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EULOGY

ON THE

LIFE, CHARACTER AND PUBLIC SERVICES

OF THE

HON. JOHN C. CALHOUN,

PRONOUNCED BY APPOINTMENT

BEFORE THE CITIZENS OF CHERAW AND ITS VICINITY,

ON WEDNESDAY, APRIL 24, 1850.

BY

THE REV. J. C. COIT.

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PUBLISHED BY THE TOWN COUNCIL OF CHERAW.

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COLUMBIA, S. C.  
PRINTED BY A. S. JOHNSTON.

1850.

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### FELLOW CITIZENS :

There are few that die who do not leave some behind to mourn. Natural affection, usefulness, dependance, or some other of the cords that bind the heart of man to man, are broken. We are not long in this world before we suffer, or learn to sympathise with those who weep under this kind of bereavement.

Beside this, there are public demonstrations of respect usual, when men die high in station, and where the tribute is often rather to the office, than to the character of the dead.

But we have come together not only to mourn for the loss of a "friend, a countryman, a lover ;" but also, moved by higher impulses, to render honour to the memory of him, to whom honour *is* due.

In attempting to direct your attention to those principles which lie at the foundation of our political institutions, to the study and vindication of which Mr. Calhoun (in the love of his soul for truth and country) devoted his youth, manhood, and old age ; and in support of which he died ; standing, as I do, by your own appointment, to speak of his fame ; I may, in justice, ask of your candour and forbearance, a favourable construction, should any sentiment be uttered offensive to the opinions of any one of you ; especially, (I speak among mine own people,) when none in former days presented a more fatal opposition, (I speak of the stake of mine own life,) to Mr. Calhoun's fundamental policy than your orator ; and when now, having for a long time been Mr. Calhoun's political disciple, I am to speak in his praise.

Did I not firmly believe, (a faith obtained after many struggles, and over many and strong prejudices.) did I not firmly believe that as a political prophet, he has been a great light to the people ; and that his positions are rooted in facts and truths, in justice, equity and freedom, I could never have consented to occupy this honourable place which your favour has this day assigned me.

I believe his political principles to be true. I believe them to be fundamental, I believe them to be vital to the constitution and union

of this country. I believe more; I hold them to be the political bulwarks of our religious liberties and the pillars of a government of truth, justice, equity and law.

Mr. Calhoun was born in Abbeville District, and remained 'till he was about thirteen years of age with his parents on the farm. Their intelligence, conversation, example, piety and discipline, (without the help of tutors or many books,) had trained and educated him up to that period; when he left home for the school. At school he evinced great activity, energy and capacity of understanding; an unusual thirst for learning; and a special fondness for history. His application was so unremitting and intense that his health was soon impaired; and he was obliged to return to his mother, with whom he remained 'till he was about eighteen years of age, when he again left home for the academy, resolved to pursue as extensive a course of literary and scientific study, as the institutions of our country at that day afforded. He commenced the Latin Grammar, and in two years, he entered the Junior class at Yale College. At College he was marked for independence of mind, purity of morals, fondness for debate, power in reasoning, and for a clear comprehension of the elementary principles of ethics, politics and law, and for a singular enthusiasm in those studies. At commencement his theme was significant of his youthful aspirations. "What are the qualifications for a perfect statesman?"

On leaving college, he immediately commenced the study of the law; and in about two years, the practice of that profession. He was soon elected to represent his District in the State Legislature; and continued in the practice of the law, and in the Legislature, about four years. He left a reputation at the bar, highly honourable to his personal and professional character; and while in the Legislature of his own State, stamped the traces of his image on the Statute book, to tell that he had been there, and that he had been there for good.

In 1811 he was returned for Congress. The condition of the civilized world at that juncture was appalling in the extreme. The moral and political maxims of the French revolution, as to the dignity of human nature, "the rights of man," liberty and equality, had run their course through France; convulsed and overthrown the kingdom; fused the social elements into a burning and devouring lake of fire, and melted the foundation of the pillars that had supported all the governments of Christendom. From out of that lake of fire had arisen that awful form of brass and iron, whose dominion was over all Continental Europe, (save the frozen North,) and who, at that moment, was contending with Great Britain for the empire of the whole world.

Far removed from the arena of conflicting armies, our country was apparently at peace. But the minds of our countrymen were tossed and driven about by the warring winds of opposite moral and political opinions; and their spirits were as chaff prepared for the fire. The country was divided into two great political parties. The one, if not sympathising with Napoleon, yet with his enmity to Great Britain; and regarding his mission as the cause of liberty and the people, against hereditary aristocracies, kingdoms, empires and despotisms, heartily wished well to his star; rejoiced in his triumphs, and echoed back across the Atlantic the shouts of his victories. The other party regarding him as the scourge of God upon the nations; and looking upon Great Britain as the only earthly bulwark for the salvation of the world from the heel of this modern Attila; trembled at every rumour of his success; for they regarded him as the incarnation of enmity to truth, virtue, liberty, and religion.

Most of our countrymen were at that day upon the Atlantic slope; and though young, we were an important maritime people, our vessels navigating every sea; extensively engaged in neutral commerce with all the world at war. And it was at this moment we were in danger of becoming the prey and the spoil of all other nations.

The effect of the mutual policy of British and French diplomacy, (as evinced by the Berlin and Milan decrees, and the orders in council,) was to seize our vessels, and insult, impress, or imprison our people. The thunder of our cannon had never been heard abroad among the nations of the earth; and our flag carried upon the wind no spell of terror or respect; and imposed no awe in foreign ports; to check the contempt, rudeness, injustice and violence, that among barbarous people at all times, and among civilized nations in times of trouble and war, devour the property and people of a nation so tame and so weak that there is no fear of the thunderbolt of retribution.

Such was the condition of the world abroad and at home, when Mr. Calhoun first stood before the American people, as one of their rulers in the House of Representatives from South Carolina.

Mr. Jefferson's policy to meet the exigencies of the times, had been the defence of the turtle. He wished to keep our people and property at home, within our own shell. It was the non-intercourse, the embargo, the gun-boat system. If he could, he would have made the waves of the Atlantic, flames of fire. He would have cut off his country and people from all intercourse with the old continent. It was the weakness of his administration that he endeavoured to do

so. Mr. Jefferson's mind was profoundly philosophic; yet had a vicious taint of idolatry, for his own idealisms and theories.

Mr. Calhoun, who bowed with reverence to the sacred supremacy of truth, justice, and honour: in dealing with men and nations, in the high concerns of international correspondence, politics and law; considered well the nature of the clay in his hands. He knew he was not a creator, but a potter; he therefore dealt with men and human affairs as they actually were; and not like Mr. Jefferson, as though they were what his philosophy taught him they ought to be. Herein differed (as I conceive,) these eminent statesmen. Mr. Calhoun received truths and facts as realities; and acting on them, the works of his hands stand when the winds and the storms come. Mr. Jefferson's foundation stones were too often the phantoms of his own imagination; and therefore the base of his works in places has caved in.

Mr. Calhoun immediately took (what has always been characteristic of the man,) an independent position in Congress. He never descended to be the leader of a party; and was always too high toned in honour, truth and virtue to bear the yoke. He denounced the non-intercourse system as tame and unmanly; as ruinous to the character of our country abroad, to the prosperity of our people at home; and as palsying to their self-respect, and to a high spirit of national independence. As a people we had no fame abroad; and no marked character at home. Yet in the cradle Mr. Calhoun's sagacity discerned the bone, the muscle, the foot, and the head, of the infant Hercules. The babe was not conscious of its powers, or its destiny; but it devolved on those whom Providence had placed as tutors and governors of this child of promise, to awake him from his terrific dreams, and sleeping convulsions; and Mr. Calhoun was the man who blew the trumpet, put the lad on his feet, and the club in his hands. In the first speech he made for his whole country "his voice was raised for war."

There are in our day dreamers, as there were in the days of Mr. Jefferson, who dream that wars are wrong; though their dreams come from a different kind of imagination. Some now hold that war is in itself a moral evil; and that any degree of insult, injustice and oppression should be passively borne, rather than resort to the terrible ordeal of arms.

I believe that among serious persons, this persuasion cometh from a confusion in their minds of the divine and human governments. The nature of these dominions is different and antagonistic. The one is purely spiritual; its subjects the spirits and spiritual powers,

the minds and the hearts, the thoughts, affections and passions of individual men. In this kingdom, where the spirit of the Lord reigus by the sceptre of his word over the soul, there love to God and man, and all the Christian graces, flourish; and all envy, wrath, malice, resentment, contentions and personal fightings among the subjects of this kingdom, are inconsistent with its dominion. Here man has personally no rights; and his liberty consists in having an eye to see, an ear to hear, and a heart to understand and obey *the word* of the Lord. It is the kingdom of faith and patience, of passive, unresisting, meek obedience to the word and the providence of God. Here is a communion, through the Mediator, of Creator and creature, Redeemer and redeemed, Sanctifier and sanctified, sinner and Saviour, father and child. This is the kingdom of heaven; and though *in* this world is not *of* this world; and where this dominion is set up and reigns in the heart, there can be personally between its subjects nothing but mutual love; fightings and wars between them are excluded. Jesus answered Pilate, "my kingdom is not of this world; if my kingdom were of this world, then would my servants fight, that I should not be delivered to the Jews."

Here our master intimates that it is characteristic of the kingdoms of this world that their subjects or citizens *will* fight; to save their king or sovereignty from captivity. And it was a doctrine held profoundly by Mr. Calhoun, that no earthly kingdom or State can maintain its proper rights of sovereignty, without there be in those to whom the sovereignty belongs, an understanding to know, a virtue to appreciate, and a spirit to maintain this royal prerogative, if need be, by the sword. The imperial or crown rights of a State, or of her people, involve the high moral obligation to protect the lives, the property and honour of the subject or citizen. Mr. Calhoun was appointed one of the rulers of the State or kingdom of this world. In these kingdoms, falsehood, violence and rapacity reign among the people and among the nations: and his country was about to be made a prey and a spoil for them all.

There are two forms of human government that have the *divine* sanction; (the only true basis of moral right for the dominion of man over man.) and these two governments are the civil and domestic. The domestic government is recognised and sanctioned by the word of the Lord, where the father and master bears rule over the subjects in the house, especially over children and servants. The temporal sanction of this law is the rod of correction. In the hands of the civil ruler of a people God hath put the sword; not a dove, the emblem of meekness and love; but *a sword*, as a "terror to evil

doers and a praise to them who do well." The State is not a benevolent society, on a charitable foundation; but the fundamental institute among men, for *human justice*. For the right and lawful use of this sword they who have proper sovereign rights in States, are responsible to no human tribunal, but to God only.

When we consider the condition of the world in arms, our own countrymen divided in sympathies with the combatants; a large part of the Jeffersonian democracy for a sort of passive neutrality and non-resistance; nearly one-half the nation opposed to war; some few for a war with both England and France; the dissensions and violent factions among our people; the country without an army or navy of any adequate moment; without munitions of war; without pecuniary resources; if we ponder upon these things, and look at the young Calhoun with all the confidence that a conviction of the truth, justice and honour of his cause could inspire; with a zeal kindled by a supreme love of his country; and with an unwavering reliance upon a righteous providence; calmly beholding and scanning all the difficulties and dangers that stared them in the face; urging an instant resort to arms; if we note the formidable power of the Federal party, and the terrible opposition of John Randolph, (who had then been ten years in Congress;) if we attend to all these things; and to the agency of Mr. Calhoun in procuring the declaration of war; and then note the trials of that war which followed his movement; we may understand the force of the expression of Mr. Dallas; that the young Carolinian was the Hercules who took the burden of the war on his own shoulders, and carried it triumphantly through to a glorious peace.

During the war, Mr. Calhoun was chairman of the committee of Foreign Relations; and upon him was imposed the duty to conceive the plans, and report the bills, for sustaining and carrying on the war; and notwithstanding the unceasing and violent encounters with a most formidable opposition in Congress; the tumults in the country, and the innumerable difficulties that encompassed his daily path: yet he was always found equal to the day; calm, great, confident, unwavering; not in self-confidence; but reposing upon the truth, righteousness, honour and independence of his cause; upon the virtue, patriotism and spirit of his countrymen; and upon the favour of an overruling Providence; he never, never fainted or despaired. He was not the man to "give up the ship."

And now, fellow citizens, in all countries upon the face of the earth; on every shore, in every sea; the flag of our country is for an ensign to the people, savage or civilised. It is a terror to evil



doers and a praise to them who do well. It carries upon the wind the charm of a solid protection, like a fortress of stone and cannon of iron ; it is a sure defence for the persons and the property of all who are found under the shadow of its ample and glorious folds. We hear no more of the impressment of our seamen, the confiscation of our property, or of insults and injuries inflicted upon our countrymen abroad.

Mr. Calhoun's character as a statesman was first exhibited in the principles which he advocated, and on which he relied in the declaration and conduct of that war. National independence, prompt resentment for injuries inflicted upon the persons, liberties, or property of our citizens ; an unwavering confidence in the cause of his country, because it was the cause of righteousness, truth, liberty and honour. He fully understood the lawful function of the sword of Cæsar ; and that every nation or State that would have their rights respected, and who would maintain their liberties and independence, must be ready (if all other means fail) to maintain them by military power.

From that day to the day of his death, he has manifested his faith in this last appeal ; as the sure defence of those rights of the State that are properly sovereign ; against the usurpations of an overshadowing central empire. He firmly believed that the constitution and the nature of our federal government admitted of a peaceful mode of redress for these usurpations ; but if that remedy failed, or was denied, and the federal government attempted to enforce their usurpations by military power ; he hesitated not about the duty of a State to resist by the sword ; even under circumstances the most gloomy and appalling. If Congress present to a sovereign State the dilemma of "slavery or death," he did not hesitate "which of the two to choose." He knew well that such is the nature of man, and the instincts of all human governments, that the more powerful in an intimate federal alliance, will, by a law, as constant in its operation as the law of gravitation ; the more powerful will, gradually, overshadow and absorb the sovereignty of the weaker. Hence he believed that under our federal system an incessant vigilance, a sleepless jealousy, and a promptness of resentment on the part of the United States, (in every attempt at federal encroachment) manifesting a knowledge of their rights, and a spirit willing to make all sacrifices necessary to maintain them ; was the only mode in which the inestimable blessings of our political constitution and federal union, could be maintained, and handed down unimpaired to posterity. And I know no lesson we can learn from his history more

useful to our country, and more honourable to his memory, than to cultivate in our own minds, and infuse into the spirits of our children, a sacred regard to the supreme law of the land, the federal constitution; a reverence for and prompt obedience to that which is law, political and civil; and a firm and conscientious purpose of mind, to resist, even unto death, at the call of the sovereign voice of the State, the reign over us, of Congressional usurpation, venality and injustice; a dominion that never can reign over the spirits of living men until it has first written upon their foreheads the names of the moral vices within; dishonour, degradation, cowardice and infamy.

When the question is simply one of submission or resistance to a dominion over us, which has no moral, civil, or political right; to a sheer usurpation, a naked exercise of mere arbitrary and physical power; though it may be clothed in forms of law; a free and a spirited people can never halt to choose. And freemen who *have counted* the cost of maintaining Federal or State sovereignty and independence, and know that in the last analysis, their bodies are its only bulwarks, and their own lives the stake; cannot forget who those prudent friends are, that to rivet the yoke of oppression upon the neck of the weak, exhaust their eloquence, in expatiating upon the horrors of war and the tremendous consequences of resistance to superior power. Such are the usual topics of persuasion and argument in the rhetoric and logic of tyrants and usurpers. But did they avail before the days of the revolution? did they avail in the second war for our Federal Independence, the war with Britain of 1812? did they prevail in the days of nullification? "The race is not always to the swift nor the battle to the strong." There is a righteous Providence that overrules the affairs of men; and the moral strength of a cause is worth more than legions of mercenaries. It was not an actual or oppressive infringement upon the personal liberties or the private property of the colonists, that caused the war of the revolution. But a declaration put on record, that the Parliament had *a right* to tax the colonies. Our fathers regarded this as a denial to them of the equal constitutional rights of Englishmen; and as a political degradation. They therefore blew the trumpet and girded on the sword. The cause of the colonies was really the cause of British freedom. Who can forget the noble and indignant reply of Lord Chatham to George Grenville? "I ask when were the colonies emancipated?" "and I desire to know," said Chatham, "when were they made slaves?" The cause of America was nobly vindicated in the houses of Lords and Commons in Parliament. And we, my friends, if we shall ever be driven by federal usurpation, injus-

ties and violence to stand to our arms in defence of the constitution of our common country, and the sovereign rights of the States, shall have in our behalf the hearty sympathies and eloquence of all the Chathams in the North, and in the East, and in the West; the swords of their Lafayettes will be drawn in the ranks of our volunteers; and we shall have the military aid of some at least of our sister States. The cause of State rights and State sovereignty will never be a desperate cause 'till the seed of revolutionary heroes is extinct in our land.

Doubtless in all approaches to a final arbiter of a nation's independence, the horrors and calamities of war, more or less, distress the minds of all men. Some are greatly agitated and desponding; and there is always to be encountered a high souled opposition more or less powerful; as brave, as patriotic, as wise as those who call for arms; and who yet do not see how the exigencies of public affairs can justify war. At such times also is to be heard "the bleating of the sheep and the lowing of the oxen," the expostulations and cries of those who are by nature timid and unresisting, and of those who are born to wear the yoke. But the body of the people, intelligent, self-sacrificing, and patriotic; with a deep and calm conviction of the moral necessity, the duty of war, look at the worst possible issue. To kill the body is all the mighty can do, and whether to save that it be right and comely to bow the neck to the yoke of the oppressor, to leave their children an inheritance of national degradation and vassalage, is an issue that every conscientious and honourable man may at times be forced to make.

We have adverted to the principles upon which Mr. Calhoun justified an appeal to arms in 1812, in defence of our whole country; we have glanced at the issues of that war. At its close Mr. Calhoun stood a prominent pillar before his countrymen and before the world; the master spirit in Congress.

The condition of all the affairs of the country was then depressed almost to the point of ruin. The currency was rotten, the circulating medium varying from five to thirty per cent. discount. Commerce annihilated. Manufactures on the brink of bankruptcy. The revenue not adapted to the new condition of affairs. The army and navy demanding instant attention. At this juncture, Mr. Calhoun was put at the head of the committee on the currency. In a report sustained by his powerful reasoning and eloquence he vindicated the policy at the time of a United States Bank. He carried his measure, and his policy triumphed over the diseases of the day.

In 1817, he was called from Congress by Mr. Munroe to preside

over the department of war; and in this office he manifested the highest order of talent in administration. Where he found darkness and chaos, he left light and order. He stamped the image of his own mind on the constitution and laws of that department. There are now clearness, system, responsibility, promptness, energy, economy in the evolutions and workings of the system; and so perfect and complete were his arrangements and rules, that the machinery of that department remains substantially as he left it, and moves on in harmony, fully adequate to all the exigencies of the country in peace or in war. He vindicated the policy of a small standing army; as more safe for a free people; yet organized on a plan that would admit of a quick expansion from 5 to 30,000 men. He ever maintained by his example and influence, economy in the management of public affairs; and yet was for a policy of liberal expenditure, that was for the good and welfare of all sections of the country. He was a fast friend of the Military Academy at West Point; and his wisdom has been tested by the issues of the Mexican war.

He was friendly to large expenditures, as becoming the dignity of the Federal Union, when measures of general and universal utility were proposed; such as the protection of commerce, and the public marine; the improvement of harbours on the sea coast; and in outlays for light houses, and fortifications for public defence against foreign enemies.

In the department of Indian affairs he laboured with patience, zeal, wisdom, and humanity, for the true welfare of the Aborigines.

In 1824 he was a prominent man in the eyes of the people for the office of President. There were also other distinguished men, Jackson, Crawford and Adams. Mr. Calhoun opposed the nomination of a candidate by a congressional caucus; because he believed that the incumbent President would have such an influence in a body so constituted, that he would be able virtually to nominate his own successor; a power dangerous to the liberties of the country. Mr. Crawford received that nomination. The result was the election of Mr. Adams as President and Mr. Calhoun as Vice President.

During the administration of Mr. Adams, a federal policy was avowed, and to a great extent adopted, which has been called "the American System." It has met high favour with distinguished men; such as Mr. Adams, Mr. Clay, Mr. Webster, and others. It was based upon a liberal construction of the constitution, as to the powers of the federal government. Time forbids to examine the political philosophy of that system. We shall merely advert to some of its

features, as they are intimately connected with a condition of public affairs, which that system produced; and in which Mr. Calhoun was called to act a conspicuous part. The doctrine had become popular in certain sections, that whatever policy or measures the President and a majority of both Houses of Congress deemed to be for the general welfare of the people of the United States (if not expressly forbidden by the letter of the constitution) the President and Congress had the constitutional power to adopt and pursue.

Under some vague notions of his own sovereign rights, and of the powers of Congress; and under the pressure of conscience of duty; or an ambition to distinguish his administration; the new President, in his messages to Congress, recommended and advocated enterprises, and works for public utility and eclat. upon a magnificent and imperial scale. High tariffs, profuse expenditures for internal improvements, and a national bank, were the three sides of the triangle of the American system.

Mr. Calhoun perceived the monstrous iniquity and oppression that system would impose upon his section; which was occupied by an agricultural people, exporting cotton, rice and tobacco; the produce given to foreigners, in exchange for the bulk of all the imports, upon which the tariffs were to be imposed. The benefits of the system were wholly appropriated to the sections east and west. It was not, therefore, for "the general welfare," (under the meaning of the constitution,) but it was for *sectional* welfare. The high tariffs protected and fattened the immense manufacturing interests of the east; the large revenues which the tariffs produced, were wanted by the west to make roads, canals and other internal improvements for them. The South was for a spoil for both sections. The system lasted long enough to prove that the west and east, by uniting on a policy for the common interests of both sections (high tariffs.) could fasten the burden on the country; and that the proceeds of the custom house would be permitted to cross the mountains, to fertilise the western wilderness. The tariff of 1828 is a monument of this congressional usurpation and injustice.

Nearly the whole South were opposed to the tariff from a general conviction that it operated against the pecuniary interests and prosperity of that section: there is an instinct in the minds of all sorts of people quick to discover such a tendency of legislation; "the ox knoweth his owner and the ass his master's crib." But to resist the operation of laws, because of such effects, where the warrant of the constitution gives validity to their enactments, is rebellion, and the oppression must be extreme to palliate the guilt of any

kind of physical obstruction to their execution ; and no degree of suffering could morally justify armed resistance that would not justify a fundamental revolution of the government.

But Mr. Calhoun was the man who (with others) saw that the American system was a virtual abolition of the constitution itself ; a death blow to the sovereign rights of the States, and a degradation of the Southern States into counties or provincial departments of the federal government.

That a majority have the right to govern, became the popular cry, east and west, and of the national party every where ; and as that majority was represented by the President, Senate, and House of Representative in Congress, mere enactments of the federal government, (when made without the authority of the constitution) began to carry to the popular mind the obligations of civil and political law ; and therefore of moral law. They had the sanction of something majestic and imperial about them ; and to call in question the legal or moral force of the federal edicts, seemed to very many of our people, to have a taint of political impiety or of moral treason about it. In the meanwhile the constitution itself, the immediate source of all the lawful power of Congress, was forgotten. Congressional legislation had made precedents, and precedents had made law, and such law had formed a veil, which hid the constitution from the public eye : and that veil had been well painted by the judicial decisions of the Federal Court. But Mr. Calhoun saw through that veil the majesty, the authority of the supreme political lawgivers ; he saw through that veil of our legal Moses, the sovereign rights and immunities of the States, the makers of the constitution, the creators and lawgivers of the federal government itself. He read in history and on the face of the constitution what was written ; that this Union is a federal union of States, originally sovereign and independent ; that in and by the compact of union, (the Federal Constitution) the States, each, gave freely, (not surrendered) to the federal government a number of their sovereign powers ; and that all the rest of their inherent powers, they, each respectively reserved to itself, its State government, and its own people. That the union is one of compact and mutual covenants ; that its foundations were the precious stones of truth, justice, equality, liberty and honor. He perceived that the constitution must from its very nature (as a league among sovereign States) remain *de jure, et per proprio vigore*, in its perfect symmetry and proportions, integrity, sanctity and supremacy ; while there was among our people a regard to the faith of public covenants, or force in the sanctions of

religion. That nothing can be added to it, nothing can be taken from it, but by its own force and virtue. No current of Congressional procedure or legislation, no line of decision by the supreme Court. No heretical commentaries, no apostacies of its professed disciples. No expressions of the opinions of its founders, and none of all other men; that nothing can politically (we are not speaking of its bearing on citizens as *subjects* of law) that nothing can politically impair the supreme force, preëminent authority, and fundamental obligations of that written compact and treaty, the bond of the federal union. It was intended and is a refuge for the oppressed, a defence for the minority from the encroachments of the majority; the strong, moral and political fortress for the defence of the rights and sovereignty of the States, and the people.

If we look to history and the constitution, to learn the *nature* of our federal government, our federal rights, liberties and obligations; we shall see that they rest ultimately and fundamentally on compacts and covenants. *To keep the faith of these covenants, therefore,* is the very life, truth and bond of the federal union. The citizens of the States have two classes of rights. Federal and State *rights* as *rulers*; they also are under two kinds of *obligation*, as *subjects* of the Federal and State government. This union was made for the preservation of the States, and not for their destruction. It was made for that welfare of the States which is general, and common to them all, in opposition to that welfare which is local, sectional, geographical. It was made for the welfare of the people of all the States, in things common to them all; the common or general welfare; and not to promote the welfare of any favoured sections.

Before South Carolina entered the Union she was a free, sovereign and Independent State; when she entered the union it was not by compulsion. She (in common with the old thirteen) freely gave, and specifically, certain of her sovereign powers to the federal government. All the rest she reserved to herself. To the freemen of this State belonged all her own citizens, subjects and territory, all the royal and sovereign powers and prerogatives, that kings, emperors, or any other mere human rulers, ever rightfully had, or could have in civil and supreme political government and dominion. The citizens were kings and subjects, rulers and people, each sustaining in his own person a double character, that of ruler and that of subject. As rulers they were bound by the high obligations of morality and honour; to help each other unto death, in maintaining their royal prerogatives and rights as sovereigns.

Suppose the States, instead of having been republics, had been

kingdoms, and the kings instead of the States, had made the federal constitution and government. Think you a king worthy of the office, would have submitted to the decree of a coalition of the kings, which usurped his right to govern his own people? or taxed them without warrant of Constitutional law? or deprived him of his title to the federal domain? And if the same regal dominion and sovereignty is in citizen freemen themselves; should they not be as jealous of their rights, honor, and independence, and as prompt to defend them, as a king would have been? If the most precious and honorable temporal inheritance, is committed to the heirs themselves, surely if they are worthy of their birth right, they will not profanely sell it for a mess of pottage. If they are not capable of appreciating the value of regal and sovereign prerogatives; they still need kings, or emperors, as tutors, governors, judges, and defenders; and are as yet unfit for the royal law of liberty.

The rights and obligations of individuals as *subjects* of the general government, are the topics which have mainly engrossed the attention of the rulers and the Courts of the federal Union. Lawyers have studied the constitution mainly in its relations to the *subjects* of federal law. But statesmen like Mr. Calhoun have studied the history, genius, and principles of our federal system in reference to the rights of the States, and the people of the States *as rulers*; the sovereign rights and moral and political duties of the makers of the constitution, the creators and lawgivers of Congress itself. Lawyers, by professional training, practice and habits, are apt to take a purely *legal* view of the constitution; and their reverence for precedents, their "*stare decisis*," their habits of thought, reasoning and judgment; veil from their eyes the truth and glory of the sovereign prerogatives, which belong to the States, and the people.

In religion a man of a legal spirit, who looks only to his personal relation to law as its subject, can never see the glory of the gospel which reveals the sovereignty, wisdom, justice, truth and mercy of the creator and lawgiver, in the person of the supreme Lord Himself, the son of man and the son of God. So in politics a man whose habits of mind are legal; who ponders upon the *subjects* of law and their relations to it; cannot see the sovereignty, righteousness, and imperial dominion, which history and the constitution reveal to be in, and of right to belong to, *the States*, and the *people* of the States, as the lawful heirs of all the royal and imperial powers and prerogatives which king and parliament had over the colonies before the revolutionary war.

We have had in the federal government, unfortunately, too many



lawyers, and too much law, too many soldiers and too much military despotism, too few statesmen and political prophets like Mr. Calhoun, to preach the political gospel to the people; and to defend the perfect law of their sovereign liberties.

The rights of the States can never be defended by federal or national political parties. The past had proved that position to a demonstration. These rights must be maintained by the States themselves, or their own people, where rights, honours, or liberties may be invaded by federal usurpation. If they do not understand or are not willing to maintain them, if need be, by the sword, they are unworthy of them; and their inheritance will be taken from them, and given to a people more worthy than they.

Viewing matters in this light, Mr. Calhoun looked upon the American System as a policy of sheer usurpation and plunder; and upon all Congressional enactments made under its auspices, as without any warrant of power from the federal constitution; and as simply and absolutely void; without any civil, political or moral validity; not laws but impositions; and that the virtue and patriotism of our citizens was manifested, in coming together in convention, and in declaring, in their royal and sovereign capacity, *these truths*, and in thus nullifying these pretended laws.

I know it is said to be the duty of the citizens to bow to the enactments of Congress, and (if their constitutional validity is questioned) to await the decision of the Supreme Court. This we admit to be true of the private citizen, and his affairs, as the *subjects* of law. But we are speaking of the arm of a sovereign State, and of her citizens in convention, in their capacity of sovereign rulers: of *their right* to stretch forth the arm of the State to defend her own sovereignty, which she has never granted *to all Congress together*; but which is usurped by a coalition of sectional majorities; of the right of a State to *be* a State; and to defend her own people from the venality, rapacity and ambition of a ruling faction in the federal government. If there is any such attribute as sovereignty rightfully belonging to a State; if there be one, a single right, in its nature sovereign; then no other power on earth may lawfully dictate to her, when and how to use it. If it be usurped or its free exercise obstructed, by the federal government (and it cannot be denied that such a thing may happen) and there be no constitutional mode for a peaceful redress, then the State has a sovereign right (responsible for its exercise only to heaven) to draw the sword in her own defence; for to affirm, that she has a right of an imperial sovereign nature, and no lawful mode by which to exercise such

a high power, or to resist its infringement, is to deny the power itself. It is to put the State, in a matter in which she is admitted to have liberty, under judges or governors, in that very thing wherein, if she bows to their authority, she must *ipso facto* renounce her own liberty.

Col. Drayton, a member of the House of Representatives from South Carolina, moved in his place, to amend the preamble of the tariff law; so that it might tell the truth on its face; he moved to declare in the preamble the real objects of the law; that it was not merely to raise a revenue, for the public service, (as it had been framed to read) a power all admit Congress have a right to exercise; but also to state that a substantive object of the enactment, was to *protect domestic manufactures*. His avowed object was to obtain the judgment of the Supreme Court, as a peaceful and constitutional arbiter, upon the question of the *right* of Congress to pass *such* a law. But the sectional majority rejected his amendment, and thus refused the opponents of the measure the protection of that Court, which was ordained by the constitution for that very end. That Court could not, in deciding upon the constitutionality of a law of the federal legislature, go out of the preamble for the motives and objects of the law. They were shut up to the record. Thus the same sectional majority that imposed their policy on the people barred the door of their access to the Supreme Court, bent (according to the universal instinct of power) upon having things their own chosen way; and making their mere will and good pleasure stand for law to their fellow citizens.

It was at this juncture that Mr. Calhoun threw himself, and his State went with him, and fell in the gap, that had been made in the mountains of the constitution; to save it from ruin; to preserve the federal Union; to protect the people of this State from usurpation and robbery, and to maintain the cause of political liberty, and public justice, against the absolute domination of a sectional popular majority.

And here it may be pertinent to pause, and consider the height and length and depth of the principles of political liberty and law involved in that conflict.

Liberty, political and religious, is an honour, dignity and blessing, that all men are not capable of appreciating, enjoying and defending. It cannot be strictly a personal inheritance, because a certain degree of virtue, intelligence and heroism are necessary to comprehend its value, and keep it as a possession. The moral nature of man is so sensual, slothful and brutish; that a people in its

bondage, where conscious wants are merely personal, sensual, and physical; are incapable of political and religious liberty. Thus when the Lord stretched forth his arm to deliver Israel from the bondage of Pharaoh, the people fainted under the moral and rational discipline, that was necessary to qualify them for a national and civil liberty under the constitution and laws of Moses. Their very souls loathed and abhorred a *liberty of law*; that demanded self-denials and self-sacrifices. They longed for the yoke of Egypt again; that after their daily tasks were done, they might sit down by the flesh pots, and indulge their personal ease and sensual propensities. It is so naturally with all people. None but an intelligent, virtuous and highspirited race, rightly value this treasure. Corrupt or selfish men, if they have a sensual or personal liberty, are on this point content. To offer them the gift of moral, religious or political liberty is like "casting pearls before swine." They can see no more beauty or value in these treasures of the spirit, than a mule can discern of wisdom in the proverbs of Solomon.

And here we would remark, that the nature of the virtue and intelligence of which we speak, is the knowledge and right appreciation of the high concerns of law, morality and politics. A people may be able to read and write; be skilled in the ornamental and useful arts, flourish in commerce and manufactures; abound in polite literature, be adorned with the refinements, and revel in the luxuries of wealth, and of the highest civilization, and yet in their political characters be as tame, obsequious, and servile, as the courtiers and poets, the artists, orators and historians who flourished in the palaces of Augustus; and not only may they be politically degraded, but morally and religiously they may be the "vilest, meanest, basest of mankind."

Again. They take a very defective view of our inheritance of civil, political and religious liberties, who regard them mainly as the trophies of our revolutionary war. To say nothing of the holy men of old, and prophets in Israel, and apostles to the nations; who by their examples teach us to die, if need be, in the defence of spiritual freedom, and to maintain a good confession. To say nothing of the galaxy of heroes, statesmen and martyrs of other lands, and former ages; who have laboured, suffered and died to win this crown of glory! consider the sacrifices made by our own ancestors in Church and State. A great sum did our fathers pay for these liberties, though we were free born. Magna charta, the bill of rights, the *habeas corpus*, the rebellion, the revolution in England, are epochs in British history marking the progress of liberty in the

State. And what treasures of experience and wisdom, truth and justice, have we inherited in the "common law," and "law of parliament" of England.

In the Church, to go back no further than the epoch of the great reformation in the 15th century; mark the sacrifices and martyrdoms of the millions in Christendom, who to maintain the religious freedom of man from the dominion of man; men and women (of whom this world was not worthy) choosing rather to die in the liberty of the gospel; "that they might obtain a better resurrection" than save their bodies alive by sacrificing that priceless jewel of the soul.

In the State, the conflict has been between the claims of royal prerogative, and the civil and political rights of the people. In the Church the struggle was mainly between the assumptions of the Hierarchy, of divine authority to lord it over the consciences of men, and the natural, moral and religious duty and liberty, of every man in matters of conscience and religion; to bow personally to the supreme authority of his creator, lawgiver and judge; free from restraint or responsibility to any mere creature or power under heaven; provided in the use of this liberty he do not interfere with the equal duties and liberties of others, nor violate the civil laws in reference to civil things. In our political and religious liberties, we have a venerable and awful communion with all that was holy and noble in mankind that has passed away; and if not deaf to the voice of history, and dead to the most sacred impulses of the soul, we will not be insensible to the honour, the danger and the responsibility of keeping pure and unsullied, the spiritual and regal treasures of our birthright. The beauty and excellence of our political constitution consists mainly in this; that it emancipates the Church from the bondage of the State (a condition of subjection in which the Protestant Churches of Europe are,) and it also emancipates the State and people from the bondage of the Church (a yoke which Roman Catholic countries have more or less to bear.) But happily the goodness of the Lord, in overruling the builders when laying the foundation of our civil, political, and religious liberties, has bequeathed to us a liberty from both yokes of bondage. The civil power in our land has no spiritual jurisdiction; and the ecclesiastical power has no civil authority or sanction. (I ask your attention to these observations as I shall advert to these principles in an important bearing hereafter.)

A peculiar glory of our federal constitution is that it is a *written* compact. "Thus and thus it is written." "How readest thou?"

Here will be found the fire and the power of truth, for the hands of every faithful generation, to burn up and consume the chaff and rubbish; which may at any time cover and hide the truth and majesty of the supreme law of the land; whether these impositions be the glosses of vain and ambitious statesmen, federal laws, traditions or usages, or federal adjudications.

Federal laws and judicatures are the defences of the citizens as the *subjects* of laws. But the Sovereign States, and their people, the creators of the constitution, the makers and lawgivers of Congress, (in every matter touching their own sovereignty, or royal prerogative,) are their own lawgivers, judges and rulers, and must be, while a vestige of sovereignty remains in them; "*quoad hoc*" they cannot be under "tutors and governors."

Our constitution in politics, like the standard of our faith and practice in religion and morals, our fundamental law, *is written*; and so plain that any honest citizen may hear or read and understand for himself; "the wayfaring man though a fool need not err therein."

Whether the federal government have a right or warrant from the written constitution, for the enactment of a law, may be the question; and the humblest citizen of this country has the right, and it may be his duty, to put the question in reference to some enactment of Congress. "By what authority doest thou these things, and who gave thee this authority?" Our constitution is not a matter of history and tradition, like the constitution of England and the common law. It requires not the oracles of the crown, nor the learned adepts of the temple, to tell us *what it is*. For thus and thus it is written, and thus and thus it must be. All who can read, may read for themselves, and all who can hear, may hear for themselves; and all must at last judge and act for themselves, or in this momentous affair renounce their mental and moral freedom.

Firmly convinced of the truth of these principles, Mr. Calhoun counselled his State to act upon them; to fall back upon the written constitution; to read and understand her own rights; and then to defend them. To shield herself from the ruinous effects of the sectional coalitions of the east and west; which not only plundered her people of their property, but what was of far higher moment, abolished the federal constitution, dissolved the federal Union; and practically reduced the South to the political degradation of worse than colonial dependence.

At this juncture of public affairs, the people of South Carolina met in convention; and acting upon the great political principles

which we have endeavoured to delineate, they declared and proclaimed the tariff laws unconstitutional, and therefore null and void and of no force or efficacy in South Carolina; and to defend and maintain their position they were obliged to fall back upon their arms.

Had the federal government opened the ear to the just and indignant complaints and protests, that had gone up to Washington from our whole people; there would have been no necessity of nullification; and if that government had respected her sovereign rights in the nullification of the tariff, she need not have girded on the sword. But her petitions and remonstrances were unheeded by Congress; and her sovereignty made a mockery and a jest.

Mr. Calhoun, at the call of his State, resigned the office of Vice President, and took his place in the Senate. It was a most awful moment. Against the position of South Carolina, were arrayed both Houses of Congress; the solid North, East, and West; nearly the whole of the South; and all of one-third of her own citizens, who were in arms against her. General Jackson was at the head of the federal army and navy, dealing out death to Calhoun and the nullifiers, "like an imperial Cæsar." Scott the federal general was in Charleston. The federal troops and ships began to shew signs of life and motion: and the federal expresses were flying incessantly between Charleston and Washington.

South Carolina stood firm. Her devoted sons in arms resolved to die rather than sacrifice the constitution, the Federal Union, and the liberties of their country.

Nothing but her own deep conviction, that her cause was the cause of truth, righteousness, independence, law, and honour, could have sustained the State. She literally stood alone. All her sister States frowned upon her. Public opinion, upon the wings of the wind, was loud and distinct; and had no words for her, but those of scorn, derision, and reproaches; shame! ruin! disunion! treason! That crisis can never be forgotten by those who then lived.

The State troops were standing in the tracks they had made from their feet; enrolled, armed, equipped and ready for battle. "facing their own music;" trembling for their country; but firm as rocks themselves. Then was the time when father was arrayed against son, and brother against brother in arms; when our women and little ones turned pale; when our Christians fasted and prayed; when "our rich men looked sad;" and when none among us but "villains danced and played."

The cause of the State had doubtless unseen and powerful allies;

and had federal lead or federal steel shed one drop of Palmetto blood, in this cause, thousands of patriots and heroes would have rallied round the banner of State independence. In the North, in the East, and in the West, the Luthers and the Chathams would have prayed or have pleaded for our cause; their Hampdens and their Cromwells would have been fighting with our armies.

The cause in which South Carolina drew her sword was not a narrow, sectional interest; she followed not the leaders in the sacred cause of political and constitutional freedom, "for the loaves and the fishes," but for the love of truth, justice, independence and honour. To submit to an arbitrary dominion, having no moral, civil or political authority; to bow the neck to such a master, is the very essence of political slavery; and that was the naked ground on which South Carolina took her position in nullification. At that juncture the spirit of true liberty seemed to have abandoned most of the people in the United States, while the enemies were hosts. Many among us, like the servant of the prophet, were ready to cry in dismay, "alas, my master, how shall we do?" Had *their* eyes been opened, they too might have seen the chariots and the horsemen that were round about our political Elisha, and have known that "they that were with us, were more than they that were against us." 2 Kings, vi. 13—18. Not a State in this Union but some of her gallant and heroic sons pledged their lives in the cause of South Carolina; their names were written upon the scroll of honour, among the archives of the State; and will go down as a refreshing perfume and a memorial to posterity.

Mr. Calhoun was, in the Senate, regarded by all the world as the false prophet and rebel spirit, whose influence at home had brought his own State into a position of imminent peril and of certain discomfiture. He knew mankind would hold him morally responsible for the issue. Yet there he stood erect, fearless, calmly facing a "frowning world;" upholding the pillars of the constitution, determined if that perished to fall with the liberties of his country.

We will pass over his noble speech on "the Force Bill." We will here forget all human agency, and recognize the merey of an overruling Providence, at this instant of time, in opening the ears of our federal rulers, to hearken to the small voice of truth, honour, justice and independence. A compromise was proposed, and the obnoxious tariff law devoted to a gradual death; the majesty of the constitution was vindicated; the doctrine of the supremacy of popular majorities formed by sectional coalitions received a check; and the American System, which had already received many grievous wounds, seemed now about to be consigned to the history of past impositions.

A reformation in the legislative government of the Federal Union, commenced with the restoration of the constitution.

The reserved rights of the States, their proper sovereignty, and their federal relations as equals in the Union and by the constitution, began to be recognized and respected.

Several years now rolled on; and we again hear the bruit of war. General Scott is upon the British boundaries; there are skirmishes among the border men; the boundary line is disputed; the people on both sides inflamed and in arms. The mind of the North becomes greatly excited; and diplomatic intercourse with England threatening. The honour and dignity of the British crown are touched, and the whole power of that empire is in battle array. Mr. Webster is in the department of State; anxious for a peaceful and honorable adjustment of the controversy, but the Senate is chafed, sullen and doubtful. Mr. Calhoun is consulted by the cabinet, whether he will support their policy. He consents; and with all his powers, vindicates the justice and equity of the Ashburton treaty. It is done. The calamities of a war are arrested, and the honour, peace, and interest of the country maintained.

Again.—When secretary of State in Mr. Tyler's cabinet, it is admitted on all hands, that the consummate ability, sleepless vigilance and prompt decisive conduct of Mr. Calhoun, defeated the wiles of British diplomacy, in reference to the republic of Texas; annexed that vast and valuable country to this Federal Union, and in such a way and on such terms and conditions, as manifested a forecast and wisdom, the happy issues of which upon this whole country, and especially upon the South, will never be duly estimated by the present generation.

Again.—Mr. Calhoun is at home, on his plantation, a private citizen. Mr. Polk is President, the political firmament is overcast with dark and threatening clouds; and the tones of distant thunder are heard muttering the sounds of war over the Federal capital. When distinctly heard the cry is '*fi fly four forty or fight.*' Our whole people are aroused. The universal shout from the great West is for battle; her members in the Senate and House are blowing loud the war trumpet. The voice of J. Q. Adams is ferocious, pouring out threatenings and defiance to England. The war policy is openly avowed by the administration, who have a fixed majority in both wings of the capitol. The President in his message made his mark for the entirety of the Oregon treaty. The administration was committed. The whigs, a weak minority, dispirited and desponding sat appalled!



At the call of his country Mr. Calhoun left the repose of home ; and appeared again in the arena of the Senate. His very presence there inspired hope and confidence, in the drooping spirits of his countrymen. The vast body of the people were not disposed for war, in a controversy for the doubtful title to a portion of territory ; where merely the value of land was concerned, if there were nothing that touched our independence or honour.

Mr. Calhoun comprehended the whole case. The day after his arrival in Washington, he gave notice that he would oppose an appeal to arms. He denounced the violent excitement among our federal rulers, on the subject, as absolute madness. He rolled back the angry billows of strife ; calmed the troubled waters ; maintained the peace and honor of the country ; and put the question of the Oregon boundary, in a train for an amicable and definite settlement.

Long, long, had Mr. Calhoun, with his prophetic political sagacity, foreseen and foretold the coming of the Abolition Philistines that are now upon us ; and when our State threw herself in the gap of the constitution, which the overflowing waters of the American system had made, it was hoped by him that the repairing of that breach would be strong enough to resist this worse than savage invasion.

The moral right of domestic government over slaves, stands precisely upon the same foundation as the moral right of civil and parental government. It rests upon the Divine authority, the only moral basis for the dominion of man over man. The form of political government is of human authority merely. The thing itself has the Divine sanction. In form it may be absolute or limited monarchy, elective or hereditary ; it may be a republic, an oligarchy, a democracy ; or it may be of a composite form, partaking of the peculiar features of any or all the preceding, as our own perhaps does. But where a government, under any of these political forms, exists "*de facto*," there are the rulers and the subjects, the governors and the governed ; and the relative moral obligations of the rulers and people grow historically and actually out of this civil relation.—What these moral obligations are respectively, it is one of the objects of the Christian religion to teach and enforce by spiritual sanctions. Christian men, whether rulers or subjects, learn their moral duties from the written word of the Lord. *That* teaches them to "render unto Cæsar the things that *are* Cæsar's."

Good citizens who know and feel *not* the obligations and liberty of the Gospel, yet acknowledge themselves bound in conscience and honor, to bow to the authority and supremacy of the constitution

and laws of their country; among which are the solemn national covenants and treaties. They avow and feel the force of the moral bonds of truth, justice, equity, and honor: It was the distinctive feature in the philosophy of the celebrated Hobbes, *that the civil law* was the *only* law for conscience; that it was *the* moral law.

Now a *law*, moral, civil or political, in its true definition, (as is its essence and nature,) is a rule of one who *is* a superior by nature or by office, to the subject of law; and to which rule, the inferior or subject is bound, in conscience, (in moral law,) to conform.

It is, therefore, of amazing import to the peace, liberties and welfare of our country, what are the moral principles that govern the consciences of our rulers and people in the discharge of their civil and political duties.

Notwithstanding the number of moral and political heresies, that have agitated the north and east for the last thirty years; notwithstanding the rotten theology that, to a considerable extent, has triumphed, and which, unless repented of and something better obtained, will destroy the reign of all law, liberty and morals; yet we believe the moral sentiments, openly avowed by Mr. Seward in the Senate, have caused many among his own people to pause and consider. The poison of the moral serpent is now conspicuous; the liar and the murderer is no longer hid within the skin of a reptile. The confession of the high priest, witnesses and avows to the world that the old serpent the devil, the god of this world, who reigns in the hearts of the children of disobedience, is the deity they worship. The false prophet is unveiled, and abolitionism, in its moral, civil and political aspects, is developed. The subtlety, falsehood, ambition and treachery, by which this serpent wormed its way to the floor of Congress, is characteristic of the spirit who animates the system. And as to the position of its federal champion, after his avowal that no laws or oaths would bind him in opposition to the supreme authority of his own conscience, (the man within his breast,) in my humble opinion he should have been promptly impeached or expelled from the Senate. And if something be not done by the Senate or the Legislature of his own State, publicly to brand his moral position with infamy, it will be a foul blot on the moral character of our people.

The States and the people of this country, in their fundamental law, *require* of Senators the religious security of an oath, that they *will* administer the government, and enact laws according and in obedience to the written constitution. And when a Senator rises in his place, avows his own shame, and confesses himself to be the mo-

ral monster, whom that oath and that constitution cannot bind, "*ipso facto*" he does religiously and politically cut his own throat; and being in this sense a "*felo de se*," he can be "*de jure*" no civil ruler. A man may say his conscience is his own supreme law, that it is paramount to any other law, divine or human; yet, if such a wild beast invades the abodes of civilized men, and his conscience prompts him to steal or murder, surely it is most just that he should be whipped or hung. But when a ruler over 20,000,000 of his civil and political equals, proclaims that the dictates of *his* conscience shall be *the law* for them, the supreme law of legislation for a whole people, such a man is altogether a prodigy.

The conscience of abolitionism professes to be tender, sacred and supreme. This would be no concern of the public, if such a conscience would stay at home and limit its dominion to its own subjects and owners; but it is unbounded in its imperial aspiration, and aims to govern the whole country. Its present mission is to break all the cords of divine, constitutional, civil and domestic law, by the power of which the servants of this country are kept in their subordination in our system. It is a savage, unjust, unnatural, diabolical warfare upon the Southern States. In this crusade the dictates of their consciences have demanded of abolitionists all manner of coalitions with political parties of any and every creed, that their own Aaron and Moses might obtain priestly and political dominion in the civil government of this country. To achieve this purpose that conscience dictates to its subjects; to take the solemn oath required by the constitution; to maintain and govern according to that fundamental law; and to defend the South from foreign invasion and domestic violence: and the same conscience dictates to these same abolitionists, after they become sworn rulers, to disregard the constitution; to become foreign invaders, and to ferment domestic insurrections at the South themselves; to dissolve the Federal Union, and to destroy the liberty of ourselves, and of our posterity.

A conscience where moral dictates demand oaths to be taken, *to the very end* that they may be broken, is the conscience that, with its forehead of brass rises and denounces the Southern people for immorality; for governing their own servants; keeping their own compromises, covenants and oaths; for maintaining the integrity and supremacy of the federal constitution, the sanctity of law, and the freedom and equality of those who already are free and equal.

That a vile faction, with such moral and political principles, should have had in their grasp, for *one moment*, the political power of the north, east and west in Congress, is a startling fact that causes the most gloomy and desponding forebodings.

The sectional coalitions on the tariffs, and on abolitionism, are unmistakeable demonstrations; that the written constitution, the faith of federal covenants, and the oaths of political rulers, are muniments too feeble to keep out the rapacious reign of Mammon, and the fanatical empire of the monk and the crusader. "Thieves *do* break in and steal," and the treasures of our popular liberties and State rights are yet exposed as a prey to political wolves, in sheep's or in dog's clothing. *Therefore it is* that Mr. Calhoun, with his dying breath, demanded of all the people, and of all the States, further and stronger bulwarks in the constitution for the South; not further grants or gifts of what we have not already; not a new bargain, but better and further *security*, that what *is* due us by the bond signed, sealed and delivered by them all, *be honestly paid*. That *justice* be done before we listen a moment to any talk of compromises. The things that touch a people's honor and independence, do not admit of compromise. That is now the true issue and the momentous question before the people of this country.

The cause of the South is now vastly stronger than when South Carolina alone confronted the physical power of the federal government, and achieved a great moral victory for the constitution, laws and liberties of the whole country. All the legal objections against the Tariff of 1828, lay with their full force against the Wilmot Proviso, and against any other measure or policy, whatever may be its name or form, but the object of which may be to effect substantially what was the aim, scope and end of the Proviso, to wit: to degrade the Southern States, to put them under the ban, to deny to them the dignity and equality due to the other States in the Federal Union, and to rob them of all share in the possession of the common federal territories. These are the monstrous propositions of the present coalition of the north, east and west, against the equal rights and liberties of the South. And what aggravates the injustice and insult of such a policy is, that our masters make it with them a matter of conscience!

Nothing but a strong leaven of Luciferian morality could possibly have so polluted and inflamed the consciences of the people in those sections. Old time robbers and pirates, though they may have had some *plaster* for their consciences, were not wont to plead the *authority* of conscience in defence of their enterprises; it was not a deep sense of moral obligation that constrained them to lay their violent hands upon the things that were their neighbors'; it was their love of plunder. With our disinterested and benevolent rulers, it is the mere love of the *caption*. They coolly propose to

take all our inheritance in the political family, and (not seize it exclusively for their own use,) but (their Southern brethren excepted) to give it as a benevolence, to any of the families of the whole world, who choose to come and take possession!

It may well be asked by *what authority* do they propose to do these things? The answer is, by the authority of public opinion at the north, east and west; by the sanction of the moral sentiment of a "considerable portion of mankind;" and by the power of the majority. The breath of the answer blows away every vestige of the Federal Constitution; and if the scheme were consummated, it would be a moral dissolution of the Federal Union.

It seems to be the received doctrine of the dominant majority, that if a given power is granted to *be* in Congress, that a majority of both houses have the *moral* right to *use* that power as they please. That instead of being bound by the highest obligations known among men, in the fear of God, in good faith, in truth, justice and equity, to use the high powers committed to their trust, for the common welfare of all the people and States who are subject to the federal government, that there is no moral restraint to their own *wills*, or rather to the arbitrary wills and absolute domination of those whom our federal rulers are pleased to regard as their peculiar constituents. In other words, and briefly, that the *will* of the majority is the law for the minority. Legislation according to this doctrine would not be usurpation, but it would be the essence of tyranny—an oppression which, if it do not justify so prompt and decided a resistance, must be firmly and effectually repelled, or nothing of constitutional or legal justice is left us, but the mockery of the name and the form. Those of you who have read with care the late Congressional debates, must have been struck with astonishment at the avowal of the crude and arbitrary doctrines of some of our federal rulers. The manner in which they refer to the powers of Congress, over the district of Columbia, the dock yards, forts, arsenals, &c. is an instance in point. The tendency to absolute domination is most apparent in the history of the "Wilmot" and its substitutes. Our federal masters twist the screw of oppression to the last point of practical endurance; they watch their victim, and tighten or relax their hold, as the patient manifests symptoms of submission or resistance; as though their *rightful* power extended to a degree of oppression and insult—a hair breadth short of the point of armed opposition, or the dissolution of the Union. "By *me*," saith the Lord, "Kings rule, and Princes decree *justice*." The political powers our federal rulers *do have*, surely they are under moral obligations to use *justly*.

When that power which actually reigns in Congress, is a fixed majority, made up of sectional coalitions; and when the direction of that power is dictated by public opinion, (a wind blowing from the same sections,) then all the moral, legal and constitutional bonds of the Federal Government and Union, are virtually dissolved, and the government becomes one of mere sufferance on the part of the States and people; and we, the citizens of this country, have no just government over us but that of our own State. If the type of oppression be usurpation or tyranny, in either case, it will be necessary to consider and weigh well the condition of affairs, that we may keep our consciences clear; and whether we live or die, that we be found in the path of constitutional, civil and moral law, in the way of our *duty*.

As all our present troubles spring from the slavery and majority questions, and as the moral character of slavery is at the root of that matter, it may be pertinent to consider for a moment that question; and also what is the real value and weight, politically and morally, of *any* numerical majority in our federal legislative government.

History, sacred and profane, testifies of the existence of slavery from the earliest antiquity. Abraham, Isaac and Jacob were slaveholders. The Jews, Egyptians, Greeks and Romans all had the institution of slavery among them, and neither sacred nor profane history records the sentiment or judgment of *moral evil* or sin in the institution. Its lawfulness, or the *moral right* of this form of human government, has not been called in question among mankind in Church or State, till this generation. Neither Moses nor the prophets; neither our Lord nor his Apostles, though they were living among masters and slaves, ever denounced the institution as a moral evil. Neither the African, Asiatic, Greek or Roman Churches, ever denounced it, though it was an institution in the midst of them all. No Protestant Church has ever condemned it; no decrees of Ecclesiastical councils, and no traditions of the Church, have ever condemned it as a moral evil.

The first notice I can find in history of abolition doctrine, is just 100 years ago. In 1750, John Woolman and Anthony Benezet, two quakers at the north, seemed fully possessed of the abolition spirit, and in 1754 the Friends or Quakers in America, abolished slavery in their communion, and excommunicated slaveholders; up to that epoch the Friends had not a knowledge of the moral evil of slavery. But as they are a sect who avow the authority of the "inward light," in matters of morals and religion; and as they did not

profess to have made their discovery from the things written in Scripture, Christian denominations who made the *written word* of God their only rule of faith and morals, paid no attention to the dreams of the Quakers.

About forty years from the time of the Apostleship of Woolman and Benezet, Clarkson and Wilberforce began to declaim in England, against the slave *trade*. That (notice) is only about 60 years ago. Mr. Wilberforce first introduced this subject into the Imperial Parliament in 1787. He then received no favor, but that man annually renewed his motion for 17 years, till in 1804 the African slave *trade* was abolished by the British Parliament. During those years Wilberforce, Clarkson, and the abolitionists were agitating the Churches and the country with their schemes. The Africans were then, and are yet, a people heathen, and exceedingly degraded for heathen. They lived mostly in little tribes, often at war, and mutually making slaves of their captives; so that in Africa they exist (the great body of them) in a condition of slavery to the head men or Kings of these petty African kingdoms. The Portuguese and Spaniards first commenced this trade, with the view to the cultivation of their American colonies. The English followed their lead. The slaves were bought by the European traders of their masters in Africa. Whatever may be said of the moral character of that traffic, its effects have been providentially overruled for good to the descendants of the imported Africans. *They* have been raised from heathenism, idolatry, (some of them from cannibalism,) from extreme degradation and wretchedness, and from *slavery* to men as degraded and vile, to a position where they *inherit* and enjoy more physical, social, moral and religious blessings, than the *poor* of any Christian nation in the world.

The British having, themselves, abolished the slave trade, began to exert their influence with all other nations to abolish the trade also. The penalty of their laws was, first, a fine; then the traffic was declared a felony; then piracy, with the death-penalty. British diplomacy has kept agitating all the cabinets in christendom, till nearly all have united in pronouncing this traffic a crime against the laws of all civilized nations. The fleets of the nations, (our own not excepted,) with the British in the lead, have for years, at an immense cost of life and money, been employed upon the African coast to break up and totally destroy this trade.

Formerly, when the traffic was lawful, and the traders fair and honest men, there was doubtless much cruelty and suffering connected with the business. But now, when none but pirates and desper-

adoes are willing to embark in the trade, the evils to the captives are greatly aggravated; and instead of suppressing the trade, it is carried on now to a greater extent, and under more cruel auspices, than before Wilberforce began his agitation.

Sir Fowell Buxton, a member of Parliament, and a leading abolitionist, in a report to the House of Commons, stated that it was an axiom at the Custom House, that *no* illicit trade could be suppressed, if its profits were equal to 30 per cent. That French, Spanish, Portuguese and American cruisers were incessantly engaged in the African slave trade. He affirms that 80,000 slaves are annually taken to Brazil; 60,000 to Cuba; 10,000 to other places; that 150,000 are annually brought to the continent and islands of America; double the number that were ever imported in any one year, before Wilberforce commenced his abolition measures. But the British Parliament have pushed their policy beyond the slave trade: 20,000,000 pounds sterling has Parliament appropriated to pay British subjects for their slaves, which the government have emancipated in the West Indies. Other European nations (instigated by the British,) have followed their example, and liberated the African slaves in their American colonies. British diplomacy; the British press, religious and secular; the British Churches, and abolition societies; the British Statesmen, orators, poets and literati; the British *people*, have succeeded in *manufacturing* a public opinion among the Christian nations, that the institution of slavery is sinful, a dishonor and a blot to any country. It is an historical fact that the present moral sentiments and religious feelings of "a considerable portion of mankind," in reference to slavery, are of British *manufacture*. The people of this country at the north, at the east, and at the west, have been poisoned by this false and anti-christian morality; the minds of our fellow-citizens in those sections, have become exceedingly inflamed against slavery; and though there are there vast numbers of Christian people, who know the thing is not sinful, yet to a man they are, in their feelings and sympathies, opposed to the institution. They think it is a stigma upon the face of this whole country, in the eyes of the civilized world!

If the British Statesmen had wished a wedge to split asunder this country, and destroy the prosperity of a people whom they have dreaded more than any people on earth, as their rivals in commerce and manufactures, they could not have contrived a more effective instrument to accomplish such an object, than this British abolition morality. A people whom they never could subdue by their arms, they have conquered by their moral machinery and manufacture, so



that the people north, east and west, whom British cannon could not move, are now trembling like the leaves of the aspen, at the breath of British opinion!

It is necessary, therefore, for the South to defend herself before the whole world; and she falls back on the immoveable bulwarks of Scripture, and upon the moral sentiments of all mankind, in the Church and out of it, from the time of Abraham to the time of the Apostleship of John Woolman and Anthony Benezet.

There have been at all times, (yet never so many as in modern times,) theories broached concerning the dignity of human nature, "the rights of man," liberty, equality, fraternity, &c. which, if true, would, by consequence, destroy the institution of slavery, and all other lawful dominion of man over man. Wild theories abounded in the days of our revolution, and wilder still in that of the French, which injured the men of those generations, and whose malign influences are yet too much felt in our day. The world is now full of such cruelties, fooleries, and vain imaginations that deceive, hurt or ruin not a few.

But we must leave dreamers and their fancies, and hearken to the word of God.

Such is the condition of mankind, that all nations have among them *the poor*, "the hewers of wood and the drawers of water." "The poor (said Jesus.) you have always with you." We know in the natural, and in the spiritual, the body is not one member but many; 1 Cor. xii. 14—27. We believe it should be so also in the political and social bodies; "and that the eye cannot say to the hand, I have no need of thee; nor again the head to the foot, I have no need of thee." Toward the institution of slavery the Lord, from the time of Abraham, hath, in his wisdom and mercy, showed great favour. It is an establishment not merely for the benefit of the master, but a permanent house in the social system for the protection, support and comfort of the poor. Under the patriarchal, legal and gospel dispensations, this institution of domestic government is among those "powers that are ordained of God." Rom. xiii. 1.

I. The covenant with Abraham expressly included children and *slaves*, Gen. xvii. 12, 13. "He that is born in thy house, and he that is bought with thy money, must needs be circumcised." Thus with Abraham and the fathers, slavery was not merely tolerated, as on the footing of a mere sufferance, an error that was winked at, but it was a law ordained of the Lord.

II. So under Moses, in the time of the theocracy, the form of domestic government over slaves, the institution of slavery, was established

by the divine lawgiver; and while hirelings were treated as heathen and strangers; while they had no interest in the family, Church or State, the slaves in Israel were protected, and had the blessings and securities of domestic, civil and ecclesiastical institutions, and an interest in the promises of the everlasting covenant. The hireling had a right to nothing, but the wages of his day. The slave had a moral and civil right for life, a birth right, an inheritance of "bread to eat and raiment to put on."

III. Under the gospel, slavery was treated by our Saviour as an existing and lawful institution, and by his apostles he enforces the relative duties of masters and slaves; where that relation subsisted among his disciples. Thus, servants are commanded to be subject to their masters, with all fear, not only to "the good and gentle," but "*also* to the froward;" for this is acceptable to God. 1st. Pet. ii. 18—21. Here it is written down "*in totidem verbis*" that this service "is acceptable to God." Eph. vi. 5—10. The rightful dominion of the master, is also expressly written down. Masters give unto your servants, that which is just and equal, knowing that *you* also have a *master* in "Heaven." Col. iv. 1. Here Scripture recognises masters *as such* to be *the servants* of the Lord; and if we are in our *masterdom*, *His servants*, who may lawfully, or safely, come between Him and us in this matter? "Who art thou that judgest another's servant? to his own master he standeth or falleth." James, iv. 11—13. Rom. xiv. 4. Thus in all the forms of the divine economy, in his providence over his people, under the patriarchal, legal and gospel dispensations, the institution of slavery has been sanctified by the word of the Lord.

The rightful dominion, dignity, and authority of the master is then plainly established by the written word of God. The master's office is a high and holy trust; to God must he give an account, like all other human rulers; and so must our servants, like all other subjects of human government, give an account of their obedience and fidelity.

As to the execrations of abolitionists, they may see their features portrayed in Scripture, by the pen of apostles. In the epistle of Jude, in 2d. Pet. 2d. chap. and also in 1st. Timothy, 6th. chap. 1—6 verses.

Every one born a slave in this country has a moral and civil birthright to food and clothing, care and support in sickness, and in old age. If the master becomes poor, and unable to do his duty, the arm of the law takes his servant and puts him into the hands of one abler to support him. The poor of Europe, and especially of

England and Ireland; the poor of the North, have no earthly inheritance; many of them are thieves, vagabonds, idlers, many sick; they are kept alive in public poor establishments; in some countries at an enormous expense, which constitutes a heavy tax on the industry and thrift of the people. There are no idlers, vagabonds, drunkards, among our servants; they are kept in their places, and made to work.

The Lord who knoweth what is *in* man, and needeth not to be told *that*, in the pecuniary relation of slaves to owners, in the very article of "*property* in man," has given the slave a strong guarantee, from the injustice or violence of others abroad, and for good treatment at home. Thus Moses ordains, that if a man smites his own servant with a rod and kill him; yet if the servant live a day or two, the master shall not be punished, because the servant was "*his money*." That is the reason given by Moses why the master under such circumstances, shall go unpunished, *because his servant was his money*, therefore, no malice shall be presumed in the bosom of the owner against the life of his slave. Exod. xxi. 21. The Lord knoweth there are few things among men which they love more or handle more carefully than their own money. However provoked a man may have been with his servant, it is not to be presumed that he intended to kill him, because his servant is *his own* money.

Slaves have no political rights to exercise, but like the women and children under the domestic, ecclesiastical, and civil laws, and rulers, like the passengers on board a ship, though not officers or seamen, though they do not work the vessel of State, yet they enjoy the common protection and securities of all on board.

The dominion over a slave being bodily, founded in law, divine and human; there is no *moral* slavery in his *condition*. If he be a Christian man, he serves his master, not with a servile spirit, not as bowing to a fellow creature, who has no other right than physical power to rule over him; but he renders obedience as to his ruler recognized by heaven; he obeys as serving God and not man. He renders a hearty willing obedience, out of a pure conscience, and conviction of moral duty. He has therefore moral and spiritual freedom; his soul is free. Eph. vi. 5—9. Col. iii. 22—25. When the body of Jesus stood bound before Pilate, his spirit was free; for our great exemplar bowed in obedience to the law of the land. John, xviii. 12, xix. 11. When Paul's body wore a chain, his soul was free, for the word of God was not bound. 2. Tim. ii. 9. Soldiers and sailors in the army and navy are under a most absolute dominion; obedience to which is wisely and justly secured by severe penalties. Offenders

against the laws of their country, violaters of the rules and regulations of the public service, should be punished, and degraded from the honorable profession of arms, and put to mean and servile employments; they should not be kept upon the roll with men of obedient, noble, virtuous and patriotic spirits.

It is the genius and tendency of abolitionism to abolish all punishments, the sanctions of law, to destroy all honours, authorities, pre-eminences, and dignities; that it may obtain its own liberty, equality, fraternity! To this end, every thing pertaining to law, justice, truth, honour and virtue must be abolished; that nothing may remain but the "*caput mortuum*" of a vile humanity. The service of men in the army and navy is *lawful*, therefore, good sailors and soldiers are free morally; under the most rigid discipline, their spirits are free in the service, and their duties are honourable, moral, useful, necessary. Should a sailor be seized and carried by violence on board a *piratical* vessel, and compelled to do service *there*, so long as absolute duress continued, there might be an actual, physical obedience. But a moral service there could not be; where there is no law there can be no moral obedience.

The truth is, after all that has been said, written and sung about *liberty*, none but those whom the truth and Son of God hath set free, are free indeed; all others are the servants of corruption. John, viii. 31—37. The real value of political liberty is in its being a protection in this world to men in the use and free enjoyment of moral and religious freedom.

Nothing is more significant in the movements of vicious radicals, disorganizers and revolutionists, than studiously to keep out of view the well established, fundamental, political and moral principles in the institutions of a people; and striking at some real or imaginary grievances or abuses, instead of attempting in wisdom, patience and self-denial the work of reform; to strike with their weapons the vital parts, and aim to destroy the whole framework of society. Thus the abolitionists, passing over the moral law written in the Scripture, the political law written in the constitution, and the civil law written in the statute books of the States, as though these presented no barrier to their infamous crusade, are always parading the absurd dogmas in the preamble to the declaration of independence; the private sentiments of Jefferson, Franklin, and others; whose ideal theories of political philosophy and "the rights of man" are of no civil, moral or political value whatever. They are of no legal validity, never were and never will be, among any people who enjoy and value the blessings and securities of a constitutional and legal liberty, and a pure morality and religion.

Mr. Webster, too, whose sentiments may be supposed to represent those of the sober North, denounces domestic slavery as "a great moral, civil and political evil." What is moral evil but sin? and what is sin but a transgression of the *moral law*? 1 John, iii. 4. Sin must be confessed and forsaken, or the sinner will never obtain mercy. Moral evil is a spiritual thing; the knowledge of divine truth and obedience to the Gospel and law of God is the only salvation from it. But Mr. Webster himself admits, that the institution in question is not against the moral law *written in the Scriptures*. Yet he imagines it is some how against *the spirit* of the supreme lawgiver. But how can the subject of any ruler, divine or human, know the will of his Lord, but by *his own word expressed? that is the law*. The servant that turns away from the plain written law, the word of command, and chooses rather to follow the "devices, desires and imaginations of his own heart," and to obey his own conjectures and dreams, will be beaten with many stripes. Mr. Webster ought to have known that this dodge was a mere abolition quibble. It is altogether unworthy of his mind, his heart, his position and his character. He objects, too, (but feebly) that this domestic government over slaves, is founded in mere might, in the right of the strongest; that physical power is its sanction; that it is not like the kingdom the apostle preached; very true; doubtless the rulers in this form of human government are men and not gods. Masters of servants have like passions with Mr. Webster; and if these objections commend themselves as valid to his conscience, or to his understanding, he should resign his commission as a federal ruler, and go home; and so should all other civil rulers over mankind, who entertain such opinions; for the sanction of all human governments is physical force; in the last analysis it is the sword.

In the moral argument Mr. Webster's great understanding could grasp hold of no premises from which he could, with his logic, honestly travel to the conclusion he evidently wanted; therefore, he took his conclusion for granted, upon the authority of public sentiment at the North. There was a perfect inanity of ethical truth, life and virtue, in his position; yet he took it, and in endeavouring to defend it, after a few faint spasms and gasping out a few feeble words, about "loving kindness," "meekness" and "the apostle," he gave it up! and this great mental elephant, in the moral struggle, died the death of a mouse, under an exhausted receiver.

Yet he abides by such a conclusion! he knows the institution is not against *civil* law, for it is civil law that makes it. He knows it is not against political law, for the constitution sanctifies it, and yet

he is not ashamed to stand up in his place, and to condemn the written law of God, the written law of one half of the States in this Union, and the written law of the constitution of his country, and to affirm his judgment to be, that they are all evils, great evils, for sustaining the domestic government of slavery in this country. True, he shelters himself behind the wall of moral sentiment at the North; and the "religious feelings of a considerable portion of mankind." Mr. Webster should rather hearken to the voice of the apostle. "If thou judge the law, thou art not a doer of the law but a judge." James, iv. 11.

When "the north and a considerable portion of mankind" are our lawgivers and judges, in our domestic and State institutions, we will attend to their sentiments; till then we stand or fall to our own master. The truth is, that the least leaven of this abolition morality, "leavens the whole lump," pollutes the purity of conscience, destroys moral and mental liberty; the least taint of it, therefore, is a blight upon honour, candour, truth, justice, wisdom, freedom and mercy. Mr. Webster will not vote the proviso, because climate and other physical laws will, in his opinion, prevent this institution from flourishing in any of the new territories of the Union; but clearly intimates, were it not so, he would vote for the measure. In principle, then, Mr. Webster is an abolitionist; policy only prevents his acting with them. It is amazing to me what such a man can do with his conscience, his oath, and with the constitution! Ah, but, says Mr. Webster, public sentiment, both north and south, has changed very much since the adoption of the Federal Constitution—granted; but has the written Constitution of the country changed? has *the law* of the land changed? Do the unstable and changing winds of northern opinion, nullify the laws and constitution of this country?

Upon the whole, Mr. Webster has fallen back on a position far short of what public affairs demanded. In morals, however, Mr. Webster is far above and out of sight of such men as Mr. Seward. Mr. Webster feels bound in conscience and honour to keep the faith of federal treaties and federal covenants; and, as a ruler, to do as he has sworn.

The sentiments of these two men, probably, shadow forth those of the two great parties, to which they belong, and which, combined with other similar elements, make up that "*public opinion*" of which we hear so much, and which threatens to override the laws and institutions of the country.

That opinion, expressed by the press, religious and secular, the

voices of Legislatures, and in various other modes, a few months ago, could not merely have sanctioned, but absolutely demanded the adoption of the Wilmot Proviso. One of the ominous and threatening features of the abolition heresy, is that its defenders have brought their religion with their idol into the *political* temple.

If a single individual, in any part of the United States, were to be deprived of bodily liberty or property, on account of his religious opinions, moral sentiments, worship or practice, that were not in violation of the *laws* of the land, the whole nation would rise as one man in his defence. The people understand the value of the constitution, as a defence to the bodies and property of individuals; and yet so blind and insensible are they to the value of the constitution, in things pertaining to the moral principles of liberty, to State rights, and to the justice due to the sovereign people of the States, in their political relations, that the north, east and west have formed a coalition to deprive all the Southern States of their entire inheritance in every part of federal territory, (the common property of all the States,) because of a difference in moral sentiment and practice, about the institution of slavery—an institution sanctioned by *the laws* of the Southern States, and by the *supreme laws* of the Federal Union. Liberty of conscience is virtually denied to the South, upon the penalty of forfeiting their interests in the public domain.

Had the Wilmot proviso (or the poison of its nature) been enacted into the form of a law, this thing would have been virtually “a bill of attainder,” “an *ex post facto* law,” a law nullifying obligations and contracts of the constitution, a union of Church and State, a resurrection and the triumph of those principles which reigned in the “Star Chamber,” and in “the High Court of Commissions.” Abolition ideas of liberty, are of a physical or *bodily* freedom; sensual, lawless and atheistic; and, like similar dreams of the French philosophers, they terminate in the establishment of mental, moral, civil, religious and political despotism, *in the worst possible slavery!* So blind is might, to what is right; so blind is *will*, to what is *law* and justice. “Liberty, equality, and fraternity” is the cry; not one word of truth, justice, law, equity, or mercy!

The boundary lines of the empire of Congress are plainly marked in the written constitution; and all powers, sovereign, political or civil, not granted, are reserved to the State governments, or to the people of the States respectively. History teaches how important and necessary it is, distinctly to mark the geographical lines that separate the dominions of neighbouring sovereigns. The

lines that separate State and federal dominions and sovereignty, are written down in the book of the Kings ; and can only be discerned by the eye of the mind, and the eye royal. How can one of the sovereign people in this country, in such a conflict of jurisdiction, as that of nullification presented, "keep a conscience void of offence toward God and man," unless he knows *which* the Cæsar is to whom his allegiance is lawfully due ? In this matter, unless he surrenders his mental and moral freedom, he must, himself, go to the foundations of the government. He must attend to the words written in the federal constitution ; he must enquire for historical facts ; and in the best light available, he must determine for himself to whom his fealty is due. Doubtless this will require self-denial and mental labour ; and is not civil, political and religious liberty so dearly bought, worth understanding, using, and defending ? It can never be enjoyed or maintained, but by those who think it is worth *all that it has cost*.

The aid of the learned is valuable to help us to come to an independent conviction of duty in our own understanding. They are generally willing to become our masters and rulers in this affair ; but if we submissively bow to their authority, we renounce our personal freedom.

The condition of public affairs, during the tariff excitement in South Carolina, *compelled* our citizens to study and search for the truth ; and the position taken by the convention, and by the citizens of this State, in nullifying that pretended law, could never have been occupied or maintained, if their confidence had been in any man. It was not man worship, it was not Mr. Calhoun and his personal influence, but it was a profound conviction of *the truth*, and a sacred reverence of the *principles*, which that man's life illustrated, and which adorned and ennobled his heroic character.

If South Carolina has had the honour of occupying the forlorn hope, *the pass* of the moral Thermopylae, in the history of the liberties of this country, it was not more because Leonidas was her's, than that 30,000 of her other sons were Spartans.

Let us now notice what reverence and obedience is due in conscience or honour, in morals or law, from free and sovereign citizens of the State, to the written dictates of sectional majorities, (without the warrant of the constitution,) though clothed in the imposing forms of Congressional legislation.

Let us examine, for a moment, the *nature* of the majority power under our system. It is by a *covenant* that the ballot box is substituted for the cartridge box in our country. It is a matter of *com-*



*fact* that men vote, and also what majority shall govern in the vote. The right of the majority to govern, is, therefore, a right that rests wholly on covenant.

The Roman legions having the power, may take the responsibility of appointing the Cæsar; under our system the physical power of the country is invoked to *vote*, not to fight for the civil rulers. But the *nature* of the power which *appoints* and *maintains* the civil government of a country, is the military power. An election is a sham fight, where paper is used instead of lead. When the civil governors *are* chosen, the lawful power of the legions, (of the voters) is at an end; they *have* exercised *all* their political rights, and during the term of their offices, our civil rulers are of right independent of the people; for they are brought under the obligations of law, moral and constitutional, and they cannot discharge their high duties without freedom.

The constitution expressly ordains, Art. I. sec. 1. that "ALL legislative power herein granted, shall be vested in a Congress of the United States, which shall consist of a Senate and House of Representatives."

When, therefore, our federal rulers, instead of *themselves governing* the country, as they are sworn to do, according to the best of their own judgment and ability, and according to the written constitution; hearken to the popular cry; cut the cords of the moral law which bind them; the cords of the constitution and the bonds of their own oath; when they renounce the legal unction and authority of civil rulers, and degrade themselves to the servile office of obedience to the commands of the majorities who elected them; when they ask and wait for the rescripts of the legions, before they dare to act in legislation, the nature of our government is virtually changed, and the military is above the civil power in the system. To that point things have been long tending, under the shallow pretext of public opinion, and under the influence of the common error that majorities have a *right* to govern. Majorities have no other right to govern, than what they have by compact, in the form and manner and times of *voting* for their civil rulers, by the terms of the written State and Federal constitutions.

When rulers, like reeds shaking in the wind, tremble and bend at the whispers or clamours of popular majorities; the political body resembles the natural body of him who, renouncing the supremacy of the law, and the functions of his own understanding and conscience, gives himself up as a prey to the seductions or fury of his sensual or malignant propensities. Yea even worse, it has not unfrequently re-



The Roman arms demolished the Grecian empire, but Greek literature was too much for Roman valour.

Solomon's counsel stands yet upon record.

“When thou sittest to eat with a *ruler*, consider diligently what is set before thee, and put a knife to thy throat if thou be a man given to appetite. Be not desirous of his dainties, for they are deceitful meat.”

Fellow citizens.—Perhaps it is due to you to say something about the length of my performance. In my preparation I considered the times, him of whom, and those to whom, I was to speak. You will find my apology, in the occasion, in my theme, and in my audience.