

OURS are the plans of fair and lawful peace,
Unswayed by party rage, to live like Brothers.

THURSDAY DECEMBER 3, 1867.

No. 427.

DEBATE

On the Passage of the Bill making further appropriations for the Navy for 1867.

Mr. J. MONTGOMERY said, that as the yeas and nays had been required, he should exercise the right of assenting reasons for the vote he was about to give. This bill provided for extraordinary expenses incurred in the navy department since the 22nd of June last; these extraordinary expenses had resulted from the cowardly attack committed by the Leopard on the Chesapeake. This act, marked with such daring and atrocious circumstances, had excited the indignation of every American; one sentiment on this subject pervaded the Union. The President of the United States had adopted firm, energetic and dignified measures on the occasion; amongst others, those which had occasioned the expenses for which this bill provides. He had heard no complaint that the conduct of the Executive was defective either in prudence or energy. He was authorized, and he exercised the authority vested in him by law, to call the marine corps to its full complement. He had exercised the authority given in a by the act of 1867, in preparing the gun-boats for service: the sense of the nation and the exigency of the times called upon him to do so. Other expenses incurred in calling out the marine corps, and manning gun-boats, were comprised under the different articles of clothing, &c. These extraordinary expenses the President was authorized to incur; the state of the country justified him in exercising that authority, and Mr. M. was of opinion that the honour of the nation called upon the House to make the appropriation. Then, as to these extraordinary expenses which had been incurred, they could be no difficulty; their honour was at stake for the payment. There was another item which he presumed would arise, with as little difficulty as any other; he was instructed to say, as a member of the committee of ways and means, that the provisions specified in the bill were used by the militia called out for the protection of the port most in danger. Was there any member in the House who would hesitate to make an appropriation of 31,000 dollars for that purpose?

At this important juncture, when our country was in danger, the Executive had examined the state of the several departments; in the war department there were sufficient supplies of military stores; in the navy department there were none, except a few pounds of powder. At this alarming crisis, the country being threatened with war, the people look up to the President for energetic conduct; he did not hesitate to make expenditures to supply these necessities for the department. Of the navy department there was more required than of the war department, because the outrage had been committed on the ocean. What more prudent, more correct conduct than that of the President could be wished, or what more could the people expect, than that he should have made those necessary provisions of ordnance and military stores, and timber for gun-boats? The President had judged it expedient to make preparation; and the state of affairs had called for a war-like attitude; for, said Mr. M. we have learn from our departed Washington, that to command peace we must be prepared for war; the President had acted upon this principle, which the House would no doubt approve. There was no law at that time, nor had any law yet been passed, to authorize the purchase of these articles; but the President of the U. States, when his country was in danger, hesitated not to take upon himself the credit and proper responsibility. Upon these items what was the language of the President of the U. States, contained in the message delivered to us? Strong and forcible, and clearly showing the necessity for incurring those expenses: "The moment our peace was threatened, I deemed it indispensable to secure a greater provision of those articles of military stores, with which our

magazines were not sufficiently furnished. To have awaited a previous and special sanction by law, would have lost occasions which might not be retrieved. I did not hesitate therefore, to authorize engagements for such supplements to our existing stock, as would render it adequate to the emergencies threatening us; and I trust that the Legislature feeling the same anxiety for the safety of our country, so materially advanced by this precaution, will approve when done, what they would have seen so important to be done, if then assembled."

Mr. M. hoped his trust was well founded; that the Legislature, feeling the same anxiety for the public safety so materially promoted by this precaution, would declare that this was what they would have done had they been in session. He asked, had the President of the U. States passed over this great emergency, & failed to make these preparations, ought he not to have been censured for a neglect of duty? As these articles therefore had been purchased, because the interest and safety of the country required them, and the expenses had been incurred for the public safety, the House could not hesitate to give their sanction to the appropriation.

It had been asked by a gentleman from Massachusetts whether these articles were actually paid for; if paid for, out of what monies had the payment been made. As a member of the committee of ways and means, he could declare that not one cent had been actually paid. The President had said, that he had authorized engagements for these articles; the government was pledged for them; and the House were as strongly called on by faith and honour to make an appropriation for them as they were bound to do in the case of the marine corps.

Mr. M. said it had been asked by another gentleman, perhaps from Connecticut, whether the timber mentioned was for general naval purposes, or for gun-boats only? At this important crisis, when hostilities were menaced, it had been thought prudent to lay up a stock of timber for building gun-boats, and it was accordingly done; but in laying it up, it had been contracted for and prepared in such a manner as to answer any naval purposes. If our differences should be amicably settled, & it was not required that gun-boats should be erected, the materials would still be on hand for the use of the navy.

It had been stated, he believed by a gentleman from Virginia, that appropriations had been anticipated; but this was not the language held by the President of the U. States, or these the principles defended by him in his first communication made to Congress in 1861. Mr. M. said he admired the principle laid down by the gentleman, appropriations should never be anticipated but in extreme cases. The principle was in general correct, but he would ask the gentleman from Virginia, who had taken this ground yesterday, if a case could not occur in which it might be departed from? He would ask any gentleman need there exist a stronger case than the present to justify such a departure? He believed not.

They had been told by a gentleman from Connecticut, that in the manner in which they were now acting in making appropriations, they were justifying the measure upon arguments resorted to by the former administration. God forbid, said he, that we should take any of the principles of the former administration for our rule of conduct. The present measure stood on firm ground; the exigencies of the times had justified the anticipation, and not the example of the former administration.

They had been told by a gentleman yesterday, that our navy had been disgraced by this outrage. True, if the officer of the degraded vessel, instead of a verbal answer from the mouth of his trumpet, had sent a metal one from the mouth of his cannon, the honour of the navy of the U. S. would have been preserved. That officer & his conduct were now under investigation; but from the courage, character and patriotism of the other officers of our navy, the country might be assured

that, if occasion offered, they would retrieve its reputation.

It had been said that the government had received two marked insults from foreign powers; he presumed one case alluded to was that of the Spanish minister; if he was wrong in this idea, he wished to be corrected. This minister began to shew his Spanish airs to our home-spun government; he was informed that a demand would be made for his recall. If it should be thought that I am incorrect in this, said Mr. M. resort to the Department of State where the facts may be obtained. What was the conduct of this minister? Did he dare to persist in his insolence? No; he meanly solicited our government not to write on or represent his conduct to the Spanish government. Our government granted his solicitations: if they got rid of him, it was immaterial in what manner. After he had thus obtained his point, what was his conduct? He came within the city of Washington, contrary to the understanding which had taken place. Did the government then put up with his behaviour? He received, on the contrary, an intimation that his company would be dispersed with. In the course of a few days he slunk off to Philadelphia. Under such circumstances, he presumed no American would feel the dignity of the nation injured in this case.

In the other case, it had been said we had received a blow; and a blow only? No; murder had been committed. The reeking blood of our fellow-citizens and the insulted dignity of the nation called for satisfactory retribution, or speedy retaliation. If retribution is refused, then the Constitution did invest the power in the President of the U. S. to resent the injury—it did vest it in the Congress of the U. S. If such a crisis should take place, they would meet it with energy and firmness, and use every exertion to efface the insult.

The present measure now under consideration, said Mr. M. is the first defensive measure presented for our determination. If we give this measure a quibbling, quacking, or reluctant affirmative, the people will be disappointed in their hopes. I have no apprehension that we shall do so; I believe the contrary. I have no doubt but that the patriotic characters here called together on the exigency of the moment, and to whom is entrusted the honour of the nation, will realise all the wishes of the people.

Mr. M. concluded by saying, that feeling conscious of the rectitude of his intentions, as far as his feeble abilities would permit, he had discharged his duty to his country, his constituents, and to himself.

Mr. RANDOLPH hoped the time would come—and that very soon—when we should have an opportunity of going into a regular discussion of the points touched upon by the gentleman from Maryland, and of some others. He trusted that, in the first place, the question would be brought regularly before the House, and the late experiment had thrown considerable light upon the subject—whether the U. S. ought to maintain a navy, and to what extent? Whether an establishment which had for years proved a moth in the purse of the nation, and which, when the exigency of the moment called for its last exertions, had proved only a conductor of dishonor to the nation, deserved to be cherished with the tenderness, & supported at the expense, which had hitherto been lavished upon it. He hoped this question would be fairly met and as fairly decided; for strange as it might appear, this great point had never been directly settled, since the present administration came into office, but had hitherto been determined in an oblique, collateral way. He hoped too the question would be discussed how far the present state of our political relations abroad, had grown out of the proceedings of the memorable session of 1865-6, and how far (perhaps this might prove the only opportunity for such a discussion) the measures taken by the Chesapeake compared with the wishes and expectations of the people and with the

maxims of a sound, dignified and enlightened policy.

The gentleman from Maryland, who had just sat down, allowed that the position contended for yesterday in opposition to the practice of contracting public debts or expending public money illegally, were in the general good, but seemed to consider them liable to many and great exceptions. On this subject he would produce an authority which would shew what had been the opinion of the republican party, when they were out of power, and how far it supported the doctrine which gentlemen had undertaken to defend. Here Mr. R. quoted Gallatin on the Finances of the U. S. page 21

Mr. R. believed that the opinion which he had just read would bear him fully out in the principles which he had laid down yesterday as those on which the old whig or republican minority had acted in Congress, on which they had specially as well as virtually pledged themselves to the nation to continue to act, and which when they deserted, they deserved the reprobation of every honest mind—Can any man pretend to say that the western insurrection in the very infancy of this government, presented a case of less public exigency, than the capture of the Chesapeake?—And yet the then President of the U. States, for having illegally defrayed the expense of that expedition, instead of convoking the legislature and acting under its authority, had deservedly received the censure, not of the multitude, for they were with him, but of the thinking few. He was condemned by the reflecting part of the community and the system on which he acted, and which his successor had subsequently pushed to the most extravagant lengths, was finally arrested by the public voice.

In a preceding part of his work, (page 79) the Secretary passes some deserved strictures on the practice of mingling appropriations. Mr. R. here read these.

The 2 cases noticed by Mr. Gallatin, were the mingling or lumping of appropriations, and the expenditure of money on objects authorized by law, but for which there was no appropriation. The present case not only embraced those two, but another, and much stronger case than any which Mr. Gallatin had imagined—*the expenditure of money not on any object not previously authorized by law.*

But Mr. R. said it was asserted that the articles were not paid for—that contracts had only been made for them. So much the worse—in point of principle there was no difference between contracting an illegal debt, and making an illegal disbursement of money. But in point of economy, there was a great difference against the former. If these articles had been bought with cash, they would have cost less. Merchants all over the world look to profit. Would they deliver upon contract to be paid some months hence, said paper, Congress approved, their salt-petre, for instance, at a cash price—at a time too of imminent danger of war, and when every article of military equipment must be expected to rise enormously in value. He could not see in such a procedure (granting the fact to be so, of which, however, he doubted) a theme for eulogy on the economy of men in office, or any mark of promptitude to provide for the public defence, which could be done effectually by the legislature alone.

He put it to the candor of the gentleman from Maryland to say whether, if the President had pursued a different course; had met the public expectation and convened Congress, he could not have found in the respect shown by the Executive for the laws, and the constitutional rights of that House, by a prompt recurrence to the only source of legitimate authority, a more ready and natural defence of his conduct than that which he had laboriously, but fruitlessly taxed his ingenuity to produce. The gentleman's argument proved too much. The more he magnified the danger of the crisis to justify an illegal and unconstitutional expenditure of the public money, the more clearly did

he demonstrate the necessity of convening Congress. But, Sir, when he call for an immediate preparation to meet the emergency of the times, is dinned into our ears, will any man pretend to say that such preparation has been made—that we are now prepared for war? Could any gentleman bring himself to believe that a few pounds of salt-petre had put the nation in a posture of defence—or that we had any other preparation than that which stout and willing hearts afforded? The measures which had been taken were, as far as respected a violation of the constitution and laws, certainly efficient, but in relation to defence, next to nothing. We were nearly in the same state of preparation now as two years ago when the non importation law, the panacea of political empiricism, came into vogue. So late as the last session of Congress, the House had been told, by a gentleman from Massachusetts not now in his place, that this law had already done wonders—that until it had passed, Great-Britain would not listen to any proposition from our ministers, but no sooner was it enacted than her ears were opened, and a disposition manifested to grant our demands. But a regular course of this nostrum had ended, as all quackery was sure to do, in an aggravation of the disease. The gentleman from Maryland had said something which he could not distinctly hear, concerning the Spanish minister. He hoped the gentleman did not consider him as an apologist of Spain or her minister. He had warned the House two years ago of the consequences of truckling to Spain, of the inevitable effect of such man submissions on the conduct of other nations towards us—What then was prophecy, is now history.

A fear had been expressed, that if a reluctant assent were given to this bill, we should disappoint the hopes of the people. Mr. R. said he did give a reluctant assent. Because it was a measure of defence? No, because it was a half measure, a mere make-believe, a tub to the political whale, something like the famous act for raising volunteers, which had caused such confusion in our militia system, that in fact it could not be executed—because more especially the expense had been illegally incurred. But he would be the last to give a reluctant assent to vigorous and efficient measures originated in a constitutional way, which might be deemed essential to the national defence, or to the vindication of the national honour. If, instead of waiting the slow return of the Revenge, Congress had been assembled immediately on the attack of the Chesapeake, to provide for the common defence, he would have given his warmest assent to any measures that could have been devised for retrieving the national honour. For if any thing was worth going to war for, it is a nation's honour, since it is inseparable from a nation's safety.

(To be continued.)

Fifty Dollars Reward

RUN AWAY from the Subscribers, on the night of the 20th of this month, **TWO NEGRO FELLOWS**—one black, about 30 or 40 years of age, about 5 feet 10 inches high (a waggon maker and carpenter by trade). He writes a tolerable hand, and it is supposed has written Passes, and both will probably pass for freemen, and attempt to get to some of the Northern States, or the State of Ohio. The other is a yellow Fellow, about 34 years of age, 5 feet 11 inches high. Their cloaths unknown, as they have several suits. The above Reward will be given, if the Negroes are committed to any Jail on the Continent, so that the Subscribers get them, or they are delivered to Nathan Chaffin, jun. Huntsville, or 25 dollars for either.

Ten Dollars Reward.
RAN AWAY from the Subscriber about the middle of August last, a Negro Man named **NICHOLAS**, 25 years of age, about 5 feet 11 inches high, of a yellow complexion, has lost one fore tooth from his upper jaw; speaks good English. Had on when he went away, an Ouzabrig shirt and Overalls, and a new Wool hat. He was rased by a Mr. Br. ok. Whoever will secure said fellow in any Jail, so that I may get him again, shall receive the above reward, and all reasonable charges paid by **GEO DAVIDSON.**

Wincomb County, Nov. 2