

The Senator must have known that, in refusing, I acted on principles and opinions long entertained and fully declared years ago. In my reply to his associate in this year was on my part, in which I am attacked at once in front and rear, I demonstrated, to the satisfaction of the Senate, the truth of what I assert so completely, that the Senator's associate did not even attempt a denial. And yet, such is the depth of the Senator's grief and disappointment, that it hurried him to a repetition of exploded charges which, in his cooler moments, he must know to be unfounded. He repeated the stale and refuted charge of a summer, of going over, and of being struck with a sudden thought; and summoned up all his powers of irony and declamation, of which he proved himself to be a great master on the occasion, to make my Edgefield letter, in which I assigned my reasons for refusing to cooperate, ridiculous. I see in all this but the disappointed hope of one who had fixed his gaze intensely on power that had eluded his grasp, and who sought to wreak his resentment on him who had refused to put the splendid prize in his hands. He resorted to ridicule, because it was the only weapon that truth and justice left him. He well knows how much deeper are the wounds that they inflict than the slight punctures that the pointed, but feeble shafts of ridicule leave behind; and he used the more harmless weapon only because he could not command the more deadly. That is in my hand, I brandish it in his eyes. It is the only one I need, and I intend to use it freely on this occasion.

After pouring out his wailing in such golden tones, because I would not cooperate in placing him and his party in power, and protesting in my own, the Senator next attacks me because I stated in my Edgefield letter, as I understood him, that I called on Gen. Jackson with the view of putting down the tariff by Executive influence. I have looked over that letter with care, and can find no such expression. [Mr. Webster. It was used at the extra session.] I was about to add that I had often used it, and cannot but feel surprised that the Senator should postpone the notice of it till this late period, if he thought it deserving reply. Why did he not reply to it years ago, when I first used it in debate? But the Senator asked the question thoughtlessly. He must know that the veto can only apply to bills on their passage, and could not possibly be used in case of existing laws, such as the tariff acts. He also asked if there was concert in putting down the tariff between myself and the present Chief Magistrate? I reply by asking him a question, to which, as a New England man, he cannot object. He has avowed his determination, in a certain contingency, which he thinks is near, that he will move the repeal of the tariff. I ask, is there concert on that point, between him and his associate, in this attack? And finally, he asks if I discussed my motives then? Yes; I am not in the habit of disguising them. Openly and constantly I avowed that it was one of my leading reasons in supporting Gen. Jackson, because I expected he would use his influence to effect a gradual, but thorough, reduction of the tariff, that would reduce the system to the revenue point; and when I saw reason to doubt whether he would accomplish what I deem so important, I did not wait the event of his election, but moved openly and boldly in favor of State interposition, as a certain remedy which would not fail to effect the reduction, in the event he should disappoint me.

The Senator, after despatching my letter, concluded his speech by volunteering a comparison between his and my public character, not very flattering to me, but highly complimentary to himself. He represented me as sectional; in the habit of speaking constantly of the unconstitutionality and oppressive operations of the tariff; which he thought very unpatriotic; of having certain sinister objects in view in calling on the South to unite, and of marching off under the State Rights banner; which he paints himself in the most glowing and onerous colors. There is, Mr. President, no disputing about taste; and the effects of a difference of opinion on education and that which is offensive to one, is often agreeable to another. According to my conception, nothing can be more painful than to pronounce our own praise, particularly in contrast with another, even when forced to do so in self-defense; but how can one rise in his place, when neither his motive nor conduct is impeached, and when there is nothing in the question, or previous discussion, that would possibly justify it, and pronounce an eulogy on himself, which a modest man would blush to pronounce on a Washington or a Franklin to his face, is to me utterly incomprehensible. But, if the Senator, in pronouncing his gorgeous piece of auto-biography, had contented himself in simply proclaiming, in his deep tone, to the Senate and the assembled multitude of spectators, that he came into Congress as the representative of the American people; that, if he was born for any good, it was for the good of the whole people, and the defence of the Constitution; that he habitually acted as if acting in the eyes of the framers of the Constitution; that it would be easier to drive these pillars from their bases, than to drive or seduce him from his lofty purpose; that he would do nothing to weaken the brotherly love between these States, and every thing that they should remain united, beneficially and thoroughly forever; I would have gazed in silent wonder, without uttering a word at the extraordinary spectacle, and the happy self-delusion in which he seems to exist. But when he undertook, not only to erect an image to himself, as an object of self-adoration, but to place alongside of it a carved figure of myself, with distorted limbs and features, to enlighten and render more divine his own image, he invited, he challenged, nay, he compelled me to inquire into the high qualities which he arrogates to himself, and the truth of the comparison which he has drawn between us. If the inquiry should excite some reminiscences not very agreeable to the Senator, or disturb the happy self-delusion in which he reposes, he must blame not me, but his own self-sufficiency and boasting at my expense.

Know yourself, is an ancient maxim, the wisdom of which I never before so fully realized. How imperfectly even the talented and intelligent know themselves! Our understanding, like our eyes, seems to be given not to see our features, but those of others. How difficult we ought to be of any favorable opinion that we may have formed of ourselves! That one of the distinguished abilities of the Senator, and his mature age, should form so erroneous an opinion of his real character, is indeed truly astonishing. I do not deny that he possesses many excellent qualities. My object is truth, and I intend neither to exaggerate nor detract. But I must say, that the character which he attributes to himself is wholly dissimilar from what really belongs to him. So far from that universal and ardent patriotism which knows neither place nor person, that he ascribes to himself, he is, above all the distinguished public men with whom I am acquainted, remarkable for a devoted attachment to the interest, the institutions, and the place where Providence has cast his lot. I do not censure him for his local feelings. The Author of our being never intended that creatures of our limited faculties should embrace with equal intensity of affection the remote and the near. Such an organization would lead us constantly to intermeddle with what we would but imperfectly understand, and often to do mischief, where we intended good. But the Senator is far from being liable to such a charge. His affections, instead of being too wide and boundless, are too concentrated. As local as his attachment is, it does not embrace all within its limited scope. It takes in but a class even there—powerful, influential, and intelligent, but still a class which influences and controls all the actions, and so absorbs his affections as to make him overlook large portions of the Union, of which I propose to give one or two striking illustrations.

I must then remind the Senator that there is a vast extent of our wide-spread Union, which lies South of Mason and Dixon's line, distinguished by its peculiar soil, climate, situation, institutions, and productions, which he has never entered within the warm embrace of his universal patriotism. As long as he has been in public life, he has not, to the best of my knowledge, given a single vote to promote its interest, or done aught to defend its rights. I wish not to do him

injustice. If I could remember a single instance I would cite it; but I cannot, in casting my eyes over his whole career, call to mind one. As boundless and ardent, then, as is his patriotism, according to his own account, it turns out that it is limited by motives and bounds, that exclude nearly one-half of the whole Union!

But it may be said that this total absence of all manifestation of attachment to an entire section of the Union is not to be attributed to the want of an ardent desire to promote its interest and security, but of occasion to exhibit it. Unfortunately for the Senator, such an excuse is without foundation. Opportunities are daily and hourly offering. The section is the weakest of the two, and its peculiar interest and institutions expose it constantly to injustice and oppression, which afford many and fine opportunities to display that generous and noble patriotism which the Senator attributes to himself, and which delights in taking the side of the assailed against the assailant. Even now, at this moment, there is an opportunity which one professing such ardent and universal attachment to the whole country as the Senator professes would greedily embrace. A war is now, and has been systematically and fiercely carried on in violation of the Constitution, against a long-standing and widely-extended institution of that section, that is indispensable, not only to its prosperity, but to its safety and existence, and which calls loudly on every patriot to raise his voice and arm in its defence. How has the Senator acted? Has he raised his mighty arm in defence of the assailed, or thundered forth his denunciation against the assailant? These are searching questions. They test the truth of his universal and boasted attachment to the whole country; and in order that the Senate may compare his acts with his professions, I propose to present more fully the facts of the case and his course.

It is well known, then, that the section to which I refer, is inhabited by two races, from different continents, and descended from different stocks; and that they have existed together under the present relation from the first settlement of the country. It is well known that the ancestors of the Senator's constituents (I include the ancestor,) brought no small portion of the ancient bias of the African, or inferior race, from their native home across the ocean, and sold them as slaves to the ancestors of our constituents, and pocketed the price, and profited greatly by the traffic. It is also known, that when the Constitution was formed, our section felt much jealousy lest the powers which it conferred should be used to interfere with the relations existing between the two races; to ally with, and induce our ancestors to enter the Union, guards, that were deemed essential against the supposed danger, were inserted in the instrument. It is also known that the product of the labor of the inferior race has furnished the basis of our wide-extended commerce and ample revenue, which has supported the Government and diffused wealth and prosperity through the whole section. This is one side of the picture. Let us now turn and look at the other.

How has the other section acted? I include not all, nor a majority. We have had recent proof, during the discussion of the resolutions I offered at the commencement of the session, to what great extent just and patriotic feelings exist in that quarter, in reference to the subject under consideration. I then narrow the question, and ask, how has the majority of the Senator's constituents acted, and especially a large portion of his political supporters and admirers? Have they respected the title to our property, which we trace back to their ancestors, and which, in good faith and equity, carries with it an implied warranty, that binds them to defend and protect our rights to the property sold us? Have they regarded their faith pledged to us on entering into the constitutional compact which formed the Union, to abstain from interfering with our property, and to defend and protect us in its quiet enjoyment? Have they acted as those ought who have participated so largely in the profits derived from our labor? No; they are striving, night and day, in violation of justice, pledged faith, and the Constitution, to divest us of our property—to reduce us to the level of those whom they sold to us as slaves, and to overthrow an institution on which our safety depends.

I come nearer home. How has the Senator himself acted? He who has such influence and weight with his constituents, and who boasts of his universal patriotism and brotherly love and affection for the whole Union! Has he raised his voice to denounce this crying injustice, or his arm to arrest the blow of the assailant, which threatens to dismember the Union, and forever alienate one half of the community from the other? Has he uttered a word in condemnation of violated faith, or honor trampled in the dust? No; he has sat quietly in his place, without moving a finger or raising his voice. Without raising his voice, did I say? I mistake. His voice has been raised, not for us, but our assailants. His arm has been raised, not to arrest the aggressor, but to open the doors of this chamber, in order to give our assailants an entrance here, where they may aim the most deadly blow against the safety of the Union, and our tranquility and security. He has thrown the mantle, not of protection over the Constitution, but over the motive and character of those whose daily avocation is to destroy every vestige of brotherly love between these States, and to convert the Union into a scene of blood and carnage. He has done more. The whole Senate has seen him retire from his seat, to avoid a vote on one of the resolutions that I moved, with a view to rally the patriotic of every portion of the community against this fell spirit, which threatens to dissolve the Union, and turn the brotherly love and affection in which it originated into deadly hate, which was so obviously true he could not vote against, but which he dodged, rather than throw his weight on our side, and against our assailants. And yet, while these things are fresh in our recollection, notorious, and known to all, the Senator rises in his place, and proclaims aloud that he comes in as the representative of the United States; that, if he was born for any good, it was for the good of the whole people, and defence of the Constitution; that he always acts as if under the eyes of the framers of the Constitution; that it would be easier to drive these pillars from their bases, than him from his lofty purpose; that he will do nothing to destroy the brotherly love between these States, and every thing that the Union may exist forever, beneficially and thoroughly for all! What a contrast between profession and performance! What strange and extraordinary self-delusion!

But this is not the only instance. There is another in which the contrast between the course of the Senator and his lofty pretensions of unbounded and ardent patriotism is yet less astonishing. I refer to the protective tariff, and his memorable and inconsistent course in relation to it.

Its history may be told in a few words. It rose subsequent to the late war with Great Britain. The Senator's associate in this attack was its leading supporter and author. Its theory rested on the principle, that all articles which could be made in our country should be protected, and it was an axiom of the system that its perfection consisted in prohibiting the introduction of all such articles from abroad. To give the restrictions on commerce necessary to effect its object a plausible appearance, they were said to be for the protection of home industry, and the system itself received the imposing name of the American System. Its effects were devastating in the staple States. The heavy duties imposed on their foreign exchanges left scarcely enough to the planter to feed and clothe his slaves, and educate his children, while wealth and prosperity bloomed around the favored portion of the Union.

The Senator was at first opposed to the system. As far back as the autumn of 1824, he delivered a speech to the citizens of Boston, in Faneuil Hall, in opposition to it, in which he questioned its constitutionality, and denounced its inequality and oppression.

His speech was followed by a series of resolutions embodying the substance of what he had said, and which received the sanction of himself and constituents, who, at that time, were less interested in manufactures than in commerce and navigation, which suffered in common with the great staple interests of the South. I ask the Secretary to read the resolutions:

Resolved, That no objection ought ever to be made to any amount of taxes equally apportioned and imposed for the purpose of raising revenue, necessary for the support of Government; but that taxes imposed on the people for the sole benefit of any class of men, are equally inconsistent with the principles of our Constitution, and with sound judgment.

Resolved, That the proposition that until the supposed tariff, or some similar measure, be adopted, we are and shall be dependent on foreigners for the means of subsistence and defence, is, in our opinion, altogether fallacious and fanciful, and derogatory to the character of the nation.

Resolved, That high bounties on such domestic manufactures as are principally benefited by the tariff, favor great capitalists rather than personal industry, or the owners of small capitals; and therefore that we do not perceive its tendency to promote national industry.

Resolved, That we are equally incapable of discovering its beneficial effects on agriculture, since the obvious consequence of its adoption would be, that the farmer must give more than he now does for all he buys, and receive less for all he sells.

Resolved, That, in our opinion, the proposed tariff and the principles on which it is avowedly formed, would, if adopted, have a tendency, however different may be the motives of those who recommend them, to diminish the industry, impede the prosperity, and corrupt the morals of the People.

What can be more explicit or decided? They hold the very sentiments and language which I have so often held on this floor. That very system was then pronounced to be unconstitutional, unequal, oppressive, and corrupting in its effects, by the Senator and his constituents, for pronouncing which now he accuses me as being sectional, and holding language having a mischievous effect on the rising generation.

Four years after this, in April, 1824, the Senator delivered another speech against the system, in reply to the then Speaker, and now his associate on this occasion, in which he again denounced the inequality and oppression of the system with equal force in one of the ablest arguments ever delivered on the subject, and in which he completely demolished the reasons of his then opponent. But an event was then fast approaching which was destined to work a mighty and sudden revolution in his views and feelings. A few months after, the Presidential election took place; Mr. Adams was elected by the co-operation of the author of the American system, and the now associate of the Senator. Those who had been enemies came together.—New political combinations were formed, and the result was a close alliance between the East and West, of which that system formed the basis. A new light burst in on the Senator. A sudden thought struck him; but not quite as disinterested as that of the German sentimentalist. He made a complete summer-set, heels over head; went clear over; deserted the free trade side in a twinkling; and joined the restrictive policy, and then cried out that he could no longer act with me, whom he had left standing where he had just stood, because I was too sectional! At once every thing the Senator had ever said or done was forgotten; entirely expunged from the tablets of his memory.—His whole nature was changed in an instant, and thereafter no measure of protection was too strong for his palate. With a few contortions and slight choking, he even gulped down, a few years after, the bill of abominable—the tariff of '28; a measure which raised the duties so high as to pass one-half of the aggregate amount in value of the whole imports into the public Treasury. I desire it to be noted and remembered that, out of an importation of sixty-four millions of dollars, including every description of imports, the free and dutied articles, the Government took for its share thirty-two millions under the tariff of 1828, and that the Senator, yes, he, the defender of the Constitution and equal protector of every section and interest, voted for that measure, notwithstanding his recent denunciation of the system as unconstitutional, unequal, and oppressive! But he did more, and things still more surprising, as the sequel will show.

The protective tariff did not change the character of its operation with the change of the Senator. Its oppressive and corrupting effect grew with its growth, till the burden became intolerable under the tariff of '28. Denunciation spread itself over the entire staple region.—Their commercial cities were deserted. Charleston parted with its last shawl, and grass grew in her once busy streets. The political condition of the country presented a prospect not less dreary. A deep and growing conflict between the two great sections agitated the whole country, and a vast revenue, beyond its most extravagant wants, gave the Government, especially the Executive branch, boundless patronage and power, which were rapidly changing the character of the Government, and spreading corruption far and wide through every condition of society. Something must be done and that promptly. Every hope of reformation, or change through this Government had vanished. The absorbing force of the system had drawn into its support a fixed majority in the community, which controlled irresistibly every department of the Government. But one hope was left short of revolution, and that was in the States themselves, in their sovereign capacity as parties to the constitutional compact. Fortunately for the country and our institutions, one of the members of the Union was found bold enough to interpose her sovereign authority, and declare the protective tariff, that had caused all this mischief, and threatened so much more, to be unconstitutional, and, therefore, null and void, and of no effect within her limits; and thus an issue was formed which brought events to a crisis.

[To be continued.]

Inequality of the Financial system of the Federal Government.—Mr. Thompson, member of the House of Representatives from South Carolina, in his speech of May the 11th says:

"I called, some time since, for a report showing the receipts and expenditures in each of the States. The Secretary has not responded to the call, and I must, therefore, take the report of 1834, the last that has been made. In that, the amounts received and expended, in the several States, were as follows, in round numbers:

| | Collected. | Expended. |
|---------------|-------------|-------------|
| Vermont | \$179,000 | \$232,000 |
| New Hampshire | 16,000 | 418,000 |
| Rhode Island | 119,000 | 381,000 |
| Connecticut | 47,000 | 305,000 |
| | \$361,000 | \$1,336,000 |
| | Collected. | Expended. |
| Louisiana | 1,000,000 | 346,000 |
| Mississippi | 1,000,000 | 316,000 |
| Alabama | 721,000 | 374,000 |
| | \$2,721,000 | \$1,036,000 |

The four New England States receive more than a million more than is collected. The three Southern States collect one million seven hundred thousand more than is re-expended.

We find in the last "Southern Citizen" a well written, and very sensible editorial article on the Internal Improvement Meeting to be held in Greensboro; it concludes in the following forcible manner, and contains "multum in parvo."

Let us now for once, to a man, raise up into action. It would make our country what we wish it to be, and what we are in duty and in interest bound to make it, many things are to be kept in view: First, the literary resources of the country want to be directly turned towards the substantial support of common schools; Secondly, Mechanism for the manufacture of raw material in this country, wants every practicable means of encouragement; Thirdly, our rivers and creeks and common roads stand greatly in need of improvement, and the necessary rail roads are to be built. This can only be done by hard knocks, and a good many of them. And lastly, the necessity of instituting by every possible and laudible means, a direct foreign trade from our own Southern ports to foreign nations, that

we may be relieved of the expenses of foreign and other distant ports, and the consequences of exporting necessarily through the Northern cities.

MORAL DEPARTMENT.

CONSCIENCE.

Of all the horrors human beings can feel, none perhaps are equal to those of a guilty conscience. It embitters every comfort, it dashes every pleasure with sorrow, it fills the mind with despair, and produces wretchedness in the greatest degree.— "To live under such disquietude," says Blair, "is already to undergo one of the most severe punishments which human nature can suffer. When the world threatens us with any of its evils, we know the extent and discern the limits of the danger.— We see the quarter on which we are exposed to its attack. We measure our own strength with that of our adversary, and can take precautions either for making resistance, or for contriving escape. But when an awakened conscience places before the sinner the just vengeance of the Almighty, the prospect is confounding, because the danger is boundless. It is a dark unknown which threatens him. The arm that is stretched over him he can neither see nor resist. No wonder that the long-sown solitude, or the midnight hour, should strike him with horror."

MAXIMS AND THOUGHTS.

He is a rich man who hath God for his friend.
Tell me what company you keep, and I will tell you what you are.
He that is going to speak ill of another, let him consider himself, and he will hold his peace.
Speaking without thinking is shooting without taking aim.
The first degree of folly is to think one's self wise; the next, to tell others so; the third, to despise all counsel.
Forgive every man's faults except your own.
There are a great many asses without long ears.
Peace with Heaven is the best friendship.
Virtue and industry, are the best patrimony for children to inherit.

AGRICULTURAL DEPARTMENT.

From the Silk Culturist.

PRODUCTIVE POWER OF LAND.

Few farmers, in this country, are aware of the immense productive power of land perfectly cultivated. The notion that large farms are indispensable to large agricultural operations always prevails in new countries where lands are cheap and cultivation imperfect; but as a country progresses in age, and lands advance in price, it is discovered that the product and profit of a farm depends more upon its cultivation, than the number of acres it contains. At the first settlement of this country, by civilized men, it was a wilderness, and lands were purchased of the natives, for articles of clothing and ornaments of trifling value. This induced our ancestors to make themselves proprietors of large tracts of wild land without reference to their ability to cultivate them. The consequence was a low standard of husbandry. But as these extensive tracts were afterwards divided and subdivided, as the increase of population and the exigencies of families required, it began to rise and has been slowly progressing until it has arrived to its present state, but which is very far below what it was in the old world long before the Christian era.

It is supposed that agriculture has never been in a more flourishing condition and cultivation carried nearer perfection, than it was in ancient Rome five hundred years before Christ. The principal assignable reason for the agricultural prosperity of Rome, was the size of farms which were circumscribed within very narrow limits.—The farm of Manlius Curius Dentulus, one of the greatest Roman farmers, consisted of but four and a half English acres. He was three times chosen consul, the highest ordinary office in the State, and for a time, commander-in-chief of the Roman army, and yet he derived all his subsistence from his farm.—For his splendid victory over Pyrrhus, he was offered more land by the government; but he declined it, assigning as a reason, that should he ever aspire to more wealth and possessions than he already had, he should become an ambitious, and consequently, a dangerous man to the liberties of his countrymen. That famous Roman farmer, Cincinnatus, about whom, so much is said of his being called from the plough to the command of the Roman army, had only two and a quarter acres of land. His original farm contained seven jugera, about four and a half acres, one-half of which he had been compelled to dispose of to raise money to pay the debts of an improvident son.

But nothing will better illustrate the importance of perfect cultivation, and the astonishing productive power of land under it, than the story of Paridis, the Roman vine dresser. He had a vineyard and two daughters. At the marriage of the eldest, he allotted her one-third of the vineyard as her portion, and as astonishing as it may seem, succeeded in making the same crop from two thirds, which he had formerly made from the whole. At the marriage of the other daughter, he appointed to her one-half the remainder, and yet his crop was undiminished.

We are not among the number, who believe it necessary for young agriculturists, to penetrate the western wilderness for the purpose of obtaining a subsistence or accumulating wealth—we are not of the opinion of the farmer who removed one hundred miles from his neighbors to avoid being annoyed by them; and when one of them located himself within fifty miles of him, considered it an insult, and said he did not think him for sticking down-right under his nose. Neither do we believe that war, pestilence, famine, intemperance, and crime are necessary, as checks upon