

# INDIANA PALLADIUM.

By David V. Culley.

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## PENNSYLVANIA WHISKEY INSUR- RECTION.

The initial steps of revolution, or rebellion, having been taken in South Carolina, it is worth while to recur to history for an example of the mode of treating it when it shall come to a head. The Whiskey Insurrection, it is true, did not interpose the arm of *state sovereignty* between rebellion and the halter, but in all other respects, the resemblance is strong enough to impart interest at present to its details.

In the year 1790, an Excise Act was passed by Congress, imposing a duty on spirits distilled in the United States. In a majority of the States scarcely an objection was heard to this mode of taxation; but in the four western counties of Pennsylvania, a prejudice, fostered and embittered by the artifice of men who labored for an ascendancy over the will of others, by the guidance of their passions, produced an organized opposition of force. Various acts in opposition to the laws took place, and in September 1791, a convention of delegates from the malcontent counties was assembled at Pittsburgh, in which resolutions of extreme violence were adopted against those who were inclined either to comply with the law or accept the offices through which it was to be executed.

When the government perceived that further delay was useless, legal process was delivered to the marshal against the delinquent distillers and those who had committed violence on the revenue officers. No sooner was he understood to be engaged in this duty, than the vengeance of armed men was aimed at his person, and the person and property of the inspector of the revenue. They fired upon the marshal, arrested him, and detained him for some time as a prisoner. He was obliged, by the jeopardy of his life, to renounce the service of other process, on the west side of the Allegheny mountains, and a deputation was afterwards sent to him to demand a surrender of that which he had served. A numerous body repeatedly attacked the house of the inspector, secured his papers of office, and finally destroyed by fire his buildings, and whatever they contained. Both of the officers, for self preservation, fled to the seat of government; it being avowed, that the motives of such outrages were to compel the resignation of the inspector; to withstand by force of arms the authority of the U. States and thereby to extort the repeal of the laws of excise, and an alteration in the conduct of the government.

What followed, shall be told in the language of Washington in his speech to Congress, Nov. 29th, 1794.

"Upon the testimony of these facts an associate justice of the Supreme Court of the United States notified to me, that 'in the counties of Washington and Allegheny in Pennsylvania, laws of the United States were opposed, and the execution thereof obstructed by combinations, too powerful to be suppressed by the ordinary course of judicial proceedings, or by the powers vested in the marshal of that district.' On the call, momentous in the extreme, I sought and weighed what might subdue the crisis. On the one hand, the Judiciary was pronounced to be stript of its capacity to enforce the laws; crimes, which reached the very existence of social order, were perpetrated without control; the friends of government were insulted, abused, overawed into silence, or apparent acquiescence;—and to yield to the treasonable fury of so small a portion of the United States would be to violate the fundamental principles of our constitution, which enjoins that the will of the majority shall prevail.—On the other, to array citizen against citizen; to publish the dishonor of such excess; to encounter the expense and other embarrassments of so distant an expedition, were steps too delicate, too closely interwoven with many affecting considerations, to be lightly adopted. I postponed therefore the summoning of the militia immediately into the field; but required them to be held in readiness, that if any anxious endeavors to reclaim the deluded, and to convince the malignant of their danger, should be fruitless, military force might be prepared to act before the season should be too far advanced.

My proclamation of the seventh of August last was accordingly issued, and accompanied by the appointment of Commissioners who were charged to the scene of insurrection. They were authorized to confer with any body of men or individuals. They were instructed to be candid and explicit, in stating the sensations that had been excited in the executive, and his earnest wish to avoid a resort to coercion; to represent, however, that without submission, coercion must be the resort; but to invite them at the same time, to return to the demeanor of faithful citizens, by such accommodation as lay within the sphere of the executive power. Pardon too, was tendered to them by the government of the United States, and that of Pennsylvania, upon no other condition, than a satisfactory assurance of obedience to the laws."

Although the report of the commissioners marks their firmness and abilities, and must unite all virtuous men by showing that the means of conciliation have been exhausted, all those who had committed or abetted the tumults did not subscribe the mild form, which was proposed as the atonement; and the indications of a peaceable temper were never sufficiently general nor conclusive, to

recommend or warrant the further suspension of the march of the militia.

Thus the painful alternative could not be discarded. I ordered the militia to march, after once more admonishing the insurgents, in my proclamation of the 25th of September last."

The governor of Pennsylvania having declared his opinion, that the militia of that State who could be drawn forth would be incompetent to enforce obedience, the aid of the neighboring States was consequently necessary.—Quotas were accordingly assigned to the states of New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Maryland and Virginia, and an army of 15,000 men was put in motion, under the command of Gov. Lee, of Va. the Governors of New Jersey and Pennsylvania commanding under him the militia of their respective states.

The troops of New Jersey and Pennsylvania were directed to rendezvous at Bedford, and those of Maryland and Virginia at Cumberland on the Potomac. President Washington, in person, visited each division of the army, but being confident that the force employed must look down all resistance, he left the Secretary of the Treasury, General Hamilton, to accompany it, and returned himself to Philadelphia, at which place the approaching session of Congress rendered his presence almost indispensably necessary.

From Cumberland and Bedford, the army marched in two divisions, into the country of the insurgents.—As had been foreseen, the greatness of the force prevented the effusion of blood. The disaffected did not venture to assemble in arms. Several of the leaders who had refused assurance of future submission to the laws, were seized and some of them detained for legal prosecution.

But although no direct and open opposition was made, the spirit of insurrection was by no means subdued. It was therefore thought advisable to station, for the winter, a detachment to be commanded by Major General Morgan, in the centre of the disaffected country. Two of the ringleaders, who were tried and convicted of treason, received their pardon; and thus without shedding a drop of blood did the prudent vigor of the executive terminate an insurrection which, at one time, threatened to shake the government of the United States to its foundation.

The paragraph of President Washington's speech, which concludes the division relating to the insurrection, is marked by that high patriotism and deep insight into human nature, which characterized the father of his country, and could never be quoted more appropriately than at the present moment:

"To every description of citizens, let praise be given; but let them preserve in their affectionate vigilance over the precious depository of American happiness, the Constitution of the United States. Let them cherish it too, for the sake of those, who from every clime are daily seeking a dwelling in our land. And when in calm moments of reflection, they shall retrace the origin and progress of the insurrection, let them determine whether it has not been fomented by combinations of men, who, careless of consequences, and disregarding the unerring truth, that those who rouse, cannot always appease a civil convulsion, have disseminated, from an ignorance or perversity of facts, suspicions, jealousies, and accusations, against the whole government."

*C. F. Daniels, Esq.*, Editor of the Camden Journal, retired from that station on the 1st inst. In his valedictory address, he says:—"I shall be succeeded by *Native Carolinians*—by those who can advocate the principles of order, law, and government, without carrying dead weight. It has been a continual source of ungenerous imputation upon me, that I am a 'Yankee,' and therefore an alien enemy in South Carolina. I feel much pride in pleading guilty to the enormity of my birth place, but the *infamy* is as false as it is unmanly. No native son of Carolina need love her better than I do—none has ever spoken to her citizens with more honesty of purpose or more integrity of intention, whatever may be said to the contrary by angry partisans, and embittered political foes."

*The unfair Sex.*—Two men in Montreal, on the night of the 3d inst., knocked down a woman and robbed her of her cap, cloak, and even the combs in her hair.

*A grave offence.*—Some mischievous fellows stole a door from a tomb in New York a few evenings since.

*John Sergeant.*—It is a common remark by common observers that they see nothing great in Mr. Sergeant. *Poulson's Adv.*

*FIRE AT LOWELL MASS.* We are informed by a gentleman from Lowell, that a fire broke out in that town yesterday morning, in a large brick block, on Central Street, which was occupied mostly by dry goods dealers and printers. The Journal and Evangelist offices were in the building, and all the contents of the Evangelist office were destroyed. A book bindery and a tailor's shop were also destroyed. The building was owned by J. B. French, Esq.

*Weekly Messenger, Jan. 19.*

## Congressional.

### ANALYSIS OF PROCEEDINGS.

JANUARY 22.

In the Senate, yesterday, Mr. Silsbee presented the credentials of the Hon. Daniel Webster, re-elected a Senator from the State of Massachusetts for six years, and after the 4th of March next. Mr. Wilkins from the Committee on the Judiciary, to which had been referred the Message of the President of the United States, communicating the South Carolina Ordinance of Nullification, and other documents, reported a bill to amend the revenue laws, in substance as follows:—The 1st Section provides that the President in cases where powerful combinations render it impracticable to collect or secure the revenue, may remove the custom house in each collection district, to some secure place on land or on board of a vessel, at which place the duties shall be paid before landing; and authorizes, the President or Collector to repel force by force. The 2d Section extends the jurisdiction of the Circuit Court to all cases arising under the revenue laws of the United States, and authorizes any person injured in person or property in the execution of the revenue laws, to sue in the Federal Court; and all property seized under the various revenue laws of the United States shall not be subject to replevin. The 3d Section authorizes any person sued, officers or others, (in a State Court,) for acts done in execution of the revenue laws, by petition, to remove such suits into the Circuit Court of the United States. The 4th Section provides that where a party is sued in a State Court for any act done in the execution of the revenue laws, and cannot obtain a copy of the Record on application to the Clerk of the State Court, the same may be supplied by affidavit or otherwise, as the case may allow, in the Courts of the United States. The 5th Section authorizes the President of the United States to issue his Proclamation and to call out sufficient military force to repel any force which may obstruct the proceedings of the Federal Courts—he being notified of the necessity of doing so by some Judge of the Federal, Circuit, or District Court.—The 6th Section provides that when a State shall refuse the use of its jails and houses for the confinement of prisoners, the Marshal shall, under the direction of the District Judge, provide some other suitable place for that purpose. The 7th Section extends the privilege of the writ of *Habeas Corpus* to the cases of persons confined under a State law for having executed the laws of the United States. The bill was read, and ordered to a second reading. Mr. Robbins from the committee on the Library, reported a bill authorizing a subscription to Duff Green's stereotype edition of the Laws of the United States, at \$2 50 per volume of 650 pages, which was read and ordered to a second reading. Mr. Robbins, from the same Committee, reported a bill authorizing a subscription to a documentary History of the American Revolution, proposed to be published by M. St. Clair Clarke and Peter Force, which was read and ordered to a second reading. Mr. Dallas laid before the Senate resolutions adopted by the Legislature of Pennsylvania, in opposition to the passage of the bill reported by the Committee of Ways and Means, in the House of Representatives, for the reduction of duties on imports, which were read and ordered to be printed. At an early hour, the Senate resumed the consideration of the bill, appropriating for a limited time, the proceeds of the sales of the public lands—the question being on Mr. Poindexter's amendment. Mr. Poindexter concluded the remarks which he commenced on Saturday, in favor of his amendment and the general provisions of the original bill. Mr. Ewing following in opposition to the amendment, and in favor of the original bill. Before he had concluded the Senate adjourned.

In the House of Representatives, numerous petitions and memorials were presented and referred to the appropriate Committees. Mr. Cambreleng from the Committee on Commerce reported a bill authorizing the reimbursement of certain discriminating duties levied on foreign vessels and their cargoes. Several private bills were reported by the Standing Committees. The House then went into Committee of the Whole on the state of the Union upon the tariff bill, Mr. Wayne in the chair. Mr. White, of Louisiana, addressed the Committee about one hour against a reduction of the present rate of duty on sugar, and was followed by Mr. Polk, who spoke upwards of one hour in support of the general principles of the bill, and adduced several of the returns made from the manufacturers in pursuance of the call of the House, at the last session, upon the Secretary of the Treasury, to prove that under the contemplated reduction of duties the manufacturing business would be the most profitable pursuit in the country. After some conversation between Messrs. E. Everett, Polk, and Adams relative to the printing of these returns, which had been ordered at the last session, but had not been completed, Mr. J. Reed moved the Committee rise, which was carried, and the House adjourned.

JANUARY 23.

In the Senate, yesterday, Mr. Grundy, from the Committee on the Post Office and

Post Roads, to which a resolution on the subject had been referred, made a report adverse to a reduction of the present rates of postage which was directed to be printed. Mr. Hendricks, from the Committee on Roads and Canals, reported bills, making appropriations for the continuation of the Cumberland Road through the States of Ohio, Indiana and Illinois—making an appropriation for the opening a road in the Territory of Arkansas—and making appropriation in aid of opening certain roads in the Territory of Michigan. They were severally read, and ordered to a second reading. On motion of Mr. Wilkins, the bill reported on Monday by the Committee on the Judiciary, "further to provide for the collection of duties on imports," was taken up. Having been read a second time by its title, Mr. Wilkins said he was instructed by the Committee on the Judiciary to move that the bill be postponed to, and made the special order for Thursday next. Mr. Bibb suggested its postponement to Thursday week; Mr. Mangum named Monday week; and Mr. Clay Monday next. A debate of considerable interest ensued on the question of postponement, in which Messrs. Williams, Bibb, Grundy, Mangum, Miller, Clay, Smith, Poindexter, Frelinghuysen, Brown and King took part. The question to postpone the consideration of the bill to Monday week was then rejected by the following vote:

YEAS—Messrs. Bibb, Black, Calhoun, Mangum, Miller, Moore, Poindexter, Rives, and Tyler.—9.

NAYS—Messrs. Bell, Benton, Brown, Buckner, Chambers, Clay, Clayton, Dallas, Dickerson, Dudley, Ewing, Foot, Forsyth, Frelinghuysen, Grundy, Hendricks, Hill, Holmes, Johnston, Kane, King, Knight, Nauclain, Prentiss, Robbins, Robinson, Ruggles, Seymour, Silsbee, Smith, Sprague, Tipton, Tomlinson, Wagaman, White, Wilkins, and Wright.—37.

Mr. Wilkins withdrew the motion for postponement until Thursday next, and the bill was postponed to, and made the special order for Monday next.

Mr. Calhoun then rose, and offered the following resolutions, which he prefaced by a speech of some length, reiterating and enlarging upon the views submitted by him to the Senate, on a recent occasion, and in the course of which he commented with much severity upon the character and provisions of the bill reported by the Judiciary Committee, (above referred to,) which, if passed, he declared would operate as an entire repeal of the Constitution:

*Resolved*, That the people of the several States, composing these United States, are united as parties to a constitutional compact to which the people of each State acceded as a separate and sovereign community, each binding itself, by its own particular ratification, and that the Union, of which the said compact was the bond, is an *Union between the States* ratifying the same.

*Resolved*, That the people of the several States, thus united by the constitutional compact, in forming that instrument, and in creating a General Government to carry into effect the objects for which it was formed, delegated to that Government, for that purpose, certain definite powers, to be exercised jointly, reserving at the same time each state to itself, the residuary mass of powers to be exercised by its own separate government; and that whenever the General Government assumes the exercise of powers not delegated by the compact, its acts are unauthorized and are of no effect; and that the said Government is not made the final judge of the powers delegated to it, since that would make its discretion, and not the Constitution, the measure of its powers; but that, as in all other cases of compact among sovereign parties without a common judge, each has an equal right to judge for itself as well of the infraction, as of the mode and measure of redress.

*Resolved*, That the assertion that the people of these United States, taken collectively as individuals, are now, or ever have been, united on the principles of the social compact, and as such, are now formed into one nation, or people, or that they have ever been so united in any one stage of their political existence; that the people of the several States, composing the Union, have not as members thereof, retained their sovereignty; that the allegiance of their citizens has been transferred to the General Government; that they have parted with the right of punishing treason, through their respective State Governments; and that they have not the right of judging, in the last resort, as to the extent of the powers reserved, and of consequence, of those delegated—are not only without foundation in truth, but are contrary to the most certain and plain historical facts, and the clearest deductions of reason; and that all exercise of power on the part of the General Government, or any of its Departments, claiming authority from such erroneous assumptions, must of necessity, be unconstitutional; must tend, directly and inevitably, to subvert the sovereignty of the States; to destroy the Federal character of the Union, and to rear on its ruins a consolidated government, without constitutional check or limitation, and which must necessarily terminate in the loss of liberty itself.

JANUARY 24.

In the Senate, yesterday, the bill prescribing the mode by which patents for the public lands shall be signed and executed, together with several private bills, were passed. The resolutions submitted on Tuesday by Messrs. Robinson, Moore, and Robbins, were considered and agreed to. The resolutions offered by Mr. Calhoun, on the same day were taken up. Mr. Mangum moved to postpone their consideration until Monday; but withdrew the motion at the request of Mr. Grundy, who submitted the following resolutions as a substitute for those offered by Mr. Calhoun:

1. *Resolved*, That by the Constitution of the United States, certain powers are delegated to the General Government, and those not delegated nor prohibited to the States, are reserved to the States, respectively, or to the people.

2. *Resolved*, That one of the powers expressly granted by the Constitution to the General Government, and prohibited to the States, is that of laying duties on imports.

3. *Resolved*, That the power to lay imports, is, by the Constitution, wholly transferred, from the State authorities to the General Government, without any reservation of power or right on the part of the States.

4. *Resolved*, That the Tariff laws of 1828 and 1832, are exercises of the constitutional powers possessed by the Congress of the U. States, whatever various opinions may exist as to their policy and justice.

5. *Resolved*, That an attempt on the part of a State to annul an act of Congress, passed upon any subject, exclusively confined by the Constitution to Congress is an encroachment on the rights of the General Government.

6. *Resolved*, That attempts to obstruct or prevent the execution of the several acts of Congress, imposing duties on imports, whether by Ordinances of Conventions, or Legislative enactments, are not warranted by the Constitution, and dangerous to the political institutions of the country.

On motion of Mr. Grundy, the resolutions were ordered to be printed. The whole subject was then postponed until Monday.

The Senate resumed the consideration of the bill appropriating, for a limited time, the proceeds of the sales of the public lands—the question being on the amendment offered by Mr. Poindexter. Mr. Ewing concluded his remarks in opposition to the amendment, and in favor of the bill. Mr.