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A Democratic Journal, Devoted to the South and Southern Rights, Politics, Catest 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.

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SPEECH ON HON. L. M. KEITT.

OF SOUTH CAROLINA. On resigning his seat; delivered in the House of Representatives, July 16, 1856.

Mr. CHAIRMAN: I shall proceed to-day to discharge a task which has been hanging over me much longer than I wished. Had I replied to the attacks upon the revolutionary history of South Carolina immediately after they were made, I should have repelled them with more violence than I shall use now. I feel, sir, that I approach a grave discussion, and that it is my duty not to discolor historical facts with violence, or prejudice the verdict of posterity through extravagance. To-day I speak for South Caroli-na-for her dead and her living; for her dead, questioned; for her living, because their revolutionary titles have been denied.

Sir, if, in the course of the vindication of my State I shall be compelled to strip the fig leaved garments of pharisaical righteousness and hypocritical sanctity from the shoulders of another State, the fault, if fault there be, is with others.

The sages and patriots of the revolution reared, through their common struggles and common sacrifices, an august and splendid temple, into which each of the confederated States entered, and hung up along its walls her battered shields, inscribed with memorials of valor and a blazonry of fame. In the early days of the republic no one approached this sanctuary but with reverent feelings and holy tread; but recently the magic circle of sanctity, which gratitude and reverence had drawn around it. has been rudely broken, and licentious utterances have echoed along its walls. Within its in the revolution was won at Moore's Creek, yery "holy of holies" we have seen American North Carolina, on the 27th February, 1776. legislators, dressed up in the east-off garments of Fred Douglass, distribute among dupes and victims broken victuals from the feasts of Abby Fo'som and Wm. Lloyd G rrison, Sir, from one portion of the walls of this temple I shall to-day er deavor to efface the stains of these lepers of history.

I shall now proceed to array the charges which have been made against the course of South balmed in no poem; but the tea party of Bos-Carolina in the revolution, and then summon an ton is impartial history to refute them. As they have been drawn from the authority of a Mr. Lorenzo Sabine, the historian of American Loyalists, I shall at once go up to him.

He says: "South Carolina did not—she could

not-defend herself against her own tories." Sir, I admit that there were tories, large bands of tories, in South Carolina throughout our revolutionary war. During that struggle she had, at the same time, to contend against a powerful foreign enemy and a vindictive domestic faction, while even the horrors of such a conflict sachusetts; and I may now add that every were intensified by the merciless cruelty of the State south of Pennsylvania provided but 59. savage, subsidised to his feliest warfare. Sir, 493-8414 less than this single State; yet did the most awful of all calamities are those of civil war, and the phials of these were in the men? Could she furnish only 752 more than revolution unsealed and poured upon the devo- | Rhode Island, the smallest State in the confedwithin her limits a rivulet which was not crim- licut; only one-half as many as New Hampsoned with patriotic blood-not a spot which stone which has not its story to tell. Her patriots, soldiers, and sages-these her grand old tion to add that more whigs of New England men, now housed in the Pantheon of historybefore any court on earth will prove her title to

revolutionary peerage.
Was it unnatural that there should be tories in South Carolina during the revolution? What does Mr. Sabine say? He says:

"The population of South Carolina, compos ed as it was of emigrants from Switzerland, Germany, France, Ireland and the Northern colonies of America, and their descendants, waof course deficient in the necessary degree of homogeneity, or sameness of nature, to insure any considerable unanimity of political sertiment. It is true, however, that individual men took an early, a noble, and a decided stand only the native militia of South Carolina. From against the oppressive measures of the British | behind a slender breastwork, hastily construc-Ministry. It is equally true that South Carolina ted, General Moultrie shattered a British fleet. was the first State of the thirteen to form an independent constitution, and that she overpaid son drove back two thousand British regulars. her proportion of the expenditures of the war in sum of \$1,205,978."

The revolution in South Carolina was conceived and organised by the native population. The Germans knew that the King of England was a Prince of Hanover; the Scotch, always to Canaden? Fourteen hundred continental loyal, turned to the Crown; the commercial troops, consisting of the Delaware and Maryland says that when the "British saw the number of population, mostly Scotch and English, were opposed to the patriots. The symbol of inde- militia from Virginia and North Carolina. The pendence was raised aloft by the native citizens | remains of this army constituted the nucleus of of Carolina, and by them it was triumphantly carried through the war. Nor was her diverse population the only cle-

ment of distraction. The very causes of the Maryland recruits, and a legionary corps, also, ammunition were insufficient; this was owing revolution created division within her limits. How does Mr. Sabine sum up these causes? He says of the legislation which produced them:

"They forbade the use of water-falls, the erecting of machinery, of looms and spindle, and the working of wood and iron; they set the King's arrow upon trees that rotted in the forest; they shut out markets for boards and fish, and seized sugar and molasses, and the vessels in which these articles were carried; and they defined the limitess ocean as but a narrow pathway to such of the lands that it embosoms as wore the British flag."

South Carolina suffered no grievance from this legislation-she employed no machineryshe sent out no rival ships-she lost no vessels by capture; Great Britain bought, at her wharves all her staples, and paid remunerating prices. When pirates infested her coasts, British fleets swept them away; when Spaniard or say age assailed her peace, British troops repelled them. She was the favored colony of Great Britain, and into her lap were poured the cornucopia of material plenty and prosperity. Her sons suffered alone from disabilities imposed upon native intellect. Great Britain, from immemorial usage, governed her colonies in Parliament. This shut out native intellect in Caroling (I mean both the Carolinas) from those offices and honors to which it aspired, and to which it was capable.

The sons of the wealthy families in thes colonies were educated in the Universities of Great Britain, and were eminently qualified for civil and political trusts. From these they were excluded, and they threw off the tyranny upon intellect. Massachusetts embarked in the revolution for waterfalls, spindles, and merchant eraft; South Carolina engaged in it for the roy-

alty of mind. Sir, is it surprising that, with a diverse population lation, and an appeal only to native mind as ambition, and that, too, against pecuniary and commercial interest, there should have been givision in South Carolina? Division there was: Lut the constituted authorities of the State committed her, from the first, to the revo lutionary movement, and she neither wavered

or faltered throughout its progress. Are the claims of a State to be adjudged by its settled policy, or by opposition to that policy? Can a State be known obserwise than through its constituted authorities? Can his tory claim jurisdiction over other than its organized action? How, then, can a vindictive faction is grossly unjust.

Sir, it is fashionable in Massachusetts to claim

domestic faction within her limits qualify the claim of South Carolina to revolutionary nobili ty? The imputation upon her because of this

the whole credit of beginning the revolutionary strongle. It is fashionable in Massachusetts to regard the battle of Bunker Hill as the whole regard the battle of Bunker Hill as the whole war. This was one defence of the capital.

**Another opening fullowed when Gen Line

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**This wa self-gratulatory parish have mutually complimented each other into this conviction. The only difficulty is to drug Truth, so that she shall slumber forover. Let us appeal to facts.

In Charleston, Nov. 15, 1773, a public meeting the course of the Carolinians? We find Montage the course of the Carolinians with twelve hundred to the course of the cours

and they did seize it and prevent its sale. disguised themselves as Indians, and did the act of the interior; while Lincoln, with similar in the darkness of night. The citizens of Char- speed, was marching from a third direction." leston had already done a similar act in dayfight, and in the eye of the sun. Were their different modes of action in this matter indicative of a because their patriotism and sacrifices have been difference in the character of the two people? Since then, a secret party, organised in mystery, and plotting under "eavernous archways," has ruled Massachusetts-but in South Carolina it

found no resting spot. In 1765 Colonel John Ashe and Col. Waddel, of North Carolina, with a band of brave compatriots, seized a British sloop of-war with stamp paper on board, and carried the stamp paper in riumph to Wilmington. They publicly barnt it; then forced the royal governor to yield up the stamp master for that colony to them, and compelled him to take an oath not to execute his office. Here was an act of heroism and magnanimity greater than that of the Boston tea party or the battle of Bunker Hill.

At C arlotte on the 20th May, 1775, the Mecklenburg declaration of independence was made. This was the prototype of the Declaration of Independence of 1776. The first victory North Carolina, on the 27th February, 1776. Well may the Old North State, her head pillowed upon her laurels, sleep soundly. Soundly she has slept—so soundly that Massachusetts has filched from her the honor of her earliest

Into James river, too, did the gallant sons of irginia throw British stamp paper. These acts ive been celebrated in no orations, and em-

" Pealed and chimed on every tongue of fame." Those who performed most of the achievnents of the revolution have not written its

Now, sir, I will proceed with the charges against South Carolina. Mr. Sabine says: "The whole number of regulars enlisted for the continental service from the beginning to the close of the struggle was 231,950; of these, I have once remarked, 67,907 were from Mas-There is not leracy; only one-fifth of the number of Connecshire, then an almost unbroken wilderness? She not a did not, she could not, defend herseif aprinted her own tories; and it is hardly an exaggerawere sent to her aid, and new lie buried in her soil, than she sent from it to every scene of

strife from Lexington to Yorktown." I affirm that there was not a single New England company in South Carolina throughot the revolutionary war. I affirm that there was not a single soldier from Mas nehusetts in South Carolina throughout the whole progress of that conflict. Let us appeal to history.

When Charleston was first assailed, in June

1776, though Charles Lee was sent to take command of her defences, he brought no troops The battle of Fort Moulirie was fought and won by Cen. Moulirie and Col. Thompson, with and with five or six hundred militia Col. Thomp-Whon Lincoln was sent to to take command what was the order given to him by Congress? It was " to take command of all their forces to the southward." (Ramsay.) What constituted the regular army of Gen. Gates when he moved lines. (Johnson's Gre ne.) With these were that of Gen. Greene, for which he received no reinforcements of regulars, except the legion of Col. Lee, most of which were Virginia and from Virginia, commanded by General Lawson.

were in South Carolina throughout the revolutionary war. Thirty bloody battles were fought upon her soil, but they were all fought by southern men. Sir, in the darkest hours of the Revolution, when the cloud of defeat hung from all the arches of our sky, her partisan leaders, in swamp fastnesses and on mountain top, kept the fires of Independence brightly burning. In ness, to its path of revolution, beaconed right onward by the eternal-stars of resistance and and British armies ravaged her soil; while marauding tories and Indian bands wrapped her in dames and dreaened her in blood, there sprung up all over her that brilliant race of partian warriors who have never been surpassed in the istory of human warfare. From her native mbitia there sprang up Marion and Sumter, Pickens and Lacy and Cleveland and Adair, and whose deeds rivid even the legends of Spartan laring and Roman prowess. Sir, for four years South Carolina was the theatre of conflict for both the American and British armies, and from her wasted soil, and through the labor of her slave population, was su-tenance provided for both the contending parties. I repeat the de-Massachusetts was in South Carolina through-

battles within her timits were fought by South-

"South Carolina, with a northern army to issist her, could not, or would not, preserve her

out the whole Revolutionary war. The thirty

Sir, I have already said that there was not a New England company in South Carolina at my period of the war, and I pronounce the bove statement to be a fraud and falsehood. What are the facts of the case? Three times during the war was Charleston assailed. What was the conduct of the Carolinians during the

first assault? Ramsay says: "In South Carolina, particularly, every exeron had been made to put the province, and esecially its capital, in a respectable posture of

When it was first attacked, alarm guns were fired, and Ramsay says:

"The militia of the country very generally beyed the summons of President Rutledge, and repaired in great numbers to Charleston." The capital was defended, and the British

the whole credit of beginning the revolutionary | were beaten off, wholly by the South Carolinians,

revolutionary war. Obliging historians and a "Another occasion followed when Gen. Linresolved to seize the ten in Charleston harbor; trie rushing to the rescue, with twelve hundred militia from one quarter, and Governor Rutledge The citizens of Boston threw the tea over-board into Boston harbor af erwards; but they down for the same object from another quarter

A second time were the British baffled in their

A third attack was made, and it succeeded but under what circumstances? General Ashe, with the Georgia continentals, and fifteen hundred North Carolina militia, had been defeated and dispersed by General Prevost; and this disastrous event had been followed by the still more disastrous assault upon Savannah, in which the combined forces of D'Estaing and Lincoln were defeated with great loss-a loss falling heavily upon the Carolina troops, who alone succeeded in planting their standard upon the enemy's works-a barren but an honorable achievement. (Simms.) In addition to this enfeeblement of our forces, the small-pox raged n Charleston. Science had not yet disarmed this enemy of our race of its terrors, and then smote more consternation into the hearts of men than now. The Indians, too, in the upper ortions of the State, were uneasy and restless, and showed signs of an approaching ontbreak. The mountaineer, who left his home for the defence of the capital, felt that the war-ery of the savage, and the shricks of his butchered family. might companion him on his soldier pilgrimage. But even then there was no lack of patriotism r courage in the defence of Charleston.

In February, 1780. Charleston was a third time approached. The force with which the city was invested consisted of about twelve thousand disciplined troops and a fleet of about fifty sail of vessels of all classes, ranging from the sloop-of-war to the ship-of-the-line. McIntosh

"On the 13th of April all the general officers were called by General Lincoln to his quarters. where he gave us the first idea of the state of the garrison-the men, provisions, stores, artifle-ry, &c., in it; the little hopes he had of succor of any consequence; and the opinion of the engineers respecting our fortification-that they were only fieldworks of lines, and could hold out but a few days more. With every information ne could obtain of the numbers, strength of the nemy, &c , he was compelled to take up the idea of evacuating the city," &c.

The same writer says:

"On the 19th of April the conneil adjourned when Colonel Larney, representing the insufficiency of our fortifications, (if they were worthy of being called so.) the improbability of icability of making our retreat good as the enemy were now situated, carried it for offering erms of honorable capitulation first. The Lieu enant Governor, with four of his council Messes, Ferguson, Hutson, Cattle, and De Ramsay.) coming in a little after, used the conneil very rudely; the Lieutenant Governor dedaring he would protest against our proceedngs; that the militia were willing to live upon ice alone, rather than give up the town upon any terms; and that even the old woman were so accustomed to the enemy's shot now that they travelled the streets without fear or dread."

Gen. Moultrie was the only general officer the objected to a capitulation. He was in the ervice of South Carolina, Gervais says that he rumor of a capitulation " occasioned great discontent as well among the regulars as militia who wish to defend the place to the last extre mity, are in high spirits, and so resolved as t offer to receive only half rations a day if neces sary." Gen. Moultrie on the 26th says: "As oon as Gen. Duportail (a French officer) came into the garrison and looked at the enemy and at our works, he declared that they were no tenable, and that the British might have take the town ten days ago," Gen. Moultrie als our men they were astonished, and said we had made a gallant defence." Col. Rochfort said. "Sir, you have made a gallant defence." Charleston was defended by five thousand troops, and of these more than fifteen hundred were Carolinians. The supplies of provisions and to Gen. Lincoln's neglect. The city fell more Sir, these are all the continental troops which through starvation than assault. The British approached it the 9th of February; it capitulaed the 11th May. True, it might have been defended better, but we will see whether Masenchusetts has a right to reproach South Carolina,

Mr. Sabine admits that South Carolina overpaid her proportion of the expenditures of the war in the sum of \$1,205,978. Let us see the contributions of men. South Carolina had 93,the wildest storm of that struggle, the Palmetto | 000 inhabitants; Massachusetts had 352.000. ship of State was held, with unconquerable firm- Seybert's table, which was laid before Congress the 5th December, 1811 shows that South Carolina furnished 35.503 men during the revolution. liberty. While British fleets darkened her coasts, and that Massachusetts furnished 88 183. Taking their respective populations as a basis, South Carolina should have furnished only 23 200 men, instead of 35,503, or Massachr setts should have furnished 134 376, instead of 88.183.

South Carolina may challenge compariso with Massachusetts on the muster-roll; on the pension list she yields to her supremacy. The citizens of the latter, whitever their achieve-Davie and Hampton and Maybem and Thomas, ments may have been on the battle-field, have and Bratton and Roebuck, and a host of others, always fallen with alacrity into hollow squares before the treasury, and have been more formidable to it than an "ormy with banners."

Now, sir, let us see something of the gallantry of Massachusetts in the war of the revolution which has been so noisily vaunted here. The following correspondence occurred while British were in possession of Boston, and the claration, that not a single private soldier from American forces under General Washington were beleaguering it. Gen. Washington, in a letter to his brother, John Augustine Washington, dated "Camp at Cambridge, July 27, 1775.

says:
"I found a mixed multitude of people here. under very little discipline, order, or government.

In a letter to the President of the Council of Massachusetts Bay, dated August 7, 1775-a against us, the memorial of the Boston merchants the Olive Branch, on page 297, says: month after he arrived there-Gen. Washington

" By the general return made to me for last have reason to believe, are at their respective nomes, in different parts of the country; some others, until such commerce be swept from the employed by their officers on their farms, and face of the ocean." others drawing pay from the public, while they are working on their own plantations or for hire. My utmost exertions have not been able to preven! this base and pernicions conduct."

September 21, 1775, he says: "The necessities of the troops having required pny, I directed that those of Massachusetts should receive for one month, upon their being States to oppose these pretensions."

In a letter to the President of Congress, da-

ted November 11, 1775 Gen. Washington says:

"The trouble I have in the arrangement of the army is really inconceivable. Many of the officers sent in their names to serve in expecta. tion of promotion; others stood aloof, to see what advantage they could make for themselves; whilst a number, who had declined, have again sent in their names to serve. So great has been the confusion, arising from these and many other perplexing circumstances, that I found it absolutperplexing eircumstance, that I found it absolutely impossible to fix this terv interesting business exactly on the plan resolved on in the conference, though I have kept up to the spirit of it as near as the nature and necessity of the ease would admit. The difficulty with the soldiers is as great, indeed, more so, it possible, than with the officers. They will not enlist until they know their colonel, lieutenant colonel, major and captain, so that it was necessary to fix the officers the first thing, which is at last, in some manner done; and I have given out enlisting orders."

In a letter to the Vresident of Congress, dated In a letter to the President of Congress, dated November 28, 1775—when the year for which the men had enlisted was near its close—he

"The number enlisted since my last is two housand five hundred and forty men; and I am sorry to be necessitated to mention to you the egregious want of public spirit which reigns here. Instead of pressing to be engaged in the cause of their country, which I vainly flattered myself would be the case, I find we are likely to be descrited in a most critical time. Those that have enlisted must have a furlough, which I have been obliged to grant to fifty at a time from each regiment.

In a letter to Joseph Reed, of date November

28, 1775, he says:

"Such a dearth of Sublic spirit, and such want of virtue, such stock jobbing, and fertility in all the low arts to obtain advantages of one kind or another, in this great change of military arrangement, I never saw before, and I pray God's mercy that I may never be witness to again. What will be to end of these manocurres is beyond my scan. Etremble at the prospect.
We have been till this tone enlisting about three thousand five bundred men. To engage those I have been obliged to allow furloughs as far as fifty men to a regiment; and the officers, I am persuaded, include as many more. Such a mercenary spirit pervades the whole, that I should not at all be surprised it any disaster that may not at all be surprised at any disaster that may happen. In short, after the last of this month, our lines will be so walkened, that the minutemen and militia must be called in for their defence; and these, being inder no kind of government themselves, will restroy the little subordination I have been boring to establish, and run me into one evil whist I am endeavoring to avoid another; but the less must be chosen. Could I have forseen what I have experienced. no consideration upont earth should have in-duced me to accept the formmand. A regiment or any subordinate argument would have been accompanied by an infines the satisfaction. nd , erhaps the honor." .

This was whilst the enemy had possession of heir capital, and a large number encamped in full view of the American army. In a letter to Gen. Schuler, dated December

. 1775, Gen. Washington says: "I know that your complaints are too well founded: but I would willingly hope that nothing will induce you to quit the service; and that, in time, order and subordination will take the place of confusion, and command be rendered more agreeable." Gen. Schuyler, in the letter to which this was

"Nothing can surpass the impatience of the roops from the New England colonies to get to heir firesides. Near three hundred of them arrived few days ago unable to do any duty; but, as soon as I administered that grand specific -a discharge - they instantly acquired health: nd, rather than be detained a few days to crossrike George, they undertook a march from here of two hundred miles with the greatest alacrity

General Washington says, in a letter to Gov. Reed, of Pennsylvania:
"In the two last weeks we have enlisted but than two thousand men, whereas I was confidently led to believe by all the officers I convered with that we should by this time have had the regiments nearly completed. Our total number amounts to ten thousand five hundred; out as a large portion of them are returned not joined, I never expected to see them; as an | ment in all its branches; to a jealousy of the order has once been issued, another is now going forth peremptority requiring all officers, upon pain of being cashiered, and recruits of being treated as deserters, to join their regiments by the first day of next month, that I may know

my real strength," &c., &c. A month later, when the danger had increased and with it the solicitude of Washington, when every appliance he was master of had been ex-

austed to augument the army, he says. "So far from my having an army of 20,000 men, well armed, &c., I have been here with less than one-half of it, including sick, furloughed, and on command; and these neither armed nor clothed as they should be. In short, my situation has been such that I have been obligeto use arts to conceal it from my own officers." arms of the country. He says:

"So many have been carried off, partly by stealth, but chiefly as condemned, that we have not at this time one hundred guns in the stores. of all that have been taken in the prize-ship and from the soidiery, notwithstanding the regiments are not half comp'eted."

I might multiply similar extracts, but I do not care to press this subject further. I am con- Congress possess spirit and independence enough tent that history shall adjudge the claims of to place their popularity in jeopardy by so strong and of treasure my State furnishe. her share, give the tone to the neighboring States, will de-After 1777, at no time were there more than 6,000 British troops in New England. Why members; invite a Congress, to be composed of were they not swept away? Why did not the | delegates from the Federal States, and erect a 88,000 valiant heroes of Massachusetts alone separate government for their common defence scatter them with their daring courage? Sir, and common interest." where were these vallant men? If you can find out where they were, A . Speaker, you can do more than the British ever did.

I pass now, sir, to another point. We have waged two wars with Great Britain during our orief existence as one of the powers of the earth. Let us invoke history to show the course of Massachusetts in the last war-the war of 1812. In alluding to the aggressions of Great Britain

to Congress says: " Unless the present disposition of the British admiralty courts and navy officers can be coun- cess of the loans authorised by Congress. I week, I find there are great numbers of soldiers teracted and removed, a widely dispersed and believe that nearly all those who entered into and non-commissioned officers who absent unprotected commerce, extending to every rethemselves from daty, the greater part of whom, gion of the globe, will only serve to invite de- tienlarly in Boston, which was the grand focus field of freedom. As the wilderness produces, predation to bankrupt ourselves and enrich of the conspiracy."

They further state that-" A tacit submission to prefensions thus lofty eognised, and a dereliction of the most impor-In a letter to the President of Congress, dated tant commercial interests of our country."

And they add-" Reason and the most powerful considera-

"These pretensions are " unsound in point of principle, offensive in practice, and nugatory in

effect."-Jane 20. 1806. The Salem memorial to Congress says: The Salem memorial to Congress says.

"It would, in their opinion, if established, "It would, in their opinion, if established, ted for their ruin."—See Road to Ruin, by John ted for their ruin. ments of trade, embarrassing commercial inter-course, and IT letting loose the passions to prey on the miscries and plunder the property of the innocent. It would subject neutrals to hazard nearly as perilous as those of actual hostilities; and, independent of its influence in stimulating to revenge and retaliation, it would transfer the benefits of peace to my victorious usurper of the ocean,

"Your memorialist wish to take no part in the contests which now convulse the world, but acting with impartiality towards all nations, to reap the fruits of a just neutrality. If, however, conciliation cannot effect the purpose of justice, and an appeal to arms be the last and necessary protection of honor, they feel no disposition to decline the common danger, or shrink from the common contribution.

"Relying on the wisdom and firmness of the General Government in this behalf, they feel no esitation to piedge their lives and properties in apport of the measures which may be adopted vindicate the public rights and redress the public wrongs."-January 20, 1806.

The memorial of the merchants of Newbury-

ort. December, 1805, says: "In many cases our vessels and cargoes have been captured, tried, and condemned in courts f law, 237" under unusual and alarming pretences, which, if permitted to continue, threaten the rain of our commercial interests.

"Having sustained these losses and injuries and in the exercise of our just rights, we rely with confidence on the wisdom, firmness, and justice of our Government, to obtain for us that compensation, and to grant to us that proteeion, which a regard to the honor of our country, no less than the rights of our citizens, must dietate and require."

The aggressions of Great Britain continued, and her hostile legislation was additionally envenomed. Our commerce was confiscated, and

our seamon were impressed.

* * * * * * *

The Congress of the United States adopted ne folloxing resolutions, all looking to war, nd only defensible as war measures. Quincy, and the leaders of the Massachusetts delegation, if not the whole delegation, voted for these resolutions:

[From the Journal]

"The question was taken on the following resolution and passed."—Dec. 16, 1811. "That it is expedient to authorise the President, under proper regulations, to accept the service of any number of volunteers, not exceeding fifty thousand; to be organised, trained, and held in readiness to act on such service as the exigencies of government may require. "Same day the question was taken on the

following resolution and passed:
"That the President be authorised to order out, from time to time, such detachments of the militia, as, in his opinion, the public service may

Same day the question was taken on the ollowing resolution and passed: "That ail the vessels not now in service benging to the navy, and worthy of repair, be

mmediately fixted up and put into commission." " Dec. 19, 1811 .- The question was taken on the following resolution and passed: "That it is expedient to permit our merchant vesseis, owned exclusively by resident ci izens. and commanded and navigated solely by citizens. to arm under proper regulations, to be prescribed

by law, in self-defence against all unlawful proceedings towards them on the high seas." " Feb. 19, 1812 -The engrossed bill for auorising a loan for even (11) millions of dollars was read the third time and passed,"

The war was declared, and what part did Jassachusetts play in this eventful drama? After the declaration of war, the lower house of her legislature declared that-

"The real cause of the war must be trace to the first systematic abandonment of the policy of Washington and the friends and framers of the constitution; to implacable animosity against these men, and their universal exclusion from all concern in the government of the country; to the influence of worthless foreigners over the press and the deliberations of the governcommercial States, fear of their power, contempt of their pursuits, and ignorance of their true character and importance; to the empidity of certain States for the witderness reserved for the miserable aborigines; to a violent passion for onquest," &c.

Not to be outdone, the Senate of Massachuetts then resolved that-

" The war was founded in falsehood, " declared without necessity, and " its real object was extent of territory by unjust conquests, and property to aid the late tyrant of Europe in his view of aggrandisement."

Pending the preparations for war, John Henry was sent from Canada on a mission to the Eastera States. His instructions were to " see how far the maleontents would exert their influence He charges them with even carrying off the to bring about a separation from the general Union." Also, "how far, in such an event, they would look to England for assistance, or be disposed to enter into a connection with us," (the people of Canada.)

He says, writing from Boston, March 7, 1809: "I have already given a decided opinion that declaration of war is not to be expected; but, contrary to all reasonable calculation, should the South Carolina and Massachusetts. Of blood a measure, the legislature of Massachusetts will clare itself permanent until a new election of

I will not multiply extracts from the same

After war was declared, Massachusetts exereised all her energies to cripple the operations of the government, and to bring defeat upon our cause. Knowing that the war could not be conducted without money, she obstructed the government loan in every way. A combination was formed in Boston to defeat it. The author of

" Shortly after the declaration of war, there was a combination formed to prevent the sucthis scheme resided in the Eastern States, par-

He also says of the scheme :

The success in the Eastern States was considerable. Few men have the courage to stem the tide of popular delusion when it sets in very would be an abandonment of rights openly re- strong. There were some, however, who subscribed openly, in defiance of denunciations and threats. Others of less firm texture loaned their money by stealth, and as clandestinely as if it

"Money is such a drug (the surest sign of the defying blasphemy! "Shining towers of civili-ormer prosperity and present insecurity of trade) sation." Mr. Speaker! The towers of Massaformer prosperity and present insecurity of trade)
that men, against their consciences, their honor, their duty, their professions and promises, are willing to lend it secretly, to support the very

ricptions to the Government loan were made secretly. The following advertisement is proof: From the Boston Gazette, April 14, 1814.

Subscriptions will be received through the ngency of the subscriber to the 25th instant, in-

To avoid the inconvenience of persona ppearance to subscribe, applications in writing will be received from any part of the State. Each applicant will name the highest rate he will give, and if the loan shall be granted lower than his proposal, he will reap the benefit; but if higher than his offer, he will have no share

The amount, rate and mame of any apolicant shall, at his request, be known only to the subscriber. All the business shall be transacted and certificates delivered to the subscribers without expense. JESSE PUTNAM.

The author of the Olive Branch well and

roporly remarks that-"Men in the 'moral and religious' town of Boston are of obliged to lend their money to their own Government by stealth. "But in the face of day, within the knowledge of a whole community. They send specie to

the common enemy, to support him against their own country! "Can human nature sink lower? They are too moral and too religious' to rejoice at the victories of their fellow-citizens; but they are neither 'too moral nor too religious' to aid the enemy to victory! An age in penitence in sackcloth and ashes would not efface this foul blot from the escutcheon of Boston."-[Olive

Branch, page 312. Not satisfied, however, with crippling the Government and making the war odious, the patri-

with money.
Pious Boston, patriotic Boston, Puritanica Boston! well may she exclaim, "thank God, I am not as others are!" Her prosperity mainly resting upon the African slave trade, loans of noney to the enemy in time of war, and smuggling, well may she bedizzen herself with finery. Nor was the pulpit in 1812 in Massachusetts confined to religious duties. It then gave aid and comfort to the enemy as it now preaches insurrection. I submit a few extracts from some of the clergymen of Massachusetts. From the Rev. I. S. J. Gardiner, A. M., Rector

of Trinity Church. Boston: "It is a war unexampled in the history of the world : wantonly proclaimed on the most frivolous and groundless pretences, derive the most signal advantages, and from whose hostility we have reason to dread the most tremendous losses." Discourse delivered

July 23, 1812. "What consequence is it to you if they be repealed or not, if you are sold to Napoleon. as you have reason to believe, by the slaves who have abused your confidence ?"-Idem. "The Union has been long since virtually dis-

solved; and it is full time that this part of the disunited States should take care of itself."-From the Rev. Elijah Parish, D. D.:

There is a point-there is an hour-beyond which you will not bear."-Discourse delivered at Byfield, April 7, 1813. New England, if invaded, would be obliged o defend herself. Do you not, then, owe it to

cour children and owe it to your God to make peace for yourselves ?"-Idem. "How will the supporters of get this anti-Christian warfare endure their sentence-endure their own reflections- Borndare the fire that orever burns- 39"the worm which never dies -the hosannas of Heaven-129 while the smoke

of their torments ascends forever and ever?"dem. * * * * * *

I will close this chapter of the history of lassachusetts with the summary of a writer of

"To sum up the whole, Massachusetts was mergetic, bold, firm, during, and decisive in a contest with the General Government. She would not abate an inch. She dared it to conlict. She seized it by the throat, determined to strangle it! She was untamable as a lion, or a iger, or a panther. But she was long suffering, d mild, and patient, and harmless, and inoffene, and gentle, and meek, as a lamb, or a ture dove, when she came in contact with the nemy!"-[Olive Branch, page 315.

Mr. Speaker, this portion of my task has been lischarged; well or ill, it has been discharged. Let it pass.

To turn, sir, from matters of grave import to petty anatomy of words, to the maximum in ninimis, to the supremacy in little things, which so truly commends itself to the fitter capacities of the member from the Suffolk district-Mr. Burlingame-it would seem that the phrasing of my remarks has found, in him, either an Aristarhus or a Zoilus : for I cannot, under the pretext of his words, well define the part which he s pleased to enact. If, however, my language has been marked by characteristics which have failed to secure his applause, his, on the contrary, is not without some peculiarities, which others nay not entirely approve.

The lizard and the snake, which have exercised the dull facetiousness of the member, even the snake with hands"-reptiles of that species, Mr. Speaker, are not altogether impossible in the anomalies of natural history, and Massachusetts and I have done. may, perhaps, claim the signal honor of supplying such a specimen to American herpetologythe lizard and the snake, I say, can safely go to the member's market and find no barren ground

for a fair exchange. With the example before him, not in terrorem. it would seem-of the "snake with hands," with wilderness, like so many Weathersfield onions in a row; whilst, under the other, the "plant," like beech-wood into nutmegs, is convert d into spangles"-a real pinch-beck of Massachusetts manufacture, alike creditable to the ingenuity of the race and the rhetoric of one of its representatives upon this floor.

But, sir, these licenses of speech are not confined to " planting school-houses," which are unaccountably turned into "spangles" over the so must the concave arch itself bear specimens of his rhetorical sprouts. The earth is too lowly a theatre for the ambitious reaches of his speech. He affects the "heavens" themselves for the very pretty diversion of "filling" them with "shining towers of religion and civiliza-" Shining towers of religion," Mr. Speaker! The towers of Massachusetts religion, topped by the predominant weather-cock, pointing were treasonable."—Olive Branch, page 300.

Money was then abundant, for John Lowell, in his Road to Ruin, says:

ped by the people, veering with each to the changes of her people, veering with each wind and four us with a quotation, mutilated by some semi-know-nothing like himself, is to lay from dark religious fanaticism to wild and God-

chusetts civilization, which hypocritically nestles the rank and sensuous African to her bosom; thrusting aside thousands of the children of her pragmatic and intrusive, steal into our borders to force upon us its baleful fruits! Yes, sir, the towers of Massachusetts civilization, cruelly organising human muscles and bones into living machines, and remorselessly working away the impress of God's image from men and women of kindred stock and blood, doomed to wear of kindred stock and blood, doomed to wear out the energies of life to keep up the greed of task-masters, who, "like the daughters of the horse-leech," have never learned to say "enough." Massachusetts civilization, the mephilic air of

whose work-shops eats its way through the lungs

of the victims of avarice; and when they die.

they die with their last wishes turned to the

free winds of heaven, with their last words

babbling o' green fields." In alluding to an act vindicating the dignity of a State and the honor of a relative from the aspersions of a traducer, the member, Mr. Speaker, has thought proper to say that my collesgue "stole into the Senate and smote a Senator as Cain smote his brother." The words are pretty, no doubt; they sound to me like an idyl from Gessner; but they are also of a malignant import. The chemistry of malice, Mr. Speaker, is even more ingenious than the chemistry of science; and ingenious indeed is that malice of the member from the Suffolk district which could so efine its rancor as to doom my colleague to bear the burden of kinship with his senatorial friend. Sir. in the name of my colleague, through regard for his character, I abjure the brother-hood! Sir, every consideration of moral worth, every suggestion of genuine manhood, and, since the word has been spoken by the member him-

either personally or vicariously, such a claim can be put in with the hope "to have that claim al-No, sir; such a bond cannot hold between the two. On one side, the nobler spirit makes it bhorrent to bare thought; on the other, the grovelling instincts mark it for impossibility: Duta fata secutus-each one to his allotment of existence. There are pathways on which, sla-ving the ordinance of Heaven, men of high tone love to companion through life but there are sewers also fitly teeming with the feculence of filth for things of an opposite character. On the former my colleague will pursue his course, far unapproachably far, from the latter, in which

elf, every demand of chivalry, forbids that,

the baser natures may wallow in sordid delight. But, sir, the feats of the member are not confined to such literary jucundities as "planting spangles" in the shape of school-houses, or quaintly filling up the waste places of the heavens with "shining towers." In paying what he seemed to intend a tribute to the peculiar beauof a certain speech delivered in another place, had he, instead of professing admiration or the author, proclaimed himself his enemy. I would have thought, Mr. Speaker, that he was indulging a spirit of malice in respect of one whom he lovingly calls his friend and his guide There is a species of mephistophelian waggery—fun made lurid by fiendishness, which Goethe himself would not disclaim-in condemning such a friend-in subjecting such a guide to

speech through the distending mouth. Yes, sir, the rhetoric of the member, Milesian or otherwise, launches a speech ship-a severe speech ship at tyranny-through the lips of his friend, and keeps him convulsively straining and heaving under the launch for " the greater portion of two days." Two days ! " Insatiate joker,

stand in an attitude of torture, "launching" a

could not one suffice." Mr. Speaker, the function which society in its visitations upon guilt assigns to the executioner. is that he shall launch the criminal into eternity. The member from Massachusetts, sir, has proved to be no mean volunteer executioner in this instance, and he has " launched" the felon ship of his friend. Where, Mr. Speaker? Why, into that much-abused "dead sea" which I had kindly prepared for him and which he has unfitly acknowledged. Launched it, sir, where it has has sunk ; so that

Demersus, non rursum summa bullit in unda." Sunk beyond the redemption of the plummet line, and borne down to the lowest depths by its fraughtage of obscenity, of slander, and of in-But something too much of this perchance,

Mr. Speaker. Not unmindful of the precept

which requires that trifles be given to the winds, I have abstrained from committing the literary eccentricities of the member to their keeping, from the fact that as he is the direct representative of the spot which claims to be the very academe of the Union, he might be regarded as entitled to some more special notice than the rascal cursitors of the camp" running at his ncels. With every deference, however, Mr. Speaker I would warn him, could I waste so much time upon him, when next he comes to dissect the diction of others upon this floor, so to frame his own language that the character and repute of the learned body which he claims as constituents shall not suffer at his hands. That language, sir, may have met the standard of some of his inclining, and solicited the peculiar laughter which abounds in the mou hs of those who are other than wise; but I apprehend, sir, that the academic senate of Cambridge will not forget their dignity, and endorse the antics of their representative in this House. A word or two more upon the speech of the

member from Massachusetts, (Mr. Burlingame,)

The member has debauched history. He has made her, with a wanton tongue, babble disparagement of a sovereignty, which, on the score of devotion or soldiery, of patriotism or statesmanship-in everything which marks States for Sir, whatever parallels the North may institute | magnanimity, greatness, or renown-may well disparaging to the South, I am glad that the challenge Massachusetts, with the assurance that thetoric of South Carolina suffers little detri- the assay will leave no blur on its escutcheon, ment by comparison with the rhetoric of Massa- or work no abatement of its fame. Why, sir. chusetts speaking through the member's lips, even the unfortunate route of Bladensburg could not escape the zeal with which he disparages matters connected with the South. He has gone, one of his own, he " plants school house" in the like the jackall, to the few humble-it may be unhonored-graves which dot its field. He has uselessly-but no, sir, I am wrong-for the reward of an empty laugh, he has arraigned the memory of their tenants before his tribunal. He did this, too, after his declaration, concealed under a pointless jeer, and leveled against the chief Magistrate of the Union, that, but for his knownothingism he might apply the old Latin words, " de mortuis nil nisi bonum"-Speak nothing but good of the dead-to one who, " from his pride of place," so justly and so nobly held, is rightfully entitled to pour down a manly scorn upon the poor, pitiful traducers of a well-earned

> I say, Mr. Speaker, that the member has told you that, were he not so good a know-nothing, he would quote good old Latin words. Sir. I think that, in claiming the distinction of a knownothing, the member flatters himself. To be a "Know-nothing" is to be something; but to