ADDRESS

Of Hon. P. S. Brooks to the People of the ourth Congressional District

FELLOW-CITIZENS: I have been induced to send you this Address in consequence of having received a number of letters, from gentlemen in various parts of my District, in which they say that "many of your (my) friends and supporters are anxious to learn your (my) views of the Know Nothing Order." Other gentlemen have written that, "if the party is not shortly checked, it will control Lexington District;" and that "many of your (my) best friends have joined the Order, and are doing all they can for its promotion."

That a few impulsive spirits should have been led estray by the Native American feature of the Order, was to have been expected; but that they should be so numerous as to form a Party, and that party so strong in any part of South Carolina as to dream of "control," in very truth amazes me.

I have upon this, as upon all political questions of the day, decided opinions, which are regulated by fixed principles.-My correspondents have, as has the humblest voter in my District, the right to know what those opinions are; and I would be unworthy of my position as your Representative in Congress, did I desire to dissemble or suppress them.

Before I proceed to express my views, which are in opposition to the Order, candor constrains me to admit that "Americanism" is a natural sentiment with our people. I der recate myself the appointment oreign birth to represent our of men country .. or to preside over our Col-:ll of the States would, by leges; common ont, withhold the elective franchise from immigrants for ten years, the agreement would receive my entire approval. But because I approve, in a degree, of one tenef of a party, it is no more unreasonable to expect me to adopt all of its principles, than it would be to require a man to eat all of every dish upon a bill of fare, because he fancied one. Yet this single feature has caused thousands to attach themselves to the Know Nothing Order, without considering its other features; and thus, for one sweet drop, they gulp down a whole gallon of bitter stuff.

According to the Know Nothing doctrines, the birth-place of a man is a grave political consideration. In my judgment, the birth-place of a political principle is infinitely more important; and to the Know Nothing Order we will apply the Know Nothing test. Where was it born? In the of the Western States would take up the State of New York. When? Very shortly after the passage of the Nebraska and Kansas bill, which restored to the States of the South their lost right of equality in the common territory. What has been the effect at the North? To defeat every Democrat who voted for this bill of justice to the South, and to put in his place an Abolition Know Nothing, who stands pledged to repeal the bill, and to give his vote and influence to the enactment of others of greater injustice and injury than the Actknown as the Missouri Compromise.

I might here appropriately comment upon the impolicy and ingratitude of counteis sufficiently obvious.

Permit me, however, to direct your attention for an instant to the tergivesations of the Know Nothings, who, at the North, are out-and-out Freesoilers, and everywhere are opposed to the repeal of the Missouri Compromise, as is shown by the fact, among others, that every Southern man but foreigner is required to wait five years, after one, (Mr. MILLSON of Virginia, who voted declaring his intention to become a citizen, against the bill for the opposite reason that it was not strong enough for the South.) all the rights of citizenship. In Michigan who voted against the bill, is now a member of the Know Nothing Order. At the National Freesoil Convention held in Pittsburg, in 1852, and which nominated the Know Nothing Abolitionist, JNO. P. HALE. tion. But the Federal Constitution also de for the Presidency, it was

"Resolved, That the doctrine that ANY HUMAN LAW is a finality, and not subject to nities of citizens in the several States." modification or repeal, is not in accordance with the creed of the founders of our government, and is dangerous to the liberties of our people."

This resolution had reference to the Compromise Messures of 1851, which the Freesoilers desired to repeal. They scouted the idea that those measures were a "finality," and contended that they could and should be modified or repealed, like any other law of Congress. The Missouri Compromise was no more a "finality" than the Compromise of 1851. Yet the Freesoil Know Nothings now refuse to stand to the position taken by the Ditteburg Convention, and rethe their own creed and falsify their own deplarations, by asserting that the Mis-6 was an irrepealable

Convention it was "Resolved; That manifestres and exiles from the Old World should find a condial ary attempt ins that

liberty, and that it

cial and political sentiment?

the Order ceased to be a national organizawhen the Know Nothing South and the public trust under the United States." Know Nothing North will vote for the same into the lower House of Congress, where the to resist. The Order is still a national organiconcur upon all points of their creed as originally framed, and differ only upon the incidental question of slavery. Their hatred of oreigner and Catholic is equally intense. and my remarks do apply, for the President, the immigrant and the Catholic have much. very much, to do with slavery-a question which, because of its being of all others the most vital to us, (inseparably interwoven as it is with the political, commercial and social prosperity and happiness of the people of the South,) and of being the touch-stone which is applied to every political issue by the people of the North, is, after all, the sum and substance of American politics. The Know Nothing Order is either national, or it is impotent. It proposes to extend the probationary term of naturalization (by which its members mean to withhold the right to vote, for their complaint is only of political evils) to twenty-one years, and to disqualify both Catholics and men of foreign birth forever for office. No one prefect their purposes in either way, then surely it is as national (I use this word for convenience) as any party can become.

I hold that neither plan can be execu-

erence was had to the right of property;

for we know that the laws of the several

States are not uniform on the subject of vo-

ting. In New York and South Carolina, a

before he is admitted to the full fruition of

aud Illinois, but six months are required

while in the Territories of Kansas and Ne-

braska, actual residence will qualify every

white male adult to vote at the first elec-

clares that "the citizens of each State shall

be entitled to all the privileges and immu-

Now if one of these new fledged citizens

of Michigan was to come into the Fourth

Congressional District, and in compliance

with your State Constitution remain two

years, could you, under either Constitution

refuse him the elective franchise? You

could not, unless your own Constitution had

been previously altered—a mode of proce-

dure which the Know Nothings seem sed-

ulously to eschew. And yet that man may

have been within the limits of the United

States but little more than half the time

with the political rights of a citizen of

South Carolina. The effect of citizenship

is to remove alienage; and when a man

once becomes a citizen of a sovereign State

of this Union, his right is as perfect, under

I have assumed, and it seems to me upon

ted. Not by the States, each acting in its sovereign character; for if all the States, er of that State. save one, were to adopt the principles of the party, that State would be constrained, by the most cogent of reasons, to refuse to adopt them. These reasons are to be found in the value of population, and in the po litical power of numbers. The younger sword before they would submit to have their growth and political power checked by a restraint upon immigration. They want the foreigner to fell their forests and to swell the number of their representatives. If every State in the Union were to prohibit immigration but Wisconsin, the effect would be to make her, in a very short time, the Empire State. Wisconsin, with the population of New York, would have the same political power, and the two, by combining with Pennsylvania, or Ohio, could and would rule the Government. You surely have not forgotten the Albany regency. It is true that the Constitution of the United nancing the enemies of our friends, but this States reads that the "Rules of Naturali- cious and debased. zation shall be uniform in all the States;" but it is clear that the political right to vote

the single issue of Native Americanism.

The institution of negro slavery protects us from the evils attributed to the foreign population. The States of the North, by manumission-by incessant and hypocritical cant about the horrors and degradation of slavery-by their greater wealth, which they have filched from the pockets of Southern planters by means of protective tarlitical power of numbers, and which has caused them to hold out inducements of have succeeded in diverting the tide of immigration from the slave to the free nerequired by our State law to invest him gro States. They are now reaping the fruits of the seed sown by themselves; and that it is bitter fruit, occasions me no manner of distress. Our policy is to view this Kilkenny cat fight in serene silence and com-

migrant and the Catholic had much to do I have assumed, and it seems to me upon tenable grounds, that the Western States have passed the meridian of life, will live to will never consent to a further restraint upon immigration; and it is evident that the away when the Abolitonist is held off from his prey only by the veto of a President. The connection of the foreigner is not so perceptible or available; yet he indirectly exerts a salutary influence upon it with

clude him from every right and privilege of religion, will be as great, (I think greater,) the conservative portion of the Northern on American citizen. What has produced if they are congregated in one or a few people. There is in every society, save that so extraordinary and rapid a change of so- States, as if diffused through all the States. Nor could the Know Nothing Order legally If I was in conversation, at this point I disqualify the Catholic foreigner, who had ply to the Southern division of the Order, from voting for or holding of Federal office, because of the split at Philadelphia, which if he chose to remove into this State, and was solely on account of slavery, and when had complied with the requisitions of the law as it now stands, because of another tion. And this would be a mistake. The provision of the Federal Constitution, which Order is still a national organization, as the enjoins that "no religious test shall ever be next election of a President will develope; required as a qualification to any office or

This plan, then, is utterly insufficient for man-particularly if the election is thrown the purposes of the Know Nothings; and the other-by the action of Congresstemptations of office would be more difficult strikes me as even less effectual, as I shall next proceed to show. The remedy by zation, for its members both North and South | Congress implies the right of Congress to determine who is, and who is not, a citizen of a State. That Congress, with the consent of three-fourths of the States, may expunge the clause of the Constitution which refers to religious faith, or to the privileges of the citizens of the States, is admitted. But has Congress the right now, or will they ever have the right, to grant or refuse the privilege of voting to the citizens of a sovereign State? If they have, then the days of liberty, and the happiness of the people of the Southern States, are few and bitter. Will the Know Nothings admit? will they dare to establish this principle? And if they do, how long will it be before an Abolition majority, in pursuance of the precedent, will declare that your negro slave is a citizen, and will authorize him to vote at your elections? And what then becomes of our favorite doctrines of State Rights and State Sovereignty? My conviction is, that the right to vote is derivable from the sovereign power of the State, and tends that this can be legally done but in that the concession of the right to Contwo ways-by the action of Congress, or gress is fatal to Southern liberty. Congress by the people of the separate States. Should may prohibit foreigners from entering the the Order have the requisite majority to ef- territory of the United States, for it is their peculiar province to regulate our foreign intercourse; but when a foreigner is once located in a State, with a view to remain whatever of political privilege he is to enjoy must be derived from the sovereign pow-

For the sake of argument, let us suppose that Congress had this power, and that at the next session they should pass a law withholding all political rights in future from men of foreign birth; what would be its effect? An intelligent and accomplished gentleman, like John Mitchel, (who has embalmed himself in my affections by sighing for a plantation and negroes in Alabama,) would indeed avoid a country which denied him the most valued and yet the most ordinary right of a free citizen; but how would it be with the poor and the famished, who come to our shores for bread i with the restless and intractable? or with the criminal and fugitive, who swell the tide of immigration? What care they for political privileges or rights, whose European heritage is ignorance of either? The ope ration of such a law would be to exclude all the intelligent and good of every clime, and to leave the door wide open to the vi-

The Order has gone too far, or not far enough. Too far in provoking the hostility of the immigrant population, with out achieving an equivalent benefit; and not far enough for their purposes, which can only be attained by the absolute prohibition of immigration. A feeble blow recoils and brings injury with its return; a vigorous one may demolish or correct. In common with many of my fellow citizens, I experi ence some discontent because of the influence and impudence exerted and displayed by a few men who have become Americans by a sort of hot-house process; yet 1 will not disguise my belief that we of the South have but little interest or concern in

iffs-by their inordinate desire for the poemployment and heretofore higher wagesposed equanimity. If we don't interfere, of this Union, his right is as perieus, and the Federal Constitution, "to all the privileges and immunities of citizens of the several States," as though he had been born on
should refuse to be comforted.

I have said that the President, the im-

in which the institution of slavery obtains, all at once? Their intellectual and moral a natural and unavoidable contest between condition rendered them incapable of turncapital and labor; or, which is virtually the ing such an advantage to their own benefit same, between property and persons. In and that of society; in their debasement, would be told that my remarks do not ap- been legally naturalized in a different State, the States where there are no slaves this urged on by their hatred, and the desire of Know Nothing movement as a humbug, natural struggle developes itself in riots, vengance, which ill-treatment had excited house-burnings, blood-shed and murder, in their minds, they would have repeated, Except in its calamitons consequence of The influx of foreigners (estimated to be on a large scale, the bloody scenes with producing division among the people of the annually about a half million, the most of which they had already, in former times, whom are laborers) aggravates this contest stained the pages of history. And what to such a degree that upon the immigrant is then would have happened? Society, thus erroneously charged evils which are natural endangered, would have been put on its to their condition of society. At the North guard against principles favoring liberty; the low price of labor, (which is incident to every commercial pressure-which pres- with prejudice and suspicion, and the chains we will stand to our arms." ares at intervals of about ten years per- of servitude, instead of being loosened, future exist but two great parties in the vade our entire country, because of an in- would have been the more firmly riveted. flated currency, provoking wild speculation,) Out of this immense mass of rule, savage slavery parties. All others will be ephemis by false philosophy attributed solely to the men, set at liberty without preparation, it eral. If we are united, we are safe; if we heavy foreign population, and the conse- was impossible for social organization to quence is that collisions and riots are of arise, for social organization is not the creadmost daily occurrence; which endanger tion of a moment, especially with such elelife and property. Now, while they are in ments as these; and in this case, since it turmoil, strife and confusion, we are living would have been necessary to choose ben quietude and peace. These facts must tween slavery and the anihilation of social ave an influence upon public opinion; for order, the instinct of preservation, which their thinking men will not be long at fault animates society as well as all beings, would in discovering the cause of this difference of undoubtedly have brought about a contincondition to be the conservatism of negro slavery, nor will their capitalists be long in de- re-establishment where it had been destroyed. ermining where to make their investments Happily the Catholic Church was wiser

rith the greatest security. You will readily appreciate the value of upon humanity the benefit of emancipation he connection of the Catholic with slavery, without injustice or revolution. She knew when I recall to your remembrance the how to regenerate society, but not by rivers very striking historical fact that every slave of blood. State which has been added to the Confederacy, and formed out of territory acquired marks were made inteference to white slaves nince the Revolution, was originally Catho- captured in war-to slavery as it existed lic territory. Louisiana, Arkansas and Mis- at the time when the master had the right souri were acquired from Catholic France; of life and death our his slave, which right Florida was purchased from Catholic Spain; was exercised by Quintus Flaminius, who and Texas was stolen, through the instrumentality of Sam Houston, from Catholic when Venius Pomo threw one of his to Mexico. If all these States are not now the fishes, because he broke a tumbler; Catholic in religion, it only shows that the when the Sparfause a stampede assembled ect is not so dangerous as it is represented. all of theirs, at the temple of Jupiter, and the hands of these men, who are the heads At the proper time, and in the proper way put them to death, when, at Rome, should and leading spirits of the Order, even in of getting it, we of the South will want, a master be assassized, every slave that he the slaveholding South? The same in and must have, and will have, Cuba. Now, had, the innocent at the guilty, had to die, stance of the Order having taken root for if the doctrines of the Know Nothings pre-is the doctrines of the Know Nothings pre-vail, she herself would scorn an alliance four hundred of hislayes were executed. the North. Our friends who, like Toucer the considerations of which would be the ex- Let it be rememberealso that the influences and the younger Dodge, have fallen before the considerations of which would be the ex-change of the most valuable territory of its size in the habitable world on the one hand, for miserable and contemptible rear-hand, for miserable and contemptible rearvassalage on the other.

When we reflect upon the character of our Government-observe its continuous expansion in the cold regions of the North -remember that the admission of every new State adds instantly two votes in the Senate and one in the House to the majority already against us-when we consider the fact that natural laws will prevent the expansion of our institutions everywhere throughout our domain, save in Texas and in Kansas, and that the Territories of Oregon, Washington, Nebraska, Utah and Minnesota are rapidly growing into States, the nesota are rapidly growing into States, the ultimate acquisition of Cuba is presented to us as an imperative political necessity. Cuba would not altogether restore and perpetuate the political power between the two sections: but I desire to direct your attenion to this point: that if the principles of the Know Nothing Order prevail, it then serve for it? and progress, until the becomes absolutely impossible that the equilibrium can ever be restored; for we and our institutions can expand but in one direction, and that is in the Catholic direction. Are the people of the South willing to live forever at the mercy of a majority which is daily and hourly increasing in strength and fanaticism? Better, far better, would it be for us and our children, to give to every Catholic upon earth a homestead, and stock it with negroes, at our own expense. In "ploughman's phrase," the Northen fanatic has the long end of the single-tree, and if we turn our backs upon the Catholic, the Freesoiler will keep it forever. With ample power in his hand, and lawless fanaticism in his heart, what injustice, what insult, what injury, will-he not inflict upon us?

I have never yet seen a Catholic Abolitionst, and of the three thousand preachers of reigion who insulted the Senate by an impertinent protest against the Nebraska bill, not one was a Catholic. I have never read or heard of an anti-slavery sermon written by a Catholic priest in America, and it is my deiberate judgment that Northern hostility to Catholicism is hostility to slavery. I have observed that the Know Nothing presses ask, with much earnestness and apparent purpose, "if any Catholio priest was ever known to take the oath of allegiance, or to vote, in America?" Admitting that they bave not, I can see no great significance in the fact. Naturalization would confer upon pull down the cany them but two rights which they do not possess without it—the right to hold and de-faith in our republ vise real estate, and the right to voteneither of which does he value. His Church majority of the ped provides him with a home, which is the property of the Church, and supplies all his If the designs of the wants abundantly. His Church is his estate; and in view of his celibacy, any other estate casion is there for, of would be an encumbrance. In his refusal in those States when to vote, he is supported by the habit of many Protestant clergymen, who uniformly secret from itself? decline the ballot-box from an apprehension that even this slight connection with party politics may impair their influence in "the care of souls." The Protestant or Catholic minister who refuses to vote, but conforms to the spirit of our State Constitution, which disqualifies them both for political office because they are "they had a property of the both of the care of th litical office, because they are, "by their pro-fession, dedicated to the service of God."

I leave the religious faith of the Catholic to his Maker and himself. Wisdom and her twin, humility, suggest that, while we it has undertaken. I avoid his faults, we should imitate his virtues, and not be thanking God at the marthe Order will continue ket that "we are not as other men are."
JAMES BALMES, a Catalonian priest, high in authority with his Church, and an eman-cipationist, when defending his sect, before the Abolition jury of Europe, against the charge preferred by M. Gausor, that the Catholic Church had consented to the con-tinuance of alayary, gave utforance to the following language:

"In a colony where black slaves abound, that not a single Democrat in position, uation of slavery where it still existed, and its than philosophers; she knew how to confer

Let it be borne in mind that these reslew his slave in the midst of a festival; a master be assassized, every slave that he ings HALE and Wox, upon an institu-tion uncondemned Christ, and a bles-

Sing to the negrot But the political elations which the me ask, has the ne weakest denomina-tion that the same! is not held in reivn to the two largest much force to the Southern mind is, that in the struggle for the immigrant population come to our contest is narrow denominations, supremacy, chartyd forgiveness shall country prejudiced against the institution give place to vio religion of our S the sword? whe of the pious deed christian armies, might sing, at th doxological parody, lature. se of some eventful

"Now God be pro theran has to Methodist has cried the day is ours: Lu-is rein; arter; the Episcopa-

lian is slain; as we looke And And good Coligny'
his blood;
And then we tho along our va

man to man. And in rememberi second St. Bartho

massacre, may not men, transported b of distempered min get that it is written, "Vengeance is saith the Lord" Bear with me time upon the secret feature of thi Order-a feature which they profes ave abandoned .-That it was origina no one can truthfu eret organization by. Now, in the name of all that is what more does any man know of der at this moment than he did l ne veil of secresy show-men, they er the monkeys have been seen. d that all political power is derived the people. A State are the political action. w Nothings are hodox, what ocriety in, secres? party is in the arty is in a minority, and endeavor ecret combina the majority, ruption of pubtheir efforts must wor lic morals, and are log and factious. Public ential to the purity of a representa rernment, and libutes of desarcana imperii are t potism. I have so far treat

repeat that it omplish what faith in the believe that ist after the The repeated make at the rery best for f WASHINGnext Presidential elec thrusts which their Administration, th thus far since no the Democrat ever had,)

who would venture to set them at liberty North or South, unless he is an Abolitionist, is connected with the Order, speaks volumes in support of this opinion.

Was I here to conclude, you would be warranted in supposing that I regard the which can do us neither good or harm .-South, I do so regard it. But in that aspect it is formidable in the extreme. We of the South have no politics but the negro; and upon this ouestion the language of the glorious old Trour should be the language henceforth it would have regarded them of the South-"The argument is exhausted, Union-the Pro-slavery and the Antisplit up into subdivisions, on any question, Party divisions have heretofore been our

curse, and now, for the first time in half a century, when there was a bright prospect of unanimity; when the pleadings wefer made up and issue joined between the North and the South on the only question which can dissolve the Government-the great question whether the slave States are, as equals, to remain in the Union, or, as equals, to destroy it; this hybrid of Whiggery and Abolition interposes to east us, and squeaks out, in plaintive notes, that "the Union is the paramount political good?" This sentiment will surprise no man, when he is informed that Mr. BARTLETT, of Kentucky, the President of the Southern branch of the Order, avowed his hostility to the Nebraska bill, (which simply restored to he South her lost rights in the common territory,) as also did Mr. PILCHER of the same State, Mr. BROWN of Tennessee, Mr. HOUGHTON and Mr. KENNETH RAYNER of North Carolina-the latter of whom denounced the bill as "an outrage upon the Will you trust your destinies in the slaveholding South? The very circumferred, and not to the sense assaults upon a sacred Constitution compact. How mild aged, when they find Southern men affiliating with their enemies. But worse than this, every Know Nothing victory at the South will be claimed at the North as an Abolition victory. The Abolition teachers tell the people of the North that there is a strong and compared with the of the Abolition wind the people of the North that there is a strong and the South. strong anti-slavery feeling at the South with the poorer white population, and say it is because they are jealous of the competition of the negro. They then reason Catholic does or imbear to the people I in this way: "You know what Know have the honor of resent, it has become my duty to disc saAnd if in this land, is the same everywhere." And thus men is the same everywhere. And thus men are converted into active partizans against are converted into active partizans against an institution which if they heliaved was

> and wrath, and the of slavery; that they hasten the settlement to the scourge of and admission of new States, and thus inhe devout chronicler crease the political power of the Freesoil one of these most and Abolition party in the National Legis-It is but just and fair to admit that the prejudices of the European immigrant are generally averse to slavery; but there is a

than themselves, would at least be quiet.

The only argument of the Know Noth-

ings South which addresses itself with

eply to this specious argument which counterbalances its force, and invites as grave consideration as any aspect in which I have

I think I have shown that the Know Nothing organization, even if it could effect an extension of the probationary period now required before naturalization, would not prevent immigration. The tide would continue to flow into the free States, where the Abolition party is now predominant. In whatever State ninety-two thousand of these immigrants may locate, to that State will be secured an additional Representative in Congress. Observe the third clause of the second section first article of the Constitution, which is as follows: "Representatives and direct taxes shall be ap-portioned among the several States which may be included within this Union according to their respective numbers, which shall be determined by adding to the whole number of free persons, including those bound to service for a term of years, and excluding Indians not taxed, three-fifths of all other persons." The immigrant being ineligible to office, could give us neither benefit or aid, let his sympathy be ever so strongly with us or in behalf of our institutions. Having no voice in the elections, they would be represented by a native Abolitionist: and thus the result will be to augment the power of a party which is deadly hostile to us, and to make that power more availably dangerous by concentrating it into the hands of a few of their ablest, and therefore most formidable, men.

I have addressed you earnestly, and I hope convincingly. I regret that some of my friends have departed from the true State Rights Democratic faith, but I will be mortified if they continue in error. I know they are sincere, but I believe they are de-luded. I believe that many of the Order are patriotic, but I know that the Order itself is dangerous; and I also know that its characteristics have heretofore been intolerance of opinion as well as of religion. As I believe, so have I written; and if (as it may be that) I too am to fall before this modern inquisition, which no man knows when or where he encounters, I shall have the satisfaction to feel better contented in retirement, with my principles, than to be re-elected for life as the representative of

the principles of the Know Nothing Order. Respectfully goar obedient servant. P. S. BROOKS. Leaside, Aug. 2, 1855.