EDGEFIELD ADVERTISER.

A Democratic Journal, Devoted to the South and Southern Rights, Politics, Latest News, Literature, Morality, Temperance, Agriculture, &c.

"We will cling to the Pillars of the Temple of our Liberties, and if it must fall, we will Perish amidst the Ruins."

W. F. DURISOE & SON, Proprietors. EDGEFIELD, S. C., JUNE 11, 1856. VOL. XXI.---NO. 22

Choice Poetry.

From the Ohio State Journal.

TO MY MOTHER.

The following lines, written by a convict in the Ohio Penitentiary, are touchingly beautiful. We have seen nothing of late that has so moved our sympathy. The man who can write such poetry, who has such thoughts, cannot be utterly depraved. The curse of intemperance, with its attending downward influence, has here done his work, and a spirit noble and generous that might and should be the pride and ornament of the social circle, is now the degraded convict in the walls of the Penitentiary. How will that fond mother's heart bleed if she shall hear of her darling boy, the inmate of a prison in a foreign land:

I've wandered far from thee, mother,
Far from my happy home;
I've left the land that gave me birth,
In other climes to roam;
And time, since then, have rolled its years
And marked them on my brow;
Yet I have often thought of thee—
I'm thinking of thee now.

I'm thinking on the day, mother,
When at my tender side,
You watched the dawning of my youth,
And kissed me in your pride;
Then brightly was my heart lit up
With hopes of future joy,
While your bright fancy honors wove
To deck your darling boy.

I'm thinking of the day, mother,
When, with anxious care,
You lifted up your heart to heaven—
Your hope, your trust was there;
Fond memory brings your parting word,
While tears roll'd down your cheek;
Thy long, last, loving look told more
Than ever words could speak.

I'm far away from thee, mother,
No friends is near me now,
To soothe me with a tender word,
Or cool my burning brow;
The dearest ties affection wove,
Are all now torn from me;
They left me when the trouble came;
They did not love like thee.

I'm lonely and forsaken now,
Unpitied and unblest;
Yet still I would not have thee know
How sorely I'm distress'd;
I know you would not chide mother,
You would not give me blame;
But soothe me with your tender words,
And bid me hope again.

I would not have thee know, mother,
How [illegible]
The temptor with his baleful cup
Had dashed them all away;
And shame has left its venom sting
To rack with anguish wild—
Yet still I would not have thee know
The sorrows of thy child.

Oh, I have wandered far, mother,
Since I deserted thee,
And left thy thrusting heart to break,
Beyond the deep blue sea,
Oh! mother still I love thee well,
And long to hear thee speak,
And feel again thy balmy breath
Upon my care-worn cheek.

But, ah! there is a thought, mother,
Prevades my bleeding breast,
That thy freed spirit may have flown
To its eternal rest;
And while I wipe the tear away,
There whispers in my ear
A voice that speaks of heaven and thee,
And bids me seek thee there.

Political.

SPEECH OF THE HON. F. W. PICKENS,

Delivered at the Democratic State Convention of South Carolina, in Columbia, May 5, 1856.

GENTLEMEN OF THE CONVENTION:—I return you my thanks for the very kind manner in which you are pleased to receive me. I would have declined the position you have called me to assume as your presiding officer, for I desire no notoriety whatever in public affairs, but for one consideration, and that is, that I know there is considerable opposition to the purposes of this Convention in many sections of our State, and it is accompanied with much bitterness. Under these circumstances, I do not wish to appear even to avoid all proper responsibility, or to dread any share of vituperation. It has been the habit of my life to meet every responsibility imposed on me by those whom I esteem as my friends, and I have always had to encounter my full share of denunciation. On this occasion, while I shall not avoid the one, I shall defy the other.

If I am correctly informed, the sole object of this Convention is to send Delegates to represent the people of this State in the Cincinnati Convention, which meets to nominate, for the Democratic party, candidates for President and Vice-President of the United States. The objections to this are—first, that it has not been the usual custom of South Carolina to do so; and second, that it leads us into a corrupt struggle and contest for the offices of the Federal Government. First, as to custom, I trust you will bear with me while I look back briefly into this matter. As the issue has been made in South Carolina, it is important that we should understand the history of it, or at least some points bearing upon it.

In that clause of the Constitution which creates an electoral college, it was originally intended by Mr. Madison, and others, that the election of President and Vice-President should be removed from the people, and beyond the reach of popular excitement; and it was intended that the electoral college should choose whoever they thought proper, without reference to any previous indications. But, in the progress of events the theory was entirely changed, and the election of electors was, in fact, the election of President, for the body was pledged in advance to one candidate or another. The clause in the Constitution, as it originally stood, only provided that they should vote for two names, without designating who was to be President, and who Vice-President, but the highest should be President. In 1800, the contest between the Federal and Republican party was bitter and excited. Jefferson and Burr were run by the latter, and it fell into the House—they both having an equal number of votes. Burr was voted for as President, but only intended by the Republicans in the electoral college to be Vice-President; and yet the Federalists, taking advantage of the technical flaw in the Constitution, which prohibited them from designating who was for President, and who for Vice-President, actually rallied on Burr for President in order to defeat Mr. Jefferson, who was the most odious of all men to them. The balloting continued by States in the House for a length of time, until the Government approached well near to a bitter rupture; so much so, that Jefferson himself said, if continued, Virginia would arm. By a member or two from South Carolina, who were voting for Burr, at last declining to vote at all, the election was made in favor of Jefferson, amid intense excitement, and great danger to the permanence of the Government itself. The feeling of danger was so widespread, that the Constitution was immediately amended, so as to make it the duty of the electoral college to designate on their ballots whom they intended as President, and as Vice-President. The country also saw the great danger of corruption, and a rupture of the Government, by the election falling into the House of Representatives; and to prevent its recurrence, and looking with abhorrence upon the disgraceful attempt in the Federal party to force Burr upon the country, the Republican party resorted to some mode by which it was to be prevented in future. Hence the Congressional caucuses of the Republican party to concentrate, by nomination, the whole strength of the party, and to prevent division, by which the electoral college might fail to elect, and throw it again into the House of Representatives. So at the end of Mr. Jefferson's second term, Madison was nominated over Monroe; and so at the end of Madison's second term, Monroe was nominated over Crawford, and others. Then during Mr. Monroe's administration, after the war, the Federalists, with the odium of opposing the war, and the odium of their intrigues under Burr, became utterly powerless. Mr. J. Q. Adams, the son of the great leader of that party, had betrayed them and made a merit of disclosing their secrets to Mr. Jefferson, and he had accepted office under him and Mr. Madison. He now was made Secretary of State under Mr. Monroe, which consummated his reward. Under his intrigues we fully, for the first time, realized what Mr. Jefferson had declared—that we were all Federalists—all Republicans. Mr. Monroe's administration was consolidating in its tendency, and seemed to be imbued with the great maxim of Hamilton, which was to make up by construction what was wanting in specific grants of power. What was called the Republican party became divided between Mr. Crawford, Mr. Adams, Mr. Clay, Mr. Calhoun and Gen. Jackson. The Federalists, as a party, not putting forth any candidate, there was no plausible pretext or necessity for a congressional caucus, as either if elected would still be Republican. But, notwithstanding this, towards the close of Mr. Monroe's term, Mr. Crawford received the nomination of a Congressional caucus, and of course all the others denounced it. The election took place, and of course it fell into the House of Representatives in 1824—Mr. Adams, Mr. Crawford and Gen. Jackson, being the [illegible] According to the genius and spirit of our institutions, following the popular will, he ought to have been elected, but by combination he was defeated. There was an adjourned case of veracity between Mr. Clay and Mr. Adams, and notwithstanding this and their previous decided difference on many points, yet he voted for and, by his influence in the House, elected Mr. Adams, and immediately accepted the chief office under him declaring that it had been usual to elect the Secretary of State Chief Magistrate, and that he thought it a safe *precedent*. It produced a burst of indignation and a universal cry of bargain, intrigue and corruption. The danger of the election falling into the House of Representatives, and its dreadful and profligate effects upon all the fountains of power were deeply felt by all classes. The scenes that then occurred and the danger to the Republic were painted in glowing colors by one of our most beloved and distinguished statesmen—a statesman, the purity of whose motives in public, were only equalled by the transcendant and georgeous bursts of his passionate eloquence. I can mean no other than George McDuffie, for in fiery eloquence he stands without a rival in South Carolina. He was a member of Congress at the time, and in depicting the dangers, exclaimed, if this election is to fall into the House of Representatives, and to be repeated, "you corrupt liberty in this the seat of her vitality." And in this Mr. Calhoun concurred, for although elected Vice-President by the college, having been voted for by both the friends of Adams and Jackson, yet he threw the whole weight of his influence in favor of Jackson afterwards, upon the open grounds of defeating a precedent fatal to liberty and the existence of the Government, if repeated.

It was his friends—McDuffie, Hayne, Hamilton and others—who fought the battle in favor of Gen. Jackson, on these grounds, and in 1828 carried the election by acclamation, and Mr. Calhoun was elected again Vice-President on Jackson's ticket. No State in this Union took more interest in the election than South Carolina, or went into it with more zeal. The outrage had been so great by the House of Representatives, in electing Mr. Adams, that there was no need of a Congressional caucus or nominating Convention to concentrate public opinion, for there was no division, and Jackson was elected by acclamation to wipe out the outrage. In the previous contest the friends of General Jackson, as well as Mr. Calhoun had taken decided ground against Congressional caucusses, because Mr. Crawford had been nominated in one, and the others had run against the nomination. Therefore, they could never after fall back to that course; but when real division sprang up again, they resorted to National Conventions as a substitute. This was the case in 1832, as to the Vice-President; and Jackson was the unanimous choice as to the President, although he had said he would not run a second time. The only division was as to the Vice-President, and Mr. Van Buren was nominated, while Jackson was re-nominated without division. In the meantime, during the administration of Mr. Adams, his friends formed what was called the National Republican party, and claimed to be a sub-division of the Old Republican party, but they in reality drew in, to a great extent, the remnant of the Old Federal party, and by their doctrines soon made a platform so national, that any Federalist could stand upon it. The first great issue that Mr. Adams and Clay made was on the Panama mission, and the principles assumed made the distinctive division of parties. The States Rights and Radical school, as they were then called, fell into opposition in that great debate in the Senate. The next great issue made by the National Republicans, under Adams and Clay, was a tariff for distinct protection, *per se*, connected with an enlarged system of internal improvements. The State Rights Republicans took ground in opposition, and hence arose that great debate on Fort's resolutions, when all the friends of Gen. Jackson, with Mr. Grundy, from Tennessee, at their head, opened up the principles of State interposition, and even nullification, as embraced in the Virginia resolutions of 1798. It was on this occasion that Gen. Hayne, distinguished for his lofty and elevated character, adorned as it was by pure patriotism and glowing eloquence, made his great speech in reply to Mr. Webster, which Gen. Jackson wrote him he had printed on satin, and placed in his library, as containing the true theory of the Constitution. Soon after his election, however, a rupture took place between him and Mr. Calhoun, and involved personal feelings. It grew out of what Gen. Jackson had supposed to be Mr. Calhoun's course in Mr. Monroe's cabinet, in relation to the Seminole campaign, and the taking of Pensacola and the Barancas. It is sufficient to say that it produced a violent rupture. In this rupture Mr. Calhoun fell into a minority in the great party that had succeeded so triumphantly in overthrowing the Adams administration. Then soon after too, sprang up issues which involved the general principles upon which the canvass had been discussed; and the administration took up what Gen. Jackson called a judicious tariff, embracing protection. Mr. Calhoun and his friends fell back upon free trade, and its great and vital principles, involving ultimately in the last resort, the right of State interposition, taking the identical grounds taken in common with Gen. Jackson's friends on the "Woollens Bill," and tariff of 1828, before the election. In this great rupture, and in these great issues, it was natural for South Carolina to take sides with her distinguished son. He had been the pride and ornament of his State, and had illustrated the spirit of her institutions with a noble intellect and fervent patriotism, on the most trying occasion, in fact, his brilliant genius had illuminated the remotest confines of our State, and each and every one of hers delighted to bask and to revel in its soft and glowing rays, even as man delights in the genial sun of early spring, as he flings his morning light over the vallies and green hills of the land, all leaping with joy under the plastic hand of a beneficent God

Yes, it was perfectly natural to take sides with such a man and to stand by him although he might fall into a minority. The issues became more violent and decided, until it ended in the Tariff of 1832; and this State pursuing the path of her professed principles interposed her sovereign authority under the most intense excitement. This produced universal public discussion of the principles involved, throughout the Confederacy, and just a few weeks before the act was to be put into operation, which the State in Convention assembled had declared should be null and avoid, as Virginia had done in the alien and sedition laws, "the Compromise" was introduced in the Senate by Mr Clay, and hurried through the House, so that in fact the Government repealed its own act before the day arrived on which it was to commence its operation. This was State interposition. All these events produced the most intense excitement, and of course threw us for years out of the party movements of the general Republican party of the Union then lead by Gen. Jackson, and of course in general nominations we took little or no interest. Those who were with us were called the strict State Rights school. Mr. Calhoun, in the mean time, had resigned his Vice-Presidency and gone into the Senate to [illegible] Bank, Gen. Jackson, for the first time in our public affairs, had in his messages, appealed to the people of the nation as a whole, as contradistinguished from the people of the States of the Confederacy. And hence the great majority of the party assumed the name of the Democratic party, as contradistinguished from the Whig party, a generic name, that had sprung up and was assumed by the old National Republicans under Mr. Clay. Our party retained the name of State Rights Republicans, and stood on many measures between the two. So much so, that in February, 1835, the Democratic party, under the lead of Mr. Polk, in the House, introduced the famous bill organizing what was called the Pet Bank system, or State Banks as depositories of public monies; and the Whigs, under the lead of Mr. Binney, went for making the United States Bank again the depository of public monies, and the State Rights party under the lead of Gen. Gordon, of Virginia, introduced what is now called the Independent Treasury, to save themselves from being absorbed by either as to a great principle. I was then a very young member of the House, for the first time, and voted with thirty-two others for it, in the shape of three resolutions, embracing the identical principles of the present Independent Treasury of the General Government. In 1836, the National Convention nominated Mr. Van Buren, and from our peculiar position at that period, it was natural for South Carolina to feel no interest in the general movements of the more national branch of the party. It was not so much because she opposed their policy of organization, but because she was indifferent, having been alienated from the general party by her course on many exciting points. Things thus stood until the spring of 1837, when universal suspension of the Banks took place, and with that, what was called the Pet Bank system blew up. Mr. Van Buren called an extra session of Congress, and was forced to recommend an Independent Treasury. The Jackson branch of the Democratic party had waged upon a National Bank, and properly waged upon it, for I never was at any period of my life, and I commenced public life at the early age of twenty-three, a United States Bank man. Mr. Van Buren could not recommend that, and the favorite antagonist measure of the State Banks had blown up. So there was no alternative but the Independent Treasury, the very identical measure that had been introduced, February, 1835, by Gen. Gordon, and for which thirty-three of us then voted. This position of the President, then the head of the great Democratic party, of course involved all those great principles connected with the fiscal action of the Government, which lie at the foundation of our peculiar system. At the extra session of 1837, I was appointed by the Democratic party to call up and take charge of the Sub-Treasury bill, in the Committee of the Whole; I did so, and after discussion, a motion was made to report it, and then lay it on the table. It was carried by a small majority and I was the only member from South Carolina who voted for the measure that session. I was censured severely for it in different parts of the State, as it was supposed at that times, to savor too much of support to the general Democratic party and Van Buren for the politics of this State. But as soon as Mr. Calhoun took his stand for it, public sentiment changed. His great speeches on that subject soon brought the State to act cordially once more with the national party, from whom we had been partially alienated for seaveral yaars. We then went into the campaign with them, and Mr. Calhoun became reconciled to Mr. Van Buren, even so much so, that he dined with him, and it was publicly announced through the Richmond Enquirer. We afterwards went into caucus with them on all important questions; and in the great contest of 1840, Gov. Thomas of Maryland and myself, wrote the address and resolutions of the Democratic party, upon which the canvass was conducted, or rather in caucus the report was made by Mr. Grundy, and on the motion of Mr. Polk it was referred back to a sub-committee of Gov. Thomas and myself, and we remodeled it. South Carolina went heartily into the contest, and the nomination of Van Buren was a mere nominal matter, as there was no division. We were beaten, because the resolutions and report had two much strict principle for the times, and our opponets under Harrison carried it without principles or rather fighting for a National Bank in some sections and against it in others; and so of all the other great issues. At the extra session of 1842 they endeavored to carry every thing in the shape of a National Bank in some form, but were defeated in all. They succeeded in the Tariff of 1842. The compromise of 1833 made a biennial reduction of ten per cent. to run for ten years, and at the end of that time to be reduced to the wants of an economical Government. They got the first years of the protection afforded, and before its latter years fulfilled its final operation, so as to give us the benefit, it, in shameless disregard of all faith, was repealed by the Tariff of 1842, introduced by the same man who had introduced the compromise of 1833. This was carried against the opposition of the Democratic party, except two distinguished Senators, Mr. Wright, of New York, and Mr. Buchanan, of Pennsylvania.

It was these great questions that brought South Carolina into full communion with the Democratic party of the Union, so that in 1843 we called a Convention of Delegates exactly similar to the assembly here now. Mr. Calhoun had made a great impression, and was freely spoken of for President in all parts of the Union. South Carolina took an active part in national politics. The Convention of this State met and nominated him subject to the nomination at the Baltimore Convention. The Convention also made an argument as to the plan of electing and organizing the General Convention. The prominent nomination of Mr. Calhoun by this State immediately drew the fire of the friends of all the Candidates of the old Jackson Democratic party. These were Mr. Van Buren, Mr. Cass, R. M. Johnson, and Mr. Buchanan. In the meantime, towards fall, Mr. Calhoun published his argument against the mode and manner of organizing the Baltimore Convention and its evil tendencies. There had been two Delegates for the State at large elected by the State Convention, but under this letter of Mr. Calhoun the Congressional Districts were indifferent to electing any Delegates as proposed by the State Convention, and there were none appointed. Mr. Calhoun's name was even taken from the papers of this State. But just at this juncture there began to loom up another great absorbing question upon the public horizon. The lone star of Texas had risen like a fiery meteor from the bloody field of San Jacinto. In 1838 Mr. Van Buren and his Secretary of State had refused to consider the question of annexation, and it had died away until 1843. The British Government had interfered to prevent annexation, avowing through Lord Aberdeen, that her object was to produce emancipation throughout the world. This excited the public mind, and the able letter of Mr. Calhoun to Mr. King, our Minister in France, made the whole South deeply alive to the delicate and vast interests involved. The canvass for the Presidency had narrowed down pretty much to a contest between Mr. Clay and Mr. Van Buren. A majority of the Delegates already elected were known to be in [illegible] Texas question, and make the election turn on the old issues upon which Mr. Van Buren was defeated in 1840. There had been a great re-action on them and it was thought he could now be elected. Mr Clay was at Raleigh, and Mr. Van Buren near Albany, and yet their letters against annexation of Texas appeared in the National Intelligencer, at Washington, if not the very same day—one appeared one day and the other the next. This looked like collusion, and it was universally believed it was by concert and understanding, and thence rose that conflict which ended in the overthrow of Van Buren. The Democratic party were too sound on principle to follow their principal leader, and he fell. The Whigs, who it is notorious always fought for abstract principle—followed their leader, and he lead them to defeat. After the appearance of these two letters from Mr. Clay and Mr. Van Buren against annexation the excitement became intense, and Mr. Calhoun wrote Mr. Elmore and myself to go on to the Baltimore Convention by all means, and to have a meeting in Charleston to get others to go with us, as it was important to the South, and to the triumph of Texas. I was very reluctant to go, under the circumstances, but we did get a few together at Stewart's Hotel, Charleston, and could get no one to go, except Mr. Aiken, the present member of Congress. We attended the Convention, not however as regular members, but when Mr. Polk was nominated we were called on to speak, and we cordially approved of it. Mr. Polk was for annexation of Texas—sound on the Tariff—internal improvements—Bank, and all great questions; and as to general politics, occupied the same ground with Mr. Calhoun; and but for Mr. Calhoun's letter against the organization of the Convention, in all probability he would have received the nomination instead of Mr. Polk. We came home from the Convention and public meetings were held in the State to ratify the nomination. It was received with enthusiasm, and South Carolina once more entered warmly into the canvass for President and Vice-President. He was elected, and appointed Mr. Buchanan Secretary of State, and the Mexican war came on. Mr. Calhoun threw himself against it, and lost the sympathy and control of the Democratic party in the South. And again in 1848 South Carolina became indifferent to the nominating Convention for the Presidency. Gen. Cass was nominated, and many of our members of Congress were against him and in favor of Gen. Taylor. The people of the State, however, took very decided ground for his nomination as against Gen. Taylor, and although Charleston was carried for Taylor, the rest of the State went decidedly for the nominee. In 1850 and '51, sprung up all those angry and exciting questions connected with the admission of California. A Southern Convention was called on the recommendation of Mississippi to meet at Nashville; secession enlisted the deepest feelings in South Carolina. The State was divided into two very decided and bitter parties. After the termination of the controversy, the whole public feeling of the State became prostrated and indifferent to general politics. Just at this period came on the Convention for nomination, and of course, the State, under the heated events she had but recently passed through at home, took no interest whatever in the Convention. But when Gen. Pierce was nominated, she took a decided and unanimous part. There was not division enough amongst us to produce discussion. I have thus given a rapid view of the course of the State, and of the principal causes that influenced the course as well as I understood them. The only great and decided point made in her indifference to, or opposition to acting with the Democratic party in their nominating Conventions as was connected with Mr. Calhoun's publication against the mode and manner of organization of the Baltimore Convention that met in 1844. Mr. Calhoun was right as far as he went. There are no doubt very grave and serious objections to the usual manner of constituting such assemblies. And Mr. Calhoun's fertile genius, could also, no doubt point out serious objections to the mode and manner of electing almost any deliberative assembly, if he chose to analyse it. Take for instance our own Legislatures. He could easily prove that there had been corruption and even bribery at many of the election boxes—that there had been fraud and corrupt combinations in many of the Districts. And, even after the Legislature was assembled, it could be proved that there was corrupt management and log-rolling, and unjust and unfair Legislation. So too of Congress, that it was very often corruptly constituted and unfairly organized—that it was partial and unfair in its Legislation. But is this sufficient to abandon them altogether and abolish them? All government itself is an evil and the only reason why we submit to it, is that it is a substitute for a greater evil, which is anarchy. In this point of view it is a positive blessing. So in this case, there was a great argument beyond the positions Mr. Calhoun assumed in his letter or communication, and that lay in the evils arising from the election of President and Vice-President falling habitually into the House of Representatives. Let us look at it for a moment. According to the Constitution, if any candidates fail to receive a majority of the whole votes cast in the electoral college, the election goes to the House of Representatives with the three highest. According to the theory of that instrument, also, the powers of government are divided between the Senate, the President and the House of Representatives, and must be kept separate. But if the election of President habitually falls into the House—then that branch will in time absorb the Executive, and the President will but be the humble tool and instrument of those who will make the powers of the Republic and destroy the equilibrium of the three branches, and make in fact but two—and where then will be your Senate?

With the popular branch of the Government in habitual control of the election of President and Vice-President, there can be no safety for liberty or the Republic. The Senate would soon be at their mercy, and we would become a consolidated Democracy to a certain extent, with a corrupt oligarchy in the House of Representatives, contesting the destiny of empire. Such has been the catastrophe of all Republics, where the legislative branch chooses the executive also. The Constitution expressly reserves the raising of all revenue bills to the House of Representatives. Here, then, we would have the same branch of Congress that holds the purse strings, naming, too, the executive, and making him the humble tool of their corrupt and profligate expenditures.

You say it is corrupting to have Conventions to nominate and prevent the election falling into the House of Representatives, and yet you propose to corrupt permanently the Legislative branch of the Republic, and thus poison the very fountains of the law-making power, and debauch them by throwing the purple of empire at their bar every four years for sale and barter. Admit for argument that the Convention is corrupt, yet it sinks back again into the mass of the people, without the power habitually to cover your statutebooks, with the permanent marks of fraud and corruption. To give that branch that holds the revenue in its hands, also the power to hold the President, is in fact to destroy the fundamental equilibrium of the Government. This is the true reason why the *country* has [illegible] nominating caucuses in the first instance, after the Burr conspiracy of the Federalists in 1801, and then in modern times to Conventions. True, they may be full of evils, and even corruption, and yet they are a choice of evils, and prevent a greater evil in all the stupendoug and corrupting consequences of the election habitually falling into the House of Representatives. This was deeply felt both in 1801 and 1814, and came near producing a convulsion; and, if repeated often, does any man who has read history believe that this Republic could last?

Now, a few words as to the time and the peculiar state of the country in which we are called on to act at this juncture in our affairs. Heretofore there might have been some cause of apprehension on the part of South Carolina, for fear she may have been betrayed, or unjustly dealt with in Conventions. The South had for years great grievances to complain of, and there might have been danger that the candidates chosen might lean too much towards what had been done by Government, rather than to alleviate our wrongs and grievances. We complained of the operation of an unconstitutional Bank of the United States, and of a tariff for protection connected with it; and, also, of an enlarged and systematic system of expenditures in internal improvements, appropriated on canals and great national roads. These were all branches of the same system; and during the operation of the United States Bank from 1816 to 1836, in round numbers about $400,000,000 of money was collected in the shape of revenue, $300,000,000 of which was practically paid South of the Potomac, and out of the $400,000,000 disbursed by Government during that period, at least $300,000,000, were disbursed North of the Potomac; and as they received $200,000,000 more than they actually paid, and we received only $100,000,000 in disbursement, and of course lost $200,000,000. There is no question upon earth but that the fiscal action of the Government, during that period, affected the distribution of wealth to that amount in this Confederacy. We felt it deeply. The conflicts that these things produced created alienation and doubt, and forced us to look rather to local organization for protection, than to national combinations as to the chief offices.

An issue was produced in these violent conflicts, and State interposition forced the Government to repeal an odious tariff act a few weeks before the day it was fixed for it to go into operation in 1833. This commenced to stop the partial and unjust sources of supply for a corrupt and unjust bank to operate upon in its fiscal action, and then Gen. Jackson nobly and gloriously destroyed the bank itself. This State produced an issue that caused the Government to pause, and forced a full discussion of the unjust measure in the public mind, which ended to a certain extent in its overthrow; and Gen. Jackson destroyed the other corrupt branch of the system, and gave a decided shock to local and partial internal improvements. Then immediately afterwards, in 1836, sprung up those other movements upon our local institutions. They took the place in public excitement of the tariff, bank and internal improvements. The North had used them to govern the South, and now use Abolition for the same purposes. This unholy and unhallowed combination between base ambition and foul fanaticism, the designing and unprincipled use for the purpose of creating a majority to rule the South. It is more a question of power with them than of conscience. In this contest we labored under great disadvantages. One of the leading Southern States committed a stupendous blunder in the ordinance of 1787, and then we had forced on us the Missouri Compromise of 1820. This gave the North the right to acquire States, and colonize South of 36° 30' latitude, but prohibited us from going North of that line. South of it was left to the settlers to choose slavery or not, and North we had no choice. It was an infamous and degrading distinction. It was substituting a single law passed by a majority in Congress for the Constitution, and attempting to give it all the solemnity of an amendment to the Federal compact. And if they could thus add to or amend the instrument in one instance, they could in another, and thus the compact itself would be in the hands of a simple majority in Congress, instead of in the hands of the States who made it. The organic law of this Confederacy was made by three-fourths of the States, and they alone can add to or take from it. There is no human tribunal can do it but them; and the country will sink down into the imbecility of slaves, if they submit to anything short of that. These were our difficulties. And that part of the Constitution which enjoins the rendition of fugitives from labor, had become obsolete. Kentucky, Virginia and Maryland felt the grievance too heavy to be borne. Now, how stand the great issues? True, we have been wronged deeply wronged in the past history of an unnecessary amount of revenue too heavy. But a tariff, embracing the principles of free trade, or at least abolishing specifics and minimums, has been put into operation by the Government. The Democratic party, in its triumph, broke down the infamous tariff of 1842, with its specific and minimum duties, enpressly for protection, and passed the tariff of 1846, with its *ad valorem* as a substitute. True, the *ad valorem* is entirely too high, and the revenue beyond all that is necessary, and the heavy disbursements, are corrupting, and ought to be reduced. But the vital principle of protection, specifics and minimus, is destroyed. They grew up from the Tariff of 1816 and became the centre of existence to a protective tariff—another corrupt branch of the system a Bank, is destroyed, and the Cumberland road, with canals, was the centre of the corrupt system of internal improvements. It is now abandoned, and there has been no appropriation for it since 1837. The great issues are now changed. A Southern Senator, Mr. Mason, from Virginia, penned the fugitive slave law to enforce the Constitution on that point. A north-western Senator from a non-slaveholding State introduced and carried triumphantly by the force of his genius the repeal of the Missouri restriction. The North now complains of grievances. They demand the restoration of this Missouri line—the repeal of the fugitive slave law. They demand the abolition of slavery in the District of Columbia—and the regulation of the slave trade between the States, and that no new State with slavery shall hereafter be admitted. These are all positive measures. They require action—offensive moves. We stand on the defensive. The Government, at last, for the first time in twenty-five years, has made a platform we can stand upon. We sustain it. The North wages war upon it. Heretofore, when we complained of grievances, if any portion of the South made a specific movement for redress, other portions would oppose it, and we were divided. Now the North has to move, and when they propose specific action they in turn will be divided, and must be from the very nature of things, and with the *South united* and the North *divided, we can control this Union*, if we but have wisdom and patriotism to perceive what is right, and to do it manfully and truthfully.

It is *provincial statesmanship* not to understand the issues and comprehend the great changes in the couutry. We need no platform—the Government has already made the platform—the Government itself has made it with a President at its head, and it is strong enough and wide enough for us to stand upon it boldly, and if they make a platform below that, they must fall themselves. The North itself has been overrun and prostrated by a corrupt and profligate combination of parties amongst themselves, and there is no hope for the honest and true there, but in the *Constitution* and the *whole Constitution*. We go for that Constitution as broad enough for us all. As long as we are in the Union I am for discharging all *our duties, faithfully, and fully*, under that Union. I scorn and despise to affect one thing and to feel another. If we are going for secession that is another thing. But as long as we are part of this confederacy let us *do our duty, manfully and faithfully, to the country, the whole country—and nothing but the country*. These are my sentiments.

A Senator from a non-slaveholding State in the north-west introduced a repeal of the Missouri compromise, and by his ability and energy carried it through triumphantly by the assistance of northern votes. And I here pay my tribute to a brave and talented man—here, in the very centre and heart of South Carolina, I take pride in tendering my cordial approbation to a very intellectual and intrepid statesman. And shall we refuse to stand by those who have planted themselves in the breach made by the fanatical and the factious in the institutions of our country,—who stand with Douglass on the very outer wall, and wave the flag of constitutional equality? No! no! Render justice to whom justice is due.

Shall we turn our backs with indifference upon the President, who nobly stands in the very portals that lead to the Temple of our common liberties—bearing, as he does, aloft in one hand, the sword of Justice, and in the other the ægis of the Constitution? Shall we refuse to nerve his patriotic arm? Shall we refuse to stand by him? No! no!—every feeling of my nature revolts at it—every impulse of my heart warms me to the contest.

But it is said, that to stand by our friends in every emergency is to endanger the virtue of our men—is to bring them into contact with corruption!! And has it come to this—that South Carolina has sunk so low that she has no sons who can be trusted in the common councils of our sister States? If we are thus prostrate, poor indeed we must be,—and in truth it is time that our guardians should be appointed. But there is danger of our becoming corrupted with federal offices, if we go for choosing a sound and true President!!! We have no motive except to engage in a scramble for federal offices!!! Ah! I have a right to say that there are men here, who can trample the livery and trapping of federal honors beneath their feet in the dust of the earth, if incompatible with the honor and rights of South Carolina. I tell gentlemen, that there are those here, who *disdain*

"To crook the pregnant hinges of the knee,
Where thrift may follow fawning."

I throw back the insinuation in pity and contempt. If there be any son of South Carolina, who, on account of his character and devotion to the Constitution, may be thought worthy of Federal power, why may he not wear the badge with honor? There is nothing at present in the attitude of the State to forbid it. No—let us do our duty—let us do what is right in forbearing liberality to those who differ with us. Do openly and fairly what is right, and my life on it South Carolina will sustain us.

LOW-COUNTRY WHEAT.—We have received a very fine sample of heads of Wheat raised on the plantation of Mr. J. R. MATTHEWES, on Pon Pon. They are nearly mature, with a large number of full grains to the head. This seems, to solve the problem of the possibility of profitably growing Wheat in the Low-Country of South Carolina.—Charleston Mercury.

A late exchange says that the ladies of Aurora, Illinois, in consideration of this being Leap year have, without the shadow of a dissentient voice, passed the following resolution:

"*Resolved*, That if we, young ladies of Aurora, don't get married this year, somebody will be to blame."

MESSRS. BROOKS AND SUMNER.

The correspondent of the New York *Herald*, says about half-past one, after the Senate adjourned Col. Preston S. Brooks, member of Congress, of South Carolina, aproached Senator Sumner, who was sitting in his seat and said:

"I have read your speech carefully and with as much disposition to do you justice as I could command; and I have deliberately come to the conclusion that you were guilty of a gross libel upon my State, and of a wanton insult to my absent and grey-haired relative, Judge Butler, and I feel myself under obligations to inflict on you a punishment for this libel and insult."

Col. Brooks then struck Senator Sumner with his cane some dozen blows over the head. Mr. Sumner at first showed fight, but was overpowered. Senator Crittenden and others interferred and separated them.

Mr. Keitt, of South Carolina, did not interfere, only to keep persons off.

Senator Toombs declared that it was the proper place to have chastised Mr. Sumner.

About a dozen Senators and many strangers, happened to be in the Chamber at the moment of the fight. Sumner, I learn, is badly whipped. The city is considerably excited, and crowds everywhere are discusthe last item. Sumner cried, "I'm most dead! oh, I'm most dead!" After Sumner fell between two desks his own having been overturned, he lay bleeding, and cried out, "I am almost dead—almost dead!"

Mr. Brooks waited at the Porter's Lodge about an hour yesterday, and as long this morning, hoping to meet Mr. Sumner, with a view to attack him. Failing in this, he entered the Senate Chamber to-day, just as that body adjourned, and seeing several ladies present, seated himself on the opposite side to Mr. Sumner. Soon all disappeared but one. He then requested a friend *to get* her out, when he immediately approached Mr. Sumner, and *made his* remarks in a very quiet tone.

Mr. Sumner attempted to spring to his *feet*, showing fight, but whilst in the act was struck by Col. Brooks a back-handed blow across the head, with a gutta percha cane near an inch thick, but hollow, and he continued striking him right and left until the stick was broken into fragments, and Mr. Sumner was prostrate and bleeding on the floor. No one took hold of Col. B. during the time, so quick was the operation; but immediately afterwards Mr. Crittenden caught him around the body and arms, when Col. B. said, "I did not wish to hurt him much, but only whip him."

No one knew of the anticipated attack [illegible] Sumner would be armed when he delivered his speech, and that if occasion required it he would use his weapons. He was not armed when attacked by Col. Brooks today. It is said also, that Mr. Summer gave out, before he made his speech, that he would be responsible for anything he might say.

The local editor of the Washington *Organ* thus describes Mr. Sumner's appearance, after the assault:

His wounds consisted of two deep gashes across the scalp; a heavy bruise, running from his mouth to his forehead; bruises on his hands and arms, and also on his legs, which were caused by his sudden contact with a desk with such force that he completely unprooted it.

The Doctor partially shaved his head and put two stitches in each would at the Capitol, and completed the dressing at his rooms.

We have devoted a considerable space to-day to matters connected with this difficulty. We much regreat that the insolence of such men as Mr. Sumner, renders such scenes occasionally necessary. His speech was a gross outrage upon the character and dignity of the American Senate; and while persons may honestly differ as to the propriety of the place, where the punishment was inflicted, there are few who will not admit that he justly deserved a severe *gutta-purchaing*, and he received it.

THE KITCHEN.—We will give to intellect, to immortality, to religion, and to all virtues, the honor that belongs to them. And still it may be boldly affirmed that economy, taste, skill and neatness in the kitchen, have a great deal to do in making life happy and prosperous.

Nor is it indispensably necessary that a house should be filled with luxuries. All the qualifications for good house-keeping can be displayed as well on a small scale as on a large one.

A small house can be more easily kept clean than a palace. Economy is most needed in the absence of abundance.

Skillful cooking is as readily discovered in a nicely baked potato, or a respectable johny-cake, as in a nutbrown sirloin or a brace of canvass-backs.

A dirty kitchen and bad cooking have driven many a one from home to seek for comfort and happiness somewhere else.

Domestic economy is a science—a theory of life, which all sensible women ought to study and practice. None of our excellent girls are fit to be married until they are thoroughly educated in the deep and profound mysteries of the kitchen.—Tennessee Farmer.

THE fact that canal navigation is about to be resumed, gives much uneasiness to New York dealers in breadstuffs and provisions, more so from the fact that the prospects now are that we shall have most abundant crops this season. The New York *Express*, referring to the downward tendency of the markets, says:

"Upon a reasonable crop, prices, at the close of water navigation, stood at $9.25 for common flour and $1.06 for corn, with a foreign market promising favorably by reason of the war, which allowed us to feed armies of men. who, in time of peace, passed their lives in growing food for Great Britain. Navigation opens upon flour at $6 and corn at 62½ cents, with peace in Europe, and a favorable prospect for crops here. The decline in beef and pork is not so large, but it must follow, inasmuch as cheap and abundant food for stock must increase and cheapen the crop of both."