HON. H. S. FOOTE, OF MISSISSIPPI,

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES, FEBRUARY 16, 1848,

On the Resolution of Thanks to General Taylor.

other day when the discussion of these resolutions was in progress, but if I had been, I should have regarded it as unpardonable had I not said something in reference to the sentiments which have formed the subject of the indignant comments of the honorable Senator from Kentucky. I am not surprised at the course pursued by the Senator from New Hampshire, nor can any one who heard his lan-guage to-day, be surprised. The whole secret of his opposition to the vote of thanks has at last discovered itself. He is afraid that the army may elect a President. He is afraid that the military excitement of the time may be so potent as to thrust some individual into the Presidency who has acquired glory in this war, and in consequence of which, a certain distinguished Senator from New Hampshire nominated for that very office, and who has accepted the nomination, might be excluded. It would be quite improper, then, to blame the Senator from New Hampshire for the course which he has adopted on this occasion. The Senator is quite right. He is acting upon the principle of enlightened selfishness. The whole country will do justice to his motives, and he will descend to posterity as the most magnanimous statesman of modern times! I am happy indeed to hear the frank and manly declaration which escaped the lips of the Senator from Kentucky-I will not say escaped by accident, for it was evident that it was the language of his feelings and his understanding—the same language which is employed by the intelligence and patriotism of the people in all parts of the Union, whatever faction may have said, in all the accursed forms in which faction has arrayed itself before the country. The Senator from Kentucky has taken the ground boldly that this is a national war-the war of the country-a war made by Congress and sanctioned in all the forms known to the Constitution, and that therefore every patriot in the land is bound to sustain it, especially such as are employed in arms for the national defence. It is no Presidential war, then, as some have asserted. It is no war gotten up for unholy and corrupt purposes. It is no acconstitutional war as some have argued, but it is a war declared by Congress, having every sanction that national legislation can give; a war which every patriot must sustain in its vigorous prosecution up to a glorious termination, and which none but traitors anywhere can oppose. speak, of course, within due bounds. I allude not to the course of any Senator. I speak but the language of history when I say, that in no age lass which called him to New England, lately

Mr. FOOTE said: I was not in my place the | since civilization began, has there been any name for any man who opposed his country either in thought, word, or deed, when in arms for her own defence, except traitor. That is the name by which the Senator would be known if he dared to act out the sentiments of his heart as manifested in the language which he has utter-ed to-day. The punishment of treason, in all countries, is death; and he who would act out these sentiments would incur that as his due reward. I doubt whether, in some parts of the country, the process of law would be waited for; and even in some districts of New England, I am inclined to think that a coat of tar and feathers, or, perhaps, the severer infliction of Lynch law would be administered. I am tired and sick of this. I have been sufficiently wearied with it at home when reading newspaper accounts. I have been nauseated with it here. The whole country is There is but one voice on the subject, except the small voice that is uttered by an unprincipled faction in New England. I say an "un-principled faction," because it is a party gotten up for the purpose of bloodshed, delusion, and injustice—a party that cries "peace, peace," when the national honor is involved, and the country is armed in its defence; a party that cries out, "Let us not shed the blood of the poor Mexicans—they have suffered enough injustice at our hands; let us make indemnity for the wrongs which we have perpetrated upon them."

I should have been very much astonished if a

different course had been adopted by the Senator from New Hampshire. I am not a very diligent reader of Abolition newspapers, but looking over one or two lately, I perceived that a person named Garrison had been indulging in denunciations of the Senator from New Hampshire, because, in a speech which he had made on this floor, he had expressed some regret at being compelled to assume the character of an Ishmaelite in this body; which, by the by, was not exactly the fact till now, for though it is true that his hands were against every man, yet nobody noticed him. However, for that declaration, and for the expression of the hope that nothing he had said would be regarded as offensive, the Senator from New Hampshire had been taken to task by Lloyd Garrison, who had denounced him as not being a Liberty man; as not worthy of the Pres dency; and had asserted that his name ought to be stricken from the Liberty ticket. Well, the Senator from New Hampshire, having of course domestic busi-

went thither, and indulged himself in several gusty harangues, in order to retrieve his character, and revive his claims to the Presidency. His course there entirely conciliated the whole Abolition party in New England; and with such motives to energetic action, I am not at all surprised that the Senator has returned filled with new zeal and increased animosity against this war, and that he should have made those rhetorical flourishes in which he has so freely displayed himself on this occasion. should have been very much astonished if he had

pursued any other course.

I will not detain the Senate long; but for the purpose of showing that the Senator is a politic, judicious man, and that, though not at all ambitious, he may, perhaps, twenty years hence-making capital so rapidly as he does on this great question-stand a good chance for the Presidency, and is using the most efficient means to improve his ultimate popularity, I will call attention to a few passages in a pamphlet which I have seen for the first time this morning. It was sent to me by a gentleman who informs me that it is in extensive circulation in New England, and is producing an extraordinary effect. It seems that it is circulated by another party, who are ambitious of obtaining the Liberty men as allies. I speak by the book when I say, that a distinguished Senator from New England, [Mr. Webster,] not now in his seat, did, in a place not far from Faneuil Hall, some months ago, openly recognize the Abolitionists as his political brethren, and besought them to unite with the Whig party in an approaching election. I consider, then, the Whig party of New England and the faction controlled by the Senator from New Hampshire as standing on the same platform. Probably no reply will be attempted to what I say. It may be that I shall not be deemed worthy of notice by the distinguished Senator over the way, but that will not prevent me from noticing himcourteously and patriotically, I trust-and in such a manner as I may think that notice at my hands is demanded. Humble as my abilities may be, I recognize no superior here, so far as the State which I have in part the honor to represent is concerned. I am not at all surprised that New England should be visited with this pamphlet at this time, because the distinguished Senator from New England, first in Richmond, in commencing his famous southern tour, undertook to call this war in question, and afterwards, when he got back to New England, held the same language, and asserted that it had been the settled judgment of all nations, that the injustice of a war most materially tarnished the lustre of arms. Has that been explained? Can it be explained or vin-dicated? It means what the Senator from New Hampshire has more bodly said, using plainer and more explicit language, but language not more unpatriotic than that to which I have just referred-language which will not be less fiercely condemned by posterity than that uttered on the occasion to which I have alluded by one of the most celebrated men of the Whig party, whose influence has spread itself abroad through all lands, and has a most controlling effect in Mexico at the present time, against his own country. The same sentiment has been again and again expressed by the organ of the Whigs in this city—the National Intelligencer. Every Whig paper in the country, with a few exceptions, has recehoed it; and we istration must not go against that measure. I did

all recollect the announcement in a certain speech delivered here—to which I allude in no spirit of unkindness—that if the speaker had been a Mexican as he was an American, he would have welcomed our armies with bloody hands and hospitable graves. Yet that speech was published, with editorial sanction, in almost every Whig paper in the country. When on my way hither, last winter, I saw in Louisville a Whig paper-the organ of the party in that city, the Louisville Journal-which eulogized and commended the speech in the warmest and most exalted terms of encomium. Whilst, then, there are many men in that party-a glorious band, of whom I am glad to recognize the distinguished Senator from Kentucky as the leader, who do respond to the sentiments which he has expressed this morning-patriots in heart and in deed, recognizing the noble maxim of Roman times, that it is a sweet and glorious thing to die for one's country; whilst a great number of the members of the Whig party entertain such sentiments, there are many others who openly avow, or in their hearts, cherish sentiments similar to those I have described, which they would dare to act out, if the majority of the people would sanction them. In proof of what I have said on this point, I will read a few extracts from the pamphlet alluded to, written by a mem-ber of the party of which the Senator from New Hampshire is the exponent here. It is said that-

"A rose by any other name would smell as sweet." By what name shall I designate the party of which the gentleman from New Hampshire is the representative? Is it the Abolition or Liberty party? However this may be, it is on the shoulders of some such party that he expects to be foisted into the White House. Oh! may Heaven preserve my country from such a calamity as that! I say it with no intention to insult the Senator, but because he holds principles which, if carried out, would make this republic more infamous on the pages of history than any nation that has ever existed. The pamphlet is entitled "Dick Crowningshield, the Assassin, and Zachary Taylor, the Soldier: the difference between them. By Henry C. Wright." It is now circulating in New England, under Whig sanction, and is written by a

member of the Liberty party.

Mr. HALE. Does the gentleman mean to say that the author of that pamphlet is a member of

the Liberty party?

Mr. FOOTE. So I understand.

Mr. HALE. That individual's career in England and this country is well known. He denies the right of all human government whatever; and there is no party which he denounces with more severity and opprobrium than the Liberty party. The honorable Senator from Mississippi is, therefore, mistaken in supposing that he is a member of that party. It is not so. The honorable Senator asks to what party I belong, and the name of that party. I can tell him in a moment the origin of the movement which has made my name somewhat notorious in New Hampshire in regard to the position which I took about four years since. I was then a member of the House of Representatives from the State of New Hampshire. At that time, the project of annexation was mooted in the House; and the Richmond Enquirer, then edited by the present editor of the Union, declared that any one expecting anything from the Admin-

not expect anything from the Administration, but I opposed the measure; and, in a letter to my constituents, I announced my intention to vote against it, assigning the reasons which influenced me in the determination. Thereupon, the progressive Democracy of New Hampshire came together and denounced me; and an issue was at once made in that State upon the question. That is the origin of the movement; and the Senator is at liberty to give it any name which will best suit his classification. But he is entirely mistaken as regards Mr. Wright, who is no more a member of the Liberty party than that Senator is, and probably looks on it with as much loathing as he does.

Mr. FOOTE. I am very glad to hear that he does. This is certainly a redeeming circumstance. However, the pamphlet has been circulated by the Whigs of New England. The author may then

be a Whig

Mr. HALE. As I stand alone, I have only to take care of myself. The Whigs can take care of

themselves

Mr. FOOTE. Well, I do not understand the author to be strictly in correspondence with the Senator from New Hampshire, or that they are inhabitants of the same town or county. Indeed, people change their politics so readily nowadays, that it would be a little unsafe, perhaps, for the Senator to undertake to say what are the present political principles of Mr. Wright, with whom he is ashamed to claim any connection.

Mr. HALE. No, I am not.
Mr. FOOTE. Well, then he is the particular friend of the Senator from New Hampshire; and of one thing I am certain, that in my State such a pamphlet could not be allowed to circulate amongst the Whigs for a day. Such language as I am about to read, could not be uttered in the State in which I have the honor to reside, without hazard of life; nor could it, in my opinion, anywhere, where a high state of patriotism exists. I will now read a few delicious extracts from this pamphlet; read a few delicious extracts from this parametric, and I hope that, if it be not a Whig document, gentlemen will stop its circulation. The gentlemen denies that it is a Liberty document. What precise individual has had it circulated I am not prepared to say, but I think that it is perhaps intended to promote the Senator's claims and those of Whig Presidential aspirants generally, always excepting General Taylor.

DICK CROWNINGSHIELD-HIS EMPLOYERS-HIS BUSINESS. DICK CROWNINGSHIELD—HIS EMPLOYERS—HIS BUSINESS.
Joseph White lived in Salem. He was old and rich. Joe and Frank Knapp lived in the same town. They coveted his property, and expected to inherit it at his death. The protracted life of Joseph White was considered by them as opposed to their interests. They wished to destroy it. They called on Dick Crowningshield, a young man living in Salem, who had studied the art of human shapther at the West Point Military Academy, and said to him, in substance: "Will you enlist into our service?"
Dick. "What to do?"
Kaupps. "We wish to kill Joseph White."
Dick. "What harm has he done to you?"

There, "What is not" Knapps, "We wish to kill Joseph White,"
Dick, "What harm has he done to you?"
Knapps, "None, save that by his life we are kept out of
the possession of property which we expect to inherit. We
have no resources but to kill him."

Dick, "But, he is improper to all evil intentions towards Dick. "But he is innocent of all evil intentions towards

Knapps. "We know he is; but his life is in our way, and e wish to get rid of him."

Dick. "But would it be right to kill him?"

Knapps. "Give yourself no trouble about that.
be responsible for the right or wrong of the deed. enlist to do it, you have nothing to do with that ques-

Dick. "But suppose I think it murder?"

Knapps. "That is our concern, not yours. If you enlist into our service, we wish you to enlist to do our pleasure, even though you think it to be marder."

Die: "Wno is to be benefited by his death?"

Knapps. "Ourselves, of course. We do not wish to kill

Dick. "Who is to be benefited by his death?"

Knapps. "Ourselvees, of course. We do not wish to kill
him for his good, but solely for our own."

Dick. "So, then, I am to understand that you wish to enlist me into your service, to kill an innocent man, at your instigation, and fr your benefit?"

Knapps. "That is our wish. Will you enlist?"

Dick. "What am I to get for doing the deed?"

Knapps. "One thousand dollars."

Dick. "Do you wish me to kill any others?"

Dick, "Do you wish me to kill any others?"
Knapps, "Kill this one man, and the money is yours, and

we will discharge you from our service as soon as the deed is done."

Dick. "Well, I see no more wrong in enlisting into the beeck. Week, is seen in line wrong in central grant many service of two men to kill one, at their bidding and for their benefit, than in enlisting into the service of millions, called a State, to kill thousands at their bidding and for their benefit. So I am at your service, and will execute your pleasure upon Joseph White."

The Knapps furnished their recruit with a dirk and bludgeon. At midnight, he entered the back window with a dark lantern, crept up the front stairs, and entered the sleepdark lantern, crept up the front stairs, and entered the steep-ing-chamber of Joseph White. He was asleep. Dick struck him on his head with a club, then turned down the clothes and stabbed him thirteen times in the region of his heart; then covered him up, left the house, hid the bludgeon under the door-steps of a church, and melted the dagger. Dick and the Knapps were taken up and imprisoned. While awaiting their trial, Dick hung himself. The Knapps were

wanting their trad, lote and missel. The Khapps were tried, condemned, and hung.

What would you call Dick Crowningshield? A hurren assassin is the answer; and all will insist that this is the only phrase in the English language that can truly designate his character and position. What would you call the Knapps? The instigators and prime movers in the deed—the employers of a Hired assassis. The relation between Crowningshield and the Knapps was that of a hired assassin to his employers. The community would not endure the presence of the employers or the employed among them, and

they put them all to death.

ZACHARY TAYLOR-HIS EMPLOYERS-HIS BUSINESS.

There is a town in Mexico called Monterey. It contains by twenty thousand inhabitants, more or less. They never say twenty thousand inhabitants, more or less. They never injured the people of the United States, even in thought; yet Injured the people of the United States, even in monghit; yet their existence is opposed to their ambition, and lust of gold, and of oppression. They wish to destroy the town of Mon-terey. So, those who compose the United States, through their agents, the recruiting officers, go forth to enlist men into their service. They meet Zachary Taylor, and ask him,

substance:
"Will you enlist into our service?"

Zachary. "What do you wish me to do?"

People. "We wish you to kill the people of Monterey."

Zach. "What have they done?"

People. "Oh! nothing; only their existence is opposed to

our interests."

Zach. "They are, then, innocent of all evil intentions and actions towards you?"

People. "Yes; they never injured us, and never intended to injure us."

Zack. "Why, then, do you wish to kill them?"

People. "Simply and solely because they are in our way,
and there is no other method to get rid of them."

Zach. "Would it be right to kill them?"
People. "That is our affair, not yours. We wish you to enlist to do our bidding, and kill whom we wish, RIGHT OR

WRONG."
Zach. "But suppose I know them to be innocent; must I kill them?"

People. "Yes; if we bid you."
Zach. "But suppose I believe that to kill them would be
MURDER; must I do it?"
People. "Yes; if we bid you kill them. We wish to enlist none into our service as seldiers who are not willing to swear by the great God that they will kill any and all whom we bid them kill, even though they believe it would be mur-

der. "Ach. "How many do you wish me to kill?"

People. "No particular persons or number; but we wish to enlist you to butcher men by the day, till we have gained our end."

Zach. "So, then, now I understand you. You wish me to have you wish me to have you wish me to have your ways to kill have a heavy without you garries."

to their guilt or innocence, at your hidding, and for your bene-fit. You wish me to swear by the Eternal that I will kill men, women, and children, at your discretion, even though I know they are innocent, and though I believe that to kill them would be murder?"

People. "Yes; such is our wish."

People. "Yes; such is our wish."

Zach. "But suppose I should enlist, and then should not be willing to kill all whom you command me to kill; and

suppose I should wish to leave your service?"

People. "Once enlisted, you must do our bidding, or be killed yourself; and if you attempt to leave our service with-

Rilled yourself; and if you attempt to leave our service without our consent, we shall shoot or hang you."

Zach. "How much money will you give me?"

People. "Two hundred dollars a month."

Zach. "Well, the ministers and churches say war is a
right and Christian practice. If so, then it is right to enlist;
and when enlisted, to go for my employers, right or wrong.
So I am your man. Henceforth I am ready to kill all you
bid me kill, though I know them to be innocent, and though
I believe it would be murder."

I believe it would be murder."

People. "You are the man for us. 'ROUGH AND READY?
is your name henceforth. We have work on hand at this

moment.

moment."

Zach. "Name it, and it is done."

Zach. "There is a town in Mexico called Monterey.

Go, slay its inhabitants, and destroy it."

Zach. "Give me the means, and the deed is done."

So the means are supplied by his employers. Now, behold Zachary before the devoted town. It is Sunday. This is the day chosen by him to make the attack. See the scenes enacted by Zachary, the soldier. He is acting as the agent of twenty millions. Had he bombarded that city as the agent of two—how had he been the execution of mankind!

I will not detain Senators by reading any more extracts. I did not know that the time for taking up the special order had passed, or I should not have trespassed so long on the time of the Senate.

SEVERAL SENATORS. Go on.

Mr. FOOTE. I will, then, if the Senate will bear with me, read a few additional paragraphs:

with me, read a few additional paragraphs:

Look at that nursery. See that mother watching her four little ones lovingly at play in one corner. Zachary discharges a gun loaded with grape-shot at them; and in a moment their limbs and bodies are torn to fragments, and the mother sits amid their maneled remains. In another nursery is an infant sleeping in the cradle; the mother sits by it rocking and singing its fullaby. Zachary hurls a cannon ball at that mother and infant, and tears them in pieces.

Look into that dining room. There are a father and mother and five children at the dimertable. A ball thrown by Zachary enters, and the father and children are torn and killed around the surviving mother. There is a school-house. In it are seventy-five children with their teacher. Zachary throws a bomb-hell among them. It explodes, and the torn limbs and dead bodies of fifty of those children are strewed about, and their teacher and companions are covered with their blood. There is a daughter standing by her broken-hearted father to counfort and sustain him. Zachary hurls a cannon ball at her, and cuts her body in two, and there she lies a mangled corpse before her father.

"For the love of Heaven spare that house!" cries a young man to Zachary, as he is aiming a deadly missile at a particular dwelling. "I care not it every other nouse in rown is blown to atoms—but do not destroy that one." Yaung man. "My betrothed lives there. She whom I fove as my own soul."

Young man. "My betrothed lives there. She whom Hove as my own soul."

Zachary. "All love and domestic affections must be forgotten here."

Zachary. "All love and domestic anections must be forgotten here."
Young man. "But no spare that one. One of your own companions begs you to spare it."
Zach ry. "It is the bidding and for the interest of our employers that that house and all in it should be destroyed. We must go for our employers, RIGHT OR WRONG."
Young man. "O spare it! To what dangers is she whom I love exposed! Think of the agony I must feel to find her a mangled corpse!"
Zachary.—"Young man, you seem to care nothing about the other houses, and are willing to see them 'blown to atoms.' Yet every hall and bomb-shell we throw tears to pieces some wife or bushand, some parent or child, some brother or si-ter, all of whom are objects of affection to others, and their death causes as much agony to surviving relatives as the death of your hetrothed would to you. She mu-t die. Such is the bidding and pleasure of my employ-

A bomb-shell is aimed at the house; and in an instant it is a heap of ruins. The shell comes into the parlor where the parents and their children are assembled, and explodes. A ragged piece of iron strikes the young woman, and tears away her head and shoulders.

Says another eye-witness of the doings of Zachary: "It was an awful sight to look upon the dead-some shot with cannon balls and some with small shot; some with their heads shot off—some with their legs off—some with their bowels scattered on the ground," Says another eye-witness of another scene: "Bodies of

Says another eye-witness of another scene: "Bodies of Mexicans were lying all ahout in every direction—some with their heads entirely or partly shot off; others without legs or arms; others with their entrails form out. I crept about on my hands and knees, and at every few paces I would come across dead bodies; and at one place, I discovered the body of a beautiful Mexican girl STAKED through her heart." The above is substantially a truthful narrative of deeds perpetrated by him and his men in Monterey, and other towns in Mexico, at the hidding and for the benefit of his religious, republican employers."

Mr. CRITTENDEN. If the Senator will permit me, I would beg leave to submit to him whether it is best to detain the Senate by reading more of that pamphlet. Enough has been given to enable us to judge of its character. I will hear the Senator with a great deal of pleasure, but I think he ought not to occupy the time of the Senate by read-

ing pamphlets.

Mr. FOOTE. I know that this thing is disgusting, but having the sanction of the Whigs of New England, I thought that it might be agreeable more or less to the appetites of some gentlemen here. I feel that perhaps 1 owe some apology for occupying the attention of the Senate so long. do not charge the Whig party with this pamphlet, but I have quoted it in order to vindicate what has fallen from the Senator from Kentucky in opposition to the dangerous sentiments of the Senator from New Hampshire, presenting as it does a striking illustration of the consequences to which such sentiments naturally lead.

Mr. CRITTENDEN again rose.

Mr. CASS. Is the Senator going to make any motion? The Senator from Texas has the floor on the special order

Mr. CRITTENDEN. I will not detain the Senate.

Mr. RUSK. So far as I am concerned, I desire to say, that I have great pleasure in asking

the Senator from Kentucky to proceed.
Mr. CRITTENDEN. I do not intend to protract this debate, but I desire to acquit myself of the personality of which the honorable Senator from New Hampshire seems to have considered me to be guilty. I did not mean to say, sir, that the gentleman was without patriotism, or without morality. No, sir, not at all. I meant only to contest the proposition which he laid down, and on which his objections to this vote of thanks rested, and on which they could alone stand. It was in reference to that proposition, and not the sincerity of the honorable gentleman, that my remarks were made; and it was very far from my intention, indeed, to make any such charge as that he was wanting in morality or patriotism. The sentiments which the honorable gentleman entertained are of such a peculiar character, that one can hardly fall into the error of supposing that they are entertained from selfish motives. The gentleman must be sincere, and I do not doubt that he is sincere; and I assure him, that no personality was intended by

I am a little apprehensive that the Senator from Mississippi may have understood me as going a little further than I designed to be understood as going in relation to this war. I think I told you, at one of those who approved of this war-not at all. But I said that the war, by the act of Congress, had become a national war. It was war according to law; and I had supposed that the great principle of republican government consists in the combination of the strength and power of the whole community in executing the laws passed by the majority of that community; that I am as much bound to respect the law passed in reference to this war as I am in respect to any law that imposed duties or taxes, or regulated the conduct of citizens of the United States. With respect to any of those laws, the liberty of discussion, under the Constitution, and according to every principle of republican government, is free and unlimited. It is upon that condition that every citizen of the republic agrees to conform himself to, and be governed by, the majority, however repugnant to his own opinions may be the decisions of the majority. This freemay be the decisions of the majority. dom of discussion is the ground on which each and every individual may infer on entering into the social compact, that he may safely and cheerfully agree to obey whatever law the majority passes whilst discussion is left free; or, in the words of Mr. Jefferson, that error may be tolerated whilst reason is left free to combat it. That is the principle of republican government. I do not hold that I oppose the war because I discuss and examine and reason, in order to prove to you that the law ought to be repealed or changed or modified, so as to put an end to this war. It is with respect to that law as it is in the case of every other law. Every constitutional law claims the obedience of every man, no matter whether it be according to his wishes or not. It claims his But it leaves him free to discuss it. It leaves him free to endeavor, in the exercise of all his constitutional rights, to have the law repealed, no matter whether it relates to peace or war; and the right is equally perfect in regard to the one as the other. Circumstances may modify, the exigencies of the country may control, Circumstances may modthe exercise of this right; but his constitutional right as a man and a citizen is to discuss the law fully. He ought to do so, because he is bound to obey implicitly. That is my doctrine. I do not hold that because a man disapproves of this war and in that sense opposes it—that he is with one hand endeavoring to support the law as a national law, whilst with the other he exercises his right to put an end to that state of things, he makes an opposition to the war, which in any true sense of it can be regarded as unpatriotic. Some gentlemen run into the idea-and it seems to me that my friend from Mississippi inclines to the belief-that any degree of disapprobation of the war, every species of opposition to it, betokens a want of patriotism or of courage, or of something that belongs to honorable and patriotic men.

Mr. FOOTE. I thought that I used the most explicit language. I have uniformly used the same language, and it is now on record, upholding freedom of debate and discussion. But I have said, and repeat it now, that whenever speeches are made anywhere in the United States evidently intended to circulate in Mexico—calculated to encourage the enemy of the country—those speeches are stamped with treachery to the country. I am not to be understood, however, as in the slightest degree trenching on the freedom of debate. The

the commencement of my remarks, that I was not | Senator from New Hampshire is bound to express his sentiments if he entertains them. I only deplore his condition, being impelled by the peculiar character of his intellect to adopt such sentiments. I am not willing to shackle even him, certainly not any other person. But I see frequently newspaper articles which are intended to circulate in Mexico, giving "aid and comfort" to the enemy; and speeches have been made which we know to have had the same effect. All know this. It is a part of the history of the country, and I challenge de-nial of the statement that it is so. In my opinion, for making such speeches, the punishment of hanging, if the law allowed it, should be inflicted. I hope I am understood now. I hope the Senator from Kentucky will do me justice. I know it is one thing simply to declare that the war is unjust and to seek the repeal of the law declaring it, and another to become a traitor to the country, in a moral point of view, by such overt acts in favor of the enemy as those to which I have alluded. Let it also be understood that I charge nothing of the kind upon the Senator.

Mr. CRITTENDEN. I regret that this debate

Mr. CRITTENDEN. I regret that this debate has taken this excursory direction, passing entirely beyond the point to which I supposed it would be limited in the first instance, otherwise I should not have felt called upon to obtrude any remarks of mine upon the attention of the Senate. I believe that the honorable Senator is of too liberal a spirit himself lightly to impute to others any want of patriotism, much less to a great party like that of the Whigs. He disclaims any such imputation with respect to them, if I understood him. What, sir! do the Whig party want patriotism? and shall the Whig party, in retaliation, charge the Democratic party with a want of patriotism? Then who, in the name of all that is virtuous, has patri-

otism in this wide republic?

The gentleman imposes another limitation upon this right of discussion in relation to the war, which it seems to me cannot be maintained. I may speak the more freely on this subject, inasmuch as that, though my opinions on the war have not been withheld, it has not been my lot to participate so largely in the discussion as many others have, and I doubt whether in all the archives of Mexico, from the fortress of San Juan de Ulua to the city of Mexico, one sentence, line, or word, of any poor remarks that ever I made here can be found. And I am equally well assured that no remarks of my Whig associates or Democratic associates have been made for any such purpose of encouragement to Mexico or Mexicans. These remarks have been made in the exercise of their constitutional rights here, for the benefit of our own country, by the discussion of a matter involving the interests of our country.

Mr. FOOTE. I am very sorry to interrupt the Senator. But I had no reference to speeches made here. I alluded to speeches made in various parts of the United States—deliberately made to crowds assembled, for the purpose of being indoctrinated, and which the speaker knew would operate in Mexico, and therefore meriting all the denunciations which I heaped upon them; and I only regret that my powers of sarcasm are not adequate to the work of stigmatizing them as they de-

serve.

Mr. CRITTENDEN. I accept the explanation of the gentleman. I thought he had reference to

speeches here and elsewhere. It seems that he had (telligence circulates freely in Mexico. No man not reference to speeches here. Now, that might be his limitation of the doctrine; but since I am upon the subject, allow me to say, that I know well that that is not the limitation put by presses now advocating the doctrine. We are told that this war with Mexico has been inflamed—that the obstinacy of the Mexican people has been increased by their knowledge of what is said and done by Whigs, and Whig newspapers. That is boldly affirmed every day. The liberty of speech is cenaffirmed every day. The liberty of speech is censured. We are told by these same presses, that instead of exercising the rights of honorable gentlemen, and those which appertain to the more dignified and important character of representatives, we ought to be silent in regard to a matter in which the interests of the country are concerned, and follow in mute submission, whatever is done by the Executive of the Government.

Mr. FOOTE. If the Senator will allow me to interrupt him again for a moment; I would state that a distinguished member of the House of Representatives from the State of Kentucky has received a letter from General Marshall, stating the fact that we might have had a treaty of peace but for the speech of a distinguished citizen of Kentucky, with certain resolutions, which induced the leading men of Mexico to wheel about, and raised a universal expectation of a pronunciamento by which Mr. Polk would be turned out of the White House, and a certain distinguished gentlemen from Kentucky be brought in, from whom such a peace could be obtained as would accord with their notions of justice and humanity. I state this as a matter of fact. We all know that this kind of in-

can deny it. I did not charge any bad intentions at all to the distinguished gentleman in Kentucky who made the speech, but the effect has been produced by it which was predicted at the time by myself and thousands of others.

Mr. CRITTENDEN. I do not doubt that such a letter had been written, and that such is the opinion entertained by the writer. The gentleman is well known, and with him I have always sustained the most friendly relations; but, although I do not know what effect his military career may have had, his politics were of the severest and most heated character when he went to Mexico. I presume he retains those opinions, and is therefore very ready, from his political bias, to place upon any act of the honorable gentleman alluded to— one of my most distinguished fellow-citizens, Mr. Clay-we need not conceal his name-an unfavorable construction. It is quite likely that General Marshall may have entertained the opinion that we should have had a peace before now had it not been for Mr. Clay's speech; but I put it in all candor to the honorable Senator from Mississippi to say whether a speech delivered by Mr. Clay in November last in Kentucky has found such access to the mind of Mexico as to present-

Mr. FOOTE. I do believe that his magnetic influence may have been as great as that described. The Mexicans are a peculiar people-semi-barbarous-accustomed to pronunciamentos, and, of course, judge our country by their own. I judge, from the evidence before me, that they expect a pronunciamento here, which I think, though, they will expect a long time before it will occur.

APPENDIX.

The readers of the above Speech are invited to examine several miscellaneous matters, thrown together in this brief appendix, which will be found elucidatory and more or less corroborative of the speech itself.

Dr. Lieber's definition of a Traitor.

Dr. Lieber, in his great work on Ethics, thus describes the duty of a citizen to his government: "Remember that it is your state, your nation, that declares and fights out the war, not this or

that minister; remember that the honor and history of your country are engaged; that however conscientious you be in your opposition, you may err after all; that you cannot oppose the administration, without strengthening the enemy, who has unsheathed his sword against your kindred. A traitor is he who would not gladly defend his own country. If an opposition feels really and conscientiously convinced that the war is inexpedient, let them follow the old Roman rule—' treat after victory, but fight until then.'"

Extract from Colonel Wynkoop's Letter. "We, HERE, can see no difference between the men who in 1776 succored the British, and those who in 1847 gave arguments and sympathy to the Mexicans. This kind of language, from a man who came into this campaign a Whig in policy, may sound strange to you, but I have again and

again been compelled to listen to and to suffer that which would have changed the disposition and alienated the affections of the most determined partisan. Even now, I do not object to the leading and main principles of my old party, so much as I curse and deprecate the tone of its acknowledged leaders and supporters. If there is any reason which will prevent General Scott from effecting an honorable peace, commanding, as he does, the whole city of the Aztecs, with his powerful battery, it is the spirit of treason which I unhesitatingly say is promulgated by the leading Whig journals at home. In a sortie upon some ladrones at Jalapa, a short time since, I possessed myself of all the late newspaper publications in that place, and upon examining them, I find that, in that place, same as in Mexico, the strongest arguments published against our army are selections from Whig papers in the United States. I send you a late copy of the 'Boletin de Noticias,' in which you will perceive that the first article is an extract from the National Intelligencer.
"Your friend, F. M. WYNKOOP."

Extract from the Speech of General Pierce, delivered at Concord, New Hampshire, on the 29th of Jan-

"He was here, not to discuss any matter in controversy, but to meet his friends. Still, the

subject of the war was necessarily presented to their consideration by the occasion. Before engaging in it, it was his belief that it was irresistibly forced upon us. If he had ever doubted before, conversation with the most intelligent men in Mexico would have confirmed him in the opinion, that after the annexation of Texas, it was unavoidable on our part. Conquest was evidently neither the cause nor the object of the war, and yet he was constrained to say, that there had seemed to be, in the obstinacy of the Mexicans, the uniform success of our arms, and the present state of our relations with that country, something like the irresistible force of destiny. For one, it had been, and still was, his hope that a peace, just and honorable to both nations, might be in some way achieved. The obstacles to such a consummation, as he apprehended, had arisen from unex-pected sources. There was, unquestionably, in Mexico a formidable and intelligent party, who had resisted, and would resist, negotiations so long as they could hope, through our army, to escape from the military misrule under which that country had literally groaned for the last twenty years. Again, the party desiring peace, and sincerely striving for it, had been embarrassed and weakened, if not discouraged, by the course of things here. President Herrera and the Mexican Congress, who were understood to be in favor of peace, might be so weakened by the declarations of our own countrymen, that they would not dare to conclude a peace. When at the camp near Jalapa, a paper published in that city was brought to him, the whole of the first page of which, and a part of the second, was filled with extracts from the American press, and from speeches made in this country, which induced the editors to say, that while the intelligent and virtuous portion of the people of North America held such sentiments, nothing remained for them to add in justification of their course towards the United States. On the same day that he read the bitter denunciations of the war, and all connected with it, from newspaper articles and speeches made at home, he saw posted by the way side, and upon the ranches, the proclamation of General Salas to the guerrillas, with the watchword of 'Death to Yankees, without mercy!' Thus, with communication cut off from the coast, with no knowledge of the situation of the army in the interior, with daily rumors of strong forces to obstruct their march, was there furnished from our own country food which fed the ferocity that pursued his com-mand at every turn. The effect it was calculated to produce upon the Mexican Government and factorily.

people was sufficiently obvious. What was the feeling inspired in his own command, it was unnecessary to say. However lightly their position might be regarded at home, they knew that there was but one course, and that was to go forward. In the office of the Secretary of State, in the city of Mexico, a large collection of extracts from newspapers and speeches of our own countrymen were found filed away in the pigeon holes, and had been used in preparing proclamations to inflame the Mexican popula-He brought no accusation against any party or any man. Men of all parties in this country exercised their own judgment, and expressed their own opinion, in their own way; and so he trusted it would ever be; but he could not but regard it as most unfortunate that upon a great question, involving the blood of our countrymen, and so deeply and vitally the interests of the nation, we could not present a united front. If we could have done so, he firmly believed that months ago there would have been a peace, just and honorable to both nations. If we could do so now, he thought the skies were bright and promising. General Pierce, after again thanking the audience for their kind reception, sat down amid repeated and enthusiastic cheering."

Extract from a work entitled "Adventures in Mexico," by C. Donnavan.

"But the most difficult matter of comprehension to the editor, was how Whig generals should be placed at the head of the American army, while the Administration was opposed to the Whigs. And when Corwin's speech against the war was received through 'El Monitor,' from the city of Mexico, we were asked if Señor Corwin would not immediately raise a company of volunteers, issue a pronunciamento, and attack the President! The editor was delighted with the speech, and republished it, by inserting some two columns daily. He esteemed Señor Corwin as far superior to Señor Polk, in sagacity and eloquence. But, poor fellow, he knows but little of the enlightened state of parties in this country, where officials can abuse each other with impunity, and where greater revolutions have been consummated by the pen, than were ever accomplished by the sword."

These extracts, with the declarations of such personages as Twiggs, Morgan, and Doniphan, will be acknowledged by posterity at least, and perchance by some of the present generation too, to make out the case of moral treason pretty satisfactorily.