## CONGRESSIONAL.

SPEECH OF

MR. CLAYTON, OF GEORGIA, On the bill proposing a reduction of the duties on Imports.

[COXCLUDED.]

But, Sir, I have lately been as far as Philadelphia, for the fir-t time in my life—the city of brotherly love; and I wish gentlemen to explain somethings which I saw there, first asking them if they make any difference there between free negro labor and free white labor, for these two classes seemed to perform promiscuously all the menial services. If they do, then I would beg to have these difficulties solved? In the tavern where I stayed, a free negro waited on my table, and a white man cleaned my boots; which of these was the free labor They were both equally polite, and they both | made the same foot scraping how when I gave ! them a quarter of a dollar. I saw in the some city a free negro mounted on the box of a enach, and a white manbehind it; the latter let out the grander, which it contained, at the door, while the former sat like a lord on his seat. Which was the free labor in this case? This is one class of service. Now, Sir, I happen to know something of the free labor in cutton factories. When the factory in which I am concerned first started, we had a good old honest gentle man from the north connected with us, and we commenced chiefly with white hands. He happened to bring with him a printed copy of rules and regulations, such as are used in northern factories, and which he wished adopted in ours. They had a striking analogy to penetentisry regulations. They required that the poor little hands should be at their work by light, should have three quarters of an hour to est their breakfast, an hour at dinner, should labor in the winter till? o'clock at night, should have a portion of their wages remitted for every part of the machinery which they broke or injured, every 'skein they tangled; every five minutes they were absent; indeed just enough of pains and penalties to take all their wages. Besides, the etrop was to be used, if necessary. It is scarcely necessary to say, Mr. Chairman, such rules were scouted from our establishment. We soon told our friend the free people of the south would not bear that kind of regimen; indeed it would hardly do for our slaves. Now, Sir, where is the difference between this kind of labor and slave labor! I can tell you, Sir, it is only in the color of the skin, and the duration of the service. The same capital that buys a slave for life, can hire one for a day; and, during these respective periods, the quality of the service is exactly the same. But, Sir, this very distinction serves to show what power will finally do in this matter. If, under the present tariff system, it is boldly claimed for free labor, as it is called, a legislative privilege over slave labor, what will they not do when we begin to manufacture with our slaves! If we should be driven to this business, which I verily believe we can more profitably conduct at the south than it is at the north, will not the same power which sets up the right of preference now, exact it hereafter by some discriminating tax upon slave labor productions over those of free labor? No doubt of it. So that, if this distinction is to last, I boldly affirm that we cannot live together; and the sooner we part the better. The gentleman has said, let the south go: they will soon want to get back; and, Sir, an idea is thrown out that our slaves will force us to return. Now, Mr. Chairman, once for all, I say gentlemen are grossly mistaken; if they think we labor under any such misapprehension, it is a most childish infatuation. As there is a God in heaven, I had rather live, so far as security of person and property is concerned, among the slaves of the south, than to live in the beart of such a manufacturing country as Manchester, in England, or Providence, in Rhode Island. What country has more insurrections than Great Britain? Among whom do they originate? Is not that Government obliged to keep a standing force to overawe the turbulence of the manufacturing operatives? What people greater display fury when aroused? What lives or property are spared when the insurice. tionary storm is up? Does the north expect to escape these commotions, when they shall have arrived at the same degree of manufacturing? Have they done it? No: let gentlemen look well to this matter. A slave is a slave; the color of the skin does not relieve oppression; and, depend upon it, white slaves are as dangerous as black ones, and all experience hath shown they are quite as ungovernable.

As to the condition of the south, in relation to the common comforts of lif, it has no possible dependence upon the north. With its fortyfive millions of exports, if that immense sum could be permi of to circulate among themselves, it would, in reference to the convenienecs of living, and the facilities of subsistence, become one of the happiest regions of the earth. It would give life to commerce with its thousand connections. It would give a new spring to agriculture, and fresh energy to our various artisans, and, instead of decaying villages and towns, the whole country would smile with tokens of the most extended prosperity. And, Sir, this brings me to the consideration of an idea advaced by the gentleman from Pennsyl. vania, (Mr. Chawford,) who contrasted the past and present situation of the north, while it was without the aid of southern taxation.

Then it was drooping under the nasting malady of poverty-now it is dourshing in all the bloom of invigor ted activity—then it presented one wide surface of stagnant employment-now all was a living current of pienty ! and gladness-then doubt and dejection hung upon every countenance-now confidence and animation beam from every eye. Sir, I could not but say to myself, how selfish is man—th.t man, too, who should be a brother, and that brother who should feel for a br ther's woes, Did it never occur to the gentleman, while glowing with the emotions of joy at the elysian happiness of his immediate home, that, peradventure, some other section of his country was yet groaning under that condition which formed the dark shade of the pleasing picture of prosperity which he has just portrayed? Mr. Chuirman, if some stranger to our land, accompanied by a mentor who knew all its varied relations, should enter it in the north, and pervade it from Maine to Mobile, having all its minute parts and characteristics explained by hi guide, what would be behold? Through the cold region of the north, amidst its bald and barren hills, and sterde ridges, he will discover cheerful hamlets, glistening villages, flourish ing towns springing up as by magic, and crowded cities, displaying, by their marble columns and glided balustrades, the most gorgeous l wealth-throughout all the country, until he reaches the river that flows by this hill, will be perceive full employment for labor well rewarded; contentment shining on every face; riches, in all their gayest profusion, ministering their luxuries to some, competency distributing her milder comforts to others, and sufficiency dealing out its more moderate supplies to all; but, Sir, when he crosses the Potomac, what will be discover? In this land of fertility, of most propitious soil and genial climate, where every valuable production of natu e is reared, where the earth teems with a perpetual golden barrest, springing from its truitful plains or mineral mountains, what, I repeat, will he behold? Farms whose orchards have decayed whose houses are tumbling into ruins, whose fences have rotted and sunk into the bosom of briars-villages whose grass grown footways are choked with weeds, whose habitations on the outskirts have been left to the slumbers' of some strolling flock, whose once smiling gardens, in the beautiful language of the poet, present nothing now. But maited shrubs, where birds forget to sing.

And silent bats in drowsy clusters cling." And, Sir, this is the picture that belongs, but

with a few exceptions, to all the towns and merally and equally, and that, as Great Britain I cities of this once flourithing country. I could could not tax the colonies for her own benefit give you a most feeling account of a city in my lat home, or carry their money out of the colo own State, once the pride of the south, the bull nies to be spent on objects unconnected with sy mart of one of the greatest staples of the their colonial condition, so the General Governearth, the source of wealth, the seat then and ment cannot tax the States for the benefit of now of hospitality, and every gen-rous virtue- manufacturers, a distinct interest from that of but what is the fate of Savannali? Let her the Government; in other words, it cannot withering commerce and her sinking dwellings take money, by way of taxation, from one portell the story; and, Sir, to your American systinn of the States, to be spent in another, to tem will she point you for the cause of all her support an individual interest different from mis of times. Why is it, this stranger would that of the Union where all are alike concernnaturally inquire, that I perceive such a differ- | ed. The proposition is now fairly made. Let ence between these two great sections of coun- any superficial reader examine the causes which diction is exhibited as to their natural advanta | colonies, though as States they are now greatis sometimes as great a tyrant, and we are of right "to bind the colonies in all cases whatever." ten deceived and fulled into accurity under the! The result of such an unnatural and abhorrent tame belief that it is intended to protect, and experiment must be fresh upon the recollection

And desolation saddens all thy green." ponents, I must say to the gentleman from Pa. (Mr. ) the usurpations of the mother country, and STEWART, ) that his attempt to convict the gen- | finally terminated in their acknowledged indetleman from South Carolina, (Mr. McDorrie,) | pendence. of inconsistency, and thereby break down the I proceed to present the promised compa force of his reasoning, was as unsuccessful as it rison, and I hazard nothing in saying I shall was vain, and seemed, in the operation, to re- be able to show that the sufferings of the south semble that kind of impuissance which should are not only similar to the colonies, but in a attempt to storm the rock of Gibraltar with a great degree, more intolerable. I hold in my pocket pistol. The sentiment he read from band the first tariff act that was ever passed by that geneleman's speech will never be disavow- | Great Britain, intending to operate against the ed by him; I venture to say he is ready again to colonies for the double purpose of taxation, and repeat it, and, if he is not, I am. I will en to restrain their trade with all nations, except dorse it, and, as far as my credit extends, will through the mother country. give it fresh currency.

Georgia, it may be truly said-

diency - that the system " is dangerous to the | teen different subjects upon which duties were neace and harmony of the Union." Mr. Chair- laid, and they are upon all such articles as were man, this country was never, perhaps, except produced south of Cape Finisterre, because in time of war, in a higher degree of excite- north of that point they were prohibited to ment. We hear of meetings at the north-in- trade, except, as before stated, with the mother deed very large ones have lately been gotten country. These articles were such as Great up to dictate to the House the course it must Britain did not produce, such as coffee, indige, pursue; we hear of Legislatures pursuing the wines, East India silks, East India calicoes, same course, and saying the protecting system | French linen, and cambrics imported through shall not only not be repealed, but it shall not the mother country, pimento, sugar, and mobe relaxed; we hear of the presses saying that lasses, and, finally, the celebrated Stamp Act even the measures of compromise suggested, This memorable act passed on the 10th March, with the best intentions, by the administration, 1764, and on the 20th of April thereafter, just for the sake of peace, will be resisted by "a forty days, the General Assembly of New York million of musket bearing people." Now, Sir, raised their remonstrating voice, and immewhen the south acts or talks thus, it is treason! diately approved of a memorial, prepared by She must suffer, and if she complains in a tone | the merchants of the city of New York, to be any thing above the strain of supplication, she laid before Parliament, at the same time inis rebuked for insolence, and charged with a structing the agent of the colony 'to give all design to dismember the Union. Mr. Chair- possible opposition to the continuance of said man, this people cannot bear every thing, and | act." will never flag, until it warms and swells every most insupportable oppression and tyranny. bosom from the Potomac to the Mississippi.

ten years before they assumed the sword. This

guished era in the history of mankind." which it is my intention to make, it is necessary the suffering of the colonies and that of the distinctly to state the exact principle in both southern States. cases, and then show with what remarkable fidelity the facts will su-tain the analogy. The have not only aimed a blow at our subsistence, colonies were, as the Statis are now, independ but it has ritally affected the peace and happident of each other; and Great Britain, the ness of the country; it has produced hot blood mother country, constituted their FEDERAL and divisions among our people; it has sunder-HEAU. To them, the mother country was, ed the strongest ties of interest; alienated the what the General Government now is to the enlearments of the longest friendships; over-States. The latter is our Federal head. Great turned the courtesies of society; and even in Britain maintained that she had a right "to tax fused its poison into the very affections of kinthe colonies in all cases whatever." The colonies dred. No people were ever more united than denied it, and contended that she had only the the people of South Carolina, and none so sigright to tax them through the regulation of com- mally characterized by those public and private merce as revenue, and for their benefit; that movalities which cinfer upon the c minunity such taxes could not be taken and applied to the most enduring concord. But where has it any other purpose whatever; that no direction fled? The much respected gentleman to my at all could be laid upon them without their left, (Col. DEATTON,) can tell you, and tell you consent, and then only for the use of the colo- in accents that would arouse your deepest sennies, and to be granted by their own Legisla | sibility; for he himself, and many of his former tures. The General Government maintains that associates and compatitute, are instances of how she has a right to "tax the States in all cases little the long tried friendships of life can withwhatever." The States deny this right, and stand the strifes of political contention. To the contend that it can only tax them through the most unexampled unanimity of sentiment, symregulation of commerce, as revenue, for the sin pathy of feeling, and purity of attachment, gle purpose alone of supporting the Govern | there has succeeded a want of confidence, dis-

try, especially when such a mysterious contra- | led to the revolution, and he will find that the ges? On one side, every thing that could by more oppressed in some marters, yet, then make a country prosperous, while, on the they fixshed like lightning at the slightest invaother, there seems to be nothing that would sion of their rights. Great Britain, in two hunprevent the exact reverse. His director would | dred years, with all her power and ingenuity, be compelled to answer, it has all been done and spparently with tenfold more right, was by the singular device of legislation. The never able, in the internal regulations of the mere operation of human law, actuated by the colonies, to drive the first entering wedge inselfishnes, of human nature, has done this foul to what they considered unconstitutional taxadeed of mischief, has drawn, secretly and in | tion; nor in that time did she accomplish what sidiously, all the resources of the south to the the General Government has done in the short north and middle States. We have generally space of eighteen years. Various were the been instructed to believe, that man alone, in acts, and at various times and under various his individual character, is disposed to be a states of feeling were they urged, to establish despot, but a regulation of a whole community | the principle that the mother country had the

not to destroy, when it often happens that of every one, save, perhaps, the misguided some combination of robbers or usurpers have and infatuated rulers of the General Governartfully transferred their power into the form ment. Lung and ardent were their opposition of law, and, in that way, as effectually accom- | against the attempts of the British Parliament plished the purposes of fraud and ambition as to rivet upon them her port laws, navigation if achieved by the dagger or the fagot. And acts, admiralty regulations, new models of triin all the country of the south, from Virginia to al. of appointing officers, stamp acts, and tariffs for regulating their trade. Opinions, re-"Amidst thy bowers the tyrant's hand is seen, | sul ing from their oppressions, stimulated them to unmitigated resistance, which spread through Before I take leave of the arguments of our op- | America, were intrepidly maintained against

The act which I have just referred to, and I come now to the second ground of expe- which is here ready to be seen, contains eigh-

a portentous sign has lately appeared in the The memorial was followed up by other south. Two States have met together, and strong remonstrances from nearly all the other told to each other the story of their wrongs in colonies, holding a language of the following a temper that cannot be mistaken. Take care | character, "that an exemption from the burthen how you trifle with a people struggling for of ungranted involuntary taxes, must be the liberty; you live but one generation removed grand principle of every free State. Without from a case, which I shall presently show you, | such a right vested in themselves, exclusive of that affords the lesson of how much an injured all others, there can be no liberty, no happiness, people can suffer, and exactly at weat point ne security; it is inseparable from every idea of they will avenge their insults. Two thousand property; for who can call that his own which people, burning with a just sense of their suf | may be taken away at the pleasure of another ferings, have recently declared of a gallant son | No history can furnish an instance of a Constituof the south, whose chivalry and patriotism de- | tion to permit one purt of a dominion to be taxed nerves the sentiment, in view of a determinal by another, and that, too, in effect, but by a tion to resist oppression, if not relieved, that branch of that other part. And if such an abhe was "a patriot without fear, and without re- surd and unequal Constitution should be adoptproach. He has generously devoted himself to ed, who, that considers the natural reluctance the defence of southern rights and southern in- of mankind to burthens, and their inclination terests, and is qualified for every crisis. And to cast them upon the shoulders of others. southern people will support him in the great | cannot foresee that, while the people on one cause in every peril, and at every hazard." side of the Atlantic enjoy an exemption from Mark well this feeling! It stirs a spirit that the load, those on the other must submit to the The committee thus far will begin to perceive Mr. Chairman, history is full of instructive the temper and spirit of a people suddenly admonitions on the subject of invaded liberty, aroused to a sense of legislative oppression, and and how certain the resentments of a free peo. they may plainly discern a firmness in the ple will be aroused in defence of that most | assertion of their injury worthy of all praise. precious of all Heaven's best gifts to man. The colony of New York resolutely said to Par-While the few are insidious, the many are palliament, "what can be more apparent than that tient; while ty anny is secret and crafty, demo the State, which exercises a sovereignty in comcracy is open, generous, and forbearing; but merce, can draw all the wealth of its colonies into there is a crisis in every thing, and a point be- its own stock? And has not the whole trade of youd which even slavery will not suffer. We North America, that growing magazine of should learn wisdom fr in experience. Our wealth, been, from the beginning, directed, own annals present the most illustrious case of restrained, and prohibited, at the sole pleasure human persecution resisted by the most con- of the Parliament? And whatever some may summate courage and daring. We have a lest pretend, his Majesty's American subjects are for son, not yet sixty years old, replete with a mo- from a desire to invade the just rights of Great ral that can never be too often consulted; it is Britain in all just commercial regulations. They a counsel that cannot deceive; it is a monitor humbly conceive that a very manifest distinction that will not betray; it possesses a feeling that presents itself, which, while it leaves to the touches the heart without anguish, though it is mother country an incontestible power to give connected with a story that must forever bear laws for the advancement of her own commerce, upon our regrets. It is this struggle for liber. will, at the same time, do no violence to the ty, this incinorable contest for principle, I shall rights of the plantations." And then, in the this day invoke in behalf of a people subject. most emphatic language, they assert the right ed to the same unholy oppression. It is a shin- of FREE TRADE, unincumbered with taxes: ing light that cannot be extinguished; and, say they, "the freedom to drive all kinds of before Heaven, in favor of my suffering count troffic, with an exemption from all duties, is trymen, Will I swaren this token or the Re. | humbly claimed by the colonies as the most VOLUTION, AND SAUFF IT AND FLASH IT IN YOUR | CSSCHIAL Of all the rights to which they are entisled." Without the exercise of this right, In speaking of the causes which led to the they considered themselves as slaves; that subrevolution, a distinguished orator, just after mission to burthers upon their trade would lead its happy termination, brilliantly observed : 441 to impoverishment, and that nothing would so was not the quantity of the tax, it was not the effectually drain off not only their wealth, but mode of appropriation, but it was the right of the very means of subsistence: -they declared the demand, that was called in question. Upon that "since all imposition, whether they be this the people deliberated; this they discuss. inlernal laxes, or duties, paid for what we coned in a cool and dispussionate manner; and this sume, equally diminish the estates upon which they opposed, in every shape that an artful and they are charged; what avails it to any people, systematic ministry could devise, for more than by which of them, they are impoverished Every thing will be given up to preserve life; single circumstance, aside from the magnitude and though there is a diversity in the means, of the contest, will stamp a peculiar glory on the yet the whole wealth of a country may be as American revolution, and mark it as a distin- effectually drawn off by the exaction of duties, as by any other tax upon their estates." Can We are not only questioning the "right of any doctring be more apposite to our present the demand," but we have the peculiar aggra- situation? and are not the southern States sub vation of not only an intolerable "quantity" of jected to precisely such a course as that which "lax," but that tax is transferred from the bo | called forth this unanswerable truth? If the som of our people, and "appropriated" in other maxim be true, that like causes produce like countries. Before I proceed to the comparis in effect, no two events can be more similar than

The present exactions of the Government

loasy of action, winch has uprouted all the

charities of that society; and, strange to say, I

ment, and, consequently, for their beacht ge- trust of patriotism, suspicion of motive, and jea

without the least difference of opinion as to the I tinue the cerew of the American system hard force and realify of their oppressions. This down upon the south, even if it burst the band was the case with the colonies. They told the that binds it to the Union. Then it said, mother country, you are invading our rights- | That this House think it their duty, thus "rights established in the first dawn of our firmly to assert their inherent rights, that their Constitution, founded upon the most substan- posterity may learn and know that it was not tial reasons, confirmed by invariable usage, con- with their consent and acquiescence that any ducive to the best ends, never abused to bad taxes should be levied on them by any persons purposes; and, with the loss of which, liberty, but their own representatives, and are desirous property, and all the benefits of life, tumble that these, their resolves, should remain on into insecurity and rain. Rights, the privation | their minutes as a testimony of the zeal and of which will dispirit the people, abute their ardent desire to preserve their inestimable rights, industry, discourage trade, introducts piscond, and to transmit them to their latest posterity." poverty, and slavery; or, by depopulating the | Such declarations as these, on the part of the colonies, turn a vast, fertile, prosperous region, | south, are held to be treasonable, and are said

into a dreary wilderness." time toll you, that you were departing from political disappointments, continued by the our original agreement, and that such depar- lagency of design, and increased now by the ture was working the most ruinous consequen- | force of delusion. I cannot leave the State of ces to our peace and prosperity. And how Pennsylvania, without one more quotation; for, have they been answered? Listen to the an- of all the States, her conduct is more inexoraswer of the King of Great Britan to his suppli | ble, more uncompromising, and less magnacating colonies, and see how much yours and inimous, than any of the States in reference to his response has been alike. In addressing his this selfish and destroying system. It was but Parliament, he sternly says, "the experience the other day the citizens of Philadelphia, ten which I have had of your former conduct, thousand in number it is said, met, and remakes me rely on your wisdom and firmness, solved that sooner than relinquish their grasp in promoting that obedience to the laws, and re- upon the property of the south, they would spect to the legislative authority of this king- give up the Union. Now mark what their foredom, which is essentially necessary for the fathers said in the year '65: "the merchants | safety of the people."

soon taught the colonies to understand that, as | the North American commerce in general, and in our case, a deafear was turned to their com- the distressed situation of the province of Pennplaints. All quarters of the country sprung sylvania in particular, do unanimously agree from their lethargy, meetings of all descriptions | that the many difficulties they now labor under, | were had, town meetings, county meetings, as a trading people, are owing to the meatriclegislative remonstrances, and, finally, a meet- | trops, requiritions, and ill advised regulations, ing of the colonies, by delegates, ensued, for made in the several acts of the Parliament of the purpose of testifying their discontent, and Great Britain, lately passed to regulate the a determined resolution not to submit to such, | colonies which have limited the exportation of as they said, unconstitutional and oppressive some of our country produce, increased the measures. We, too, have gone through all cost and expense of many articles of our importhis process. Is less expected of us then our lation, and cut off from us all means of supforefathers? Is there much calculation placed plying ourselves with specie enough even to upon our cowardice? Is there a hope indulged | pay the duties imposed on us, much less to that ours are grievances that can be healed by serve as a medium of trade." What language talk! Take care that you do not fall into a fatal | can better express the present condition of the | mistake. Your once most gracious King, whom | outh? you so ungraciously imitate, found, when it | The State of Connecticut declared in relation was too late, that he had reckoned without to these British turiff acts, "that the consent of ing ancestors, bold as they were brave, said on [sense or degree, that at all comports with the that occasion.

their temper and judgment were cool and col. | federal manufacturers. lected, "that this assembly is at all times rea- The present State of New Jersey, now leady to recognize his Majesty's high court of gued in the sisterhood of filchers, then said, Parliament as the supreme legislative power "that all supplies, being free gifts for the peo. over the whole empire so far as its superintend. | ple of Great Britain, to grant to his Majesty the ing authority is consistent with the fundamen. property of the people of this colony without tal rules of the Constitution." And so are we their consent, is unreasonable, and renders use in relation to the Federal Government. Take less legislation in this colony, in the most essenbut the Constitution for your honest guide, I tial point. That, as the tranquillity of this and we are contented, because we know we colony hath been interrupted through fear of are safe; for, in the cautiously expressed provi- | the dreadful consequences of the stamp act, sions of that well meant instrument the minori- therefore, the officers of the Government, who ty find their only security. They conclude go on in their offices for the good and peace of their address with this invaluable sentiment: | the province, in the accustomed manner, will, "there are fundamental rules of the Constitu- in the opinion of this House, be entitled to the tion which, it is humbly presumed, neither the | countenance of the Legislature." Nullification, Supreme Legislature nor the Supreme Execu- | again! Next comes the State of South Carotive can aller. In all free States the Constitu- lina, then, and now, the firm and unwavering tion is fixed. It is from thence the legislature advocate of liberty; then, and now, the conderives its authority; therefore it cannot change sistent defenders of free trade; then, and now, the Constitution without destroying its own the bold supporters of the Constitution of their foundation." And in a circular from this same | country; and may they never cease their manmagnanimous State to the other colonies, com- ly exertions until they bring back the Govern. municating the address, and sounding the alarm | ment to the true principles of the great charter of British encroachment, they declare "that it of our Union. Listen to their memorable deis an essential unulterable right in narone, and | clarations from which they have never depart. ever held sacred and irrevocable, that what a ed, "that it is inseparably essential to the freeman hath honestly acquired is absolutely his dom of the people, and the undoubted right of own, which he may freely give, but cannot be | Englishmen, that no taxes be imposed on them, taken away without his consent. That the but with their own consent, given personally, Americans may, therefore, exclusive of any or by their representatives, and then for no consideration of charler rights, with decent other use but that of their own government," firmness, adapted to the character of freemen, "That the people of this province are not, assert this natural and constitutional right," and, from their local circumstances, cannot be This circular, says Marshall, "was extremely represented in the House of Commons of Great well received in the other colonies," and in Britain. And further, the several powers of answer to it, Virginia, the old dominion, the legislation in the colonies were constituted uppride of the Union, the nursery of republican on the apprehension of this impracticability. statesmen, the land of free principles, the mo | "That all supplies to the crown, being free ther of the south, and, I trust, the future strong | gifts of the people, it is unreasonable and indefender of free trade, said, on that occasion, | consistent with the principles and spirit of the "that his Majesty's most liege people of this, British Constitution, for the people of Great his most ancient colony, have enjoyed the right | Britain to grant to his Majesty the property of | of being governed by their own Assembly in the people of this province." the article of taxes and inventure police, and Mr. Chairman, you have only to alter the that the same has never been forfeited, nor any phraseology of this last resolution, and you other way yielded up, but have been constant. have the whole complaint of that gallant State, ly recognized by the King and people of Great | South Carolina, viz: "that all the supplies to | Britain. And that every attempt to vest such the Federal Government, being free gifts of a power in any person or persons whatsoever, the people, in their Constitution, it is upreasonother than the General Assembly aforesaid, is il. able and inconsistent with the principles and legal, unconstitutional, and unjust, and has a seruter of that Constitution, to grant to their manifest tendency to destroy British as well as | Majesties, the manufacturers, the property of American freedom." Is any language of the the people of South Carolina." If such sentisouth plainer or stronger than this? And who ments produced a revolution in '75, what is to is there among us will dare pronounce such [hinder the same feelings from producing a simi-] sentiments treasonable? The town of Provi. | lar event in the year '33? South Carolina condence, in giving instructions to their deputies | cluded her remonstrances to the mother counin the General Assembly of Rhode Island, re- try in the following intelligible languagepeated these identical sentiments of Virginia, which, may this G vernment mark and remem. and added. " that the inhabitants of this colo. ber! "that the restrictions on the trade of the ny are not bound to yield obedience to any law people of this province, together with the late or ordinance designed to impose any internal duties and taxes imposed on them by acts of taxation whatsoever upon them, other than the Parliament, must necessarily greatly lessen the laws of the General Assembly." I have been consumption of foreign importations." induced to quote this little clause from the 1.tcation without disguise. Turn and twist this dom! as you may, it is a determined resolve not to obey the LAW of its federal head—the no less the resolutions of the General Assemblies of

of proceeding.

to betray a restless and seditious spirit, as ema-We, too, have remonstrated, and time after | nating from a fault-finding temper, whetted by and traders of the city of Philadelphia, taking This cold and unfeeling answer of the King into their consideration the melancholy state of [

his host.' But, perhaps, it would be amusing, the colonies was not given to them personally, if not instructive, to know what our unflinch- or by representation, actual or virtual, in any true intendment, spirit, or equitable construc-The State of Massachusetts, whose lead, like | tien of the British Constitution. That, in the that of South Carolina at the present day, can popinion of this House, an act for raising money never cease to claim our ignatitude, addressed by duties or taxes, differs from other acts of the King on I Perhamenta second lime, in which | legislation, in that, it is always considered as they affirm " that the colonial assemblies pos- | a free gift of the people, made by their legal sessed all the powers of legislation, not surren- and elected representatives, and that we cannot dered by compact, and were bound by no laws | conceive that the people of Great Britain, or to which their representatives had not consent. [their representatives, have the right to dispose ed: that acts of Parliament possessed only an of our property." This is precisely the lan-EXTERNAL OBLIGATION; and they could reguigle we hold: take what taxes you please late commerce, but not the INTERIOR APPAIRS from us to support the Felleral Government, of the colonies." (Marshall.) They further but do not take our property to be crammed asserted, and this was done at a time too when into the already overstuffed pockets of the

"That the increase, prosperity, and happi tie town of Providence, in the little State of ness of the people of this province, depend on Rhode Island, merely to show that it is the first the full and free enjoyment of their rights and clear and distinct germ of nullification, which liberties, and on an affectionate intercourse afterwards as distinctly unfolded itself in that with Great Britain." On the enjoyment of same State, and never crased its influence and their rights and liberties every thing depends; progress until it nullified the British Govern- without this, Government is a curse; but, in ment in the colonies of America. That same an essential manner, is an affectionate inter-Assembly to which these instructions were course with our sister States all important ; sent, concluded its session, by adopting, with without this, who could desire we should live many other very strong and unequivocal resolution together? It was affection that brought us totions, the following: " that the officers in this gether. Destroy this, and what inducement colony, appointed by the author ty thereof, be, remains for the connexion? Shall we live togeand they are hereby directed, to proceed in ther merely that one part of the Union shall the execution of their respective offices in the prey upon the other? That the labor and hard same manner as usuals and that this Assembly | carnings of the south shall be annually transfer will indemnify and save manutass all the said [red to the north? Was this the motive for the ] officens, on account of their conduct, agrees. Union? Is this the affection that is to keep us bly to this resolution." Here then is nullifi. together? Forbid it, justice! Forbid it, free-

It is unnecessary to give further extracts from

formidable power of Great Britain; and it is the the colonies. Suffice it to say, they all sent more to be admired, because it is the during of forth their complaints, in a language breathing a pigmy against a giant, the very breath of the same spirit of resistance and determined whose nostrils might have blasted it in the no- opposition to British oppression, levelled at ble assertion of a right that utterly contemned | their peace and prosperity, through the instruall consequences. Let the oppressed of all mentality of illegal taxation, and the sill more nations who think they can no longer bear odious restriction of their trade. The State of their injuries, go to the history of Ruode Island | Georgia was, alone, the only State who did not | for spirit to act, and to her record for the form resolve on that eventful occasion, but it was because she could not, for she was under the What said the State of Pennsylvania on that | control of a royal Governor, as unfeeling as a trying occasion? the State that now says she northern manufacturer, who refused to call the will have a bank and the protective system, Assembly together, notwithstanding they earn cos' what it may, even the Union itself; and estly entreated him to that effect. For they, that if she is compelled to give up one or the too, wished to signify, with their sister States. other, let the Union go. Then she said, "It is their abhorrence of British usurpation, and so the opinion of this House, that the restraints im- determined were they that their voice of reposed by several late acts of Parliament, on the sentment should mingle with that of the TRADE of this province, at a time when the other complaints, that they voluntarily aspeople labor under an enormous load of debt, sembled themselves together, in the town must of necessity be attended with the most of Savannah, expressed their decided disapfatal consequences." Does she hold this lan- probation of the late measures of the British guage now while she is "imposing" "on the Parliament, and assured their sister colonies, by trade's of her sister States, "restraints" ten letter, that, at their regular session, " they lines more burthensome? But listen further to would take under consideration the grievances the language of this State, whose city of bro. so justly complained of, and transmit their sense therly love has lately must us a message to con- of the same to Great Britain, in such way as

may seem best calculated to obtain redress, and so as to convince the sister colonies of their in. vi lable attachment to the common cause."

Besides these remonstrances by the peaple in town meetings, by their legislative bodies, precisely such as have characterized the proceedings of the south, and, as one would think, furnis's matter for solemn warning, the General Assemblies passed non-int-recourse laws-the people refused to trade with Great Britain, resolv d to make their own clething in fine, manifested their horror of British oppression, in every possible shape which human discontent could devise; and, Sir, by may of showing you the spirit of the times, and as an instance of patriotism cultying any thing on the records of past events, I must beg leave to make one more quotation. It must for ever remain an isolated moral prodigy of the love of country. It is headed "DAUGHTERS OF LIBERTY," and then proceeds: "On the 4th instant, eighteen daughters of liberts. young ladies of good reputation, met at the house of Doctor Ephraim Bowen, (Providence, Rhode Island,) in this town, in consequence of an invitation of that gentleman, who hath discovered a laudable zeal for introdu ing home manufactures. There they exhibited a fine example of industry, by spinning from sun-lise until dark, and displaying a spirit for saving their sinking country, rarely to be found among persons of more age and experience. The Doctor provided an elegant plain dinner, and other refreshments for the fair company; but they last but very little time, and cheerfully agreed to omit tes, to render their conduct consistent. Besides this instance of their patriotism, before they separated, they unanimously resolved that the stamp act was unconstitutional; that they would purchase no more British manufactures unless it be repealed; and that they would not even admit the addresses of any gentleman, should they have an opportunity. without they were determined to oppose its ex. ecution, to the last extremity, if occasion required." This is nullification with a vengeance! It str kes at the very root to the evil, and sapa not only the foundation of the Government, but even the very existence of seciety, and manii sts 2 dotermination, if it could be done no other way, to end the ravage by ending the race! Sir, there is a similar enthusiastic feeling in the south. In Charleston, the famales are all alive to the injuries of their courtry; and, on all occasions, by writings, nay, by word and deed, animate their fathers, husbands, and sons, to rise and assert at every hazard, though the land should be left with none but widows and orphans, the rights which were purchased by the best blood of their fathers. and which they have inherited from that deathless ancestry. Witness the sentiments of the women, sent in the shape of toasts, to the usual festivities of the country, to cheer and encourage their countrymen in their onward progress to a recovery of that liberty which usurpation. for a moment, seems successfully to have in-

Before I close this branch of the subject, I must refer the committee to a part of Doctor Franklin's examination before a committee of Parliament on the subject of the discontents in the colonies: for it is so pertinent to the case of the south, that it were treacherous in me to omit it. Among the vast variety of questions that were asked him, all of which he answered with great wisdom, and the most unusual promptness, were the following, viz.

"Don't you think they would submit to the stamp act, if it was modified, the obnexious parts taken out, and the duty reduced to some particulars of small moment?-No; they will never submit to it.

"Have you not heard of the resolution of this House and of the House of Lords, asserting the right of Parliament relating to America, including a power to tax the people? [For the macufacturers.]-Yes, I have heard of such

"What will be the opinion of the Americans on those resolutions.—They will think them UNCONSTITUTIONAL AND UNIUST.

"But who is to judge of that, Britain or the Culony !- THOSE THAT FEEL CAR BEST JUDGE!" Yes, Sir, and we who feel will judge, come what will!

Said this same committee to the American

"If the act is not repealed, what do you think will be the consequences? A total loss of the respect and affection the people of A: merica bear to the mother country, and of all the commerce that depends on that respect and affection." And I, too, will answer for the south, if your tariff act is not repealed, away goes all the respect and affection which can alone make this Union any longer desirable.

What was the issue of all this, Mr. Chairman? Need I tell you? It must be fresh in the recol lection of every man present. Indeed is it were not from a knowledge of the history of that day, which some, perhaps, care not to know, and others strive to forget, yet there is an occasion once a year when it is brought to their remembrance by a sacred political observance which is designed for that especial purpose. I hold in my hand the homily that is used on that subbath of our independence, a part of which it is my intention to read on this occasion, as containing MY DOCTRINES, and I care not for the name by which it is called, for names are nothing, against tyranny and usurpation; and under these titles I rank every thing that violates the CONSTITUTION of the coun'ry. What I am about to read perhaps was never read before but with feelings of delight, except as to those against whose despotism it was levelled, and whose oppression it was intended to blast. It may now, for aught I know, encounter another exception. "We hold these truths to be self-evident, that all men are created equal; that they are endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable rights: that amongst these are life, liberty, and the pursuit of bappiness. That, to secure these rights, governments are instituted among men, denving their just powers from the consent of the governed; that whenever any form of government becomes destructive of these ends, it is the right of the people to alter or to abolish it, and to institute new government, Lying its foundation on such principles, and organizing its powers in such form, as to them shall seem most likely to effect their safety and happiness. Prudence indeed will dictate that governments long established, should not be changed for light and transient causes; and, accordingly, at experience bath shown that mankind are more disposed to suffer, while evils are sufferable, than to right themselves by abolishing the forms to which they are accustomed. By when a long train of abuses and usurpation, pursuing invariably the same object, evinces a design to reduce them under absolute despotism, IT IS THEIR RIGHT, it is their DUTY, to throw off such government, and to provide new guards for their future security."

No man can object to this doctrine. If there be such a one, let him sten forth before t e democracy of America, and I will renture to predict he will stand out confessed an American monopolist. Among the enumeration of grievances published to the wourld in that memorable instrument, part of which I have just read, the following are to be found: ". "For cutting off our trade with all parts of

the world. "For imposing taxes upon us without our

convent "In every stage of these oppressions, we have petitioned for redress in the most humble terms; our repeated petitions have been a " swered only by repeated injury." Now, Sir, listen to the catastrophe, and may it sink deep into the hearts of those who are rushing to a similar destiny, not only deaf to all entreaties,

\* Poast sent by the ladies of Montgomery, Alabama, to a very splendid celebration of the

4th of July, 1831. "We had rather be the widows of Staterights men, than the wives of men who will not defend their rights."

\*Joel Barlow-