750,000,000lbs.; which is greater than the whole cotton crop grown in the Southern States. He proceeds to demonstrate, in order to encourage the growers of cotton in India, and with a view of shutting out the cotton of the United States from England, by saying, "that India might supply cotton sufficient for the *manufactures* of England, and if necessary for the whole world." Great Britain will never change her policy to advance the interests of the American producers of cotton to the injury of her own possessions in the East. She will purchase of us no longer than she can do it on better terms than she can procure it otherwise; and this she will do at all events. She is now nerving herself and making the greatest efforts in her East India colonies to raise a sufficient supply for her own manufactures.

From 1821 to 1826, the increase from the East Indies was 108 per cent., whilst that from the United States was only 16 per cent. During the twenty years, the first increased 12 fold, the other only 3 fold, and during the last ten years, the increase of the East Indies was nearly four fold, whilst that of the United States was only 50 per cent. It is in vain to tell us that the East India cotton is poor, that it cannot compete with ours. It does compete with it. It has almost driven us out of the South American market for cotton goods, and Mr. Gray states, before Hume's celebrated committee, that under a twenty per cent. duty, it will drive us out of our own. Sir, it is the poor article that always affects the good, by underselling it. Every body is a judge of price but not of value. It is the poor English and not the good Swedish iron that interferes with the American; and so it is with all other articles, cotton included. Great Britain at least, understands this subject if we do not.

It is, Sir, that hostile and vindictive spirit you manifest in your *voluntary*, in unison with your colleagues, as "*common enemies of the South*," against the mechanical arts and manufactures, that *constitutes* the cause of our decline. Who would commence the work of manufacturing here, and contend with an excitement so hostile to their interests? What inducement is there for capitalists to settle with us and invest their funds in manufactures and property? Eighty thousand have left us within the last ten years, for other states, being a clear loss of about \$18,000,000.—Charleston lost in ten years, upwards of *seven hundred* of her population, and Savannah increased hers near *six thousand* within the same time: If the tariff injured Charleston, why did it not Savannah? It is a base falsehood that it is oppressive. Every city that blends the three great interests together has increased, and is increasing in commerce and population. What could the North do if we were to go to work manufacturing? Why, Sir, her capitalists would be forced to come here. We have the population and the materials which give us an overwhelming superiority. Our commerce, foreign and domestic, would float on every sea, ocean, river and lake.—Our population would increase, and enterprise, contentment and prosperity would fill our cup to overflowing. It is the absence of the stimulus which the mechanic arts and manufactures give to commerce and agriculture that brings ruin upon us. They are necessary to the other two, and without them the others could not exist. The attempt to force all the people to pursue commerce and agriculture, against their will, while the others are necessary to them both, is not only a violation of the laws of trade, but a violation of the laws of our nature. The minds, habits and dispositions of a people are varied, and as if heaven intended to make the works of his hands suitable to all these varieties of our nature, gave us various avocations, and the attempt to destroy either one is an injury to the whole three. You may cut away one-third of the roots of a noble tree, and it may live, but its freshness, richness and glory will be gone. Sir, you talk like a man fit for a lunatic asylum when you say, that if free trade was the order of the day, and our commerce was unfettered between Charleston, Liverpool and Havre, that the first-named would hold the same place in the confederacy that N. York does now. Our condition would not be altered one iota. If you refused to manufacture and the Union were dissolved, you would still have to go to the North to get your vessels, the offspring of manufactures, or to England, to carry on your commerce; or if you entered into a treaty with England she would demand as a guarantee,

that you should not manufacture or build vessels, and she would take nothing but what she now takes, and of course, your commerce would be no greater than at present, and where is the prosperity you are going to give to Charleston?

If you wish to know what has built up New York, Philadelphia, Boston, Baltimore and Richmond, I will tell you. It is the existence among them of agriculture, manufactures and commerce, and the stimulation and encouragement they give to the business of each other and the people congregating where all the avocations and pursuits of life are followed and supported by both Government and people, that gives them capital, enterprise, population and prosperity. This constitutes the cause of their prosperity. The people's feelings and hearts there, are with all pursuits. A man's honest livelihood is not denounced, calumniated and warred on there by politicians. No attempt is made to make a man's living by the sweat of his brow infamous. The feelings of the State is with all the people and with all their pursuits—and not as it is here. There are hundreds of men who served their apprenticeship in this State, and who were born here, who are now numbered among the capitalists and industrious population that makes these cities rich, peaceful, prosperous and great; and were it not for the foul spirit here among our politicians whose hearts are ravished with delight with England's prosperity, and indignant at ours, Charleston too, might prosper.

Virginia and Virginians will spurn you, Sir, for your insult. Because she is recovering her prosperity and capital that has been for years expended in other States—because the people and capitalists of Europe, and the North and South are settling on her borders and filling up her waste places, building factories, extending her commerce and gathering her resources—increasing her population—giving life, comfort and prosperity to all her people and to the State, defending and supporting her industry by supporting the tariff, which Washington and all her illustrious sons have taught her to do, and because she will hold no fellowship with nullifiers and disunionists, are you to vilify her as departing from her ancient renown? Factories are also springing up throughout Georgia and North Carolina,—the people, prosperous, quiet and contented—while in South Carolina we are cursed with a nest of politicians who are not only preventing us from being prosperous and enterprising, but who are denouncing and doing more to injure the people of this and other States by their British measures than all the powers of Europe.

Where will you find a state or commonwealth in the old or new world blest with prosperity, which neglect as we do, one of the great instruments of independence, one of the elements of national wealth and national defence? England understands this subject well, and it is strange we cannot or rather will not. Look at all those governments of Europe whose mechanical arts are broken up and the power they wielded to advance their commerce and agriculture, and to support the State, and which are now principally transferred to England, and what is their condition? Every government, with its people indirectly dependent on her, to defend them in war and to clothe them in peace. What has made England's commerce so great—being nearly as large as all the other states of Europe put together—but her manufactures and protective policy. What would her commerce be, if her manufactures were transferred to other states? Why, Sir, her power would be gone. She would be no longer the scare-crow and the terror she now is, of other states, and what if she were to establish free trade? Why, Sir, her government, as well as her commerce, manufactures and agriculture, would come to a dead halt. She would never be able to borrow a cent of money, or pay the immense interest on her present enormous national debt. This she well knows, and it becomes a matter of interest and policy to compel the world to practice free trade with her, and she prohibition with them.

I am no eulogist of England as you are! no admirer of that sickly philanthropy which traverses the world to discover objects for her sympathy, whilst thousands are suffering at home for its support! no advocate for that protection which exhausts itself in preserving wealth to the wealthy, and entailing poverty and misery on the poor and the wretched. But look at England: she is, "with all her faults"—there is in her history and policy much to admire, and much to imitate. With a small territory, scarcely as large as that of some of our States; with no peculiarity or variety of soil or climate, producing an insufficient supply of the necessaries, and but few of the luxuries of life, and but a portion of the raw materials that sustains her arts—yet she

promptly meets the interest on her immense national debt, disburses for her annual expense, upwards of fifty millions of pounds sterling, sustains an army of a hundred thousand men, a navy over five hundred ships of war, the most extensive commercial marine in the world, gives laws to a hundred and sixty millions of subjects, and rules over one-sixth of the entire globe. It was well said of her, that the sun never sets on her territories, that "her military posts are dotted round the entire globe, and their morning drum-beat, following the course of the sun, sends forth a continuous strain of the martial airs of England."

Yet in comparison with her shuttle and loom, her machinery and steam engine, all her martial array are but the "pride, pomp and circumstance" of power. Those may awe her own subjects, overthrow the hordes of Asia, or battle against some prouder foe, but these send the products of her power throughout the inhabitable world, and paralyze the energies of mighty nations; and, if England were blotted out of existence to-morrow, the historian could, a thousand years hence, write, from the medals and devices of her manufactures, a more accurate account of her power and greatness, than has ever been deciphered of the past from the imperishable monuments of genius! for even these tell not a tale of civilization so impressive as the simple winding sheet torn from the skeleton that it has enshrined for thousands of years.

The secret, Sir, of England's power and greatness is in *the protection of her own industry*.—From the days of her Edwards and her Henrys, when she launched her first battle ship and imported sailors to man it—when, to foster her own manufactures, she excluded those of other countries, and even made the exportation of raw materials felony, and required the dead to be buried in woollen, unto the present time, she has pursued the same policy of protection. It is inscribed upon the sails of her ships, stamped upon the products of her arts, and emblazoned upon every monument of her genius, enterprise and power. Through all change of time, of sovereigns, of ministers, and of parties, beneath this broad shield England has stood armed against the world. With her unchangeable position of buying nothing that she could make, and of importing nothing she could produce, she has successfully competed with all opposition. Within the last half century, our own country has sprung forth her rival. We have successfully contended with her in peace and in war, on land and on sea. But another and more potent conflict is at hand, and that is whether by protecting our own industry, we will insure our own wealth, power and independence—or, by basely yielding, become tributary to our mighty rival. In this contest, our country possesses peculiar advantages—a broad expanse of territory in the heart of a new continent, laved by an ocean on either side, stretching out like a beautiful carpet, through every variety of clime, and intersected with magnificent mountains, and valleys, rivers and lakes, with every peculiarity of soil, producing all the necessaries and most of the luxuries of life, sparkling all over with the richest minerals, abounding in all the elements of national wealth, with immense facilities of internal and external communication, and teeming with a population literally panting for the conflict; and are we to abandon them to despair by national cruelty or neglect? No, Sir, we will not. The *Whigs* have nobly come to their aid and their country's rescue by passing the tariff of '42. We will sustain it—that we may give happiness to the wretched, permanency to our institutions, character to the country; replenish the national treasury, relieve the government, restore confidence, put in motion millions of machinery, give employment to millions of citizens, cheer the husbandman with the certainty of a market, whiten the ocean with canvass, speed the canal boat and the car, and electrify this entire nation into new life and energetic action.

Sir, you charge a majority of the people in the four extremes of the Union, who support Mr. Clay, as enemies to the South and her peculiar institutions. This charge is a great outrage on a party who, with its noble and illustrious leader have, at all times, been the truest friends to the Union and the Constitution. To make such a charge and to utter such a foul calumny on the *Whigs*, in the Southern State, when the reverse is the case, is a base libel on their integrity, and we hurl the charge back with scorn and indignation on its authors. That Mr. Adams, Mr. Slade and Mr. Giddings have advocated the unrestricted right of petition I do not deny. But all of these men have, in conjunction with that advocacy, declared they would never vote for the abolition of slavery in the District of Columbia without the consent of the people in that district. Even in this position which they have taken, they are supported by many eminent Southern men who contend that the right of petition is unrestricted, but the right to grant is another thing. And I believe, that if H. L. Pickens's proposition had been adhered to, the subject of abolition would have long since been expelled from the halls of congress. Thousands petition, because they believe the right of petition is attacked, who abhor the abolitionists as much almost as any Southern man; and if the abolitionists are to be believed, they do not want their petitions received, but only to keep up an excitement about the right of petition being attacked. Thus blending the question of abolition with the right of petition, which makes them more formidable, and their power to excite the people the more potent. The Senate have, by the efforts of Mr. Clay escaped this difficulty. It was that compromising spirit for which he received the thanks of Mr. Calhoun, in the presentation of a petition, and the powerful speech he made on that occasion that gave the quists to that question in the Senate.

But, Sir, grant that the conduct of Messrs. Adams, Giddings and Slade is wrong, which I in no way deny—have they been guilty of *stealing negroes* from their masters as some of that sound conservative party of yours have been? Who is ex U. S. Senator Morris, of Ohio? a loco foco of the real agrarian stamp, who makes a regular practice of stealing negroes from their masters in Virginia and Kentucky to conduct them among *your friends* in Canada. Who is

Thomas Earle, who, in the Convention to alter the Constitution of Pennsylvania, voted to give the Right of Suffrage and Representation to the negro population of that State. He is a prominent member of that *sound conservative party* of yours, and is engaged in the same business of stealing negroes. Who is Judge Ross Wilkins, of Detroit, who said, in my hearing, that he had, in six months, *stolen sixty negroes* from Virginia and Kentucky, and sent them over to *your country* in Canada? Who Marens Morton, who Alexander Duncan? Who was W. L. Garrison, of the Liberator, but an old Locofoco leader in Baltimore, and who was Birney but another? These are a part of that sound conservative party of which you speak so highly and laud to the skies. Take them and hug them to your breast: They will join you in your crusade upon the Union in conjunction with England.

Your letter was written for the purpose of making abolitionists, not to lessen them, to give you a stronger pretext for your vile disunion scheme. To bring, not to prevent the, North and South from collision, on that subject. Those who do the most to help the cause of the abolitionists in this country, are such men as you. The abuse, you and your colleagues are constantly pouring on the heads of the people of the North, will beget a spirit of opposition among them, and especially will your calumny on the Whigs. The abolitionists in every state are a mere hand-ful; but a few abusive letters, like yours, might make them formidable. It is the agitation of this subject, North and South, in connection with the right of petition, which gives food to the abolitionists, and in the South, makes the negroes who can read, acquainted with their situation, and you seem to be desirous to continue and keep up that excitement, by organizing clubs where the worst passions will be brought into play, which, if they were to exist for ten years, it would be full long enough to extirpate slavery from the face of the Southern States. The more you excite that question among the slaves, as you are doing, the less secure is the tenure by which we hold them. Your attempt to connect a question like this, so sensitive, with the tariff, making the Whigs the authors of both, and as common enemies of the South with abolitionists, by an appeal to the prejudices and feelings of the South, shows you clearly invested with the mad spirit of Jacobinism, and as your attempt to get up a revolution is a desperate one, you will use desperate means. There are, from late reports, about \$2,000,000, raised by the Abolition Society for emancipating slavery in foreign lands, established in London, and which operates in conjunction with the Free-trade Association of England, with the avowed purpose of severing these States. So you will perceive you have \$4,500,000 to help you in this infamous work. Your letter, while it was intended to increase the abolitionists of the North, by blowing into a flame the worst passions, you also appeal to the fears and prejudices of the South, to excite their alarm, thus aiding the unholy efforts of these foreign societies, to rupture and dismember this Union. If this is your wish and desire, I say a traitor's grave to you, Sir. The Legislature, which passed the resolutions in Massachusetts, was Locofoco, and the Locofoco State of Alabama have followed their advice, and have adopted the white basis system, which was resolutely opposed by the Whigs. Mr. Slade, of Vermont, was forsaken by the abolitionists, and they ran a separate ticket, and Mr. Giddings, like Mr. Slade, for voting for and advocating Henry Clay's election, as a slave-holder, have been deserted by the abolitionists. I say again, we hurl, with indignation and scorn, the foul calumny into the teeth of its authors.

Your appeal in behalf of Texas will add nothing to your patriotism. You know your object in getting Texas into the Union was to get the Southern States out of it. You and your colleagues, movements were developed too soon and your hopes so far as Texas could help you, nipped in the bud. Why did you not all raise your voice against it, when it was given away? Why were not your sympathies then aroused? When Mr. Clay attempted to resist the surrender of that territory, the present treaty-makers denied our lawful claim to it, and voted against our title—but who are now with you, so patriotic in robbery, as to attempt its recovery by stealth and fraud—in violation of the law of nations—of solemn treaties, without the consent of the people of Mexico, Texas or the United States, and at the point of the bayonet. The whole treaty was conceived in fraud, and supported by fraud. They offered to pay the debts of Texas in consideration of her joining the Union, in case they should not exceed \$10,000,000, to be redeemable from the revenue arising from the sale of the public lands, when Texas had not an acre of land to give. Satan, you know took the Saviour up into a high mountain, and told him if he would annex himself and kingdom to him, he would give him all the kingdoms of the world, when the old rascal had not an acre of ground on earth to give—so it is with Texas.

The grants made by Spain and Mexico, are not repealed. The Supreme Court of the United States have decided that those who held lands in Florida, under the Spanish and Clark Arredondo claims, were valid and all the grants in Texas are in the like condition. Mr. John Charles Beal's claim, now belonging to Mr. John Woodward, of New York, amounts to far more than the whole quantity, which the treaty correspondence admits to have been granted by all the Governments which ever held Texas. Under these decisions and the terms of the late treaty, all these grants, amounting to *eighty millions of acres*, equal to three or four such states as Georgia, are claimed to be valid, and that claim would go to the same court which decided the Arredondo and the Clark claims; for the treaty annulled none. All

the grants were confirmed which were good under the laws of Texas; and the laws of Texas, so far as the right of property is concerned, are the laws of Spain and Mexico, and Coahuila and Texas, under which the right of property accrued. Besides this, Texas herself has been bountiful with grants to emigrants. Gen. Hamilton can find the annexation of Texas to the Union perfectly Constitutional, so that his property may rise, and he be able to recover in Texas, what he squandered in Nullification, and yet it is a flagrant violation of the Constitution, to give one cent to the States of the revenue arising from the sales of the public domain, to help them out of embarrassment. And you as unjust, wish us to pay Texas \$10,000,000 of dollars, with nothing on her part to pay it with, besides, would tax the people of the several States, in addition to the grinding oppression of the Tariff, to give her millions of money, without any obligation on her part to return it, and in case you cannot get this, to dissolve the Union! If reports be true, you and Gen. Hamilton have the strongest pecuniary stimulus imaginable, to get Texas into the Union. Under such a stimulus, who could not write patriotic Texas letters, and threaten dissolution of the Union, if Congress does not annex Texas, and pay your individual claims!!!

Sir, you seek (as was necessarily your purpose to do,) to efface from the minds of the people of the South, by an appeal to their prejudices and fears, all memory of those who through blood and suffering, ordained and established the Union and the Constitution. You tell us to "boast less often and less idly of the deeds of our ancestors,"—which I suppose means, as long as we remember them, the less we will be willing to commit treason against the flag and the Union they formed. The only obstacle in the way of the success of your revolutionary schemes, is the strong affection and attachment the people have for their illustrious ancestors, and the not less illustrious boon we have inherited from them. You tell us "*Our error is too great a veneration for the Union, and if we carry that veneration much further, it will be an evidence of unparalleled stupidity or unblushing baseness.*" This is a beautiful sentiment to come from a patriot!!! Our error then is too great a veneration for the Union, and I suppose your object then, in the formation of these clubs, is to obliterate all "veneration" for our fathers and the Union, and turn the current of our affection and veneration to such a clique of disorganizers as you are, for our fathers, and your Southern Confederacy as our Union. Sir, your scheme is full of iniquity and treason. After slandering our fathers and calumniating the measures and policy they adopted, you wish also to obliterate their memory from our minds. Sir, your language suits England and Englishmen, but never, I trust, an American. I have mistaken the American people greatly, if they do not remember you for this outrage. No, Sir, before they would follow your advice, they would see every disorganizer swinging from the yard arm.

You seek from motives and causes unworthy of a patriot and statesman, (and which were we to obey, would make us ignominious and ungrateful descendants of a noble ancestry, and disgrace us in the sight of God and man,) to attack and dismember these United States. This, I trust, you will never accomplish. You labor with great zeal to create the impression that the Union has failed in all the objects for which it was established, and that it becomes the duty of the Southern people to organize and prepare for the work of sacrilegious and fratricidal war on the graves of your fathers and the government of your country, to form a Southern confederacy. That you, McDuffie, Rhett and Holmes, with other plotters against this Union, have long since premeditated treason on your flag and country, in conjunction with Great Britain, and to use as an excuse for the act, the tariff and abolition, has long been believed by the people of the United States. Had the recommendations proceeded from any other quarter than from a leader, in the present dynasty party of South Carolina, it might have done some mischief. But it will recoil upon and overwhelm the whole of you with disgrace. Your pretended respect for the Union every one will regard as false and hollow-hearted. When men were found at the North, during and before the last war, boasting of their love of the Union, in conjunction with their treasonable measures, like you, it was found that they were making *private* arrangements to establish a new country, and a new monarchy with the Prince of Wales at its head. It was found soon after the organization of the Federal government, that there were men serving as judges, and as members of Congress, and at the head of our armies, who were confederated together to form a new state or kingdom, out of that part of the Union, West and South-West of the Alleghanies. Judges were receiving salaries from Spain, England and France, to avoid convicting any subject of theirs. They all professed to love the Union as you do—but, made war on it. Yet they were defeated and disgraced, and so will it be with you and your colleagues. Millions will rise up to condemn you and your infamous measures.

Suppose you were to get up a Southern confederacy, would that make the tenure of slavery any more secure? No, sir—and it seems you must have its abolition in view, or no man in his senses, would recommend a division of the Union to preserve it. Now the North, by the Constitution, is bound to protect it; but if it were dissolved, we would have the whole world against us. All the states would prey upon us, and the conflicts and collisions which would be produced by a separation, would lead to a civil insurrection among the negroes, assisted by all mankind, and what would be its termination and our condition no one could tell. Your scheme, while it professes to be a measure to sustain and perpetuate slavery, looks so much like a plan to

get rid of it, to be again united with England, that the conviction is forced upon my mind, that while you are leagued with England to force us to Free-trade, you are nging a measure that most force us to free our negroes. There is something dark and mysterious in all these measures of you and your colleagues, and when I know that England is poposing and raising millions to help you in these two measures, the toystery is still more mysterious. Bot all your measures I trust and believe, will be counteracted and you overwhelmed.

I deny, Sir, that South Carolina has the power to nullify or resist the laws of the Union *ex se* cede. The government of the Union is a compact or rather contract between the people of the States. The Constitution declares that—“*We the people of the United States do ordain and establish this Constitution.*” It does not say, we the States of South Carolina, &c. but we the people. And if one State has a right to put its veto on a law passed by Congress, another State has a right to nullify the laws of a State nullifying the laws of the Union, and amidst this confusion, who would decide, and of what use or value is the Union. By what kind of tenure would we hold our slaves if the doctrine be sustained? What prevents the free States from resisting the existence of slavery in the District of Columbia, if nullification is law? No State can secede without the consent of the people of other States in Convention, and nullification cannot be resorted to, without revolution, and revolution is an attempt to overthrow the existing constitutional government.

But, Sir, we hold South Carolina to her ancient, her cool, her uninfluenced, her deliberate opinions. We hold her to her own admissions, nay, to her own claims and pretensions, in 1789, in the first Congress, and to her acknowledged and avowed sentiments through a long series of succeeding years. We hold her to the principles on which she led Congress to act in 1816, or if she has changed her *own* opinions, I claim some respect for those who still retain them. I say she is precluded from asserting doctrines which she has so long and so ably expressed, as plain, palpable and dangerous violations of the constitution.

If the friends of nullification should be able to propagate their opinions, and give them practical effect, they would, in my judgment, prove themselves the most skilful ‘architects of ruin,’ the most effectual extinguishers of high raised expectation, the greatest blasters of human hopes, which any age has produced. They would stand up to proclaim, in tones which would pierce the ears of half the human race, that the last great experiment of representative government had failed. They would send forth sounds at the hearing of which, the doctrine of the divine right of Kings would feel, even in its grave a returning sensation of vitality and resuscitation. Millions of eyes of those who now feel their inherent love of liberty, would turn away from beholding our dismemberment, and find no place on earth where to rest their grateful sight. Amidst the incantations and orgies of nullification, secession, disunion and revolution, would be celebrated the funeral rights of constitutional and republican liberty throughout the world.

But, Sir, be assured, that amid the political sentiments of the people of these States, the love of Union is still uppermost. They will still look into it as the ark of their safety and the bulwark of their independence. Nothing will be able to shake them from their affection and veneration of it. No, Sir, neither life, nor death, nor things present, nor things to come, will suffer them to separate. Nor will they cease to frown indignantly on and denounce the traitor whose hand may be raised against so glorious a trust. Nor will they forget to invoke the God of America that their Union may be preserved throughout other times and unto successive generations; yea, even until one hour before sun and moon shall wane, the stars go out in night, the heavens be rolled together as a scroll, and the earth melt away with fervent heat, that their descendants may still be heard singing,

The star-spangled banner in triumph shall wave,
O'er the land of the free and the home of the brave.”

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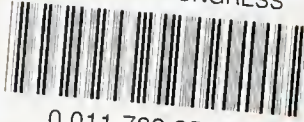


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