



HENRY CLAY.

THE
LIFE AND PUBLIC SERVICE
OF
HENRY CLAY,

DOWN TO 1848.

BY EPES SARGENT.

EDITED AND COMPLETED AT MR. CLAY'S DEATH

By HORACE GRIELEY.



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INTRODUCTION.

Several sketches, more or less elaborate, of the Character and Career of HENRY CLAY, appeared during his life-time, either prefixed to collections of his Speeches; though one independent Memoir, of decided merit, was written more than twenty years since by GEORGE D. PIERCE, Editor of the *Louisville Journal*, and then widely disseminated. That, however, has long been out of print, while the more eventful and memorable half of Mr. Clay's biography was yet in the future when Mr. Prentiss writes. And I have reason to believe that Mr. Clay himself gave the preference, among all the narratives of his life which had fallen under his notice, to that of FRED NARRING, first issued in 1842, and republished, with its author's revisions and additions, in the summer of 1849.

The aim of Mr. Sargent was not so much to impart his own conception of Mr. Clay's views and motives as to enable every reader to infer them directly from the Statesman's own words, or those of his illustrious contemporaries—whether compatriots or rivals. His work, therefore, is rather a collection of authentic materials for the future biographer than an original and exhaustive essay. For the time had not arrived—nay, has not yet arrived—for a final and authoritative analysis of Mr. Clay's character, nor for a conclusive estimate of the nature, value, tendencies

and results of his public measures. We Americans nearly all of us who read or think, with many who — are the heated partisans or embittered opponents of with him or against him, idolizing or detesting, who struggled through all the past decades of our manhood been our demigod or demon through the last quarter century, while many of us date our admiration or our hatred to the year 1812. If, then, we can but preserve and present the facts essential to a just estimate of Mr. Clay, we may very properly remit to the next generation the duty of analyzing these facts, and determining what man was the Orator of Ashland whose voice once wielded listening Senates, and whose weaponless mightier than the truncheon of generals, or the march of monarchs. It is at least the duty of his surviving friends that he be not misrepresented to and undervalued, not only because the facts essential to his true appreciation are seasonably collected and fully set forth.

This, then, is the aim and end of the work herewith — a candid presentation of the facts essential to a just estimate of Mr. Clay's Life and Public Services, from the point of view whence they were regarded by his devoted, unselfish friends and friends. If he has been over-estimated, if the Public Policy which he so long and ably advocated be found unsound, time will so determine. Should the verdict be — as I think it can not — adverse to his eminent Services, it need not therefore blast his reputation. That he was a sincere and ardent Patriot, an earnest and untiring Philanthropist, a beloved Husband and Father, and just Neighbor, a chivalrous Adversary, and an intimate Friend — these are no longer doubtful. So much, secure from the venom of calumny and the accidents of time. Let some future Plutarch or Thucydides fix and record the world's ultimate verdict on the American System and its progress, but we, who knew and loved him well, may more vividly, even though awkwardly and feebly, depict his life and felt, how spoke and acted, how lived and loved Henry Clay.

The Editor, in revising the work of Mr. Sargent, has taken the responsibility of omitting or modifying some passages which involved harsh judgments of those Political brethren who, at one time or another, have seen fit to prefer some other Whig to Mr. Clay as a candidate for the Presidency. He did not perceive that those judgments bore any proper relation to Mr. Clay's character or career, while their reproduction would tend to revive facts and heart-lacerating news happily laid to rest. That Mr. Clay might have been elected President in 1840, had he been nominated by the Harrisburg Convention, may very readily be affirmed at this time, by men who had ample reason to doubt it at the gloomy close of the Election of 1839. It was far easier to demonstrate, not in that year only, that Mr. Clay deserved to be President than that he would be a successful candidate. And there is nothing in this which, rightly considered, proves Whig principles obnoxious or Mr. Clay unpopular. Among the Three Million Voters of our Republic, a majority in favor of every feature in a comprehensive, affirmative, positive, vigorous system of Public Policy, can rarely be expected. One who assents to the general outline will object to this detail, another to that, and so on; while a great many decline fatiguing their brains with any thorough study or investigation, but jump at the conclusion that the truth lies somewhere between the contending parties, and probably about half way. Thus the expander, the champion, the 'embodiment' of either party founded on great principles of public policy and logical in their adherence thereto, is almost certain to bear the votes of the great body of twaddlers, fence-men, and others who split the difference between the contending hosts, though his imagination has evoked the predominant enthusiasm, and been hailed with unbroken acclamation. Let those who still marvel that Mr. Clay, while so popular a man, was not a successful candidate, consider what would have been the chance of Mr. Calhoun's election, had that eminent Statesman been nominated against his great antagonist in 1844, or indeed at any time. He would not have received one-fourth of the Electoral Votes; and yet Mr. Calhoun was the truest and ablest exponent the Country has known of the Political creed antagonistic to that of Mr. Clay.

With regard to the important questions which have more recently agitated the Republic, especially those relating to or involved in the Compromise, the Editor has endeavored to place them fairly and clearly before the reader, so far at least, as was deemed necessary to a thorough understanding of Mr. Clay's course. If, in the absence of authentic and the hosts of perpetration, injustice has been done to any one, or any important fact has been overlooked, he solicits corrections, and will be happy to embody them in the Life.

One point may as well be here noted. It has recently been stated with confidence, by one who has in this case no reasonable motive for falsehood, that Mr. Clay was actually born in 1775, and so was two years older than he has hitherto been, and in the body of this work still is, represented. Impossible as this story would seem, it is not utterly devoid of credulity. Should investigation establish its correctness, it will of course be readily conformed to in future editions of this work, should such be demanded.

And thus inviting correction, but by no means deprecating unflinchingly criticism,—conscious that haste and a complication of engrossing duties have marred the execution of his work, but confident that the illustrious subject will nevertheless be found faithfully and clearly depicted in this volume, the Editor closes his task and solicits for its performance only that it be tried by the standard of its own modest aims, rather than by that of the critic's presumption of what its aim should have been.

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LIFE

OF

HENRY CLAY.

I.

HIS YOUTH AND EARLY MANHOOD.

HENRY CLAY is a native of Hanover county, Virginia. He was born on the 12th of April, 1777, in a district of country familiarly known in the neighborhood as the *Slacks*. His father, a Baptist clergyman, died during the revolutionary war, bequeathing a small and much-embarrassed estate and seven children, of whom Henry was the fifth, to the care of an affectionate mother. The surviving parent did not possess the means to give her sons a classical education; and the subject of our memoir received no other instruction than such as could be obtained in the log-cabin school-houses, still common in the lower parts of Virginia, of which spelling, reading, writing, and arithmetic, are taught.

In 1793, his mother, who had become united, in a second marriage, with Mr. Henry Watkins, removed to Woodford county, Kentucky, taking all her children, with the exception of Henry and his oldest brother. It was always a subject of regret with Mr. Clay, that he was deprived at so early an age of his mother's counsel, conversation, and care. She was a woman of great strength of mind, and was tenderly attached to her children.

He had been only five years old when he lost his father, and, consequently, his circumstances in early life, if not actually indigent, were such as to subject him frequently to hard manual labor. He has ploughed in cornfields, mow'd a summer-day

withed shoes, and with no other clothes on than a pair of Pennsylvania trousers, and a coarse shirt. He has often gone to mill with grain to be ground into meal or flour; and there are those who remember his youthful visits to Mrs. Dorrison's mill, on the Passunkay river. On such occasions he generally rode a horse without a saddle, while a rope supplied the place of a bridle. But in the absence of a more splendid equipment, a bag containing three or four bushels of wheat or corn was generally thrown across the horse's back, mounted upon which the future statesman would go to mill, get the grain ground, and return with it home.

At the age of fourteen, he was placed in a small retail store, kept by Mr. Richard Denny, near the market-house in the city of Richmond. He remained here till the next year (1797), when he was transferred to the office of the clerk of the high court of chancery, Mr. Peter Tinsley. There he became acquainted with the venerable Chancellor Wythe, attracted his friendly attention, and enjoyed the benefit of his instruction and conversation. The chancellor being unable to write well, in consequence of the gut or rheumatism in his right hand, he thought himself of employing his young friend as an amanuensis. This was a fortunate circumstance for the fatherless boy. His attention was thus called to the structure of sentences, and a taste for the study of grammar was created which was noticed and encouraged by the chancellor, upon whose recommendation he read Harris's *Humanities*, Truhot's *Diversions of Parley*, Bishop Lowth's *Grammar*, and other similar works.

For his handwriting, which is still remarkably neat and regular, Mr. Clay was chiefly indebted to Mr. Tinsley. Chancellor Wythe was devoted to the study of Greek. He was at one time occupied in preparing reports of his decisions, and commenting upon those of the court of appeals, by which some of his were reversed; and in this work he was assisted by his amanuensis. After the reports were published, he sent copies to Mr. Jefferson, John Adams, Samuel Adams, and others. In these copies he employed Henry Clay to copy particular passages from Greek authors, to whom references had been made. Not under stand-

ing a single Greek character, the young copyist had to transcribe by imitation letter after letter.

Leaving the office of Mr. Finley the latter part of 1796, he went to reside with the late Robert Brooke, Esq., the attorney-general, formerly governor of Virginia. His only regular study of the law was during the year 1797, that he lived with Mr. Brooke; but it was impossible that he should not, in the daily scenes he witnessed, and in the presence of the eminent men whom he so often heard and saw, be in the way of gathering much valuable legal information. During his residence of six or seven years in Richmond, he became acquainted with all or most of the eminent Virginians of the period, who lived in that city, or were in the habit of resorting to it -- with Edmund Pendleton, Spencer Roane, Chief-Justice Marshall, Hughson Washington, Wickham, Call, Copeland, &c. On two occasions, he had the good fortune to hear Patrick Henry -- once, before the circuit court of the United States for the Virginia district, on the question of the payment of the British debt; and again before the house of delegates of Virginia, on the claim of the supernumerary officers in the service of the state during the revolutionary war. Mr. Clay remembers that remarkable man, his appearance and his manner, distinctly. The impression of his eloquent powers remaining on his mind is, that their charm consisted mainly in one of the finest voices ever heard, in his graceful gesticulation, and the vivacity and force of expression which he exhibited in his face.

Henry Clay quitted Richmond in November, 1797, his eldest brother having died while he yet resided in that city. Having a license from the judges of the Virginia court of appeals to practise law, he established himself in Lexington, Kentucky. He was without patrons, without the countenance of influential friends, and destitute of the means of paying his worldly board. "I remember," says he, in his speech of June, 1812, at Lexington, "how comfortable I thought I should be, if I could make £1000 Virginia money per year; and with what delight I received the first fifteen-dollar fee. My hopes were more than realized. I immediately rushed into a lucrative practice."

Before assuming the active responsibilities of his profession

he devoted himself with assiduity several months to his legal studies. Even at that period the bar of Lexington was eminent for its ability. Among its members were George Nicholas, James Hughes, John Breckenridge, James Brown, William Murray, and others, whose reputation was sufficient to discourage the most stout-hearted competition. But true genius is rarely accompanied by a consciousness of its power; and the friendless and unknown youth from Virginia fearlessly entered the field, which, in a less intrepid spirit, would have seemed pre-occupied. He soon commanded consideration and respect. He was familiar with the technicalities of practice; and early habits of business and application, enabled him to afford an easy mastery of the cases intrusted to his charge. His subtle appreciation of character, knowledge of human nature, and faculties of persuasion, rendered him peculiarly successful in his appeals to a jury; and he obtained great celebrity for his adroit and careful management of criminal cases.

An anecdote is related of him about the time of his first entrance upon his profession, which shows that, notwithstanding his fine capacities, he had some native diffidence to overcome before they were fairly tested. He had joined a debating society, and at one of the meetings the vote was about to be taken upon the question under discussion, when he remarked in a low but audible whisper, that the subject did not appear to him to *have been exhausted*.

"Do not put the question yet—Mr. Clay will speak," exclaimed a member, who had overheard the half-hesitating remark.

The chairman instantly took the hint, and asked to the young lawyer in token of his readiness to hear what he had to say. With every indication of extreme embarrassment, he rose, and in his confusion, began by saying: "*Gentlemen of the jury*"—unconsciously addressing his fellow-members as the tribunal, to which he had perhaps often made imaginary appeals in his dreams of a successful debate at the bar. His audience did not add to his agitation by seeming to notice it, and, after stammering and blushing for a moment or two, and stammering out a repetition of the words, "*Gentlemen of the jury*," he suddenly shook off all

signs of distrust and timidity, and launched into his subject with a promptitude and propriety of observation, which excited general surprise.

To those familiar with the perfect self-possession of Mr. Clay's manner in after-life upon all occasions, the most trying and unexpected, this instance will present an amusing contrast, for the evidence is not on record of his ever having failed for so an instant in his resources of repartee or of argument in debate.

Shortly after this early essay in public speaking, he was admitted as a practitioner before the Fayette court of quarter sessions, a court of general jurisdiction. Business soon poured in upon him, and during the first term he had a handsome practice. His manners and address, both in personal intercourse and before a jury, were unusually captivating. Frank in avowing his sentiments, and bold and consistent in maintaining them, he laid the foundation of a character for sincerity and honor, which amid all the shocks of political changes and the vicissitudes of partisan warfare, has never been shaken or tainted. In the possession of these attributes, beyond the reach of censure or of question, it is to be found the secret of that indelible attachment among the vast body of his friends, which has followed him throughout his career.

One of the most important cases, in which Mr. Clay was engaged during the first three or four years of his professional life, was that in which he was employed to defend a Mrs. Phelps, indicted for murder. This woman was the wife of a respectable farmer, and until the time of the act for which she was arraigned, had led a blameless and correct life. One day, in her own house, taking some offence at a Miss Phelps, her sister-in-law, she levelled a gun, and shot her through the heart. The poor girl had only time to exclaim, "Sister, you have killed me!" and expired. Great interest was excited in the case, and the court was crowded to overflowing on the day of trial. Of the facts of the homicide there could be no doubt. It was contested by the presence of witnesses, and the only question was to what class of crimes did the offence belong. If it were pronounced murder in the first degree, the life of the wretched prisoner would be the forfeit; but, if manslaughter, she would be punished merely by

confinement in the jail or penitentiary. The legal contest was long and able. The efforts of the counsel for the prosecution were strenuous and earnest; but Mr. Clay succeeded in not only saving the life of his client, but so moved the jury in her behalf by his eloquence, that her punishment was made as light as the law would allow. He gained much distinction by the ability he displayed in this case, and thenceforth it was considered a great object to enlist his assistance in all criminal pursuits on the part of the defendant. It is a singular fact, that in the course of a very extensive practice in the courts of criminal jurisprudence, and in the defence of a large number of individuals arraigned for capital offences, he never had one of his clients sentenced to death.

Another case, in which he acquired scarcely less celebrity, was shortly afterward tried in Harrison county. Two Germans, father and son, had been indicted for murder. The deed of killing was proved to the entire satisfaction of the court, and was considered an aggravated murder. Mr. Clay's efforts were therefore directed to saving their lives. The trial occupied five days, and his closing appeal to the jury was of the most stirring and pathetic description. It proved irresistible, for they returned a verdict of manslaughter. Not satisfied with this signal triumph, he moved an arrest of judgment, and, after another day's contest, prevailed in this also. The consequence was, that the prisoners were discharged without even the punishment of the crime, of which the jury had found them guilty.

An amusing incident occurred at the conclusion of this trial. An old, withered, ill-favored German woman, who was the wife of the elder prisoner, and the mother of the younger, on being informed of the success of the final motion for an arrest of judgment, and the consequent acquittal of her husband and son, ran toward the young advocate, in the excess of her gratitude and joy, and throwing her arms about his neck, kissed him in the eyes of the crowded court. Although taken wholly by surprise, and hardly flustered by blandishments from such a source, young Clay acquitted himself upon the occasion, with a grace and good humor, which won him new applause from the spectators. All great emotions claim respect; and in this instance so far did the

sympathies of the audience go with the old woman as to direct of ridicule an act, which, in the capital, may seem to have partaken principally of the hallicious.

Notwithstanding his extraordinary success in all the criminal suits intrusted to him, the abilities displayed by Mr. Clay at this period in civil cases were no less brilliant and triumphant. In suits growing out of the land laws of Virginia and Kentucky, he was especially distinguished; rapidly acquiring wealth and popularity by his practice. It is related of him, that on one occasion, in conjunction with another attorney, he was employed to argue, in the Psyche circuit court, a question of great difficulty—one in which the interests of the litigant parties were deeply involved. At the opening of the court, something occurred to call him away, and the whole management of the case devolved on his associate counsel. Two days were spent in discussing the points of law, which were to govern the instructions of the court to the jury, and on all of these points, Mr. Clay's colleague was foiled, by his antagonist. At the end of the second day, Mr. Clay re-entered the court. He had not heard a word of the testimony, and knew nothing of the course which the discussion had taken, but, after holding a very short consultation with his colleague, he drew up a statement of the form in which he wished the instructions of the court to be given to the jury, and accompanied his petition with a few observations, so entirely novel and satisfactory, that it was granted without the least hesitation. A corresponding verdict was instantly returned; and thus the case, which had been on the point of being decided against Mr. Clay's client resulted in his favor in less than half an hour after the young lawyer had entered the courthouse.

For an enumeration of the various cases in which Mr. Clay was about this time engaged, and in which his success was so marked as his talents were obvious, we must refer the reader to the records, of the courts of Kentucky, and to ten to exhibit the subject of our memoir on that more extended field, where his history began to be interwoven with the history of his country, and a who he nation hailed him as a champion worthy of the best days of the republic.

As early as 1797, when the people of Kentucky were about

electing a convention to form a new constitution for that state Mr. Clay may be said to have commenced his political career. His first efforts were made on behalf of human liberty, and at the risk of losing that breeze of popular favor, which was wafting on his bark bravely toward the haven of worldly prosperity and renown.

The most important feature in the plan for a new constitution submitted to the people of Kentucky, was a provision for the prospective eradication of slavery from the state by means of a gradual emancipation of those held in bondage. Against this proposed tremendous entry was at once raised. It was not to be questioned that the voice of the majority was vehemently opposed to it. But young Clay did not hesitate as to his course. In that spirit of self-sacrifice, which he has since displayed on so many occasions, in great public emergencies, without stopping to reckon the disadvantages to himself, he boldly arrayed himself on the side of those friendly to emancipation. In the canvass, which preceded the election of members of the convention, he exerted himself with all the energy of his nature in behalf of that cause, which he believed to be the cause of truth and justice. With his voice and pen he actively labored to promote the choice of delegates who were pledged to its support. He failed in the fulfilment of his philanthropic intentions, and incurred temporary unpopularity by his course. Time, however, is daily making more apparent the wisdom of his conduct.

Mr. Clay has not faltered in his views upon this great question. They are now what they were in 1797. In maintaining the policy of this scheme of gradual emancipation he has ever been fearless and consistent. Let it not be imagined, however, that he has any sympathy with that incendiary spirit which would seem to actuate some of the clamors for immediate and unconditional abolition at the present time. His views were far-sighted, statesman-like, and sagacious. He looked to the general good, not merely of his contemporaries but of posterity; and his plan stretched beyond the embarrassments of the present hour into the future. A more just, practical, and beneficent scheme than his, for the accomplishment of a consummation so devoutly to be wished by humanity at large, could not have been devised.

It resembled that adopted in Pennsylvania in the year 1780 at the instance of Dr. Franklin, according to which, the generation then being worn to remain in bondage, but all their offspring, born after a specified day, were to be free at the age of twenty-eight, and, in the meantime, were to receive preparatory instruction to qualify them for the enjoyment of freedom. Mr. Clay thought with many others, that, as the slave states had severally the right to judge, every one exclusively for itself, in respect to the institution of domestic slavery, the proportion of slaves to the white population in Kentucky at that time was so inconsiderable, that a system of gradual emancipation might have been adopted without any hazard to the security and interests of the commonwealth.

Recently a charge was made by the principal opposition paper at the south, that Mr. Clay had joined the abolitionists; and the ground of the charge was the avowal that he had written a letter to Mr. Giddings, of Ohio, approving the leading views of that party. Upon inquiry, it appeared, however, that the letter was written by Cassius M. Clay, a namesake. In noticing the erroneous statement, Mr. Clay remarked, in a letter to a friend: "I do not write letters for different brands. I have but one heart, and one mind; and all my letters are but copies of the original, and if genuine, will be found to conform to it wherever they may be addressed."

Would that every candidate for the presidency might say this with equal sincerity and truth!

Notwithstanding the failure of his exertions in arresting the continuance of negro servitude in Kentucky, Mr. Clay has never shrunk from the avowal of his sentiments upon the subject, nor from their practical manifestations in his professional and political career. For several years, whenever a slave brought an action at law for his liberty, Mr. Clay volunteered as his advocate; and he always succeeded in obtaining a decision in the slave's favor. Opposition in every shape would seem to have roused the most ardent sympathies of his soul, and to have excited his indignant eloquence in behalf of its unprotected object. The impulses, which urged him at this early day to take the part of the domestic bondsmen of his own state, were the same with those

by which he was instigated, when the questions of recognizing South American and Grecian independences were presented to the consideration of a tardy and calculating Congress.

During the administration of John Adams, 1798-'00, the famous alien and sedition laws were passed. The popular opposition with which these extraordinary measures were received, is still vividly remembered in the United States. By the "alien law," the president was authorized to order any alien, whom "he should judge dangerous to the peace and safety" of the country, "to depart out of the territory within such time" as he should judge proper, upon penalty of being "imprisoned for a term not exceeding three years," &c.

The "sedition law" was designed to punish the abuse of speech and of the press. It imposed a heavy pecuniary fine, and imprisonment for a term of years, upon such as should combine or conspire together to oppose any measure of government; upon such as should write, print, utter, publish, &c., "any false, scandalous and malicious writing against the government of the United States or the president," &c.

Mr. Clay stood forth one of the earliest champions of popular rights in opposition to these memorable laws. Kentucky was one of the first states that launched their thunders against them; and though many speakers came forward to give expression to the indignation which was swelling in the public heart, none succeeded so well in striking the responsive chord as our young lawyer. He was soon regarded as the leading spirit of the opposition party; and it was about this time that a title of "The Great Commoner" was bestowed upon him.

A gentleman, who was present at a meeting where these obnoxious laws were discussed, describes the effect produced by Mr. Clay's eloquence as difficult adequately to describe. The populace had assembled in the fields in the vicinity of Lexington, and were first addressed by Mr. George Nicholas, a distinguished man, and a powerful speaker. The speech of Mr. Nicholas was long and eloquent, and he was greeted by the most enthusiastic cheers as he concluded. Clay being called for, promptly appeared and made one of the most extraordinary and impressive harangues ever addressed to a popular assembly. A striking

evidence of its thrilling and effective character, may be found in the fact that when he ceased, *there was no shout—no applause.* So deeply had he interpreted the deep feelings of the multitude, that they forgot the orator in the absorbing questions he had produced. A higher compliment can hardly be conceived. This theme was a glorious one for a young and generous mind, filled with ardor in behalf of human liberty: and he did it potent. The people took Clay and Nicholas upon their shoulders, and forcing them into a carriage, drew them through the streets, amid shouts of applause. What an incident for an orator, which had not yet completed his twenty-second year!

Four years afterward, when Mr. Clay was absent from the county of Fayette, at the Olympian springs, he was brought forward, with out his knowledge or previous consent, as a candidate, and elected to the general assembly of Kentucky. He soon made his influence felt in that body. In 1804, Mr. Felix Grundy, then an obscure and well-known politician, made an attempt in the legislature, to procure the repeal of a law incorporating the Lexington Iron-ore Office. He was opposed at every step by Mr. Clay; and the war of words between the youthful debaters, drew to the hall of the house throngs of spectators. Grundy had managed to secure beforehand a majority in his favor in the house; but the members of the senate flocked in to hear Clay speak, and so eagerly did he present to their understandings the impolicy and unsoundness of the measure under discussion, that they refused to sanction it after it had been passed by the other branch, and a virtual triumph was thus obtained.

It is recorded of Mr. Clay, that, in the course of the legislative session of 1805, he made an effort to procure the removal of the seat of government from Frankfort; and his speech on the subject is said to have been an indelible specimen of eloquence and humor. Frankfort is peculiar in its appearance and situation, being sunk, like a huge pit, below the surrounding country, and surrounded by rough and precipitous ledges. "We were," said Mr. Clay, "the world of an inverted hat; Frankfort is the brim of the hat, and the lands adjacent are the bristles. To change the figure is in nature's great providency; and if the members of

this house would know the bodily condition of the prisoners, let him look at these poor creatures in the gallery."

As he said this, he pointed with his finger to half a dozen figures, that chanced, at that moment, to be moving about in the gallery, more like animated skeletons than respectable companions of flesh and blood. The objects thus designated, seeing the situation of the whole assembly suddenly directed toward them, dodged, with ludicrous haste, behind the railing, and the assembly was thrown into a convulsion of merriment. This *argumentum ad hominem* proved irresistible. The members of the house agreed that it was expedient to remove the seat of government, but it was subsequently found impossible to decide upon a new location, and the legislature continued to hold its sessions at Frankfort.

It was an early resolution of Mr. Clay, that no litigants, rich or poor, should have occasion to say, that for want of counsel they could not obtain justice at every bar where he could appear for them. Col. Joseph Hamilton Daviess, at that time United States district attorney, and a man of influence and distinction, had committed an assault and battery at Frankfort, on Mr. Bush, a respectable citizen, and a tavern-keeper at that place. The bar of Frankfort declined instituting an action for the latter against Col. D. Bush finally appealed to Henry Clay, who promptly undertook the case, and brought the suit in Lexington. In the argument of a preliminary question, Mr. Clay felt it his duty to animadvert with some severity upon the conduct of Col. Daviess, whereupon the latter, after the adjournment of the court, addressed a note to him, remonstrating against his course, and expressing a wish that it should not be persevered in. Mr. Clay immediately replied that he had undertaken the cause of Mr. Bush from a sense of duty; that he should submit to no dictation as to his management of it, which should be according to his own judgment exclusively; but that he should hold himself responsible for whatever he did or said, in or out of court. A challenge ensued; Mr. Clay accepted it, and proceeded to Frankfort for the hostile meeting. There, by the interposition of mutual friends he ~~affair~~ was accommodated in a manner honorable to both parties.

In the autumn of 1806, the celebrated Aaron Burr was arrested in Kentucky, on a charge of being engaged in an illegal warlike enterprise. The sagacity and penetration of that extraordinary man were never more clearly evinced than in his application to Mr. Clay to defend him. Mr. Clay believed, and it was generally believed in Kentucky, that the prosecution was groundless, and was instituted by Col. Daviess, whom we have already mentioned, who was a great admirer of Col. Hamilton, and who disliked Burr, because he had killed Hamilton in a duel, and was, moreover, his opponent in politics. Mr. Clay felt a lively sympathy for Col. Burr, on account of his being arrested in a state distant from his own, on account of his misfortunes, and the distinguished stations he had filled. Still he declined appearing for him, until Burr gave him written assurances that he was engaged in no enterprise forbidden by law, and none that was not known and approved by the cabinet at Washington. On receiving these assurances, Mr. Clay appeared for him; and, thinking that Burr ought not to be dealt with as an ordinary culprit, he declined receiving from him any fee, although a liberal one was tendered.

Burr was acquitted. Mr. Clay shortly after proceeded to Washington, and received from Mr. Jefferson on account of the letter in cipher, which had been written by Burr to General Wilkinson, together with other information of the criminal designs of Burr. Mr. Clay handed the written assurances above mentioned, to Mr. Jefferson at the request of the latter.

On his return from Ghent, Mr. Clay made a brief sojourn in the city of New York, and visited, among other places of interest, the federal court, then in session, conversed by his friend, the late Mr. Smith, then marshal, formerly a senator from New York. On entering the court-room, in the city-hall, the eyes of the bench, bar, officers, and attendants upon the court, were turned upon Mr. C., who was invited to take a seat upon the bench, which he politely declined, and took a position in the bar. Shortly after, a small gentleman, apparently advanced in years, and with wavy, gray hair, whom Mr. Clay for an instant did not recognize, approached him. He quickly perceived it was Col. Burr, who tendered his hand to salute Mr. Clay. The latter declined receiving it. The colonel, nevertheless, was accompanied by

engaged in conversation with Mr. Clay, remarking, that he had understood, that besides the treaty of peace, the American commissioners had negotiated a good commercial convention with Great Britain. Mr. Clay replied coldly, that such a convention was concluded, and that its terms would be known as soon as it was promulgated by public authority. Col. B. expressed a wish to have an hour's interview with him, and Mr. C. told him where he stopped—but the colonel never called. Thus terminated all the intercourse which ever took place between Henry Clay and Aaron Burr. And yet, even out of materials like these, Detraction has tried to manufacture weapons for its assaults!

II.

HIS COURSE IN CONGRESS—1803 TO 1812.

On the twenty-ninth of December, 1803, Mr. Clay produced his credentials, and took his seat in the senate of the United States. He had been elected by the legislature of the state of Kentucky, to fill a vacancy occasioned by the resignation of the Hon. John Adair; and, from the journals of Congress, he seems to have entered at once actively upon the discharge of the duties of his new and exalted position. His first speech was in favor of the erection of a bridge over the Potomac river; and at this period, we perceive the dawning of those views of "internal improvement," which he afterward carried out so ably, and his advocacy of which should alone be sufficient to entitle him to the lasting gratitude of the country. He assailed the senate, on this occasion, by quoting a passage from Pater Pinular, as applicable to a senator by whom he had been assailed, and who was remarkable for the expression of superior sagacity which his countenance was wont to assume when he rebuked the younger members of the body. The picture was apt and graphic:—

"Thus late, I saw a magpie in the street,
A chattering idol, we often meet;
A bird for curiosity well known,
With head awry, and cunning eye,
Peep knowingly into a narrow lane."

This speech was soon followed by his presentation of a resolution, advocating the expediency of appropriating a quantity of land toward the opening of the canal proposed to be cut around the rapids of the Ohio, on the Kentucky shore.

The subject of appropriations for internal improvements was at that time a novelty. So far as it related to the establishment of post-roads, it had, it is true, been discussed in February, 1791; but no formal opinion of Congress was expressed, so as to be a precedent for future action.

A committee, consisting of Messrs. Clay, Giles, and Babcock, was now appointed to consider the new resolution, and on the twenty-fourth of February, 1807, Mr. Clay made an able report to the senate, in which we find the following passage: "How far it is the policy of the government to aid in works of this kind when it has no distinct interest; whether, indeed, in such a case it has the constitutional power of patronage and encouragement, it is not necessary to be decided in the present instance." A few days afterward, he reported a bill providing for the appointment of commissioners to ascertain the practicality of removing the obstructions in the navigation of the Ohio at the rapids. This bill passed the senate by a vote of eighteen to eight.

The following resolution, presented the day of the passage of the bill, shows that Mr. Clay, thus early in his career, was deeply impressed with the importance of a system of internal improvement. He may truly be called the father of that system which has so incidentally advanced the general prosperity of the Republic:—

"Resolved, That the secretary of the treasury be directed to prepare and report to the senate at their next session, a plan for the application of such means as are within the power of Congress, for the purpose of opening canals and working roads; together with a statement of individuals or corporations, which, as objects of public improvement, may require such aid from the aid of government; and, also, a statement of works, of the nature mentioned, which have been commenced, the progress which has been made in them, and the nature and prospect of their being completed; and all such information as, in the opinion of the secretary, shall be material in relation to the objects of this resolution."

The resolution was passed with but three dissenting voices.

During this session, an attempt was made to suspend the business corpus act, for the purpose of enabling the president to

arrest, without going through the forms and delays of the law. Col. Burr, of whose evil intentions there was now sufficient proof. Mr. Clay did not speak on the motion, but his vote was recorded against it, not through any tenderness toward Burr, but because of the danger of instituting such a precedent against the liberty of the citizen. The motion was, however, carried in the senate, but defeated in the house of representatives.

Mr. Clay's election to the senate of the United States, had been but for the fraction of a term, amounting to a single session. In the summer of 1807, he was again chosen by the citizens of Fayette to represent them in the Kentucky legislature, and at the next session he was elected speaker of the assembly. In this position, he did not content himself with faithfully discharging the ordinary duties of a speaker. He noted the arena of debate, and took an active part in most of the important discussions before the house. A motion having been made to prohibit the reading, in the courts of Kentucky, of any British decision, or elementary work on law, he opposed it with a vigor and eloquence that could not fail of effect. More than four fifths of the members of the house had evinced a determination to vote for the motion. It was argued that the Americans, as an independent people, ought not to suffer themselves to be governed, in the administration of justice, by the legal decisions of a foreign power. Mr. Clay had to contend against a most formidable array of popular prejudice. To obviate one of the most potent arguments of the friends of the motion, he indignantly moved to amend it by limiting the exclusion of British decisions from Kentucky, to those only which have taken place since the 4th of July, 1776, the date of American independence, and suffering all which preceded that period to remain in force. He maintained that before the declaration of our independence, the British and Americans were the same nation, and the laws of the one people were those of the other. He then entered upon one of the most eloquent harangues that ever fell from his lips. He exposed the barbarity of a measure which would annihilate, for all practical uses in the state, the great body of the common law; which would "wastefully make wreck of a system fraught with the intellectual

walk of contention, and whelm its last fragment beneath the wave."

Those who had the good fortune to hear Mr. Clay on this occasion, describe his speech as one of transcendent power, beauty, and pathos. A gentleman, who was a partaker in the effect produced by his eloquence, says: "Every muscle of the orator's face was in motion; his whole body seemed agitated, as if every part were insinuated with a separate life; and his small, white hand, with its blue veins apparently distended, shined to his strong, moved gracefully, but with all the energy of rapid and vehement gesture. The appearance of the speaker seemed that of a pure intellect, wrought up to its mightiest energies, and brightly glowing through the thin and transparent veil of flesh that covered it."

It is almost needless to add that Mr. Clay prevailed on this occasion in turning the tide in his favor, and the original motion was rejected.

A report drawn up by him in 1829 upon a question of disputed election is worthy of notice in this place. The citizens of Hardin county, who were entitled to two representatives in the general assembly, had given 436 votes for Charles Helin, 350 for Samuel Haycraft, and 271 for John Thomas. The fact being ascertained that Mr. Haycraft held an office of profit under the commonwealth, at the time of the election, a constitutional disqualification attached and excluded him. He was ineligible, and therefore could not be entitled to his seat. It remained to inquire into the pretensions of Mr. Thomas. His claim could only be supported by a total rejection of the votes given by Mr. Haycraft, as void in all intents and purposes. Mr. Clay concluded that those votes, though void and ineffectual in creating any right in Mr. Haycraft to a seat in the house, could not affect, in any manner, the situation of his competitor. Any other exposition would be subversive of the great principle of free government, that the majority shall prevail. It would operate as a fraud upon the people; for it could not be doubted that the votes given to Mr. Haycraft were bestowed under a full persuasion that he had a right to receive them. It would, in fact, be a declaration that disqualification produced qualification. That the incapacity of one man incapacitated another to hold a seat in that house. The

committee, therefore, unanimously decided that neither of the gentlemen was entitled to a seat.

Such were the principles of Mr. Clay's report. It was unanimously adopted by the house; and its doctrines have ever since governed the Kentucky elections.

In December, 1808, Mr. Clay introduced before the legislature of Kentucky a series of resolutions approving the embargo, denouncing the British orders in council, pledging the coöperation of Kentucky to any measures of opposition to British exactions, upon which the general government might determine, and declaring that "*Thomas Jefferson is entitled to the thanks of his country for the ability, sprightliness, and intelligence which he has displayed in the management both of our foreign relations and domestic concerns.*"

Mr. Humphrey Marshall opposed these resolutions with extraordinary vehemence, and introduced a remedial resolution of a directly opposite tendency; but Mr. Marshall was the only one who voted in favor of the latter. Mr. Clay's original resolutions were adopted by a vote of sixty-four to one.

Soon after this event, Mr. Clay introduced a resolution recommending that every member, for the purpose of encouraging the industry of the country, should clothe himself in garments of domestic manufacture. This resolution was at once most implacably denounced by Mr. Humphrey Marshall, who stigmatized it as the project of a demagogue, and applied a profusion of harsh and ingenuous epithets to the author. Mr. Clay retorted, and the quarrel went on until it terminated in a hostile encounter. The parties met, and by the first shot Mr. Marshall was slightly wounded. They stood up a second time, and Mr. Clay received a hardly perceptible flesh-wound in the leg. The seconds were interferred, and prevented a continuance of the combat.

Mr. Clay was once again called upon in the course of his political career, by the barbarous exactions of society, to consent to a hostile encounter, but we are confident that no man at heart abominated the custom more sincerely than he. The following passage in relation to this subject occurs in an address, which, in his maturer years, he made to his constituents: "I own it to the community to say, that whatever heretofore I may have done,

or by inevitable circumstances might be forced to do, no noble it is deeper abhorrence than I do that pernicious practice. Condemned as it must be by the judgment and philosophy, to say nothing of the religion, of every thinking man, it is an object of feeling about which we can not, although we should, reason. Its true corrective will be found when all shall unite, as all ought to unite, in its unqualified proscription."

When the bill to suppress duelling in the district of Columbia came before the senate of the United States, in the spring of 1818, Mr. Clay said, no man would be happier than he to see the whole barbarous system for ever eradicated. It was well known, that in certain quarters of the country, public opinion was averse from duelling, and no man could fly in the face of that public opinion, without having his reputation sacrificed; but there were other portions again which exacted adherence to the fatal custom. The man with a high sense of honor, and nice sensibility, when the question is whether he shall fight or have the finger of scorn pointed at him, is unable to resist, and few, very few, are found willing to adopt such an alternative. When public opinion shall be renovated, and chastened by reason, religion, and humanity, the practice of duelling will at once be discontinued. It is the office of legislation to do all it can to bring about that healthful state of the public mind, and although it may not altogether effect so desirable a result, yet he had no doubt it would do much toward it, and with these views he would give his vote for the bill.

In the winter session of Congress, in 1809 '10, Mr. Clay took his seat a second time in the senate of the United States. He had been elected by the legislature by a handsome majority to supply a vacancy occasioned by the resignation of Mr. Buckner Thurston, whose term wanted two years of its completion. From this period the public history of Mr. Clay may be truly said to have commenced, and to have been diffused through the annals of the Union. The archives of the republic are the sources from which the materials for his biography may be henceforth derived. When time shall have removed the impediments for interested praise or censure, posterity will point to the records of his civic achievements, glorious though bloodless, as less as furnishing a well-established rule to those

admiration and gratitude, than as a perpetual monument to fame.

The prohibitions which Mr. Clay had early introduced in behalf of American manufactures and American principles, unopposedly avowed in his first speech before the House, being renewed a second time to that body in February, 1810. A bill was under discussion appropriating a sum of money for procuring munitions of war, and for other purposes, an amendment had been proposed, instructing the Secretary of the navy, to provide supplies of cordage, sail cloth, hemp, and to give a preference to those of American growth and manufacture. Mr. Lloyd of Massachusetts moved to strike out part of the amendment; and a discussion arose concerning general policy of promoting domestic manufactures, in which Mr. Clay boldly declared himself its advocate.

The fallacious course of reasoning urged by many against domestic manufactures, namely, the distress and wretchedness suffered by those of England, he said would equally indicate the prospect of abandoning agriculture itself. Were we to cast our eyes on the miserable peasantry of Poland, and revert to the days of deluged vassalage, we might thence draw numerous arguments against the pursuits of the husbandman. In short, take the black of the picture, and every human occupation will be found to meet with fatal objections.

The sentiments avowed thus early in our legislation by Mr. Clay are now current throughout our vast country and the "American System," as it has been called, is now admitted to be not only a practice, but a political system. It should not be forgotten, that it is to the perseverance and unceasing exertions of Henry Clay, that we are indebted for the plan and the cherishing of that goodly tree, under the spreading branches of which so many find protection and plenty at the present day.

The amendments advocated by Mr. Clay on this occasion were adopted, and the bill was passed. The first step toward establishment of his magnificent "system" was taken.

Another speech in which he distinguished himself during this session, is that upon the question of the right of the United

States to the territory lying between the rivers Mississippi and Florida, comprising the greater part of Western Florida. This important region, out of which the states of Alabama and Mississippi have since been formed, was claimed by Spain as a part of her Florida domain. The president, Mr. Madison, had issued a proclamation declaring this region annexed to the Orleans territory, and subject to the laws of the United States. The federalists maintained that we had no claim to the territory; that it belonged to Spain; and that Great Britain, as her ally, would not consent to see her ceded.

Mr. Clay stepped forth as the champion of the democracy and the president, and eloquently vindicated the title of the United States to the land. His arguments evince much research, ingenuity and logical skill, and on this, as on all occasions, he manifested that irrepressible sympathy with the people—the mass—his eloquent expressions of which had gained him in Kentucky the appellation of the Great Commoner. Mr. Haynes, one of the senators from Delaware, had denounced the late of the Spanish king. Mr. Clay said in reply: “I shall leave the honorable gentleman from Delaware to mourn over the fortunes of the fallen Charles. I have no communication for princes. My sympathies are extended to you and every man of mankind; and I own that the people of Spain have them most sincerely.”

With regard to the deprecatory words of Great Britain, Mr. Clay said, with a burst of indignant eloquence, which is but inadequately conveyed in the reported speech:

“Sir, is the time now to arrive, when we may mutually sue each other, without the least of insulting the Christian world? Is the red of British papers to be forever sprinkled on our bosoms? The Congress of 1800 at London, to settle our settled controversies against the piracy and depredations committed upon it, the sea and We are reminded by a word of the indignation of England. Is a law of non-intercourse proposed? The whole navy of the British empire set the sea to waste to plunder in our eyes. Does the president intend to continue his correspondence with a minister, who violates the character belonging to his diplomatic character, by piracy, and deliberately repeating an affront to the whole nation? We are constantly harassed with the character which English pride will not fail to inflict. Whether we meet our ability, by sea, or attempt their transportation by land—whether we see our ministers, this phantom incessantly pursued?”

The strong American feeling, the genuine democratic dignity which pervade this speech are characteristic of the man and of the principles, which, throughout a long and trying public career

no has steadfastly maintained. And yet we find new-fledged politicians and dainty demagogues of modern fashionable man-
 fature charging this early and consistent leader of the democracy
 —this friend and supporter of Jefferson and of Madison—the
 main pillar of the party, who originated and conducted to a glorious
 termination the last war—charging him with feodality or an
 aristocracy! Every act of his life—every recorded word that
 ever fell from his lips gives the lie to this imputation.

Mr. Clay's labors during the session appear to have been a
 stream and diversified—showing on his part unusual versatility,
 industry, and powers of application. He was placed on seven
 important committees, and seems to have taken part in all dis-
 cussions of moment. On the 26th of March, 1810, from the
 committee to whom was recommitted a bill granting a right of
 preemption to purchasers of public lands in certain cases, he re-
 ported it with amendments, which were read; and, after making
 some alterations, it was again recommitted, reported, and
 finally passed by the senate. Mr. Clay was the early friend of
 the poor settler on the public lands, and he has always advocated
 a policy which, while it is extremely liberal toward that class, is
 consistent with perfect justice to the people at large, who are the
 legitimate owners of the public domain.

On the 29th of March, Mr. Clay brought in a bill supplement-
 ary to an act entitled "An Act to Regulate Trade and Intercourse
 with the Indian Tribes, and to preserve Peace on the Frontier."
 The bill was referred to a committee, of which he was appointed
 chairman; and to his intelligent labors in their behalf, the people
 of the west were indebted for measures of protection of the most
 efficient character.

The 20th of April succeeding, on motion of Mr. Clay, the bill
 to enable the people of the Orleans territory, now Louisiana, to
 form a constitution and government was amended by a provision
 requiring that the laws, records, and legislative proceedings of
 the state should be in the English language. On the 27th
 of the same month, he had leave of absence for the rest of the
 session, after accomplishing an amount of public business that
 few men could have despatched with so much promptitude, abili-
 ty, and advantage to the country.

The third session of the eleventh Congress commenced on the 3d of November, 1810. Mr. Clay was soon more in his seat in the senate.

The subject of renewing the charter of the United States bank, was now the great topic before Congress. Mr. Clay had been instructed by the legislature of Kentucky to oppose a recharter—and his own convictions at the time coincided with theirs. He addressed the senate at some length in opposition to the proposed measure. He lived to rectify his opinions on this important question; and his reasons for the change must be satisfactory to every candid mind. They are given in an address to his constituents in Lexington, dated the 3d of June, 1816.

In a speech to the same constituents, delivered the 9th of June, 1818, he alluded to the subject in these terms:

"I never but once changed my opinion on any great measure of national policy, or any great principle of construction of the national constitution. In early life, on deliberate consideration, I adopted the principles of interpreting the federal constitution, which had been so ably developed and enforced by Mr. Madison in his memorable report to the Virginia Legislature; and to these, as I under stand them, I have constantly adhered. Upon the question coming up in the senate of the United States, to recharter the first Bank of the United States, thirty years ago, I supported the resolution upon considerations which I have the satisfaction to see the wisdom of the war which directly followed, the condition into which the country of the country was thrown, without a bank, and, I may now add, later and more disastrous experience, convinced me I was wrong. I publicly stated to my constituents, in a speech at Lexington (that which I had made in the house of representatives not having been repeated) my reasons for the change; and they are preserved in the archives of the country. I appeal to that record; and I am willing to be judged now and hereafter by their validity.

"I do not object to the list of this solitary instance of change of opinion, so implying any personal merit, but because it is a fact. I will, however, say that I think it very probable to the utility of any public man, to make frequent changes of opinion, or any change, but upon grounds as rational and judicious, that the public can clearly see and approve them."

Many important subjects were discussed by the senate during the session of 1810 '11; and Mr. Clay was in all of them conspicuous. His zeal and efficiency in the public service began to attract the eyes of the whole country. He was not the representative of Kentucky alone. His vigorous heart and active mind, unobscured by sectional prejudices or local bigotry, comprehended the entire union in their embrace.

At the expiration of his second fractional term of service in

the senate of the United States, having returned to Kentucky, was elected a member of the federal house of representatives. Congress convened on the day designated by proclamation, the fourth day of November, 1811; and, on the first ballot for speaker 128 members being present, he was chosen by a majority of 7 over all opposition.

The affairs of the nation were never in a more critical period than at this juncture. The honor of the republic was at stake. A long series of outrages perpetrated against our commerce by England and by France, had reached a height at which further toleration would have been pusillanimous. Under the Berlin and Milan decrees of Napoleon, our ships were seized, and our property confiscated by the French, in a manner to provoke the warmest indignation of a free people. Great Britain vied with France, and finally far surpassed her in her acts of violence or rapine toward us. Each of the belligerent nations sought a pretext in the conduct of the other for her own injustices.

At length France, in answer to our remonstrances, repealed her ulmost decrees so far as we were concerned, and practically abandoned her system of seizure and oppression. Great Britain did not follow her example.

A year had elapsed since the French decrees were rescinded, but Great Britain persisted in her course, affecting to deny their extinction. The ships of the United States, laden with the produce of our soil and labor, navigated by our own citizens, and peacefully pursuing a lawful trade, were seized on our coasts, and, at the very mouth of our own harbors, condemned and confiscated. But it was the ruffianly system of impressment—by which American freemen, pursuing a lawful life of husbandry and daring on the ocean, were liable to be seized, in violation of the rights of our flag, forced into the naval service of a foreign power, and made, perhaps, the instruments of similar oppression toward their own countrymen—it was this despotic and barbarous system, that principally roused the warlike spirit of Congress and the nation. And posterity will admit, that this cause of itself was an all-sufficient justification for hostile measures. The spirit of that people must have been debased, indeed, which could have tamely submitted to such aggressions.

The feelings of Mr. Clay on this subject, seem to have been of the intensest description. Though coming from a state distant from the national, the wrongs and indignities perpetrated against our mariners by British arrogance and oppression, fired his soul and stirred his whole nature to resistance. To him, the idea of surrendering a moment to such degrading outrages was intolerable. The nation had been injured and insulted. England persisted in her injuries and insults. It was useless to temporize longer. He was for war, prompt, open, and determined war. He communicated to others the electric feelings that animated his own breast. He wreathed all his energies on this great cause.

In appointing the committee on foreign relations, to whom the important question was to be referred, he was careful to select a majority of such members as partook of his own developed views. Peter B. Porter, of New York, was the chairman; and, on the 29th of November, he made a report, in which the committee earnestly recommended, in the words of the president, "that the United States be immediately put into an armed and attitude demanded by the crisis, and corresponding with the national spirit and expectations." They submitted appropriate resolutions for the carrying out of this great object.

On the 31st of December, the house resolved itself into a committee of the whole, Mr. Horchamidge in the chair, on a bill from the senate, providing for the raising of twenty-five thousand troops. Of this measure, Mr. Clay was the warmest, and at the same time most judicious advocate. He addressed the house eloquently in its behalf, and urged it forward, on all occasions, with his best energies.

He contended that the real cause of British aggression was not to distress France, an enemy unintrusted, but to destroy a rival. "She saw," continued he, "in your numberless ships, which whitened every sea—in your hundred and twenty thousand gallant men—the seeds of a naval power, which, in thirty years, would rival her on her own element. She, therefore, conceived of the odious system of suspension, of which no language can paint my execration! She wants to attempt the subversion of the political freedom of your seamen."

In concluding, Mr. Clay could be trusted that he had fully watch

ished these three positions: That the magnitude of the war proposed by the bill was not too great, that its nature was such as the contemplated war called for, and that the object of the war was justified by every consideration of justice, of interest, of honor, and love of country. Unless that object were at once attained by powerful means, he hoped that war would be waged before the close of the session.

The bill passed the house on the 14th of January (enrolling), and, on the 23d of the same month, the report of the committee, to whom that part of the president's message, relative to a naval establishment, was referred, being under discussion, Mr. Clay spoke in favor of an increase of the navy, advocating the building of ten frigates.

In his remarks, on this occasion, he contended that a despatch of naval force entirely within our means, was that which would be sufficient to prevent any single vessel, of whatever metal, from endangering our whole existing trade—blocking up our harbors, and laying under contribution our cities—a force competent to punish the insolence of the commander of any single ship, and to preserve in our own jurisdiction, the applicability of our laws and our laws.

"Is there," he asked, "a reflecting man in the nation, who would not charge Congress with a culpable neglect of its duty, if, in the event of such a loss, a single ship were to be damaged out of our city? Would not every honorable member of the committee justify on him in the future the practice, if, by failing to make an inconsiderable addition to our little paltry navy, a single British frigate should place New York under contribution?"

On the 29th of January, 1802, the bill to increase the navy passed the house by a handsome majority. To Mr. Clay's eloquent advocacy of the measure, the country is largely indebted for the glorious naval successes which afterwards shed a new and undying lustre upon our history. But for the gallant and efficient navy, which sprung up under such auspices, the main arm of our defence would have been crippled. While we continue to work upon our achievements upon the sea—the memorable deeds of our Laureates, Decatur, Hull, Boscawen, and Perry—let us not forget the statesman, but for whose persistent activity and intrepid spirit, the opportunity of performing these exploits might never have been afforded.

III.

THE WAR OF 1812—MR. CLAY'S ELECTION.

The cause of Mr. Clay's transference from the senate to the house of representatives, was his own preference, at the time, of a seat in the popular branch. His immediate appointment as speaker was, under the circumstances, a rare honor, and one never, before or since, conferred on a new member. Among the qualifications which led to his selection for that high station, was his known firmness, which would check any attempt to dominate over the house; and many members had a special view to it proper restraint upon Mr. John Randolph, of Virginia, who, through the favor of Mr. Vinton, and the partiality entertained for him by Mr. Mason, the first preceding speaker, had exercised a control which, it was believed, was injurious to the deliberations of the body.

On the first of April, 1812, the following confidential communication from the president to Congress was received:

I cannot find it an expedient, under existing circumstances and prospects, that a general embargo be laid on all vessels in port, or to issue forth there, for the period of sixty days. I recommend the immediate passage of a law to that effect.

JAMES MADISON.

This proposition was immediately discussed in the house in secret session. Mr. Clay took an active part in the debate. He gave to the measure recommended by the president, his implicit and unqualified support. "I approve of it," said he, "because it seems to be viewed as a direct intimation to war."

Among the vehement opponents of the measure were John Randolph, of Virginia, and Josiah Quincy, of Massachusetts. Mr. Randolph said that the honorable speaker was mistaken when he said the message was for war. Mr. R. had "too much reliance on the wisdom and virtue of the president, to believe that he would be guilty of such gross and unparalleled treason." He maintained that the proposed embargo was not to be regarded as an initial step to war—but as a subterfuge—a retreat from battle. "What was the cause of war," he asked, "or of an embargo?"

wisdom within the last twelve months." The effect of the Chesapeake is settled; no new principles of blockade have been intimated in the laws of nations. Every man of sense would ask why we did not, then, go to war twelve months ago."

"What are some of war have been intimated?" said Mr. Clay to myself. "The affair of the Chesapeake is settled, to be sure, but only to perpetuate the spirit of the country. How great nations abstain of being engaged in a war—from depending upon our property? We have compelled England, in her capture of our ships, in her exciting war against India, to be satisfied, and in her sending an embassy to our cities to create a will among them, to do nothing to destroy us; and revolution and spirit are contained in the air. Although I feel warmly upon this subject," continued he, "I prefer to rest upon these feelings, and should despise myself if I were dissatisfied of them."

Mr. Quincy expressed in strong terms his adherence of the proposed measure. He said that his objections were, that it was not what it pretended to be; and was what it pretended not to be. That it was not embargo preparatory to war; but that it was embargo as a substitute for the question of declaring war. "I object to it," said he, "because it is no efficient preparation; because it is not a progress toward honorable war, but a subterfuge from the question. If we must perish, let us perish by our hand except our own. Any fate is better than self-destruction."

Against this storm of opposition Henry Clay presented an undaunted front. As the debate was carried on with closed doors, no simple record of it is in existence. But a member of Congress, who was present, says: "On this occasion Mr. Clay was a flame of fire. He had now brought Congress to the verge of what he conceived to be a war for liberty and honor, and his voice rang through the capital like a trumpet tone sounding for the onset. On the subject of the policy of the embargo, he spoke, like a Roman plumed, bore down all opposition, and he put to shame those of his opponents, who flouted the government as being unprepared for war."

The message recommending an embargo was referred to the committee on foreign relations, who reported a bill for carrying it into effect, which was adopted by the house. In the course it underwent a slight alteration in the substitution of ninety for sixty days as the term of the embargo. This amendment was concurred in; and on the fourth of April, Mr. Crawford reported

the presentation of the bill to the president, and that it had received his signature.

Through the indelible exertions of Mr. Clay and his associates, the attitude of resistance to aggression was now boldly assumed—the first step was taken toward a definite declaration of war.

On assuming the duties of the speakership, Mr. Clay had foreseen, from the peculiar character and constitution of mind of that remarkable and distinguished man, John Randolph, that it would be extremely difficult to maintain with him relations of civility and friendship. He, therefore, resolved to act on the principle of never giving and never receiving an insult without immediate notice, if he were in a place where it could be noticed. Their mode of intercourse or non-intercourse was most singular. Sometimes weeks, months would pass without their speaking to each other. Then, for an equal space of time, no two gentlemen could meet each other with more courtesy and attention. Mr. Randolph, on entering the house in the morning, while these better feelings prevailed, would frequently approach the chair, bow respectfully to the speaker, and inquire after his health.

But Mr. Randolph was impatient of all restraints, and could not brook those which were sometimes applied to himself by the speaker in the discharge of the duties of the chair. On one occasion he appealed to his constituents, and was answered by Mr. Clay. The case was thus: Mr. Clay, in one of his morning rides, passed through Georgetown, where Mr. Randolph, the late Mr. J. Lewis, of Virginia, and other members of Congress, landed. Meeting with Mr. Lewis, that gentleman inquired of him, if there were any news. Mr. Clay informed him, that on the Monday following, President Madison would send a message to Congress, recommending a declaration of war against Great Britain.

The day after this meeting, Mr. Randolph came to the house, and having addressed the speaker in a very caustic, denigratory speech for about an hour, he was reminded from the chair, that there was no question pending before the house. Mr. Randolph said he would present one. He was requested to state it. He stated that he meant to move a resolution, that it was not ex-

pedient to declare war against Great Britain." The speaker, according to a rule of the house, desired him to prepare his resolution in writing, and to send it to the chair, which he accordingly did. And thereupon the speaker intended that, if he could proceed in his speech, the house should decide that it would now consider his resolution. Upon putting that question to the house, it was decided by a large majority, that it would not consider the resolution; and thus Mr. Randolph was prevented from haranguing the house further in its support. Of this he complained, and published an address to his constituents.

Some expressions in this address, seeming to respect neither Mr. Clay addressed a communication under his own name, to the editor of the *National Intelligencer*, in which he reviews the positions at issue between him and Mr. Randolph, and vindicates the justice of his recent decisions in the chair.

"Two principles," he says, "are settled by these decisions; the first is, that the house has a right to know, through its organs, the specific motion which a member intends making, before he undertakes to argue it at large; and in the second place, that it reserves to itself the exercise of the power of determining whether it will consider it at the particular time when offered, prior to his thus proceeding to argue it."

Every succeeding Congress has acknowledged the validity of the principles thus established by Mr. Clay. They seem essential to the proper regulation of debate in a large legislative body.

A bill from the committee on foreign relations, was reported to the house on the third of June, 1812, declaring war between Great Britain and her dependencies and the United States. On the eighteenth it had passed both houses of Congress, and the next day the president's proclamation was issued, declaring the actual existence of war. On the sixth of July, Congress adjourned to the first Monday in November.

Mr. Clay, Mr. Laurance, Mr. Charles, and Mr. Caldwell, were the leaders, who sustained and carried through the declaration of war. Mr. Clay, fully impressed with the conviction that the honor and the highest interests of the country demanded the declaration, was ardent, active, and enthusiastic in its support. To him was assigned the responsible duty of appointing all the committees. Mr. Madison's cabinet was not unanimous on the sub-

just of war. Mr. Madison himself was in favor of it, but seemed to go into it with much repugnance and great apprehension. The character of his mind was one of extreme caution, hesitating on timidity, although he acted with vigor and firmness when his resolution was once taken. Mr. Gallatin, the secretary of the treasury, was adverse to the war.

It was the opinion and wish of Mr. Clay, Mr. Chaves, and their friends, that financial as well as military and naval preparations should be made for the conduct of the war, and previous to its declaration. Accordingly, Mr. Gallatin was called upon to report a system of finance appropriate to the occasion. He had enjoyed a high reputation for financial ability: and it was hoped and anticipated that he would display it when he made his required report. But the disappointment was great when his report appeared. Instead of indicating any new sources of revenue — instead of suggesting any great plan calling forth the resources of the nation, he reported in favor of all the old odious taxes — excise, stamp duties, &c., which had been laid during previous administrations. It was believed from the offensive nature of the taxes, that his object was to repress the war spirit. But far from being discouraged, Mr. Clay and his friends resolved to impose the duties recommended.

Mr. Chaves was at the head of the committee of ways and means, and went laboriously to work to prepare numerous bills for the collection of taxes as suggested by the secretary. After they were prepared and reported, it was for the first time discovered that the executive, and more especially Mr. Gallatin, were opposed to the imposition of taxes at the same session during which war was declared. This was ascertained by the active exertions of Mr. Sumley, a leading and influential member from Pennsylvania, and the confidential friend of Mr. Gallatin. In circles of the members, he would urge in conversation the expediency of postponing the taxes to another session, saying that the people would not take both war and taxes together.

Mr. Clay and his friends were aware that the laying of taxes, always a difficult and up-hill business, could not be effected without the hearty concurrence of the executive, and therefore reluctantly submitted to the postponement — a most unfortunate delay.

the ill effects of which were felt throughout the whole war. Mr. Calhoun, who had plied the Federalists, to prevent any further revenue bills, was highly indignant, and especially at the conduct of Mr. Gallatin, of whom he ever stood in the highest estimation.

The negotiations with Mr. Pickens, the British chargé d'affaires at Washington, were protracted up to the period of the declaration of war. The republican party became impatient of the delay. It was determined that an informal deputation should wait upon Mr. Madison to expostulate against longer peace negotiations; and it was agreed that Mr. Clay should be the spokesman. The gentlemen of the deputation accordingly called on the president, and Mr. Clay stated to him that Congress was impatient for action; that further efforts at negotiation were vain, that an armistice was impracticable; that the haughty spirit of Britain was unbending and unyielding; that submission to her arrogant pretensions, especially that of a right to impose our customs, was impossible; that enough had been done by us with a view to conciliation; that the time for decisive action had arrived, and war was inevitable.

By way of illustrating the difference between speaking and writing, and acting, Mr. Clay related to Mr. Madison an amusing anecdote of two Kentucky judges. One talked in court, from the bench, He roused everybody to death. He would deliver an opinion, and first try to convince the party that agreed with him, and then the opposite party. The consequence was, that business lagged, the docket accumulated, litigants complained, and the community were dissatisfied. He was succeeded by a judge, who never gave any reasons for his opinion, but decided the case simply, for the plaintiff or the defendant. His decisions were rarely reversed by the appellate court—the docket melted away—litigants were no longer exposed to needless delay—and the community were contented. "Such," said Mr. Clay, "we have exhibited the argument with Great Britain."

Mr. Madison enjoyed the joke, but, in his good natured, old way, said, he also had heard an anecdote of a French judge, who after the argument of the cause was made, put the papers of the contending parties into opposite scales, and decided according to the preponderance of weight.

Speaking of the opposition of the Federal party, Mr. Clay remarked that they were no other to be considered now, unless it be "Let us do what we sincerely believe to be right, and trust to God and the goodness of our cause."

Mr. Madison said, that our institutions were founded upon the principle of the sovereignty of man for self-government, and that we should never be tired of appealing to the wisdom and judgment of the people.

Such a doctrine did Mr. Madison leave, however, for the opinion and advice of his friends, that shortly after this declaration, he transmitted his war message to Congress.

The second session of the twelfth Congress took place at the appointed time. Instead of an important character had occurred since it last met. The war had been prosecuted, and we had sustained some reverses. General Hull, to whom had been assigned the defence of the Michilimackinac, had, after an unsuccessful attempt, run into the neighbouring territory of the enemy, and rendered unprofitably the season and part of Detroit.

An attack was made on the west of the same month, February, by a detachment of regulars, led by General Mack, General Von Rensselaer, and after displaying much gallantry had been compelled to yield, with considerable loss, to thousands of savages and British regulars.

But though partially unsuccessful on the land, the Americans had won irreparable trophies on the sea. Our public ships and private cruizers had made the enemy sensible of the difference between a reciprocity of captures, and the long confinement of them to their sale. The frigate Constitution, commanded by Captain Hull, after a chase and short engagement, had completely disabled the British frigate Guerriere. A vessel of equal force had been seized by the cutter, by the same pursued by a squadron of our frigates under the command of Commodore Rodgers.

A strong disposition to adjust existing difficulties with Great Britain had, in the meantime, been manifested by our government. Our chargé d'affaires at London had been authorized to ascertain terms, by which the war might be arrested, or swerving the delays of a formal and final pacification.

man of energetic and indignant eloquence. It must have fallen with crushing effect upon him who called it forth :

"Next to the nation which the opposition has found it will call upon to be true upon the French empire, it is found to be true of Virginia, formerly the chief of the United States, and next, for a moment, called to receive their kindest and most respectful attention. An honorable gentleman from Massachusetts had shown, I am sorry to say, it became necessary for me, in the course of my remarks, to take some notice of his allusion to him in a remarkable manner. Whether his retirement from the public office, his eminent services, and his advanced age, can exempt this protest from the course usually of party moderation. See, say, in fact, he withdrew from the rule books of non-interference, the isolated constitution of the country, and that is his error. He pretends that nations of nations, and substance, and spirit, a previous independence for generations to come, and for this he can never be forgiven.

"There is no and important to party men, directed against such a man. He is not more elevated by his duty as others upon the amount of his own favorite constitution, than he is filled by the severity of his mind, and the confidence of a well spent life, whose the indignant passions and feelings of the day. And his own beloved Virginia the most has noted by the stream that had against its side, than it has suffered from by the hands of the whole North pack let loose from the French hand.

"When the youth man, to whom I have been compelled to allude, shall have mingled his lot with that of his chosen nation, when he shall have been assigned a position, or, if he has of all, had his own will be linked with the arms of a certain party, the name of Jefferson will be linked with gratitude, his memory honored and cherished as the second founder of the liberties of the people, and the period of his administration will be linked back to us one of the happy and bright of early in American history.

"But I beg the gentleman's pardon. He has indeed seemed to himself a more respectable name than I had supposed. I think it was about four years ago, that he submitted to the house of representatives, an initiative proposition for the impeachment of Mr. Jefferson. The house would hardly be considered. The gentleman alluded to with his usual temper, moderation, and modesty. The house decided upon it in the most solemn manner; and although the youth man had certainly obtained a vote, and the final vote had been given, and was recorded and motion against the proposition. The name of Jefferson, that transmitted to posterity the name and glory of George the Great of France, for their administration and example, has preserved the illustrious name of the French agent of the excellent monarch. The name of the man that portrayed the suffering and oppression of the French of mankind, has revealed by numerous servants, the name of him who was guilty not of betraying his country, but a kind of villain of betraying his God!"

In other parts of his speech, Mr. Clay electrified the house by his impassioned eloquence. The day was intensely cold, and, for the only time in his life, he found it difficult to keep himself warm by the exercise of speaking. But the members crowded

* While the proposition was made to impeach Jefferson, Mr. Clay would have been glad, and perhaps it is better said, he would have been glad to have seen the proposition of the day up to the point of the day.

around him in hushed admiration; and there were few among them who did not testify by their streaming tears his mastery over the passions. The subject of impressment was touched upon; and the matchless pathos with which he depicted the consequences of that infernal system—portraying the situation of a supposed victim to its tyrannic outrages—thrilled through every heart. The reported passage can but feebly convey a conception of the impression produced. As well might we attempt to form an adequate idea of one of Raphael's pictures from a written description, as to transcribe the eloquence of Clay on this occasion. Even were his glowing words fully and correctly given, how much of the effect would be lost in the absence of that sweet and silvery voice—that graceful and expressive action—those flashing eyes—which gave life, and potency, and victory to his language? In conclusion, Mr. Clay said:

"My plan would be to call out the male resources of the country, give them a judicious direction, prosecute the war with the utmost vigor, till we were to vanquish the enemy, or our own land, and negotiate the terms of a peace at Quebec or at Halifax. We are told that England is a proud and lofty nation, which, disdaining to wait for danger, meets it half way. I thought so that, we once triumphed over her, and, if we do not listen to the counsels of timidity and despair, we shall again prevail. In such a case, with the aid of Providence, we must come out crowned with success; but if we fail, let us fall like men—back ourselves to our gallant land, and expire together in one common struggle—mourning for our nation, but not our own's shame!"

The war bill, thus advocated by Mr. Clay, passed the house on the 14th of January, 1813, by a vote of seventy-seven to forty-two.

On the 10th of February, the president of the senate, in the presence of both houses of Congress, proceeded to open the certificates of the votes of the electors of the several states, for president and vice-president of the United States. The vote stood; *For president*, James Madison, 123; *De Witt Clinton*, 49, *For vice-president*, Elbridge Gerry, 131; *Jared Ingersoll*, 66. James Madison and Elbridge Gerry were accordingly elected—the former for a second term. The war policy of the administration was triumphantly sustained by the people.

The first session of the thirteenth Congress, commenced the twenty-fourth of May, 1813. Mr. Clay was again chosen speaker

by a large majority, and his voice of exhortation and encouragement continued to be raised in committee of the whole in vindication of the honor of the country and the conduct of the war. The president, in his message, alluded to the spirit in which the war had been waged by the British, who "were adding to the savage fury of it on one frontier, a system of plunder and conflagration on the other, equally forbidden by respect for national character, and by the established rules of civilized warfare."

Mr. Clay eloquently called attention to this portion of the message, and declared that if the outrages said to have been committed by the British and their savage allies, should be found to be as public report had stated them, they called for the indignation of all Christendom, and ought to be embodied in an authentic document, which might perpetuate them on the page of history. Upon this motion, a resolution was adopted, referring this portion of the president's message to a select committee, of which Mr. Mason was chairman. A report was subsequently submitted from this committee, in which an abundance of testimony was brought forward, showing that the most infamous outrages had been repeatedly perpetrated upon American prisoners by the Indian allies of British troops, and often under the eye of British officers. The report closed with a resolution requesting the president to lay before the house, during the progress of the war, all the instances of depredations, by the British, from the ordinary mode of conducting war among civilized nations.

The new Congress had commenced its session at a period of general exultation among all patriotic Americans. Several honorable victories, by sea and land, had shed lustre on our arms. Captain Lawrence, of the *Hornet*, with but eighteen guns, had captured, after a brisk and gallant action of fifteen minutes, the British ship-of-war *Pensac*, Captain Pecke, carrying twenty-two guns and one hundred and thirty men—the latter being her captain and nine men, with thirty wounded, while our loss was but one killed and two wounded. York, the capital of Upper Canada, had been captured by the army of the centre, in connection with a naval force on Lake Ontario, under Gen. Doniphan; while the issue of the siege of Fort Meigs, under Gen.

Harrison, had won for that officer an imperishable renown as a brave and skillful soldier.

In September of the preceding year, the emperor Alexander, of Russia, had intimated to Mr. Adams, our minister at St. Petersburg, his intention of tendering his services as mediator between the United States and Great Britain. The proposition had been favorably received, and assurances had been given to the emperor of the earnest desire of our government that the interest of Russia might remain entirely unaffected by the existing war between us and England, and that no more intimate connections with France would be formed by the United States. With these assurances the emperor had been highly gratified; and in the early part of March, 1812, the Russian minister at Washington, M. Dorschkoff, had formally proffered the mediation of his government, which was readily accepted by the president. It was rejected, however, by the British government, to the great surprise of our own, on the ground that their commercial and maritime rights would not thereby be as effectually secured as they deemed necessary; but, accompanying the rejection, was an expression of willingness to treat directly with the United States, either at Gottenburg or at London; and the interposition of the emperor was requested in favor of such an arrangement.

In consequence of the friendly offer of the Russian government, Messrs. Albert Gallatin and James A. Heyard, had been sent to join our resident minister, Mr. Adams, as envoys extraordinary at St. Petersburg. The proposal of the British ministry, to treat with us at Gottenburg, was soon after accepted, and Messrs. Clay and Jonathan Russell were appointed, in conjunction with the three plenipotentiaries then in Russia, to conduct the negotiations. On the 19th of January, 1813, Mr. Clay, in an appropriate address, accordingly resigned his station as speaker of the house. The same day a resolution was passed by that body thanking him for the ability and impartiality with which he had presided. The resolution was adopted almost unanimously—only nine members voting in opposition.

Mr. Clay had always asserted that an honorable peace was attainable only by an efficient war. In Congress, he had been the originator and most ardent supporter of nearly all those mea-

ures which had for their object the vigorous prosecution of hostilities against Great Britain. On every occasion, his trumpet-voice was heard, cheering on the house and the country to confidence and victory. No injuries of evil—no croakings of despondency—no suggestions of timidity—no violence of feeling or opposition—could for a moment, shake his patriotic purposes, diminish his reliance on the justice of our cause, or induce him to hesitate in that policy, which he believed the honor and—what was inseparable from the honor—the interests of the country demanded.

The measure of gratitude due him from his fellow-citizens, for his exertions in this cause alone, is not to be calculated or paid. But on the scroll where Freedom inscribes the names of her worthiest champions, destined to an immortal renown in her annals, the name of HENRY CLAY will be found with those of WASHINGTON, JEFFERSON, and MADISON.

Having been the most efficient leader in directing the legislative action which originated and directed to a prosperous termination the war with Great Britain—a war which the voice of an impartial posterity must admit to have elevated and strengthened us as a nation—Mr. Clay was now appropriately selected as one of the commissioners to arrange a treaty of peace.

IV.

TREATY OF GHEENT—MR. CLAY'S RETURN.

THE commissioners met first at Göttingen, but their meetings were afterward transferred to Ghent. The conference occupied a space of time of about five months. The American commissioners were in reality negotiating with the whole ministry; for, whenever they addressed a diplomatic note of importance to the British commissioners, it was by them mailed to London, from which place the substance of an answer was returned in the form of instructions. The conception that the American commissioners, after having delivered a public note, had to wait about a week before they received reply.

In one of these pauses of the negotiation, Mr. Clay made a little excursion to Brussels, and Mr. Goulbourn went off at the same time. The British commissioners had been in the habit of sending their English newspapers to the American commissioners, through which the latter often derived the first intelligence of events occurring in America.

The morning after Mr. Clay's arrival in Brussels, upon coming down to breakfast, his servant, Frederick Carr, who had taken with him from the city of Washington, threw papers upon the breakfast table, and burst into tears. "What the matter, Frederick?"—"The British have taken Wash- ington, sir, and Mr. Goulbourn has sent you those papers, which contain the account."—"Is it possible?" exclaimed Mr. Clay. "Is too true, sir," returned Frederick, whimpering piteously.

The news was by no means agreeable to Mr. Clay; his concern diminished when he thought of the channel through which it had been conveyed to him, although fully persuaded that Mr. Goulbourn had not been actuated by any unbecoming spirit of exultation. Mr. Clay nevertheless resolved to avail himself of the first favorable opportunity for friendly retaliation, and one fortunately soon occurred. A point in the negotiation which had been very much pressed, was pacification with

Indians, which the American commissioners assured the British would necessarily follow pacification with Great Britain. The former received some recent American newspapers containing an account of the actual conclusion of peace with some of the Indian tribes, but containing also an account of the splendid naval victory won on Lake Champlain. Mr. Clay proposed to the American commissioners that these newspapers should be sent to the British, ostensibly for the purpose of showing that peace was made with some of the Indians, but in reality to afford them an opportunity of perusing the account of that victory. With the concurrence of his colleagues, he accordingly addressed an official note to the British commissioners transmitting the newspapers.

The mode of transacting business among the American commissioners was, upon the reception of an official note from the other party, to deliberate fully upon its contents, and to discuss them at a board. After that, the paper was placed in the hands of one of the commissioners to prepare an answer. Upon the preparation of that answer, it was carefully examined and considered by the board, every member of which took it to his lodgings to suggest in pencil such alterations as appeared to him proper; and these were again considered and finally adopted or rejected, and the paper handed to the secretary to be copied and recorded.

In the composition of the official notes sent by the American to the British commissioners, the pen of Mr. Gallatin was, perhaps, most frequently employed; then that of Mr. Adams; then that of Mr. Clay. Messrs. Hayn and Russell wrote the least.

During the progress of the negotiation and at a very critical period of it, the official despatches of the American commissioners, giving a full account of the prospects of the negotiation, and expressing very little hope of its successful termination, having been published by the order of the American government, came back to the commissioners at Gibet in the newspapers. They arrived in the evening, just as the American commissioners were dressed to go to a ball given to the commissioners by the authorities of Gibet. The unexpected publication of those despatches excited the surprise and regret of the American commissioners

Some of them thought that a rupture of the negotiation would be the consequence. Mr. Clay, on account of his open and frank manner, was on terms of more unreserved and free intercourse with the British commissioners than any of his colleagues, and he resolved that evening to sound the former as to the effect of this publication of the despatches. He accordingly addressed himself to the three commissioners severally in succession at table, beginning with Lord Gambier, who was the most distinguished for amenity and benevolence of character, and saying "You perceive, my lord, that our government had published our despatches, and that now the whole world knows what we are doing here." "Yes," replied his lordship, "I have seen it with infinite surprise, and the proceeding is without example in the civilized world." To which Mr. Clay mildly rejoined: "Why my lord, you must recollect that, at the time of the publication of those despatches, our government had every reason to suppose, from the nature of the pretensions and demands which you had brought forward, that our negotiation would not terminate successfully, and that the publication would not find us here together. I am quite sure, that if our government had anticipated the present favorable aspect of our deliberations, the publication of the despatches would not have been ordered. Then, your lordship must also recollect, that if, as you truly asserted, the publication of despatches pending a negotiation is not according to the custom of European diplomacy, our government itself is organized upon principles totally different from those on which European governments are constituted. With us, the business in which we were here engaged, is the people's business. We are their servants, and they have a right to know how their business is going on. The publication, therefore, was to give the people information of what infinitely affected them."

Lord Gambier did not appear to be satisfied with this explanation, although he was silenced by it. Mr. Clay had a similar interview with the two other British commissioners; and their feelings, in consequence of the publication, were marked by the degree of excitability of their respective characters. But the fears which were entertained by some of the American commissioners were not realized. The publication was *more* *and* *more*

of its conference, and the negotiation proceeded to a successful issue as if it had not happened.

Between the American commissioners, in the conduct of the negotiation at Ghent, no serious difficulty arose, except on one point, and that related to the subject of the fisheries and navigation of the Mississippi. By the third article of the definitive treaty of peace with Great Britain concluded in September, 1793, certain rights of fishing, and of drying and curing fish within the limits of British jurisdiction, and upon British soil, were secured to the citizens of the United States. And by the eighth article of the same treaty, it was stipulated that the right to the navigation of the river Mississippi, from its source to the ocean, should remain for ever free and open to the subjects of Great Britain and the citizens of the United States. The same mutual right of navigation was recognised by Mr. Jay's treaty of 1794.

When the American commissioners were in consultation as to the project of a treaty to be presented to the consideration of the British commissioners, it was proposed that an article should be inserted renewing those rights of taking and curing and drying fish, and of the navigation of the Mississippi. To such a proposal, Mr. Clay was decidedly opposed, and Mr. Russell concurred with him. The other three commissioners were for making the proposal. The argument on that question was long, earnest and ardent. Mr. Clay contended, that the right of catching fish in the open sea and bays, being incontestable, the privilege of taking them and curing and drying them within the exclusive jurisdiction of Great Britain was of little or no importance, especially as it was limited to the time that the British territory should remain unsettled. With respect to the navigation of the Mississippi, he contended, that at the dates both of the definitive treaty of peace of 1793, and of Mr. Jay's treaty of 1794, Spain owned the whole of the right bank of the Mississippi, in all its extent, and both banks of it from the Mexican gulf up to the boundary of the United States; that at both those periods, it was supposed that the British dominions touched on the Upper Mississippi, but it was now known that they did not border at all on that river; that now the whole Mississippi, from its uppermost source to the gulf, was incontestably within the limits of the

United States. He could not, therefore, conceive the propriety of stipulating with Great Britain for a mutual right to the navigation of that river. It was the largest river in the United States; so large as to have required the denunciation of the Father of rivers. Why select it from among all the rivers of the United States, and subject it to a foreign vesselage? Why do that in respect to the Mississippi which would not be tolerated in respects the North river, the James, or the Potomac? What would Great Britain herself think if a proposal were made that the citizens of the United States and the subjects of Great Britain should have a mutual right to navigate the Thames? To make the proposed concession, was to admit of a British partnership with the United States in the sovereignty of the Mississippi, so far as its navigation was concerned. Then there might be a doubt and a dispute whether the concession did not comprehend the tributaries as well as the principal stream. If the grant of the right to navigate the Mississippi was to be regarded as an equivalent for the concession of the fishing privilege, Mr. Clay demurred. But there was no affinity between the two subjects. They were as distant in their nature as they were remote from each other in their localities.

On the other side, it was contended that it would occasion regret and dissatisfaction in the United States, if any of the fishing privileges, or other privileges, which had been enjoyed before the breaking out of the war, should not be secured by the treaty of peace; that these fishing privileges were very important and dear to a section of the Union, which had been adverse to the war; that the British right to the navigation of the Mississippi was merely a nominal concession, which would not result in any practical injury to the United States; that foreigners now enjoyed the right to navigate all the rivers up to the points of entry established upon them, without any prejudice to our interests, that Great Britain had been entitled to this right of navigating the Mississippi from the period of the acquisition of Louisiana to the declaration of war in 1812, without any mischance or our consent in the United States.

To all this, Mr. Clay replied that if we lost the fishing privileges within the exclusive jurisdiction, we gained the total ex-

empt us of the Mississippi from this foreign participation with us in the right to its navigation; that the uncertainty as to the extent of privileges which the British right to navigate the Mississippi comprised, far from recommending the concession to him, formed an additional objection to it; that the period of about eight years between the acquisition of Louisiana and the declaration of war, was too short for us to ascertain by experience what practical use Great Britain was capable of making of that right of navigation, which might be injurious to us. We knew that a great many of the Indian tribes were situated upon the sources of the Mississippi. The British right to navigate that river might bring her into direct contact with them, and we had sufficient experience of the pernicious use she might make of those Indians. — He was as anxious as any of his colleagues to secure all the rights of fishing, and curing and drying fish, which had hitherto been enjoyed; but he could not consent to the purchase of temporary and uncertain privileges, within the British limits, at the expense of putting a foreign and depending mark upon the subject of all our rivers.

After the argument, which was extended to several sittings of the consultation meetings of the American commissioners, was exhausted, it appeared that the same three commissioners were inclined to make the proposal. In that stage of the proceedings, Mr. Clay said, he felt it due to his colleagues to state to them that he would offer his signature to no treaty which should make to Great Britain the contemplated concession. After the announcement of this determination, Mr. Bayard united with Messrs. Clay and Russell, and then formed a majority against tendering the proposal — and it was not made.

But, at a subsequent period of the negotiation, when the British commissioners made their proposition for a treaty, one of the propositions was to renew the British right to navigate the Mississippi simply, without including the fishing privileges in question. On examining this proposal, the American commissioners considered, first, whether they should accept the proposals with or without conditions. All united in agreeing that it ought not to be unconditionally accepted. But the same three commissioners who had been originally in favor of an article which should

include both the Mississippi and the fishing privileges within the British limits, appeared to be now in favor of accepting the English proposal, upon the condition that it should comprehend these fishing privileges. Mr. Clay did not remove the expectation of his determination to sign no treaty which should concede to the British the right to the navigation of the Mississippi, although he remained fixed in that purpose; for he apprehended that a repetition of the expression of his determination might be misconstrued by his colleagues.

It was accordingly proposed to the British commissioners to accept the proposal with the condition just stated. At a subsequent conference between the two commissions, the British declined accepting the proposed conditions, and it was mutually agreed to leave both subjects out of the treaty. And thus, as Mr. Clay wished from the first, the Mississippi river became liberated from all British pretensions of a right to navigate it from the ocean to its source.

A controversy having arisen between Messrs. Adams and Russell, about the year 1823, in respect to some points in the negotiations at Ghent, an unobscured correspondence took place between those two gentlemen. In the course of it, Mr. Clay thought that Mr. Adams had unintentionally fallen into some errors, which Mr. Clay, in a note addressed to the public, stated he would at some future day correct. About the year 1825 or 1826, Mr. Russell, without the previous consent of Mr. Clay, published a confidential letter addressed by Mr. Clay to him, in which he expresses his condemnation of Mr. Russell's course in the alteration of some of his letters, which had been changed and proved upon him by Mr. Adams. In that same letter, Mr. Clay gives his explanation of some of the transactions at Ghent, respecting which he thought Mr. Adams was mistaken. The publication of the confidential letters represented the accuracy of making the corrections which Mr. Clay had intended. In this letter, Mr. Clay in no instance inquires the motives of Mr. Adams, nor does it contain a line from which an indirectly stated rebuffing on the part of the writer toward Mr. Adams could be inferred.

Such was Mr. Clay's pride of country that he had resolved not

to go to England would be had heard of the ratification of the treaty of Ghent. After the termination of the negotiations he went to Paris, and accepted the invitation of Mr. Crawford, our minister, to take apartments in his hotel. Mr. Clay remained in Paris during upward of two months. On the night of his arrival in that brilliant metropolis, he found at Mr. Crawford's invitation in a hall given by the American banker, Mr. Hottinguer, on the occasion of the pacification between the United States and Great Britain. There he met for the first time the celebrated Madame de Staël—was introduced to her, and had with her a long and animated conversation.

"Ah!" said she, "Mr. Clay, I have been in England, and have been battling your cause for you there."—"I know it, madame; we heard of your powerful interposition, and we are grateful and thankful for it."—"They were very much surprised against you," said she: "so much so, that they at one time thought seriously of sending the duke of Wellington to command their armies against you!"—"I am very sorry, madame," replied Mr. Clay, "that they did not send his grace."—"Why?" asked she, surprised.—"Because, madame, if he had beaten us, we should have been in the condition of Europe, without disgrace. But, if we had been so fortunate as to defeat him, we should have greatly added to the renown of our arms."

The next time he met Madame de Staël was at a party at her own house, which was attended by the marshals of France, the duke of Wellington, and other distinguished persons. She introduced Mr. Clay to the duke, and at the same time related the above anecdote. He replied with promptness and politeness, that if he had been sent on that service, and had been so fortunate as to have been successful over a foe so gallant as the Americans, he would have regarded it as the proudest feather in his cap.

During his stay in Paris, Mr. Clay heard of the issue of the battle of New Orleans.—"Now," said he to his informant, "I can go to England without mortification." But he expressed himself greatly mortified at the inglorious flight attributed, in the dispatches of the American general, to a portion of the Kentucky militia, which Mr. Clay pronounced must be a mistake.

Having heard of the ratification of the treaty of Ghent, Mr. Clay left Paris for England in March, 1815, just before the arrival of Bonaparte in the French capital. He thus missed the opportunity of seeing the great Corsican. He would have remained in Paris for the purpose, had he supposed the emperor would arrive so soon. It was about this time that Louis XVIII. left Paris, and took up his residence in Ghent, near the hotel which the American commissioners had recently occupied.

On his arrival in England before any of the other American commissioners, Mr. Clay had an interview with Lord Castlereagh, who contracted for him a high asthma, which was frequently manifested during his sojourn in England. Lord Castlereagh offered to present him to the prince-regent. Mr. Clay said he would go through the ceremony, if it were deemed necessary or respectful. Lord Castlereagh said, that, having been recognised in his public character by the British government, it was not necessary, and that he might omit it or not, as he pleased. Mr. Clay's repugnance to the parade of courts prevented his presentation, and he never saw the prince. He met, however, with most of the other members of the royal family.

A few days after his interview with Lord Castlereagh, the keeper of the house at which Mr. Clay lodged, introduced a person who wished to speak with him. Mr. Clay directed him to be admitted; and, on his entrance, he perceived an individual, dressed apparently in great splendor, come forward, whom he took to be a peer of the realm. He rose and asked his visitor to be seated, but the latter declined, and observed that he was the first waiter of my Lord Castlereagh! "The first waiter of my Lord Castlereagh!" exclaimed Mr. Clay; "well, what is your pleasure with me?"—"Why, if your excellency pleases," said the man, "it is usual for a foreign minister, when presented to Lord Castlereagh, to make to his first waiter a present, or pay him the customary stipend;" at the same time handing to Mr. Clay a long list of names of foreign ministers, with the sum which every one had paid affixed to his name.

Mr. Clay thinking it a rare occasion, took the paper, and, while reading it, thought how he should regret so exceptional a demand. He returned it to the servant, telling him that, as it

was the custom of the country, he presumed it was all right; but that he was not the minister to England; Mr. Adams was the minister, and was daily expected from Paris, and, he had no doubt, would do whatever was right. "But," said the servant, very promptly, "if your *excellency* please, it makes no difference whether the minister presented be the resident minister or a special minister, as I understand your *excellency* to be;— it is always paid." Mr. Clay, who had come to England to argue with the master, finding himself in danger of being beaten in argument by the man, concluded it was best to conform to the usage, objectionable as he thought it; and, looking over the paper for the smallest sum paid by any other minister, handed the fellow five guineas, and dismissed him.

Mr. Clay was in London when the battle of Waterloo was fought, and witnessed the Illuminations, bonfires, and rejoicings, to which it gave rise. For a day or two, it was a matter of great uncertainty what had become of Napoleon. During this interval of anxious suspense, Mr. Clay dined at Lord Castlereagh's with the American ministers, Messrs. Adams and Gallatin, and the British ministry. Bonaparte's flight and probable place of refuge became the topics of conversation. Among other conjectures, it was suggested that he might have gone to the United States; and Lord Liverpool, addressing Mr. Clay, asked: "If he goes there, will he not give you a good deal of trouble?" "Not the least, my lord," replied Mr. Clay, with his habitual promptitude — "we shall be very glad to receive him; we would treat him with all hospitality, and *very soon make of him a good general.*"

The reply produced a very hearty peal of laughter from the whole company.

Mr. Clay was received in the British circles, both of the ministry and the opposition, with the most friendly consideration. The late Sir James Mackintosh was one of his first acquaintances in London;— and of the lamented Sir Samuel Romilly and his beautiful and accomplished lady, Mr. Clay has been heard to remark,

but they presented one of the most beautiful examples of a happy man and wife that he had ever seen. He passed a most agreeable week with his Gilbert friend, Lord Gambier, at Iwer Grove, near Windsor Great. Of this peer and excellent noble-

man, Mr. Clay has ever retained a lively and friendly recollection. He visited with him Windsor Castle, Frogmore Lodge, the residence of the descendant of William Penn, and saw the wife of George III. and some of the daughters.

In September, 1815, Mr. Clay returned to his own country, arriving in New York, which port he had left in March, 1814. A public dinner was given to him and Mr. Gallatin, soon after their disembarkation. Everywhere, on his route homeward to his adopted state, he was received with continual demonstrations of public gratitude and appreciation. In Kentucky he was hailed with every token of affection and respect. The board of trustees of Lexington waited upon him and presented their thanks for his eminent services in behalf of his country.

On the seventh of October, the citizens of the same town gave him a public dinner. In reply to a toast complimentary to the American negotiators, he made some brief and eloquent remarks concerning the circumstances under which the treaty had been concluded, and the general condition of the country, both at the commencement and the close of the war. At the same festival, in reply to a toast highly complimentary to himself, he thanked the company for their kind and affectionate attention. His reception, he said, had been more like that of a brother than a common friend or acquaintance, and he was utterly incapable of finding words to express his gratitude. He compared his situation to that of a Swedish gentleman, at a festival in Finland given by the Society for the Relief of Foreigners in Distress. A toast having been given, complimentary to his country, it was expected that he should address the company in reply. Not understanding the English language, he was greatly embarrassed, and said to the chairman: "Sir, I wish you and this society to consider me a *foreigner in distress*." "Sir," said Mr. Clay, evidently much affected, "I wish you to consider me a *friend in distress*."

In anticipation of his return home, Mr. Clay had been unanimously re-elected a member of Congress from the district he formerly represented. Doubts arising as to the legality of this election, a new one was ordered, and the result was the same.

On the fourth of December, 1815, the fourteenth Congress

met, in its first session. Mr. Clay was again elected speaker of the house of representatives, almost unanimously receiving, upon the first balloting, eighty-seven out of one hundred and twenty-two votes and thirteen being the highest number given for any one of the five opposing candidates. He was, at this time, just recovering from a serious indisposition, but accepted the office in a brief and appropriate speech, acknowledging the honor conferred upon him, and pledging his best efforts for the proper discharge of its duties.

Among the important subjects which came up, that of the new treaty was, of course, among the foremost. John Randolph and the federalists, after having resisted the war, now took frequent occasion to censure it the mode of its termination. On the 29th of January, 1816, Mr. Clay addressed the committee of the house most eloquently in reply to these cavillers.

"I gave a vote," said he, "for the declaration of war. I exerted all the little influence and talents I could command to make the war. The war was made. It is terminated. And I declare, with perfect sincerity, if it had been permitted to me to lift the veil of futurity, and to have foreseen the precise series of events which has occurred, my vote would have been unshaken. We had been insulted, and outraged, and spoliated upon by almost all Europe—by Great Britain, by France, Spain, Denmark, Naples, and, to cap the climax, by the little contemptible power of Algiers. We had submitted too long and too much. We had become the scene of backbiting, and the derision of our own citizens."

It had been objected by the opposition, that no provision had been made in the treaty in regard to the imprisonment of our seamen by the British. On this subject, Mr. Clay said—and his argument is as conclusive as it is lofty:

"One of the great causes of the war, and of its continuance, was the practice of imprisonment exercised by Great Britain—and if this claim had been satisfied by necessary implication or express stipulation, the rights of our seamen would have been abandoned? It is with utter astonishment that I hear it has been contended in this country, that because our right of execution from the practice had not been expressly reserved in the treaty, it was, therefore, given up! It is hopeless that such an argument can be advanced on this floor. No member, who regarded his reputation, would venture to avow such a doctrine!"

In conclusion, Mr. Clay declared, on this occasion, that his policy, in regard to the attitude in which the country should now be placed, was to preserve the present force, naval and military—to provide for the augmentation of the navy—to fortify the weak

and vulnerable points indicated by experience—to construct military roads and canals—and, in short, “to CONDUCE THE GREAT WORK OF INTERNAL IMPROVEMENT.”

“I would see,” he said, “a chain of torapile roads and canals from Pensacola to New Orleans; and other similar works, either along the coast or to facilitate intercourse between all parts of the country, and to bind and knit us together. I trust it is not the duty of the government to construct them. I would afford them protection, but to watch for the safety of the manufacturers themselves, as for the general interest.”

It was in this patriotic spirit, and impelled by this far-sighted, liberal, and truly American policy, that Mr. Clay resumed his legislative labors in the national councils. He has lived to carry out these truly great and statesman-like measures of protection and internal improvement, which even then began to gather shape and power in a mind ever active in the cause of his country. May he live to receive a testimonial of that country's gratitude and admiration, in the bestowal upon him of the highest honor in her gift?

V.

THE UNITED STATES HAVE SOUTH AMERICAN EXPEDIENTS.

The financial condition of the United States, at the close of the war, was extremely depressed. The currency was deranged, public credit impaired, and a heavy debt impending. In his message, at the opening of the session of 1815 '16, President Madison stated the condition of public affairs, and indicated the establishment of a national bank, and of a protective tariff, as the two great measures of relief.

On the 8th of January, 1816, Mr. Calhoun, from the committee on that part of the president's message relating to the currency, reported a bill to incorporate the subscribers to a Bank of the United States.

It will be remembered that Mr. Clay, in 1814, while a member of the senate, had opposed the re-chartering of the old bank. His reasons for now advocating the bill before the house have been fully and freely communicated to the public.

When the application was made to renew the old charter of the Bank of the United States, such an institution did not appear to him to be so necessary to the fulfilment of any of the objects specifically enumerated in the constitution, as to justify Congress in assuming, by construction, power to establish it. It was supported mainly upon the ground that it was indispensable to the treasury operations. But the local institutions in the several states, were at that time in prosperous existence, confided in by the community, having confidence in one another, and maintaining an intercourse and connection the most intimate. Many of them were actually employed by the treasury, to aid that department in a part of its fiscal arrangements; and they appeared to him to be fully capable of affording to it all the facilities that it ought to desire in all of them. They superseded, in his judgment, the necessity of a national institution.

But hear about the case in 1816, when he was called upon again to examine the power of the general government to incorporate a national bank! A total change of circumstances was presented. Events of the utmost magnitude had intervened. A suspension of specie payments had taken place. The currency of the country was completely vitiated. The government issued paper bearing an interest of six per cent., which it pledged the faith of the country to redeem. For this paper, guaranteed by the honor and faith of the government, there was obtained for every one hundred dollars, eighty dollars from those banks which suspended specie payments. The experience of the war, therefore, showed the necessity of a bank. The country could not get along without it. Mr. Clay had then changed his opinion on the subject, and he had never attempted to disguise the fact. In his position as speaker of the house, he might have backed up his opinion in his own breast. But with that candor and fearlessness which have ever distinguished him, he had come forward, as honest men ought to come forward, and expressed his change of opinion, at the time when President Madison, and other eminent men, changed their course in relation to the bank.

The constitution confers on Congress the power to coin money and to regulate the value of foreign coins; and the states are forbidden to coin money, to emit bills of credit, or to make anything

but gold or silver coin a tender in payment of debts. The plain inference was, that the subject of the general currency was intended to be submitted exclusively to the general government. In point of fact, however, the regulation of the general currency was in the hands of the state governments, or, what was the same thing, of the banks created by them. Their paper had every quality of money, except that of being made a tender, and even this was imparted to it by some states, in the law by which a creditor must receive it, or submit to a tedious suspension of the payment of his debt.

It was incumbent upon Congress to recover the control which it had lost over the general currency. The remedy called for was one of caution and moderation, but of firmness. Whether a remedy, directly acting upon the banks and their paper thrown into circulation, was in the power of the general government or not, neither Congress nor the community were prepared for the application of such a remedy.

An indirect remedy of a milder character, seemed to be furnished by a national bank. Going into operation with the powerful aid of the treasury of the United States, Mr. Clay believed it would be highly instrumental in the removal of specie payments. Coupled with the other measure adopted by Congress for that object, he believed the remedy effectual. The local banks must follow the example which the national bank would set them, of redeeming their notes by the payment of specie, or their notes would be discontinued and put down.

If the constitution, then, warranted the establishment of a bank, other considerations, besides those already mentioned, strongly urged it. The want of a general medium was everywhere felt. Exchange varied continually, not only between different parts of the union, but between different parts of the same city. If the paper of a national bank were not redeemed in specie, it would be much better than the current paper, since though its value, in comparison with specie, might fluctuate, it would afford a uniform standard.

During this discussion of 1816, on the bank charter, a collision arose between Messrs. Clay and Randolph, which produced great sensation for the moment, and which, it was apprehended, might

lead to serious consequences. Although Mr. Clay had changed his own opinion in regard to a bank, he did not feel authorized to seek, in private intercourse, to influence that of others, and observed a silence and reserve not usual to him, on the subject. Mr. Randolph commented on this fact, and used language which might bear an offensive interpretation. When he was done, Mr. Clay rose with perfect coolness, but evidently with a firm determination, and, alluding to the offensive language, observed that it required explanation, and that he should forbear saying what it became him to say, until he heard the explanation, if any, which the member from Virginia had to make. He sat down. Mr. Randolph rose and made an explanation. Mr. Clay again rose, and said that this explanation was not satisfactory. Whereupon Mr. R. again got up, and disclaimed expressly all intentional offences.

During the transaction of this scene, the most intense anxiety and the most perfect stillness pervaded the house. You might have heard a pin fall in any part of it.

The bill to recharter the bank, was discussed for several weeks in the house. The vote was taken, on its third reading, on the 14th of March, 1816, when it was passed: 80 yeas to 71 nays; and was sent to the senate for concurrence. On the 2d of April, after the bill reported by the financial committee had received a full and thorough discussion, it was finally passed in that body, by a vote of 23 to 12—four members only being absent. The amendments of the senate were speedily adopted by the house, and on the 10th of April, the bill became a law, by the signature of the president. The wisdom of the supporters of the measure was soon made manifest in the fact that the institution more than realized the most sanguine hopes of its friends. During the period of its existence, the United States enjoyed a currency of unexampled purity and uniformity; and the bills of the bank were as acceptable as silver in every quarter of the globe. In another part of this memoir, will be found an outline of such a fiscal institution as Mr. Clay would be in favor of, whenever the majority of the people of the United States might demand the establishment of a national bank.

On the 6th of March, 1816, Col. Richard M. Johnson, from a

committee appointed for the purpose, reported a bill changing the mode of compensation to members of Congress. The pay of members, at that time, was six dollars a day—an amount which, from its inadequacy, threatened to place the legislation of the country in the hands of the wealthy. The new bill gave members a salary of fifteen hundred dollars a year—to the presiding officer twice that amount. It passed both houses without opposition. Mr. Clay professed the increase of the daily compensation to the institution of a salary, but the majority were against him, and he acquiesced in their decision.

He never canvassed for a seat in the house of representatives but on one occasion, and that was after the passage of this unpopular bill. It produced very great dissatisfaction throughout the United States, and extended to the district which he represented. Mr. Pope, a gentleman of great abilities, was his competitor. They had several skirmishes at popular meetings, with various success; but having agreed upon a general action, they met at Highlin, a central place, and convenient of access to the three counties composing the district. A vast multitude assembled; and the rival candidates occupied in their addresses the greater part of the day.

Instead of confining himself to a defence of the compensation bill, which he never honestly approved in the form of an annual salary to members of Congress, Mr. Clay carried the war into the enemy's country. He attacked Mr. Pope's vote against the declaration of war with Great Britain, dwelt on the wrongs and injuries which that power had inflicted on the United States, pointed out his inconsistency in opposing the war upon the ground of a want of preparation to prosecute it, and yet having been willing to declare war against both France and Great Britain. Thus he put his competitor on the defensive. The effect of the discussion was powerful and triumphant on the side of Mr. Clay. From that day his success was no longer doubtful, and accordingly, at the election, which shortly after ensued, he was chosen by a majority of six or seven hundred votes.

During the canvass, Mr. Clay encountered an old hunter, who had always before been his warm friend, but now was opposed to his election on account of the compensation bill

"Have you a good rifle, my friend?" asked Mr. Clay.—"Yes."
 "Does it ever flush?" "Never only," he replied.—"What did you do with it—throw it away?"—"No, I picked the flint, tried it again, and brought down the game." "Have I ever flushed but upon the compensation bill?"—"No." "Will you throw me away?"—"No, no!" exclaimed the hunter, with enthusiasm, nearly overpowered by his feelings; "I will pick the flint, and try you again!" He was afterward a warm supporter of Mr. Clay.

This anecdote reminds us of another, which is illustrative of that trait of boldness and self-possession, in the manifestation of which Mr. Clay has never been known to fail during his public career. At the time that he was a candidate for election to the legislature of Kentucky, in 1803, while passing a few weeks at the Olympian springs, a number of huntsmen, old and young, assembled to hear him make a "stump speech." When he had finished, one of the audience, an ancient Nimrod, who had stood leaning upon his rifle for some time, regarding the young orator with keen attention, commenced a conversation with him.

"Young man," said he, "you want to go to the legislature, I see?"

"Why, yes," replied Mr. Clay, "since I have consented to be a candidate, I would prefer not to be defeated."

"Are you a good shot?"

"Try me."

"Very well; I would like to see a specimen of your qualifications for the legislature. Come; we must not you shoot."

"But I have no rifle here."

"No matter: here is old Hess; and she never fails in the hands of a marksman; she has often sent death through a squirrel's head at one hundred yards, and drylight through many a redskin twice that distance; if you can shoot with my gun, you can shoot with old Hess."

"Well, well; put up your mark, put up your mark," said Mr. Clay.

The target was placed at the distance of about eighty yards, when, with all the coolness and steadiness of an experienced marksman, he lifted "old Hess" to his shoulder, fixed, and piked at the very centre of the target.

"Oh, a chance shot! a chance shot!" exclaimed several of his political opponents. "He might shoot all day and not hit the mark again. Let him try it over—let him try it over."

"No; beat that, and then I will," retorted Mr. Clay. But as no one seemed disposed to make the attempt, it was considered that he had given satisfactory proof of his superiority as a marksman; and this felicitous accident passed into the ears of every hunter in the assembly. The most remarkable feature in the transaction remains to be told. "I had never," said Mr. Clay, "fired a rifle before, and never have since." It is needless to add that the election resulted in his favor.

An Irish barber, residing in Lexington, had supported Mr. Clay with great zeal at all elections, when he was a candidate, prior to the passage of the compensation bill. The fellow's unrestrained passions had frequently involved him in scrapes and difficulties, on which occasions Mr. Clay generally detached him and got him out of them. During the campaign, after the compensation bill, the barber was very reserved, took no part in the election, and seemed indifferent to its fate. He was often impetored to state for whom he meant to vote, but declined. At length, a few days before the election, he was addressed by Dr. W——, a gentleman for whom he entertained the highest respect, and pressed to say to whom he meant to give his suffrage. Looking at the inquirer with great earnestness and awkwardness, he said: "I tell you what, doctor, I mean to vote for the man that can put his one hand into the treasury." Mr. Pope had the misfortune to lose, in early life, one of his eyes, and here lay the point of the Irishman's reply.

It is due to the memory of Jeremiah Murphy, the barber, to state that he repented of his ingratitude to Mr. Clay, whom he met one day in the streets of Lexington, and, addressing him, burst into tears, and told him that he had wronged him; and that his poor wife had got round him, crying and reproaching him for his conduct, saying: "Don't you remember, Jerry, when you were in jail, Mr. Clay came to you, and made that honest, William B——, the jailer, let you out?"

Having found that the sentiments of his constituents were decidedly opposed to the compensation bill, Mr. Clay, at the meeting

motion, voted for its repeal. A daily allowance of eight dollars to every member, was substituted for the salary of fifteen hundred dollars.

During the month of February, a bill was introduced, setting apart and pledging as a fund for internal improvement, the loans of the United States' share of the dividends of the national bank. As may be presumed, this measure received the hearty support of Mr. Clay. Without entering at length into a discussion of the subject, he expressed a wish only to say that he "had long thought there were no two subjects which could engage the attention of the national legislature, more worthy of its deliberate consideration, than those of internal improvement and domestic manufactures." For constitutional reasons, President Madison withheld his signature from this bill, much to the surprise of his friends.

During the administration of Mr. Madison, Mr. Clay was, on two separate occasions, offered a seat in his cabinet, or the mission to Russia, by that distinguished chief magistrate. He declined them both. Mr. Madison appears to have had the highest estimate of his talents and worth. Indeed, so impressed was he with the eminent and versatile abilities of Mr. Clay, that he had selected him, at the commencement of the war, to be *commander-in-chief of the army*. The nomination was not made, solely because Mr. Clay could not be spared from Congress, where his powerful mind and permanent influence, enabled him to render services superior to any that could have been rendered in any other position.

On the 4th of March, 1817, James Monroe took the oath prescribed by the constitution, and entered upon the duties of the presidency of the United States. The first session of the fifteenth Congress commenced the ensuing December. Mr. Clay was again chosen speaker.

It would be impossible, in the brief space we have allotted to ourselves, to present even a brief abstract of his remarks upon the many important topics which now claimed the attention of Congress. We need content ourselves with a succinct account of the leading measures with which his name and his fame have become identified.

In his speech on the state of the union, in January, in 1816 he had expressed his sympathies in behalf of the South American colonists, who were then struggling to throw off the yoke of the mother-country. The supreme Congress of the Mexican republic afterward voted him their thanks "for the disinterested, manly, and generous sentiments he expressed on the floor of the house, for the welfare of the infant republic."

In the debate on the proposition to reduce the direct taxation of the country, he had alluded to the existing powerful coalition of the United States, and had hinted the possibility of hostilities with Spain. He had heard that the minister of that nation had demanded the surrender of a portion of our soil—that part of Florida lying west of the Perdido. Without speaking of it as it deserved—of the impudence of such a demand—he alluded to it as indicative of the disposition of the Spanish government. "Besides," said he, "who can tell with certainty how far it may be proper to aid the people of South America in the establishment of their independence?" The subject, he avowed, had made a deep impression on his mind; and he was not in favor of exhausting, by direct taxes, the country of those funds which might be needed to vindicate its rights at home, or, if necessary, to aid the cause of liberty in South America.

These remarks aroused all the spleen of Mr. Randolph. "An fir South American," said he, in his reply to Mr. Clay, "I am not going a-fishing for the liberties of her people; they come not to our aid; let us mind our own business, and not tax our people for the liberties of the people of Spanish America." He went on to ridicule the notion that the people of Caracas and Mexico were capable either of enjoying or of understanding liberty, and insinuated that Mr. Clay was influenced by a desire of conquest. "The honorable gentleman," he said, "had been sent, on a late occasion, to Europe; he had been near the field of Waterloo, and, he feared, had spilt the carriage and caught the infection." "What?" said he, "increase our standing army in time of peace, on the suggestion that we are to go on a crusade to South America?" Mr. Clay intimated that he had advocated no such measure. "Do I not understand the gentleman?" said Mr. Randolph. "I am sorry I do not; I labor under two great misfortunes—*one*

is that I can never understand the honorable speaker—the other is that he can never understand me : on such terms, an argument can never be maintained between us, and I shall, therefore, put an end to it." Mr. Clay simply expressed his surprise that Mr. H. could so have misunderstood his remarks, and deferred the general argument to another occasion.

Soon after, on a proposition to "prevent our citizens from selling vessels-of-war to a foreign power," Mr. Clay opposed the bill, on account of its evident bearing upon the question of South American independence ; it would everywhere be understood as a law framed expressly to prevent the offer of the slightest aid to those republics by our citizens. "With respect to the nature of their struggle," he said, "I have not now, for the first time, to express my opinion and wishes. I wish them independence. It is the first step toward improving their condition."

During the summer of 1816, the president had appointed Messrs. Rulacy, Graham, and Blund, commissioners to proceed to South America, to ascertain the condition of the country. In March, 1818, the appropriation bill being before the house, Mr. Clay objected to the clause appropriating \$30,000 for their compensation, as unconstitutional. He then offered an amendment, appropriating eighteen thousand dollars as the outfit and one year's salary of a minister, to be deputed from the United States to the independent provinces of the River La Plata, in South America. The amendment was lost ; but Mr. Clay's speech in support of it was one of his most memorable efforts. Both Congress and the president were opposed to any recognition of the independence of the South American colonists. In rising to promulgate views hostile to theirs, Mr. Clay said that, much as he valued those friends, in and out of the house, from whom he differed, he could not hesitate when reduced to the distressing alternative of conforming his judgment to theirs, or pursuing the deliberate and natural dictates of his own mind.

He maintained that an oppressed people were authorized, whenever they could, to rise and break their fetters. This was the great principle of the English revolution. It was the great principle of our own. Yattel, if authority were wanting, expressly supports this right.

Mr. Clay said he was no propagandist. He would not seek to force upon other nations our principles and our liberty, if they did not want them. He would not disturb the repose, even of a detestable despotism. But, if an abused and oppressed people wished their freedom; if they sought to establish it, if, in truth, they had established it, we had a right, as a sovereign power, to notice the fact, and to act as circumstances and our interest required.

The opposition had argued that the people of Spanish America were too ignorant and superstitious to appreciate and conduct an independent and free system of government. We believe it is blameworthy, who says of this plea of ignorance, as an argument against emancipation, that with just as much propriety might you argue against a person's going into the water until he knew how to swim. Mr. Clay denied the alleged fact of the ignorance of the colonists.

With regard to their superstition, he said, "They worship the same God with us. Their prayers are offered up in their temples to the same Redeemer, whose intercession we expect to save us. *Now is there anything in the Catholic religion incompatible to freedom.* All religions united with government are more or less inimical to liberty. All separated from government are compatible with liberty."

Having shown that the cause of the South American patriots was just, Mr. Clay promised to inquire what course of policy it became us to adopt. He maintained that a recognition of their independence was compatible with perfect neutrality and with the most pacific relations toward old Spain. Recognition alone, without aid, was no just cause of war. With aid, it was; not because of the recognition, but because of the aid; as aid, without recognition, was cause of war.

After demonstrating that the United States were bound, on their own principles, to acknowledge the independence of the United Provinces of the river Plate, he alluded to the impossibility that any of the European monarchies would set the example of recognition. "Are we not bound," he asked, "upon our own principles, to acknowledge this new republic? If WK do not, who will?"

The simple words, "*who will?*" are said, by an intelligent observer, who was present, to have been uttered in a tone of such thrilling pathos, as to stir up the deepest sensibilities of the audience. It is by such apparent simple appeals that Mr. Clay, with the aid of his exquisitely modulated voice, often produces the most powerful and lasting effects.

We shall not attempt to present a summary of this magnificent address. "No abstract," says one who heard it, "can furnish an adequate idea of a speech, which, as an example of argumentative oratory, may be safely tried by the test of the most approved models of any age or country. Rich in all the learning connected with the subject; methodized in an order which kept that subject constantly before the hearer, and enabled the meanest capacity to follow the speaker without effort, through a long series of topics, principal and subsidiary; at once breathing sentiments of generous philanthropy and teaching lessons of wisdom; presenting a variety of illustrations which strengthened the doctrines that they rebuked; and uttering prophecies, on which, though rejected by the infidelity of the day, time has stamped the seal of truth; this speech will descend to the latest posterity and remain embalmed in the praises of mankind, long after triumphs of military ambition and the plots of political profligacy have passed into oblivion."

After repeated efforts and repeated failures to carry his generous measures in behalf of South American liberty, Mr. Clay, on the tenth of February, 1821, submitted for consideration a resolution declaring that the house of representatives participated with the people of the United States, in the deep interest which they felt for the success of the Spanish provinces of South America, which were struggling to establish their liberty and independence; and that it would give its constitutional support to the president of the United States, whenever he might deem it expedient to recognise the sovereignty and independence of those provinces.

On this resolution a debate of nearly four hours ensued, in which Mr. Clay sustained the principal part. Only twelve members voted against the first clause of it; and on the second, the votes were eighty-seven for, and sixty-eight against it. The

question was then taken on the resolution as a whole, and carried in the affirmative; and Mr. Clay immediately moved that a committee of two members should be appointed, to present it to President Monroe. Although such a course was not very usual, a committee was accordingly ordered, and Mr. Clay was appointed its chairman. It was a great triumph. He had been long and ardently engaged in the cause, and, during a considerable part of the time, opposed by the whole weight of Mr. Monroe's administration. And when he was appointed chairman of the committee, to present the resolution, Mr. Monroe's friends regarded it as a personal insult, and Mr. Nelson, of Virginia, one of the warmest of them, retired from the capital, after the adjournment of the house, denouncing the act in the harshest terms of his remarkable voice, on his way down Pennsylvania avenue, as an unprecedented indignity to the chief magistrate.

On the 8th day of March, 1822, the president sent a message to the house of representatives, recommending the recognition of South American independence. The recommendation was referred to the committee on foreign relations, which, on the 19th of the same month, reported in favor of the recommendation, and of an appropriation to carry it into effect. The vote of recognition was finally passed on the 29th, with but a single dissenting voice.

Such is a brief sketch of Mr. Clay's strenuous efforts in behalf of South American independence. His zeal in the cause was unalloyed by any selfish impulse, or any personal view. He could hope to gain no political capital by his course. He depended on no sectional interest; sustained no party policy; labored for no wealthy client; secured the influence of no man, or set of men, in his championship of a remote, unfeared, and poorish people. Congress and the president were volenteerly opposed to his proposition. But in the face of discomfiture, he persevered, till he succeeded in making converts of his opponents, and in effecting the triumph of his measure. Almost single-handed, he sustained it through discouragement and hostility till it was crowned with success.

The effect of his spirit-stirring appeals in cheering the patriots of South America, was most gratifying and decided. His men,

public plot of March, 1819, was, as one of his most ardent advocates has told us, read at the head of the South American armies, to excite the enthusiasm in battle, and quicken the commemoration of their triumphs.

The following letter from Bolivar, with Mr. Clay's reply, belongs to this period of his history :

* Caracas, 21st November, 1822.

“ Sir : I can not omit availing myself of the opportunity offered me by the departure of Mr. Waddy, chargé d'affaires at the United States, of taking the liberty of addressing your excellency. This letter has long been entertained by me for the purpose of expression, and my admiration of your excellency's noble firm valour, and noble love of liberty. All America, Columbia, and especially our own excellency our present attitude for the incomparable services you have rendered to me, by maintaining our cause with a sublime enthusiasm. Accept, therefore, this sincere and cordial testimony which I hasten to offer to your excellency, and to the government of the United States, who have so greatly contributed to the emancipation of your southern brethren.

“ I have the honor to offer to your excellency my distinguished consideration.

“ Your excellency's obedient servant,

“ BOLIVAR.”

The following is a characteristic extract from Mr. Clay's reply :

* Washington, 27th October, 1822.

“ Sir : It is very gratifying to me to be so used directly by your excellency, that the exertions which the government of the United States took on this memorable occasion, and my humble efforts, have excited the gratitude and commended the approbation of your excellency. I am persuaded that I do not misinterpret the feelings of the people of the United States, as I certainly express my own, in saying, that the interest which was inspired in this country, by the sublime struggles of South America, arose principally from the hope, that, wherever liberty and justice, could be established, free institutions, embracing all the elements of civil liberty. In the accomplishment of that object we will not be slow. We are aware that great difficulties appear to stand in the way, but the least of that which presents of the establishment of a large military force, would be the progress of setting the power of Spain, in relation to our continent, against the most patriotic intentions, and determination to resist. They depress the substance, debauch the morals, and destroy the liberties of the people. Nothing can be more justifiable, or more necessary to return them to their former state, which led to their institution, especially if their numbers are disproportionately to the resources of the empire.

“ But, not withstanding all the difficulties, we had finally cheerfully and still include the hope, that South America would add a new strength to the ranks of human liberty, such that Providence would bless her, as he had her northern sister, with the course of some great and virtuous man to come direct by ourselves through all her trials. We had even destined ourselves that we should that person be your excellency. But I should be unworthy of the consideration with which your excellency honors me, and doubt

VI.

INTERNAL IMPROVEMENT PROTECTION.

We have seen that from an early period Mr. Clay was an advocate of the doctrine of internal improvement. His speech in Congress in 1806, had been in vindication of the policy authorizing the erection of a bridge across the Potomac river. In the passages we have quoted from his speech of January, 1816, he declared himself in favor not only of a system of internal improvement, but of protection to our manufactures.

It will be remembered that the bill appropriating for purposes of internal improvement the loan which was to be paid by the Bank of the United States to the general government, after having been passed by Congress, had been returned by President Madison without his signature, in consequence of constitutional objections to the bill. Mr. Clay had been much surprised at this act; for Mr. Madison, in one of his messages, had said: "I particularly invite again the attention of Congress to the expediency of exercising their existing powers, and, where necessary, of resorting to the prescribed mode of enlarging them, in order to effectuate a comprehensive system of roads and canals, such as will have the effect of drawing more closely together every part of our country, by promoting intercourse and improvements, and by increasing the state of every part in the common stock of national prosperity."⁷

Mr. Monroe, in anticipation of the action of Congress, had expressed an opinion in his message opposed to the right of Congress to establish a system of internal improvement. Mr. Jefferson's authority was also cited to show that, under the constitution, roads and canals could not be constructed by the general government without the consent of the state or states through which they were to pass. Thus three successive presidents had opposed the proposition.

Against this weight of precedent, Mr. Clay undertook to persuade Congress of their power under the constitution to appro-

points money for the construction of military roads, post-roads and canals. A resolution, embodying a clause to this effect, came before the house in March, 1818; and he lent to it his unremitting advocacy.

In regard to the constitutionality of the proposed measure, he contended that the power to *construct* post-roads is expressly granted in the power to *establish* post-roads. With respect to military roads, the concession that they might be made when called for by the emergency, was admitting that the constitution conveyed the power. "And we may safely appeal," said Mr. Clay, "to the judgment of the candid and enlightened to decide between the wisdom of these two constructions, of which one requires you to wait for the exercise of your power until the arrival of an emergency which may not allow you to exert it; and the other, without denying you the power, if you can exercise it during the emergency, claims the right of providing beforehand against the emergency."

Mr. Clay's motion, recognising in Congress the constitutional power to make appropriations for internal improvements, was finally carried by a vote of ninety to seventy-five. The victory was a most signal one, obtained, as it was, over the transmitted prejudices of two previous administrations, and the active opposition of the one in power.

From that period to his final retirement from the senate he was the ever-vigilant and persevering advocate of internal improvements. He was the father of the system, and has ever been its most efficient upholder. On the 16th of January, 1821, he addressed the house upon a bill authorizing the president to effect certain surveys and estimates of roads and canals.

The opponents of the system, including President Monroe, had claimed that, in respect to post-roads, the general government had no other authority than to use such as had been previously established by the states. They asserted that to repair such roads was not within the constitutional power of government. Mr. Monroe gave his direct sanction to this doctrine, maintaining that the states were at full liberty to alter, and of course to shut up, post-roads at pleasure.

"Is it possible," asked Mr. Clay, "that this construction of

the constitution can be correct—a construction which allows a law of the United States, enacted for the good of the whole, to be obstructed or defeated in its operation by a county court in any one of the twenty-four sovereignties?"

To Mr. Clay's strenuous and persevering exertions for the continuance of the great Cumberland road across the Alleghonies, the records of Congress will bear ample and constantly-recurring testimony. He himself has said: "We have had to beg, entreat, supplicate you, session after session, to grant the necessary appropriations to complete the road. I have myself toiled until my powers have been exhausted and prostrated, to prevail on you to make the grant." His courageous efforts were at length rewarded; and to him we are indebted for the most magnificent carriage-road in the United States.

At a dinner given to him a few years since by the mechanics of Wheeling, Mr. Clay spoke warmly, and with something like a parental feeling, of this road—expressing a wish that it might be retained, improved, and extended, by the nation. He illustrated its importance by observing that, before it was made, he and his family had expended a whole day of tedious and fatiguing travel to pass the distance of about nine miles, from Uniontown to Freeman's, on the summit of Laurel hill; adding that eighty miles over that and other mountains were now made in one day by the public stage. He said that the road was the only comfortable pass across the mountains, and that he would not consent to give it up to the keeping of the states through which it happened to run. "The people of nine states might thus be interfered with in their communication with the rest of the Union."

The country has not been wholly unmindful of Mr. Clay's prominent services in behalf of this beneficent measure. On the Cumberland road stands a monument of stone, surmounted by the genius of liberty, and bearing as an inscription the name of "HENRY CLAY."

During the second session of the fifteenth Congress, in January, 1819, the subject of General Andrew Jackson's conduct in his celebrated Florida campaign came up for discussion. That chief, after subjecting the vanquished Indians to conditions the most cruel and impudently, had long two prisoners-of-war

Arbuthnot and Ambrister, and concluded his series of outrages by lawlessly seizing the Spanish posts of St. Marks and Pensacola.

Committee of the senate and the house made reports, reprobatory of his conduct; and resolutions were presented, containing four propositions. The first asserted the disapprobation of the house of the proceedings in the trial and execution of Arbuthnot and Ambrister. The second contemplated the passage of a law to prevent the execution hereafter of any captive taken by the army, without the approbation of the president. The third proposition was expressive of the disapproval of the forcible seizure of the Spanish posts, as contrary to orders, and in violation of the constitution. The fourth proposition was that a law should pass to prohibit the march of the army of the United States, or any corps of it, into any foreign territory, without the previous authorization of Congress, except it were in fresh pursuit of a defeated enemy.

We will not attempt an abstract of Mr. Clay's eloquent and argumentative speech in support of these propositions. You less disposed are we to repeat the discreditable history of the wrongs and usurpations perpetrated by General Jackson. It may be proper to state, however, that Mr. Clay, grateful for the public services of the general, treated him with a forbearance and kindness which rendered the sincerity of his animadversions the more obvious.—“With respect to the purity of his intentions,” said Mr. Clay, “I am disposed to allow it in the most extensive degree. Of his acts it is my duty to speak with the freedom which belongs to my station.”

The speaker then proceeded to expose, in a most forcible point of view, the dangerous and arbitrary character of those acts, and the constitutional violations of which General Jackson had been guilty.—There are many passages in this speech which, when we regard them in connection with the subsequent presidential usurpation of the same military chieftain, seem truly like prophetic glimpses. Take, for example, the concluding paragraph:—

“Gentlemen you bear down all opposition; they may even vote the general the public think they may carry him triumphantly through the

forms. But, if they do, in my humble judgment, it will be a triumph of the principle of insubordination—a triumph of the military over the civil authority—a triumph over the power of the home—a triumph over the constitution of the land. And I pray most devoutly to Heaven that it may not prove, in its ultimate effects, a triumph over the liberties of the people.

Even at that distant day, Mr. Clay saw in the conduct of General Jackson, the indications of that imperious will—of that spirit of insubordination—which, dangerous as they were in a military commander, were not less pernicious and alarming in a civil chief magistrate. With his keen, instinctive faculty of penetration, he discovered the despotic and impulsive character of the man. Every page of his speech on the Seminole campaign, furnishes evidence of this fact.

How, then, when the question was presented to him of deciding between the qualifications of John Quincy Adams and Andrew Jackson for the presidency of the United States—how could Henry Clay, as a consistent and honorable man, hesitate for a moment in his choice! And yet an amount of obloquy and vituperation, such as never before was heaped upon a public servant, has been heaped on him because of his retiring to vote for General Jackson, on that occasion! Had he done so, he would have been false to his past professions and convictions—false to conscience, to patriotism, and the plainest dictates of duty.

The resolutions of censure, being strenuously opposed by Mr. Monroe and his cabinet, were lost in the house by a small majority. The dispassionate judgment of posterity will inevitably accord with the views so eloquently expressed by Mr. Clay in regard to General Jackson's conduct in Florida.

We come now to one of the most important epochs in Clay's public history. In the opinion of a large portion of the people of the United States, it is to his long-continued and triumphant efforts in the cause of protection to industry and skill, that he will be indebted for his high and enduring fame. We have seen that, as far back as 1811 the foundation-stone of that great and beneficent American tariff of which he was the originator and the architect.

To specify and describe all his labors in the establishment and advancement of his noble policy, from that time to the period

of his retirement from the senate, would alone fill more space than we can give to his whole life. The journals of Congress, and the political newspapers of the country, for the last thirty years, will be found to be occupied, to an immeasurable extent, with the record of his efforts, and arguments, and untiring appeals. We can present but a very imperfect outline of his pliancy though powerful achievements in the cause of human industry, labor, and prosperity.

On the 12th of March, 1816, Mr. Lawless, of North Carolina, from the committee of ways and means, introduced before the house, a bill "to regulate the duties on imports and tonnage, &c." The bill was avowedly favorable to a tariff of protection; and, strange as the record may seem, one of its most ardent supporters was John C. Calhoun. The whole question was debated with reference to the protective policy. It was thoroughly discussed in committee of the whole; and, through the exertions of Mr. Clay, a higher duty was adopted for the important article of woollens. The amendment, however, was unfortunately lost in the house; but the bill, such as it was, passed.

In the spring of 1820, the subject of a tariff again came before Congress; and Mr. Clay made a most interesting and impressive speech in favor of protective duties.

"I frankly own," said he, on this occasion, "that I feel great solicitude for the success of this bill. The entire independence of my country on all foreign states, as it respects the supply of our essential wants, has ever been with me a favorite object. The war of our revolution effected our political emancipation. The last war contributed greatly toward accomplishing our commercial freedom. *But our complete independence will only be consummated after the policy of this bill shall be recognized and adopted.* We have, indeed, great difficulties to contend with—old habits—entailed prejudices—the enormous profits of a foreign trade, prosecuted under favorable circumstances, which no longer continue. I will not dispute. The cause, I truly believe, is the cause of the country. It may be postponed; it may be frustrated for the moment, but it finally must prevail."

And it was postponed; it was frustrated for the moment; but it finally did prevail.

The tariff was re-enacted by the house, but their bill was rejected by the senate.

In 1823, the health of Mr. Clay was very poor—so much so, that his life was despaired of by both his friends and himself. He had attended the Olynquian springs in Kentucky, in the sum-

ment had been placed under a strict regimen, and subjected to a long course of medicine. In spite of all remedies, he felt a gradual decline, and looked forward to a speedy dissolution. In November he was to start for Washington, and fully anticipated, that after reaching that city, if he reached it at all, he should be obliged to hasten to the south on a last resort. He procured a small travelling carriage and a saddle-horse—throw aside all the prescriptions of the physician, and commenced his journey. Daily he walked on foot, drove in his carriage, and rode on horse back. He arrived at Washington quite well, was elected speaker and went through more labor than he ever performed in any other session, excepting, perhaps, the extra session of 1841.

The condition of the country, in 1824, was far from prosperous. The amount of our exports had diminished to an alarming degree, while our imports of foreign goods had greatly increased. The country was thus drained of its currency; and its commerce was crippled. Nor was there any home-market for the staple productions of our soil. Both cotton-planters and wool-growers shared in the general prostration; and even the farmer had to sell his produce at a loss, or keep it on hand till it was ruined. Labor could with difficulty find employment; and its wages were hardly sufficient to supply the bare necessities of life. Money could only be procured at enormous sacrifices. Distress and bankruptcy pervaded every class of the community.

In January, 1824, a tariff bill was reported by the committee on manufactures of the house; and in March following, Mr. Clay made his great and ever-memorable speech in the house, in support of American industry. Many of our readers will vividly remember the deplorable state of the country at that time. It is impressively portrayed in his exordium on this occasion.

The cause of the wide-spread distress which existed, he maintained, was to be found in the fact that, during almost the whole existence of this government, we had shaped our industry, our navigation, and our commerce, in reference to an extraordinary market in Europe, and to foreign markets, which no longer existed; in the fact that we had depended too much upon foreign sources of supply, and excited too little the native.

On this occasion, Mr. Webster, whose views upon the subject

affirmed underwent an entire change, opposed the bill with the whole powerful weight of his talents and legal acumen. Mr. Clay took up, one by one, the objections of the opposition, laboriously examined and confuted them. For specimens of pure and strongly-linked argument, the records of Congress exhibit no speech superior to that of March, 1824. In amplitude and variety of facts, in force and earnestness of language, and urgency of appeal to the reason and patriotism of Congress and the people, it has rarely been equalled. It would have been surprising indeed, if, notwithstanding the strongly arrayed opposition, such a speech had failed in overcoming it. Experience has amply proved the validity and justice of its arguments. Its predictions have been all fulfilled.

The tariff bill finally passed the house, the 16th of April, 1824, by a vote of 107 to 102. It soon afterward became a law.

We will leave it to Mr. Clay himself to describe the results of his policy, eight years after it had been adopted as the policy of the country. After recalling the gloomy picture he had presented in 1824, he said :—

"I have now to perform the more pleasing task of exhibiting an imperfect sketch of the existing state—of the unparalleled prosperity of the country. On a general survey, we behold cultivation extending, the arts flourishing, the face of the country improved, our people billy and profitably employed, and the public countenances exhibiting tranquillity, contentment, and happiness. And if we descend into particulars, we have the agreeable contemplation of a people out of debt; land rising slowly in value, but in a secure and salutary degree; a ready, though not extravagant market, for all the surplus productions of our industry; innumerable fleets and herds browsing and grazing on ten thousand hills and plains, covered with rich and verdant grasses; our cities expanded, and whole villages springing up, as it were, by enchantment; our exports and imports increased and increasing; our language, foreign and domestic, swelling and fully occupied; the rivers of our interior animated by the thrasher and lightning of countless steamboats; the currency equal and abundant; the public debt of two years nearly reduced; and, to crown all, the public treasury overflowing, enabling Congress, not to find subjects of taxation, but to select the objects which shall be relieved from the impost. If the term of seven years were to be selected of the greatest prosperity which this people have enjoyed since the establishment of their present constitution, it would be exactly that period of seven years which immediately followed the passage of the tariff of 1824."

Such were the consequences of the benign legislation introduced and carried into operation by Henry Clay. And though no reverse of the picture was soon presented to us, through the

violent executive measures of General Jackson, inflating and then precipitating the currency, and the course afterward pursued, we have the satisfaction of knowing that Mr. Clay has never wavered in his course; and that, had his warnings been regarded, and his counsels taken, a far different state of things would, in all probability, have existed.

The unanimous voice of the country has awarded to Mr. Clay the merit of having been the father of the system, which has been justly called the American system. To his personal history belong the testimonials of the various state legislatures and conventions, and of the innumerable public meetings, in all parts of the country, which awarded him the praise, and rendered him the grateful acknowledgments of the community. To his individual exertions, the manufacturing industry of the United States is indebted to a degree which it is now difficult to realize. By the magic power of his eloquence, the country was raised from a state of prostration and distress; cities were called into existence, and the wilderness was truly made to blossom like the rose.

Mr. Clay's zealous and laborious efforts in behalf of the tariff, can only be appreciated by a reference to the journal of the house of that period. It seems as if he had been called upon to battle for every item of the bill, inch by inch. The whole power of a large and able opposition was arrayed against him; and every weapon that argument, rhetoric, and ridicule, could supply, was employed. John Randolph was, on former occasions, an active and bitter antagonist. Three or twice, he provoked Mr. Clay into replying to his personal taunts.

"Sir," said Mr. C., on one occasion, "the gentleman from Virginia was pleased to say, that in one point, at least, he coincided with me—in an honorable estimate of my grammatical and philological acquirements. I know my deficiencies. I was born to no great patrimonial estate; from my father I inherited only intemperance, ignorance, and indolence. I find my defects; but, so far as my situation in early life is concerned, I may, without presumption, say they are more my misfortune than my fault. But, however I deplore my want of ability to furnish to the gentleman a better specimen of poverty of verbal criticism, I will venture to say, my regard is not greater than the disappreciation of this committee, as to the strength of his own mind."

The following is in a different vein. After the passage of the tariff bill, on the 16th of April, 1834, when the house had adjourned, and the speaker was stepping down from his seat,†

gentlemen who had voted with the majority, said to him, "We have done pretty well to-day." "Yes," returned Mr. Clay, "we made a good stand, considering we had both our *Esqs*" alluding to Mr. Foot of Connecticut, and Mr. Foote of New York, who both voted against the bill, though it was thought, some time before, that they would give it their support.

VII.

MISSOURI—ORIGINE LABYLITE.

During the session of 1820-'21, the "distracting question," as it was termed, of admitting Missouri into the Union, which had been the subject of many angry and tedious debates, was discussed in both branches of Congress. The controverted point was, whether she should be admitted as a slave state.

Slavery had been expressly excluded from Ohio, Indiana, and Illinois, by acts of Congress, on their admission into the Union. But that restriction was by virtue of an ordinance of the former Congress, under the confederation, prohibiting the introduction of slavery into the northwest territory, out of which these states were formed. Missouri was part of the Louisiana territory, purchased of France, in 1803. And in various parts of that extensive territory, slavery then existed, and had long been established.

Louisiana had been admitted into the Union without restriction of the kind proposed for Missouri. The states of Kentucky, Tennessee, Mississippi, and Alabama, had also been admitted as separate states previous to this period; and, as they were taken from states in which slavery existed, they had been made subject to no such restriction. It was contended that, on the same principle, Missouri should also be received, without requiring, as a condition of admission, the exclusion of slavery. And it was also insisted that it would be interfering with the independent character of a state, to enforce any such restriction, which was manifestly a subject of regulation by the state authority.

On the contrary, it was urged that in the old states the subject

was expressly settled by the constitution, and Congress could not justly interfere in those states; but that it was otherwise with new states received into the Union; in which case Congress had the right to impose such restrictions and conditions as it might choose; that it was evidently the intention of the old Congress not to extend slavery, having prohibited its introduction or existence in new states to be formed out of the northwest territory; and that slavery was so great an evil, and so abhorrent to the principles of a free government, that it should be abolished or prohibited wherever it could be constitutionally affected.

The discussion went on from month to month, and from session to session, increasing in fierceness, and diverging farther and farther from the prospect of an amicable settlement. Among the prominent advocates for excluding slavery from Missouri, were Rufus King, from New York, Otis of Massachusetts, Dana of Connecticut, Sergeant and Humphill of Pennsylvania. Of those opposed to restriction, were Hobbes of Massachusetts, Van Dyke and McLane of Delaware, Pinchney of Maryland, Randolph and Barkner of Virginia, Lowmies of South Carolina, Clay and Johnson of Kentucky.

A bill for the admission of Missouri had been defeated during the session of 1819 '20; and the inflammatory subject had, during the vacation of Congress, given rise to increasing contumeliousness. The press entered warmly into the controversy. The most virulent pamphlets were published on both sides. Public meetings thundered forth their resolutions; and the Union seemed to be fearfully shaken to its centre. It may be imagined, then, with what interest the next session of Congress was looked to by the people.

Many eloquent speeches were made in the house upon the question. Mr. Clay spoke, at one time, nearly four hours against the restriction; but there remains no published sketch of his remarks. The vote in the house of representatives was several times given for excluding slavery; but the senate disagreed, and would not yield to the house.

In 1820, the people of the territory of Missouri, proceeded to ordain and establish a constitution of government for the contemplated state. Among other provisions, it was admitted, in the

twenty-sixth section of the third article, that it should be the duty of the general assembly, *as soon as might be, to pass such laws as were necessary to prevent free negroes and mulattoes from coming to and settling in the state, under any pretext whatsoever.*" Under this constitution a state government was organized and brought into operation.

This clause, for the exclusion of free negroes and mulattoes, furnished into fresh life the flame of excitement which had been partially allayed. The whole country was now thrown into commotion upon the question of admitting Missouri.

In the autumn of 1820, Mr. Clay, who had experienced heavy pecuniary losses by endorsing for a friend, resolved to retire from Congress, and, in the practice of the law, devote himself to the reparation of his private affairs. Accordingly, at the meeting of Congress, the 13th of November, 1820, the clerk, having announced that a quorum was present, said that he had received a letter from the Hon. Henry Clay, which, with the leave of the house, he read as follows:—

"LEXINGTON, Ky., October 26, 1820.

"SIR:—I will thank you to communicate to the house of representatives, that owing to imperious circumstances, I shall not be able to attend upon it until after the Christmas holidays; and to respectfully ask it to allow me to resign the office of its speaker, which I have the honor to hold, and to consider this as the act of my resignation. I beg the house also to permit me to rehearse the expression of my sincere acknowledgments and unfeigned gratitude for the distinguished consideration which it has uniformly manifested for me. I have the honor to be, &c."

"H. CLAY.

"THOS. BRANTNER, Esq., Clerk H. of R."

In view of the agitating question before Congress, Mr. Clay consented, however, to retain his seat as a member of the house till his term of service expired, although no longer its presiding officer. Early in the session the Missouri question came up. Those who now opposed its admission contended, that free citizens and mulattoes were citizens of the states of their residence; that as such, they had a right under the constitution, to remove to Missouri, or any other state of the Union, and there enjoy all the privileges and immunities of other citizens of the United States emigrating to the same place; and, therefore, that the clause in the constitution of Missouri, quoted above, was repugnant to that of the United States, and should not be introduced into the Union.

On the other hand, it was maintained that the African race whether bond or free, were not parties to our political institutions; that, therefore, free negroes and mulattoes were not citizens, within the meaning of the constitution of the United States; and even if the constitution of Missouri were repugnant to that of the United States, the latter was paramount, and would overrule the conflicting provision of the former, without the interference of Congress.

Such was the perilous and protracted question which now threatened a disruption of the Union. In some shape or other, it was presented almost daily and hourly to Congress; and became, at length, a perfect incubus upon legislation. In this state of things, Mr. Clay arrived in Washington, and took his seat in the house on the sixteenth of January, 1821. On the second of February, he submitted a motion to refer a resolution of the senate on the Missouri question to a committee of thirteen—a number suggested by that of the original states of the Union. The motion was agreed to, and the following gentlemen were appointed a committee accordingly:—

Messrs. Clay of Ky., Knott of Mass., Smith of Md., Sergeant of Pa., Lowndes of S. C., Ford of N. Y., Campbell of Ohio, Archer of Va., Hackley of N. Y., S. Moore, of Pa., Gold of Ga., Tomlinson of Ct., and Butler of N. H.

On the tenth of the same month, Mr. Clay made a report, concluding with an amendment to the senate's resolution, by which amendment Missouri was admitted upon the following fundamental condition:—

"It is provided that the said state shall never pass any law preventing any description of person from coming to and residing in the said state, who now are or hereafter may become citizens of any of the states of this Union; and provided also, that the legislature of the said state, by a solemn public act, shall declare the assent of the said state to the said fundamental condition, and shall transmit to the president of the United States, on or before the fourth Monday in November next, an authentic copy of the said act; upon the receipt whereof the president, by proclamation, shall announce the fact; whereupon, and without any further proceedings on the part of Congress, the admission of the said state into the Union shall be considered as complete: And provided, further, that nothing herein contained shall be construed to take from the state of Missouri, when admitted into the Union, the exercise of any right or power which can now be constitutionally exercised by any of the original states."

In defence of his report, Mr. Clay said that, although those

favorable to the admission of Missouri could not succeed entirely in their particular views, yet he was of opinion that they had, as regarded the report of the committee, nothing to complain of. At the same time, the report was calculated to obviate the objections of those who had opposed the admission of Missouri on the ground of the objection to her constitution which had been avowed. Thus consulting the opinions of both sides of the house, in that spirit of compromise which is occasionally necessary to the existence of all societies, he hoped it would receive the countenance of the house; and he earnestly invoked the spirit of harmony and kindred feeling to preside over the deliberations of the house on the subject.

The question being taken in committee of the whole on the amendment proposed by Mr. Clay, it was decided *in the negative* by a vote of 73 to 64. This decision was afterward overruled in the house. On the question, however, of the third reading of the resolution, it was rejected by a vote of 83 to 80, in consequence of the defection of Mr. Randolph of Virginia, who dreaded the increase of popularity which would accrue to Mr. Clay by the success of his proposition. A reconsideration was moved and carried the next day, and the question of the third reading was again brought before the house. Another protracted and bitter debate followed, and was concluded by a speech of an hour's duration from Mr. Clay, who is represented by the contemporary journals as having "reasoned, remonstrated, and entreated that the house would settle the question."

On the fourteenth of February, the two houses of Congress met in the hall of the house of representatives, to perform the ceremony of counting the votes for president and vice-president of the United States. A scene of great confusion occurred when the votes of the electors for Missouri were announced by the president of the senate, and handed to the tellers. The members of the senate withdrew, and a violent discussion sprung up. By the exertions of Mr. Clay order was at length restored, and, on his motion, a message was sent to the senate that the house was ready to proceed to the completion of the business of counting the votes.

The senate again came in. The votes of Missouri were read,

and the result of all the votes having been read, it was announced by the president of the senate, that the total number of votes for James Monroe as President of the United States, was 231, and, if the votes of Missouri were not counted, was 228; that, in either event, James Monroe had a majority of the whole number of votes given. James Monroe was accordingly re-elected president for four years, commencing on the ensuing fourth of March.

While the proclamation was being made, two members of the house claimed the floor to inquire whether the votes of Missouri were or were not counted. Another scene of confusion hereupon ensued, and the house were finally obliged to adjourn in order to put an end to it.

The rejection of Mr. Clay's report seemed to shut out all prospect of an amicable compromise. He was not disheartened, however. He never despaired of the republic. On the twenty-second of February, he submitted the following resolution:—

Resolved, That a committee be appointed, on the part of this house, jointly with such committee as may be appointed on the part of the senate, to consider and report to the senate and to the house, respectively, whether it be expedient or not to make provision for the admission of Missouri into the Union on the same footing as the original states, and for the due execution of the laws of the United States within Missouri; and if not, whether any other, and what provision, adapted to her actual condition, ought to be made by law.*

This resolution was adopted in the house by a vote of 103 to 55. The senate acceded to it by a large majority.

The joint committee of the two houses met on the twenty-fifth of February, 1821; and a plan of accommodation, proposed by Mr. Clay, was adopted, unanimously on the part of the committee of the senate, and nearly so by that of the house. The next day he reported to the house from the committee a resolution, which was the same in effect as that which we have already quoted as having been reported by the former committee of thirteen members. A short discussion ensued, which was checked by a call for the previous question. The resolution was then adopted by a vote of eighty-seven to eighty-one. The senate concurred, and the momentous question, which for three sessions had agitated Congress, was, at length, through the labors of Henry Clay, peacefully settled.

The achievement of this vital compromise must have been one of the most gratifying triumphs of his political career. By his personal influence and abilities, he had saved the republic. He deservedly won on this occasion the appropriate title of "the Great Pacificator;" for to his individual exertions do we owe it, that we were saved from the prospect of a dissolution of the Union. His efforts in and out of Congress were unceasing in accomplishing his object. He made direct personal appeals to those whom he could not influence in public debate, and left no means untried for bringing Congress to that harmonious state, which was essential to the safety of the country.

While the Missouri question was pending, and the excitement of the contending parties was running to a great and alarming height, Mr. Randolph, and perhaps some other gentlemen of the south, conceived the project of the whole delegation from the slaveholding states, in a body, abandoning the house, and leaving its business to be carried on, if at all, by the representatives from the other states. At that time, one of those conditions of non-intercourse, which we have described, existed between him and Mr. Clay; but notwithstanding that, one night when the house was in session by candle-light, Mr. Clay being out of the chair, Mr. Randolph approached him in the most courteous manner, and said: "Mr. Speaker, I wish you would leave the chair, I will follow you to Kentucky, or anywhere else in the world."

Mr. Clay replied: "That is a very serious proposition, Mr. Randolph; we have not time now to discuss it; but if you will come into the speaker's room to-morrow morning, before the house assembles, we will consider it together."

He accordingly attended there with punctuality. They remained in earnest conversation about an hour, Mr. Clay contending that it was wisest to compromise the question, if it could be done without any sacrifice of principle, and Mr. Randolph insisting that the slave states had the right on their side; that matters must come to an extremity; and that there could be no more suitable occasion to bring them to that issue. They maintained their respective opinions freely but amicably, without coming to any agreement.

When they were about separating, Mr. Clay observed to Mr

Randolph, that he would take that opportunity of saying to him, but he (Mr. Randolph) had used exceptional language some time when the speaker was in the chair and had no opportunity of replying; and that he was often provoked thereto. "Well, Mr. Speaker," said Mr. Randolph, "I think you sometimes neglect me; you won't listen to me when I am addressing the chair, but turn your head away, and ask for a pinch of snuff."

Mr. Clay rejoined: "You are mistaken. I am listening when I may not seem to be; and I can repeat to much of any one of your late speeches as you yourself can, good as I know your memory to be."

"Well," replied Mr. Randolph, "perhaps I am mistaken; and suppose we shake hands and be good friends hereafter."

"Agreed!" said Mr. Clay.

They shook hands accordingly, and never spoke with each other during the residue of the session. It was about the period of Commodore Decatur's death. That event greatly excited Mr. Randolph, and Mr. Clay was informed by two different gentlemen (the late Governor Edwards and Gen. C. F. Mercer) about the same time, without concert, and shortly after the interview described above, that they knew that Mr. Randolph desired a duel, and with him (Mr. Clay). He thanked them for the communication; which was made from friendly motives. It naturally put him upon his guard, and on first meeting Mr. Randolph, thinking that he saw something unfriendly in his deportment, they passed each other without speaking.

Shortly before the interview above-mentioned, Mr. Randolph came to Mr. Clay with an insulting letter containing a threat to horse-whip him (Mr. Randolph), and asked what he should do with it—should he communicate it to the house as a breach of privilege. "How came the writer to address such a letter to you?" asked Mr. Clay. "Why, sir," said he, "I was in the vestibule of the house, the other day, and he brought up a man and introduced him to me. I asked him what right he had to introduce that man to me, and told him that the man had just as much right to introduce *him* to me. And he said he thought it was an act of great impertinence. It was for that cause he has written me this threatening letter." Mr. Clay asked

him if he thought the man's mind was perfectly sound. "Why," replied Mr. Randolph, "I have some doubts about that."—"If that be the case," said Mr. Clay, "would you not better avoid troubling the house about the affair? And I will give orders to the officers of the house to keep an eye on the man, and if he should attempt to do anything improper to arrest him." Mr. Randolph said, it was perhaps the best course; and nothing more was heard of the matter.

On one occasion, during the agitation of this same Missouri question, Mr. Randolph told Mr. Clay, that he had resolved, by the advice of Chief-Justice Marshall, to abstain from the use of those powerful instruments of irony, sarcasm, and invective, which he used with such cutting effect, and to confine himself to the employment of pure argument, whenever he spoke. He attempted it. He failed. His speech possessed no attraction—commanded no attention. He was mortified, and resumed his ancient style; and listening and admiring audiences returned to him.

When the house sat in what has been called the old capital (the brick building at the northeast corner of the capital square), Mr. Randolph one day came in collision with an able colleague from Virginia, Mr. Shelley, in argument, in course of which Mr. Shelley had indulged in some playful remark. Mr. R. replied, and concluded by offering him some advice, which, he said, he hoped would be kindly received; and that was, that logic being his (Mr. Shelley's) forte, he ought to confine himself to it, and never attempt wit, for which he possessed no talent. Mr. Shelley rejoined, answered the argument of Mr. Randolph, and thanked him for his advice, but said he did not like to be in debt, and, by way of acquitting himself of it, he begged leave to offer some advice in return. Nature, he said, had been bountiful to Mr. R. in bestowing on him extraordinary wit, but had denied him any powers of argument. Mr. S. would advise him, therefore, to confine himself to the regions of wit, and never attempt to soar into those of logic. Mr. R. immediately followed, and handsomely remarked, that he took back what he had said of his colleague; for he had shown himself to be a man of wit as well as of logic.

It was a pleasant and enlivening incident, and the whole house and both parties appeared to enjoy the joke. But Mr. Randolph

returned to the house the next day, and renewed the attack with great bitterness. The parties had various and long passes at each other. Mr. R. was repeatedly called to order by Mr. Clay, and finally stopped. It was on that occasion that, Mr. Shelby being called to order, Mr. Clay said that he would be out of order in replying, as he was, to any other member but Mr. Randolph.

During the interval of his retirement from Congress, in 1822, Mr. Clay was delegated, in conjunction with Mr. Bibb, to attend the Virginia legislature, for the adjustment of certain land claims in Kentucky. The house of representatives of Virginia appointed a day to receive and hear them at the bar of the house. The subject to be discussed, was what were called the "occupying claimant laws" of Kentucky; in other words, laws passed in behalf of the early settlers, the pioneers of the new state. The vicious system which Virginia had adopted, of disposing of her waste and unappropriated lands, had led to the most frightful confusion and uncertainty of title. No man was sure of his home and lands, no matter how long he had occupied, or how greatly he had improved them. Some demand adverse title might spring up and evict him from his residence. These "occupying claimant laws" were passed to secure to him the fruits of his toil and labor, by compelling the successful claimant to pay the value of all permanent improvements. In principle, these laws were right, although they were liable to great abuse, through a sympathy with the actual settler, which often led the assessor to place an extravagant estimate upon the improvements.

The validity of these laws was contested, and the supreme court of the United States had pronounced a decision against them. Whether they were valid or not, depended upon the true interpretation of a compact between the states of Virginia and Kentucky, made at the time the latter was erected into a separate commonwealth. The object of the mission of Messrs. Clay and Bibb, was to prevail on the parent state to consent to the establishment of some impartial tribunal other than the supreme court to be constituted by the joint consent of the two states, to decide the question of validity. It was to accomplish this object, that the negotiators appeared before the legislature.

Their mission had excited much sensation and curiosity. The

city of Richmond was crowded by persons attracted to it by the novelty of the scene. Mr. Clay, who had left it, some twenty-five years before, a poor orphan boy, and now found himself amid the remnant of his early associates, trembled lest he should not appear to advantage. The day for his presenting himself before the house at length arrived. The hall was crowded. The judges of the court of appeals, among whom was the eminent Spencer Roane, who, in 1797, had signed Mr. Clay's licence—the members of the bar generally, and of the senate, with many distinguished citizens, compassed the audience. In the presence of this intellectual multitude, Mr. Clay rose to address the house of delegates. He described the hardships and sufferings of the early adventurers and settlers in Kentucky: how they had encountered and subdued the savages, felled the forests, built for themselves habitations, and, amid the greatest privations, cultivated the earth, with the rifle as near at hand as the spade and the plough. He pointed in glowing and pathetic terms the sacrifices they had made in abandoning the homes of their fathers, the tombs of their ancestors, the friends of their youth. Mr. Clay had himself recently been in the neighbourhood of the place which gave him birth, and the visit and his early recollections, probably imparted a deeper and more solemn intensity to his feelings and language. The whole assembly was gazing on him with fixed attention. You could have heard a pin drop in the pauses of his speech, such was the stillness. Nearly all his hearers were in tears. At this interesting juncture, Mr. Clay attempted the quotation of a passage from the poems of Sir Walter Scott, now familiar to every schoolboy, but then new to most of his audience. The words had fled from his memory! He stood filled with emotion, and at the same time transfixed with deep, though inexpressible embarrassment, at the treacherous trick which his memory was serving him. He threw his right hand upon his forehead, as if overwhelmed by his feelings, and remained in that posture so long, that he has been heard to say that he was actually meditating upon some mode of escape from his dilemma. Fortunately, however, the words came to his relief, and in his full-throated, melodious voice, he gave them forth:—

Breathes there a man with soul so dead,
That never to himself has said,
"This is my own, my native land!"

The effect upon the audience was electrical and transporting - far transcending what it would have been if his memory had not faltered at all.

The mission of Messrs. Clay and Bibb, led to the appointment of the Hon. H. W. Leigh on the part of Virginia; and Mr. Clay was subsequently appointed to conduct the negotiation with the latter on the part of Kentucky. They concluded at Ashland a convention, which, though it was ratified by the legislature of Kentucky and the house of delegates of Virginia, was finally rejected in the senate of the latter state.

By an absence of nearly three years from Congress, Mr. Clay was enabled, through his professional labors, to retrieve his private affairs; and, in the summer of 1823, at the earnest and repeated solicitations of his fellow-citizens, he accepted a nomination, and was again chosen, without opposition, to represent his district in the lower house at Washington.

The first session of the eighteenth Congress opened the first Monday in December, 1823. At the first ballot for speaker, in the house of representatives, Mr. Clay was elected. Mr. Barbour, of Virginia, the late speaker, had sixty-two votes--Mr. Clay had one hundred and thirty-nine. The following next *jour d'après* appeared in the National Intelligencer shortly after the election:

"As near the Potomac's broad stream, P other day,
Fair lambs were strolled in verdant mead,
Deep pondering the future - musing how way -
The next morn'g - Nature took a green wind
'Good mother,' she cried, 'deign to help me at all!
I must make for my garden a speaker to-day;
The best in the world I would give them.' - 'Indeed!
When I made the first speaker, I made him of CLAY!"

On taking the speaker's chair, Mr. Clay made a brief and appropriate address, in which he returned his acknowledgments for the honor conferred. The duties of a speaker are happily enumerated in his remarks on this occasion.

On the 5th of December, Mr. Webster, of Massachusetts, sub-

mitted a resolution providing by law for defraying the expenses incident to the appointment of an agent or commissioner to Greece, whenever the president should deem it expedient to make such appointment. He supported this proposition in a most able speech, on the 10th of the ensuing January. Mr. Clay stood side by side with him in defence of the measure. Notwithstanding the advocacy of these gigantic champions, however, it failed in the main.

Mr. Clay's speech on the subject, though brief, was full of fire and point.

"Are we," he exclaimed, "so limited, so low, so debased, that we dare not express our sympathy for suffering Greece, that we dare not articulate our detestation of the brutal atrocities of which she has been the bleeding victim, but we might offer some one or more of their imperial and royal majesties?"

Although Mr. Clay failed at the moment in procuring the recognition of Greece, he afterward, when secretary of state, accomplished his object. The United States was the first independent power by whom she was recognized.

Mr. Clay's labors, during the session of 1817, would alone have been sufficient to make his name memorable, to the latest posterity, in the annals of the country. The session is signalized by the passage of the tariff bill, and of his measure in behalf of South American independence. In reference to the former, it should not be forgotten that it was through his vigilant and persevering efforts, that the smoke story was saved. A member from Louisiana, by his constant and bitter opposition to the protective policy, had greatly increased its friends. They were provoked by his pertinacity, and, in committee of the whole, struck out the item of sugar from the list of protected articles. Mr. Clay remonstrated with them. He urged that the state ought not to be injured, and that it would be cruel to punish it for the supposed misconduct of one of its representatives. He entreated them, therefore, to restore the protective duty on sugar, and finally prevailed on them, by personal appeals to individual members, to restore it accordingly in the house.

On the 15th of August, 1824, General Lafayette, the nation's guest, arrived at New York, in the *Cadmus*, accompanied by his son George Washington Lafayette. The following 10th of

December, he was introduced to the house of representatives by a select committee, appointed for the purpose. Mr. Clay, as speaker, received him with a pertinent and elegant address. Lafayette was deeply affected by this address, uttered, as it was, in the speaker's clear, musical, and period tones; and the hearts of two hemispheres replied to it in a manner that betokened much emotion.

This distinguished friend of America and of liberty, maintained, to the end of his days, an unwavering attachment for Mr. Clay; and when the miserable cry of "bribe and corruption" was raised against the latter, at the time of his acceptance of the office of secretary of state, Lafayette gave his conclusive testimony in favor of the integrity, incorruptness, and public virtue of his friend, and in vindication of him from the charges which partisan hacks had originated.

"THAT IS THE MAN WHOM I HOPE TO SEE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES," said Lafayette, in 1802, pointing to a portrait of Mr. Clay, in presence of an officer of the United States navy, who was entertained by the great and good Frenchman at his country seat. The anecdote here given, may be found in the "Commonwealth" newspaper published at Frankfort, Kentucky.

We have seen that Mr. Clay was at variance with President Monroe upon the subject of internal improvements, as well as in regard to the mode of recognizing the independence of the South American patriots. Notwithstanding these differences of opinion, the personal relations of the speaker and the chief magistrate were friendly. Mr. Clay was offered a seat in the cabinet, and a *carte blanche* of all the foreign missions. Had *place* been his ambition and his object, he might have attained it without any sacrifice of independence—without any loss of position as the acknowledged head of the great republican party. He saw, however, that he could be more useful to his country in Congress. Measures of vital importance were to be carried. The tariff was to be adjusted—the Missouri business was to be settled—the expediency of internal improvements was to be admitted—South American independence was to be acknowledged—how could he conscientiously quit a post where he wielded an influence more potent than the president's, while such im-

mentous questions remained upon I. These being disposed of, he would be at liberty to pursue any course which his inclinations might indicate, or which the public interests might sanction.

VIII.

PRESIDENTIAL ELECTION OF 1824.

As Mr. Monroe's second presidential term drew to a close, the question of the next presidency began to be fairly agitated. Four prominent candidates were presented by their friends for the suffrages of the people: being John Quincy Adams of Massachusetts, Andrew Jackson of Tennessee, Henry Clay of Kentucky, and William H. Crawford of Georgia.

In November, 1822, Mr. Clay had been nominated as a suitable successor to James Monroe, at a meeting of the members of the legislature of Kentucky. The nomination soon after met with a response from similar meetings in Louisiana, Missouri, and Ohio; and, as the period of the election approached, he was hailed by large bodies of his fellow-citizens in all parts of the country as their favorite candidate.

The campaign of 1824 was one of the most warmly-contested in our annals. Some of the more unscrupulous of the friends of the various candidates resorted to measures unworthy of their cause to advance their ends. Just as the election was commencing, a report was industriously circulated in different quarters of the country that Mr. Clay had withdrawn from the presidential contest. In consequence of this report, General William H. Harrison, and other of Mr. Clay's friends in Ohio, published a declaration, in which it was asserted that he (Mr. Clay) "would not be withdrawn from the contest had by the lot of his Maker." Our late lamented chief magistrate was at that time, and ever after, his devoted political, as well as personal friend; and he has often been heard to declare his preference for him over all other candidates.

Early in the campaign it was discovered that there would be no election of president by the people. By the constitution, the house of representatives would, therefore, be called upon to choose from the three highest candidates. In December, 1824, soon after the meeting of Congress, it was known that the three highest candidates were Jackson, Adams, and Crawford, and that Mr. Clay and his friends would have it in their power, when the question came before the house, of turning the balance in favor of any one of the three.

Mr. Clay's position was now an extremely important one. Several weeks were to intervene before the election; and, in the meantime, the partisans of the three candidates looked with intense anxiety to the speaker's course. His preferences were distinctly known to his personal friends, for he had expressed them in his letters and his conversations; but it would have been indelicate and unpermissible for him to have demonstrated in behalf of any one of the great candidates — to have given occasion for intrigue and confusion by deciding the question in advance.

While all parties were in this state of suspense, a gross and unprincipled attempt was made to buy Mr. Clay, and drive him from what was rightly supposed to be his position of preference for Mr. Adams. A letter, the authorship of which was afterward avowed by George Kroner, a member of the house from Pennsylvania, appeared in a Philadelphia newspaper called the "Columbian Observer," charging Mr. Clay and his friends with the most flagitious intentions — in short with the design of selling their vote to the highest bidder.

Much more so were these intimations, they were calculated to carry some weight with the ignorant and unreflecting. By such persons, it would not be taken into consideration that Mr. Clay had already declined offices of the highest grade under Madison and Monroe — that, if either Jackson or Crawford had been elected through his agency, the first office in the gift of either would indubitably have been offered to him — that, in accepting office under Mr. Adams, it was universally understood at Washington, he was conferring rather than receiving a favor — that he might not imply have been accused of acting an unpermissible part if, after bringing the Adams administration into power, he

had refused it the sentiment so essential to its success—thats he would have neglected the solicitations of all who acted with him from the west had he refused the secretaryship—and, in short, that in order to justify his vote it was incumbent on him to submit to the united voice of the friends of the new administration, and bring to it as much of his western strength as he could lead.

The "Columbian Observer," in which the previous epistle we have alluded to appeared, was a print sustained by Mr. Eaton, the friend, biographer, and colleague in the senate of General Jackson. The position of the writer of the letter, as a member of Congress, gave it a consequence which, utterly contemptible as it is, it would not otherwise, in any degree, have possessed. Mr. Clay denounced it incumbent upon him to notice it; and he published a card in the National Intelligencer, proscribing the author of the letter, whoever he might be, "a base and infamous calumniator." This was answered by a card from Mr. George Kramer, in which the writer said he held himself ready to prove, to the satisfaction of unprejudiced minds, enough to satisfy them of the accuracy of the statements in the letter, so far as Mr. Clay was concerned.

The calumny having been thus fathered, Mr. Clay rose in his place in the house, and demanded an investigation into the affair.

A committee was accordingly appointed by ballot on the 26th of February, 1833. It was supposed of some of the leading members of the house, not one of whom was Mr. Clay's political friend. Although Mr. Kramer had declared to the house and to the public his willingness to bring forward his proofs, and his readiness to abide the issue of the inquiry, his fears, or other concerns than his own, prevailed upon him to resort finally to a miserable subterfuge. The committee reported that Mr. Kramer declined appearing before them, alleging that he could not do so without appearing either as an accuser or a witness, both of which he protested against!

And yet, this same Mr. Kramer, a day or two before, when the subject of appointing an investigating committee came up, had risen in his seat in the house, and said: "If, upon an investigation being insisted, it should appear that he had not suf-

decent reasons to justify the statements he had made, he trusted he should receive the marked reprobation which had been suggested by the speaker. Let it fall where it might, Mr. Kramer said, he was willing to meet the inquiry, and abide the result.*

But it is not on Mr. Kramer alone that our indignation should be expended for this miserable attempt to bolster up a profligate edifice just long enough for it to operate on the approaching election. He was merely a tool in the hands of deeper knaves. A thick-headed, illiterate, foolish, good-natured man, he was ready, in his blind attachment to General Jackson, to do any servile deed that might propitiate his idol. He seems to have inwardly repented of the act as soon as it had been committed. He frequently declared his determination to offer an explanation and apology to Mr. Clay; and had gone so far as to draw up a paper for that purpose, which was submitted to the latter. But Mr. Clay replied that the affair had passed from his control into that of the house;—and the rogues, who had taken Mr. Kramer into their keeping, were careful not to allow him to repeat his offer of an apology subsequently when the house chose to let the matter drop.

In 1827—28, Mr. Clay, in an address to his constituents, gave a full and interesting history of this affair, together with the sequel, at which we shall glance in our next chapter, and in which General Jackson figured conspicuously.

On the 9th of February, 1825, in the presence of both houses of Congress, Mr. Taxewell, from the committee of tellers, reported the votes of the different states for president and vice-president of the United States. The aggregate was as follows: John Quincy Adams had eighty-four votes; William H. Crawford, forty-one; Andrew Jackson, ninety-nine; and Henry Clay, thirty-seven*—the latter having been deprived, by party intrigues

*The vote of Mr. Clay in the primary colleges stood: 444, 16; Kentucky, 11; New York, 4; Missouri, 3. It will be seen that Mr. and gave her rather more to Mr. Clay, in 1824 at which time Thomas H. Benton took the lead in his support, on the constitutional grounds to Internal Improvements and the Protection of American Industry.

Mr. Crawford, it must be remembered, was the regular member of the Democratic Club, president and secretary, which, through conquest of a divided majority of the members belonging to that party, obtained the support of all its adherents as a matter of precedent and principle. The "organical club" (electoral) was therefore in most states for Crawford; while Mr. Adams' name, in the east and General Jackson's in the south and southwest were generally proclaimed by the members or of course proteges to form a rallying cry against

and chicanery, of votes in New York and Louisiana--which would have carried him into the house, where he would undoubtedly have been elected president over all other candidates.

The president of the senate rose, and declared that no person had received a majority of the votes given for president of the United States;--that Andrew Jackson, John Q. Adams, and William H. Crawford, were the three persons who had received the highest number of votes, and that the remaining duties in the choice of a president were devolved on the house of representatives. He further declared, that John C. Calhoun, of South Carolina, having received one hundred and eighty-two votes, was duly elected vice-president of the United States, to serve for four years from the ensuing fourth day of March. The members of the senate then retired.

The constitution provides, that "from the persons having the highest numbers, not exceeding three, on the list voted for as president, the house of representatives shall choose immediately, by ballot, a president."

The friends of General Jackson now, as a matter of course, eagerly advanced the doctrine that a *plurality* of votes for any one candidate should be considered as decisive of the will of the people, and should influence the members of the house in their votes. As if a mere plurality, forsooth, sought to smother up a majority! A more dangerous doctrine, and one more directly opposed to the spirit of the constitution, could not well be imagined. It can not be called democratic, for it does not admit the prevalence of the will of the majority in the election. It was, in fact, a dogma engendered for the occasion by the friends of the candidate who happened to come into the house with a plurality of votes.

Mr. Clay was not to be disengaged into the admission of any such principle. He resolved to be guided by what was plainly the letter and spirit of the constitution, and to give his vote to

three pretensions. Mr. Clay was successful in nearly every state where an electoral ticket was run in his favor; and in New York where the members of the high-tar party made in this course a candidate finally voted out a ticket composed of *Adams, Clay, and Crawford*. Mr. Clay checked a majority of the latter were defeated through his skill, whereby Mr. Clay was chosen out of the three, and Mr. Crawford and those he led stood. Had Mr. Clay's popularity, Mr. Clay would not certainly have been elected, as his popularity in the House was unbounded.

that man of the three now eligible, whom he believed to be the most competent to preside over the destinies of the republic. By a personal visit to Mr. Crawford, he had satisfied himself that that politician was too broken down in health to discharge with fitting energy the duties of the chief magistracy. His option lay, therefore, between Messrs. Adams and Jackson.

We have seen what were Mr. Clay's views of the character of General Jackson as far back as 1819, when the Seminole question was before the house. Was it possible that he should regard those traits which, in the soldier, had led to conduct of war with the compassion, as qualifications in the president? General Jackson was, furthermore, understood to be hostile to those great systems of internal improvement and protection to home manufactures, which Mr. Clay had spent the best part of his public life in establishing. At least the general's views were vacillating and undecided on these points. Could Mr. Clay be called upon to sacrifice those important interests on the shrine of merely sectional partiality—for the sake of having a western rather than an eastern man to preside over the Union?

No! Henry Clay was not to be influenced by such narrow and unworthy considerations. He has himself said: "Had I voted for General Jackson in opposition to the well-known opinions which I entertained of him, one-tenth part of the ingenuity and zeal which have been employed to excite prejudices against me, would have held me up to universal contempt; and, what would have been worse, I should have felt that I really deserved it." According to the testimony of his friend, General Cull, General Jackson himself never protested that he would receive the vote of Mr. Clay.

With Mr. Adams Mr. Clay had always been on amicable if not on intimate terms. At Ghent, they had differed on a question of public policy, but they both had too much liberality of soul to make their dissimilarity of opinion a cause of personal displeasure and variance. The speaker saw in Mr. Adams, a statesman highly gifted, profoundly learned, and long and greatly experienced in public affairs at home and abroad.

How could he in conscience hesitate when the choice lay between two such men? He did not hesitate. He had never hesi-

hanced. Long before he left Kentucky, according to the testimony of the Hon. John J. Crittenden, six of the Kentucky delegation in Congress, and some hundreds of respectable citizens, Mr. Clay declared that he could not imagine the contingency in which he would vote for General Jackson. A still more important witness, in the person of the great and good LATAWATE, came forward to testify in Mr. Clay's behalf, as the following extract from his letter to Mr. Clay will show :

"My recollection concurs with your own on this point : that in the latter end of December, either before or after my visit to Annapolis, you being out of the presidential candidature, and after having expressed my above-mentioned motives of forbearance, I by way of confidential exception, allowed myself to put a simple, unqualified question, respecting your disinterestedness, and your intended vote. Your answer was, that in your opinion, the actual state of health of Mr. Crawford had limited the contest to a choice between Mr. Adams and General Jackson; that a claim founded on military achievements did not meet your preferences, and that you intended to vote for Mr. Adams."

Notwithstanding the fugitious attempt to influence his vote, Mr. Clay unhesitatingly gave it for Mr. Adams, and decided the election in his favor. He went further. When, after he was seated in the presidential chair, Mr. Adams offered him the secretaryship of state, he had the moral courage to accept it in defiance of the storm of calumny, exasperation, and unkind opposition, which he knew that act would bring down upon him.

This was a critical period in Mr. Clay's public life—a bold, intrepid, and unopprobrious movement. We know that he now thinks it was a mistaken one. In his speech of the 29th of June, 1842, at Lexington, he says :—

"My error in accept— the offer arose out of my mistaking the power of detection and the force of ignorance, and acting with too much confidence in the vigilance intemperately and unthought— of my own motives. Of that ignorance, I had a remarkable and laughable example on an occasion which I still relate. I was travelling in 1829, in a wh—, I believe it was Spottsylvania in Virginia, on my return to Washington, in company with some young friends. We halted at night at a tavern, kept by an aged gentleman, who I quickly perceived, from the disorder and confusion which reigned, had not the happiness to have a wife. After a hurried and bad supper, the old gentleman sat down by my side, without leaving my name, but understanding that I was from Kentucky, remarked that he had four sons in that state, and that he was very sorry they were divided in politics, two being for Adams and two for Jackson; he wished they were all for Jackson. Why? I asked him. Because, he said, that fellow Clay, and Adams, had thrust Jackson out of the presidency. Have you ever seen any evidence, my old friend, said I, of that? No, he replied, none, and he

wanted to see more. But, I observed, looking him directly and steadily in the face, suppose Mr. Clay was to come here and accuse you, upon his honor, that it was all a falsehood, and not a word of truth in it, would you be revolted? No, replied the old gentleman promptly and confidently. I said to him, in conclusion, will you be good enough to show me to bed, and bid him good night. The next morning, having in the interval learned my name, he came to me full of apologies, but I at once put him at his ease by assuring him that I did not feel in the slightest degree hurt or offended with him."

With deference, we must express our dissent from Mr. Clay in regarding his acceptance of office under Mr. Adams as an "error." It may have been, *as far as his personal interests were concerned, erroneous, and impolitic*; but, in reference to his public duties, it was right; it was honest; it was unanimous. Both Madison and Monroe had offered him the highest offices in their gift; but the country was at these times in such a state, that he thought he could make himself more useful in Congress; and he refused them. None but the ignorant and base-minded could credit the monstrous assertion, that he had made the promise of the sovereignty the condition of giving his vote for Mr. Adams.

Mr. Clay may have been temporarily injured by the wretched slander; and it will be seen, as we advance in his biography, that after it had been dropped by Ketchum, it was revived by General Jackson. But we do not believe that there is at this time a single person of moderate intelligence in the country, who attaches the least credit to the story, thoroughly exploded as it has been by the most abundant and triumphant testimony.

It is, therefore, because we have faith in the ultimate prevalence of truth, that we do not think Mr. Clay was in error, when he so far defied his trustees as to accept the very office which they had previously accused him of bargaining for. The clouds which for the moment hide Truth from our sight only make her shine the brighter when they are dissipated. In the words of Spenser:

"It often falls in course of common life,
That right long time is overborne of wrong,
That weakness, or poverty, or grief, or strife;
But Justice, though her beam she do procure,
Yet at the last she will her own cause right."

Mr. Clay may still abide, "with a sure confidence, in the conscientious integrity and uprightness of his own motives." Slander

has done her worst. Never before, in the history of our government, was a public man so bitterly assailed by every weapon and engine that unprincipled detraction and malignant party hostility could invent. For years, the opposition, in the face of the most decided and complete refutations of the calumny—and notwithstanding the original inventors had themselves confessed its falsity—continued to thrust it before the public, until at length they could find none so mean and ignorant as to credit it. The natural reaction has taken place; and every honest heart now visits with indignation any attempt to reascend the crushed and shaven lie. Mr. Clay's reputation has come forth whiter and purer from the ordeal. The "most fine gold" is all the more bright because of those who would have dimmed its lustre. The stream of time is fast bearing down to oblivion the frail and unfounded falsehoods of his enemies; but the pillars of his renown, based as they are upon inestimable public services, remain unshaken and unimpaired.

Mr. Clay entered upon the duties of his new post in March, 1825. In him the house of representatives lost the ablest and most efficient speaker that had ever graced the chair. The best proof of his popularity may be found in the eloquent fact, that from the time of his first entry into the house in 1811 to 1825, with the exception of two years when he was voluntarily absent, he was chosen to preside over their deliberations almost without opposition. The period of his speakership will always be regarded as an epoch in the history of our federal legislature. Perhaps the most remarkable characteristic of his presidency over the house, was his perfect—his unimpeachable impartiality. Both foes and friends bore testimony to this trait without a dissenting voice. Strong as were his party feelings, they never could induce him, even in the very tempest and whirlwind of debate, to treat an opponent with indelicacy or undue neglect. His decisions were always prompt, yet never so hasty as to be reversed by the house. Notwithstanding the many momentous and agitating questions which were discussed while he occupied the chair, he was never known to lose his self-possession, or to fail in preserving the dignity of his position.

During the long period of his service (from twelve or thirteen

years) in the chair, such was the confidence reposed in his impartiality and the rectitude of his judgment, that appeals were rarely taken from his decision—during the last years of his incumbency, scarcely one.

It was under Mr. Clay's administration of the duties of the chair, that the present use of the previous questions in terminating debate was established. In England it is employed to put by or postpone a subject which it is deemed improper to debate, and then, when the house of commons do not choose to hear an unacceptible debater, he is silenced by being shuffled or coughed down. Certainly it is more orderly, and less incivious, for the house itself to determine when a subject shall be put to the question and all debate upon it stopped. And every deliberative body ought necessarily to possess the power of deciding when it will express its judgment or opinion upon any proposition before it, and, consequently, when debate shall close.

It has been seen that Mr. Clay's presiding in the chair did not prevent his taking an active and leading part in all the great measures that came before the house in committee of the whole. His spirits were always buoyant, and his manner in debate generally animated, and sometimes vehement. But he never carried from the floor to the chair the excited feelings arising in debate. There he was still composed, dignified, authoritative, but perfectly unassuming. His administration of its duties commanded the undivided praise of all parties.

Uniformly cheerful when on the floor, he sometimes indulged in repartee. The late General Alexander Smyth of Virginia, a man of ability and resources, was an excessively tedious speaker, worrying the house and prolonging his speeches by numerous quotations. On one of these occasions, when he had been more than ordinarily tiresome, while hunting up an authority, he observed to Mr. Clay, who was sitting near him, "You, sir, speak for the present generation; but I speak for posterity."—"Yes," said Mr. Clay, "and you must resolved to speak until the arrival of your audience!"

The late Governor Lincoln of Maine was a gentleman of fine feelings, eloquent, but declamatory. On one occasion, when addressing the house of representatives, of which he was a member

on the revolutionary pension bill, in answer to an argument that it would be a serious charge upon the treasury of long continuance, as many of the officers and soldiers would live a great while, he burst out into the patriotic exclamation, "Soldiers of the revolution, live for ever!" Mr. Clay followed him, inculcating moderation, and concluded by turning to Mr. Lincoln, with an arch smile, and observing, "I hope my worthy friend will not insist upon the very great duration of these pensions, which he has suggested. Will he not consent, by way of a compromise, to a term of nine hundred and ninety-nine years instead of eternity?"

IX.

THE 'BARRAIN CALMNY'—MR. CLAY AN SECRETARY OF STATE.

MR. CLAY has himself given to the public a history of his intercourse with General Jackson. It may be found in his speech of 1838, in the senate, on the sub-treasury scheme.

"My acquaintance," he says, "with that extraordinary man commenced in this city, in the fall of 1815 or 1816. It was short, but highly respectful and mutually cordial. I beheld in him the gallant and successful general, who, by the glorious victory of New Orleans, had honorably closed the second war of our independence, and I paid him the homage due for that eminent service. A few years after, it became my pointed duty to inter-vert, in the house of representatives, with the independence which belongs to the representative character, upon some of his proceedings in the conduct of the Seminole war, which I thought illegal, and contrary to the constitution and the best of nature. A non-intercourse between us ensued, which continued until the fall of 1823, when, he being a member of the senate, an reconciliation between us was sought to be brought about by the principal part of the delegation from his own state. For that purpose, we were invited to dine with them at Clayton's boarding house, on Capitol Hill, where my venerable friend from Tennessee (Mr. White) and his wife came on the Spanish commission, were both present. I retired early from dinner, and was followed to the door by General Jackson, and the present minister of the United States (Messrs. Calhoun and Eaton). They perceived me earnestly to take a seat with them in their carriage. My faithful servant and friend, Charles, was standing at the door waiting for me with my own. I yielded to their urgent petitions, directed Charles to follow with my carriage, and they sat me down by my own door. We afterwards frequently met, with mutual respect and cordiality; dined several times together, and reciprocated the hospitality of our respective quarters. This friendly intercourse continued until the election, in the house of representatives, of a president

of the United States, came on 5, February, 1825. I gave the vote which, in the contingency that happened, I told my colleague (Mr. Crittenden) who sits before me, prior to my departure from Kentucky, in November 1824, and told others, that I should give. All intercourse ceased between General Jackson and myself. We have never since, except once accidentally, exchanged salutations, nor met, except on occasions when we were performing the last offices toward deceased members of Congress, or other officers of Government. Immediately after my vote, a rumor was spread and continued against me, and all the backing days let loose upon me. I shall not trace it during its ten years' bitter continuance. But I think my God that I stand here, firm and erect, unblent, unshaken, unshaken, unshaken, and ready to denounce the injudicious measures of this administration, and ready to denounce this, its legitimate offspring, the most pernicious of all."

Directly after the adjournment of the 19th Congress, a letter, dated March 9, 1825, appeared in the newspapers, purporting to relate a conversation of the writer with General Jackson, in which the latter said that Mr. Clay's friends in Congress proposed to his friends (Gen. J.'s) that if they would promise for him that Mr. Adams should not be continued as secretary of state, Mr. Clay and his friends would at once elect General Jackson president; and that he (General Jackson) indignantly rejected the proposition. Mr. Carter Hecorley, the author of this letter, wrote to General Jackson, soon after its appearance, for a confirmation of its statements.

General Jackson replied, in a letter dated June 5, 1827—*more than two years after the charge was first made*, but just in season to operate upon approaching elections; and, in his reply, directly charged the friends of Mr. Clay with having proposed to him, (Jackson) through *a distinguished member of Congress*, to vote for him, in case he would declare that Mr. Adams should not be continued as secretary of state; and insinuated that this proposition was made by authority of Mr. Clay; and, to strengthen that insinuation, asserted that immediately after the rejection of the proposition, Mr. Clay came out openly for Mr. Adams.

To this proposition, according to his own account, General Jackson returned for answer, that before he would reach his presidential chair by such means of bargain and corruption, "he would see the earth open, and swallow both Mr. Clay and his friends and himself with them!"—a reply which was, no doubt, literally true, inasmuch as "such means" could never have been used to elevate the hero of New Orleans to the presidency.

General Jackson gave up the name of Mr. Buchanan of Pennsylvania, as "the distinguished member of Congress," to whom he had alluded in his letter to Mr. Hershey. Mr. Buchanan, being thus involved in the controversy, although a personal and political friend of General Jackson, made a statement which entirely exculpated Mr. Clay and his friends from all participation in the alleged proposition. He stated, that in the month of December, a rumor was in circulation at Washington, that General Jackson intended, if elected, to keep Mr. Adams in as secretary of state, believing that such a belief would excite his friends and inspire his opponents with confidence, and being a supporter of General Jackson himself, he thought that the general ought to contradict the report. He accordingly called on him, and made known his views; to which General Jackson replied, that though he thought well of Mr. Adams, he had never said or intimated that he would or would not appoint him secretary of state. Mr. Buchanan then asked permission to repeat this answer to any person he thought proper, which was granted, and here the conversation ended. And out of such flimsy materials had General Jackson constructed his numerous charges against Mr. Clay?

Mr. Buchanan further stated, that he called on General Jackson solely as his friend, and upon his own responsibility, and not as an agent for Mr. Clay, or any other person; that he had never been a friend of Mr. Clay during the presidential contest; and that he had not the most distant idea that General Jackson believed, or suspected, that he came in behalf of Mr. Clay, or of his friends, until the publication of the letter, making that accusation.

Notwithstanding all grounds for the charges were thus annihilated by the testimony of the "distinguished member of Congress"—himself a warm partisan of General Jackson—the asinine cry of language and corruption was still kept up by the opponents of the administration; and the most uncharitable assertions were substituted for proofs.

At length, although not the slightest shadow of anything resembling evidence had been produced in support of the calumny a body of testimony perfectly overwhelming was produced against it. A circular letter was addressed to the western members (for they alone were accused of being implicated in the alleged trans-

action) who voted for Mr. Adams in the election by Congress, in 1825, requesting to know whether there was any foundation for the charge in the letter of General Jackson.

They all (with the exception of Mr. Cook, who was dead), utterly disclaimed the knowledge of any proposition made by Mr. Clay, or his friends, to General Jackson, or to any other person; and also explicitly disclaimed any negotiation with respect to their votes on that occasion. On the contrary, the members from Ohio stated that they had determined upon voting for Mr. Adams *previous to their being influenced of Mr. Clay's intention*, and without having ascertained his views.

The members from Kentucky, who voted with Mr. Clay, expressed their ignorance of conditions of any sort having been offered by his friends to any person, on compliance with which their vote was to depend.

The members from Louisiana and Missouri, coincided in these declarations, and they all professed their belief in the falshood of the charges against Mr. Clay, on account of his conduct on that occasion.

In addition to this testimony, letters were produced from well-known individuals, satisfactorily establishing the fact that Mr. Clay, previous to his leaving his residence in Kentucky for Washington, in the fall of 1824, repeatedly made declarations of his preference for Mr. Adams over General Jackson, through the months of October, November, December, and January, following, until he executed that intention on the 9th of February, 1825, in the house of representatives. We have already quoted from General Lafayette's letter to Mr. Clay, a passage confirming this simple testimony.

Such a mass of evidence effectually crushed the accusation respecting a bargain, and convinced the public, that in voting for Mr. Adams, Mr. Clay and his friends conscientiously discharged their duty; and that they could not have voted otherwise without palpable inconsistency.

When, on the occasion of his speech of June, 1842, at Lexington, Mr. Clay alluded to this calumny, of which we have given a brief history, somebody cried out, that Mr. Carter Beverley, who had been made the organ of announcing it, had recently burnt

testify to its being unfounded. Mr. Clay said it was true that he had voluntarily become such a witness. But, with great earnestness and emphasis, Mr. Clay said, "I want no testimony; here—here—here!" (repeatedly touching his heart, mind, and conscience chest). "*Here is the seat of all witnesses of my conscience.*"

Soon after the close of his administration, Mr. Adams, in reply to an address from a committee of gentlemen in New Jersey, spoke in the following terms of Mr. Clay:

"Upon him [Mr. Clay] the public's doubts have been cleared, being known and appreciated as one of the members of both houses of your national legislature, as the unsolicited speaker, and at the same time, an efficient leader of debate in one of them; as an able and successful negotiator for your interests in war and peace with foreign powers; and as a general favorite for the highest of your trusts: the department of state it self was a station, which, by its location, could create neither pain nor honor upon him, but upon which he has shed undying honor, by the manner in which he has discharged his duties. Tragic and glorious have cheered him with obtaining that office by bargain and bribe; *I pronounce that charge untrue, in the presence of your country and Heaven, I pronounce that charge falsely ascribed.* This tribute of justice flows from me to him, and I give, with pleasure, the opportunity afforded me by your letter, of discharging the obligation.

"As to my motives for tendering to him the department of state when I did, let that man who questions them come forward. Let him back second strong statements and legislators of this nation and of that day. Let him then select and name the man whom, by his pre-eminant talents; by his unshaken services; by his ardent patriotism; by his all-embracing public spirit; by his fervid eloquence in behalf of the rights and liberties of mankind; by his long experience in the affairs of the Union, foreign and domestic; a president of the United States, looked only upon the honor and welfare of his country, ought to have preferred to the very clay. Let him name that man, and then judge you, my fellow-citizens, of my motives."

During his visit to the West, in the fall of 1813, Mr. Adams confirmed this denial in the strongest terms, which it is possible for the human tongue to employ.

"I thank you, sir," said he, in his speech at Mayville, Ky. "for the opportunity you have given me of speaking of the great station who was associated with me in the administration of the general government, of my named relation—who belongs not to Kentucky alone, but to the whole Union; and is not only an honor to this state and this nation, but to mankind. The charges to which you refer, I have, when my term of service had expired—and it was proper for me to speak—denied before the whole country; and I have not returned *proffered that denial*; and as I expect shortly to appear before my God, to answer for the conduct of my whole life, should these charges have found their way to the Throne of Eternal Justice, I will, as was the custom of HARRISON, answer them there."

In his address at Lexington, Ky., Mr. Adams said, in allusion to the hospitalities which he had met with:—

"Not only have I received invitations from public bodies and cities, but also from individuals, among the first of whom was that good, true, and own citizen, who, during a very large portion of my public life, and in various public capacities, and, in several instances, in matters relating to your interests, has been my associate and friend, and the recollection of whom brings me to the acknowledgment, before this whole assembly, that in all the various capacities in which I have known him to act, whether as associate, as assistant, or acting independently of me, in his own individual character and capacity, I have ever found him not only one of the ablest men with whom I have ever cooperated, but also one of the most amiable and worthy."²

We have but imperfectly sketched the history of the flagitious measures which were adopted to blast the political reputation of Mr. Clay, and break down the administration, of which he was the main ornament and support. To the future historian, we leave the task of recounting, in adequate terms of reprobation, upon the conduct of these unprincipled men who originated the slander, and continued to circulate it long after it had been proved to be utterly ungrounded. That it answered the purpose for which it was intended; that it was the most efficient instrument employed to trammel and defeat Mr. Adams's administration, there can now be little doubt. The recklessness and ardency with which it was persisted in until it had secured its end—the conduct of Mr. Knezer, as he vacillated between his good impulses and the party ties by which he was fettered—and subsequent developments, still fresh in the remembrance of many of our readers, showed that the promulgation of the calumny was the result of a regularly-planned conspiracy.

² Mr. Adams, of whom it could be said, "they cannot war, they cannot strike the hidden victory," already exhibited his excellent estimate of Mr. Clay's patriotism and state-manship, and was his warm supporter for the presidency in 1812. A Washington correspondent of that year wrote:—

"I have frequently observed both of our candidates through the house and senate chamber, with a view to collecting the sentiments of the members. One, this morning, before the house, gave a list of 100 affected and respectable gentlemen, their examination, I should be tempted to give an excellent party, dated 24d July, 1812, in the presence of the friends of John Q. Adams. This piece was disseminated in the shape of personal appeal upon some political affairs, and was reported causing events which would have had serious effects. These latter events were as follows:—

1. Clay, the advocate of the peace, crossed
 the ocean this week in a splendid
 frigate, the Adams, on the 24th.
 And into the oval he is to be admitted."

³ The recollection of this was corroborated, first, by referring to the back of the book, and turning it, on the last page a previous bound with the signature of H. C. LEE'S.

We refer those who would satisfy themselves of this fact, as well as of the sufficiency of the proofs by which this "monstrous lie" was overwhelmed, to the proceedings in the house of representatives, instituted at Mr. Clay's instance, in February, 1825—to the subsequent letter of Carter Breckenry, detailing a conversation at General Jackson's—to Mr. Clay's letter to the public, challenging his enemy to produce his testimony—to General Jackson's surrender of the name of Mr. Buchanan as the "distinguished member of Congress" upon whose authority the charge of corruption was reiterated against Mr. Clay—to Mr. Buchanan's complete and decided disclaimer of any intention, on his part, of ever giving countenance to the charge—to Mr. Clay's pamphlets, published in 1827 '8, embodying a mass of testimony disproving the charge—to Mr. Buchanan's statements on the floor of the house of representatives, and the senate, avowing his disbelief of the charge—and finally to Carter Breckenry's letter, published in 1844, repudiating the calumny as destitute of the slightest foundation in truth, and making such statement as he could for having given currency to it in his letter of 1825.*

We might refer farther to Thomas H. Benton's declaration, who, in a letter dated December 7, 1827, proves not only that Mr. Clay's bitterest opponents considered him innocent of the charge, but that before Congress had convened—before the presidential election took place in that body—Mr. Clay had declared his intention to vote for Mr. Adams, not only to Mr. B., but to others.—See *National Intelligencer*, April 25, 1844.

Rarely has an administration been subjected to an opposition so unrelenting, so vindictive, and so determined as that which assailed the presidency of John Quincy Adams. The motives of that opposition appear to have been purely selfish and mercenary; for the policy of Mr. Adams resembled that of his predecessor, whom secretary of state he had been, and it was little calculated to rull down a virtuous locality. In his views of the powers of the general government, he was more liberal than Mr. Monroe. He was friendly to the American system of internal

* All these documents may be found in Mr. B. 's files. We regret that our limits will not permit us to quote, in its full entirety, the whole of this evidence, but against Mr. Clay. That was most generous, greatly upon the Government of the people, however, who would, at this day, venture to revive the calumny lie.

improvement and protection, which had been so ably vindicated by Mr. Clay; and all his measures were conceived in a truly generous, republican, and patriotic spirit.

A great charge was most unjustly raised about the expenses of his administration. At this day, the iniquity of this charge is so apparent, as to render it unworthy a serious confutation. It becomes indeed laughable when placed side by side with the list of presidential expenditures under Mr. Van Buren. In the distribution of his official patronage, Mr. Adams appears to have been actuated by the purest and most honorable motives. Not a single removal from office, on political grounds, was made by his authority; and in no one instance does he seem to have been impelled by considerations of self-interest, or with a view to ultimate personal advantage.

The circumstances under which he came into office, however, were a continual source of uneasiness to the friends of Jackson and Crawford; and his administration, able and honorable to the country as it was, was constantly assailed. John Randolph, who had now a seat in the senate, was especially bitter and personal in his denunciations. The eccentricities of that extraordinary man, induced many persons to believe that he was partially deranged in his intellect. His long, desultory, and unmethodical harangues were a serious impediment to legislative business; while his elated taunts and reckless assaults upon individuals were so frequent, that he seemed at length to have arrived at the conclusion that he enjoyed superior immunities in debate—the he was, in fact, “a chartered libertine.” In one of the numerous discussions upon the Panama question, he took occasion to allude in the most offensive manner upon the conduct of Mr. Clay, and denounced the harmony existing between the secretary of state and the president, as a “coalition of Hissid and black George;” a combination of “the parson with the black-leg.”

When called upon by Mr. Clay to explain or retract these expressions, he refused. A hostile meeting consequently ensued between them, on the 30th of April, 1826. After two ineffectual days, it resulted in the reconciliation of the parties—John Randolph having given additional evidence, by his conduct and up-

pronance on the occasion, that his eccentricity, if it did not border on insanity, was separated from it by a very slight partition.

The last interview between Mr. Clay and Mr. Randolph, was on the second or third of March, 1833, a few weeks before Mr. R.'s death, when he was on his way to Philadelphia, where he died. He came to the senate-chamber, unable to stand or walk without assistance. The senate was in session by candle-light, and Mr. Clay had risen to make some observations on the compromise act. "Help me up," said Mr. Randolph, sitting in a chair, and addressing his half-brother, Mr. B. Tucker; "*I have come here to hear that voice.*" As soon as Mr. Clay had concluded his remarks, he went to Mr. Randolph, and they cordially shook hands and exchanged salutations.

The health of Mr. Clay, during the whole period of his residence at Washington, as secretary of state, was exceedingly unfavorable — so much so, that at one time he had fully determined to resign the office. He was persuaded, however, to remain; and, notwithstanding the depressing influence upon mental and physical exertion of bodily infirmity, he discharged the complicated and laborious duties of the secretaryship with a fidelity and efficiency that have never been surpassed. In the records of his labors, in his instructions to ministers, and his numerous letters upon subjects of foreign and domestic concern, the archives of the state department contain a lasting monument to his transcendent abilities as a statesman, and his indelible industry as a public officer.

One of the ablest state papers in the diplomatic hands of the United States, in the letter of instructions of Mr. Clay to the delegation to Panama. The story of this mission may be briefly told. A congress was proposed to be held at Panama or Townsley, to be composed of delegates from the republics of Mexico, Columbia, and Central America, to deliberate on subjects of importance to all, and in which the welfare and interest of all might be involved. The threatening aspect of the holy alliance toward the free governments of the new world, had induced the late president Monroe to declare that the United States would not view with indifference any interference on their part in the con-

test in toward Spain and her former colonies; and the governments of the new republics were naturally led to suppose that our own was friendly to the objects proposed in the contemplated congress. In the spring of 1825, invitations were given the part of Colombia, Mexico, and Central America, to the United States, to send commissioners to Panama.

In reply to this proposition, coming from the ministers of those powers at Washington, Mr. Clay said, that before such a congress met, it appeared to him expedient to adjust, as preliminary matters, the precise objects to which the attention of the congress would be directed, and the substance and the form of the powers of the ministers representing the several republics. This suggestion called forth answers which were not considered as sufficiently precise; but still, to manifest the sensibility of the United States to what concerned the welfare of America, and to the friendly feelings of the Spanish-American states, the president determined to accept their invitations and to send ministers, with the consent of the senate.

In March, 1829, a call having been made in the senate for copies of the instructions given to our ministers at Panama, Mr. Adams transmitted them, and they were soon afterward published, notwithstanding a rancorous attempt on the part of the opposition, to prevent their appearance; so creditable were they to the administration that was going out of power, and to Mr. Clay, their author; and so completely did they refute the slanders which had been propagated in connection with the mission. Few state papers in the archives of the government will compare, in point of ability, with this letter of instructions of Mr. Clay. It was, perhaps, the most elaborate paper prepared by him while in the department of state. The liberal principles of commerce and navigation which it proposed; the securities for neutral and maritime rights which it sought; the whole system of international and American policy which it aimed to establish; and the preparatory measures which it recommended *for settling the two oceans by a canal*, constitute it one of the boldest, most original, as comprehensive, and statesman-like documents on record.

Another masterly paper from the pen of Mr. Clay, is his letter of May 1825, to our minister at St. Petersburg, Mr. Middleton

instructing him to engage the Russian government to contribute its best exertions toward terminating the contest then existing between Spain and her colonies. The appeal was not in vain. Through Mr. Clay's exertions, the policy of recognising the independence of Greece, and sending a minister to that country was also at length acquiesced in; and the effect of that recognition—the first she had experienced—in raising the spirit of the struggling nation, is a matter of history.

The number of treaties negotiated by Mr. Clay at the seat of the general government, is greater than that of all which had ever been previously concluded there from the first adoption of the constitution. His diplomatic experience—his attractive manners—his facile and unobtrusive mode of transacting business, rendered him a favorite with the foreign ministers at Washington, and enabled him to procure from them terms the most advantageous to the country. During his incumbency as secretary, he concluded and signed treaties with Colombia, Central America, Denmark, Prussia, and the Hanseatic republic; and effected a negotiation with Russia for the settlement of the claims of American citizens. He also concluded a treaty with Austria, but did not remain in office to see it signed.

His letters to Mr. Gallatin, our minister at London, in relation to the trade between the United States and the British colonies, are documents of extraordinary interest and value, which ably advocate a durable and obligatory arrangement by treaty, in preference to other modes of settlement. His letters to the same functionary, on the navigation of the St. Lawrence, and to our charge at London, relative to the northeastern boundary, exhibit much research, and a sagacious, enlightened, and truly American spirit. Never was the diplomacy of the country so efficiently and creditably conducted, as when under the charge of Henry Clay.

It has been justly said that no policy could be more thoroughly anti-European, and more completely American, than that of Mr. Adams's administration. He would exclude all farther European colonization from the American continent; all interference of European monarchs, especially those of the mis-called holy alliance, in American politics; he would render his own country

essentially independent of European work-shops, by fostering American arts, manufactures, and science, and would strengthen her power, by rendering her forces more available through the instrumentality of internal improvements. To these objects his efforts were directed.

Mr. Clay had been born the acknowledged head of the democratic party; the most vigorous, eloquent, and consistent champion of their principles; and we may add, that such he has ever continued. In giving his vote for Mr. Adams, he believed—and events justified his belief—that he would secure to the country an administration attached to the same leading policy that had characterized the administrations of Madison and Monroe, with this additional advantage: *that it would be decidedly friendly to those great measures of protection and internal improvement, of which he had been the early and persevering advocate.* But the elements of opposition, which had remained inactive during the eight years of Mr. Monroe's presidency, began to form and combine against his successor almost before he was "seated in his chair." The character of these elements was somewhat heterogeneous; and the partisans themselves were long puzzled to find some principle of cohesion in their opposition. The policy of Mr. Adams upon all important questions coincided with that of the majority, and was sanctioned by the example of his great democratic predecessors. At the commencement of his term of office, he had declared his intention to follow that example in the general outline. He made it a rule to remove no man from office, except for official misconduct, and in regard to the selection of candidates for vacancies, only their moral and intellectual qualifications. He thus voluntarily relinquished the support which he might have derived from executive patronage, and placed the success of his administration simply upon the merit of its principles and its measures. What possible ground of opposition, therefore, could be discovered or invented? "*No matter: his administration must be put down;*" for an army of aspirants and office-seekers were in the field. In the words of one of the most distinguished of General Jackson's supporters, the administration must be put down, "*though as pure as the angels at the right hand of God.*"

Such being the tone of feeling among the opposition, it is not a matter of surprise that the weapons employed against Mr. Adams and his friends were of a character directly the opposite of "angelic." In the first place, a gross and utterly unfounded charge of corruption was brought against the president and the secretary of state. We have seen how utterly exploded, by the most positive and overwhelming testimony, that miserable slander has been. Charges of extravagance were then made against the government; and a jabsy bill for crockery and furniture for the White-House was unguiled into an accusation against the plain, frugal, and unassuming Mr. Adams of an intention to ape the extravagance and splendor of European potentates. The ordinary and established expenditures of the government were examined with new and unexampled rigor, for the purpose of producing the belief that they originated with the administration; and an assertion on his part of the president's constitutional right to appoint, in the vacation of Congress, diplomatic agents to transact the foreign business of the country was construed into a new and unconstitutional power.

It having been discovered that the secretary of state had, in some ten or dozen cases, transferred the employment of publishing the laws from one printing establishment to another, a great clamor was raised about an attempt to corrupt the press. The secretary was charged with selecting the papers for political and personal objects; and a resolution was offered, in the house of representatives, requiring him to communicate the changes which had been made, and his reasons therefor. But, on its being discovered that the house had no jurisdiction of the case, the inquiry was dropped. By way of showing the consistency of the opposition, at the very time the detachment in the house were arraigning Mr. Clay for changing the publication of the laws from one newspaper to another, their brethren in the senate, under the guidance of Mr. Van Buren, were engaged in an attempt to deprive the National Intelligencer of the printing of that body!

Shortly before the termination of the second session of the nineteenth Congress, Mr. Floyd of Virginia announced to the public that the "conventions" for effecting the elevation of General Jackson were nearly complete. During the session, symp

tems of the constitution began to appear; and on several questions an organized opposition was made manifest. Of these, we need only enumerate the bankrupt act, the bills for the gradual improvement of the navy, authorizing dry docks and a naval school, the appropriations for surveys and internal improvement, the controversy between Georgia and the general government respecting the Creek treaty, the bills to augment the duty on imported woollens, and closing the ports of the United States against British vessels from the colonies, after a limited period.

With regard to the colonial bill, the conduct of the succeeding administration upon the subject of the West India trade may make a brief outline of facts not inappropriate in this place. At the first session of the nineteenth Congress, a bill was introduced into the senate to accept, so far as practicable, the terms proposed by the British acts of 1825, regulating the intercourse of foreign powers with her West India islands. Owing to the long and interminable debates for political effect in that body at that session, the bill was not passed, and in the vacation the British government interdicted the trade. The next session, measures of retaliation were proposed, but no definite steps were taken until the close of the session; and by a disagreement between the two houses, the bill was lost, and the executive was compelled to close our ports abruptly without any conditions. The manner in which Mr. Van Buren afterward, when secretary of state, stilled himself of this fact, to disparage the administration of Mr. Adams before the British ministry and nation, is well known; and the significant appeals which, in his instructions to our minister at the court of St. James's, he directed to be made to the English negotiators, remain a stigma on the diplomacy of the United States. The West India trade was a fair and proper subject of convention between the two countries, to be settled on the basis of mutual rights and reciprocal interests. The honor of our country forbids any other course. If England would not deign to treat on this subject, it was not for us to coax her haughty ministers into submission by legislative enactments. Such was the elevated and patriotic view of the subject taken by Mr. Clay. Directly opposite were the views afterward taken and the course adopted by Mr. Van Buren.

tion. As the charge of extravagance was the argument now vehemently urged against Mr. Adams's administration, it may be well in this place to glance at its plausibility. The aggregate expenditures of the several administrations from 1789 to 1838, exclusive of the public debt, and payments under treaty stipulations, including the expenses and arrangements of the last war with Great Britain, were:—

Washington's administration, 8 years,	\$16,000,000	26
John Adams's " 4 "	7,249,026	12
Jefferson's " 8 "	41,300,000	68
Madison's " 8 "	114,884,941	188
Monroe's " 8 "	82,272,500	134
J. Q. Adams's " 4 "	49,775,773	81
Jackson's " 8 "	114,672,842	187

Total.....\$346,155,082 10

From this statement it appears that the reforming, retrenching, economical, *democratic* administration of General Jackson, that expressed such a holy horror at Mr. Adams's extravagance, cost the country as much as the administration of Mr. Madison, including the outlays of an expensive war with Great Britain. Mr. Van Buren retrenched in the same ratio with his predecessor. The first year of his administration cost the people \$33,554,241—*about three times the average annual expenditure of Mr. Adams!* During the remainder of his term, the public expenses were in a like proportion. What measure of emendation should be bestowed upon the political hypocrites whom promised reforms and retrenchments resulted in such gross profligacy and neglect of the public interests?

In March, 1829, General Jackson entered upon the discharge of his official duties as president. On the 14th of the same month, Mr. Clay left Washington for his residence in Kentucky. Before quitting that city, some of the principal residents, as a parting tribute of respect, gave him a public dinner. In his speech on the occasion, he briefly reviewed the events in which he had been no actor, during the preceding four years. He alluded to the serious charge against him, which had been brought by General Jackson, who, after commencing his friend and *only* witness (Mr. Buchanan) to establish it, and hearing that witness promptly and unsuspectingly deny all knowledge whatever of any

transaction that could throw the slightest shade upon the character of the accused, maintained a stubborn and persevering silence upon the subject, instead of magnanimously acknowledging his error, and atoning for the gross injustice of which he had been guilty. "But," said Mr. Clay, "my relations to that citizen, by a recent event, are now changed. He is the chief magistrate of my country, invested with large and extensive powers, the administration of which may conduce to its prosperity, or occasion its adversity. Patriotism enjoins, as a duty, that while he is in that exalted station, he should be treated with decorum, and his official acts be judged in a spirit of candor."

Such was the patriotic spirit with which Mr. Clay regarded the elevation of General Jackson, and in which he was prepared to judge of the acts of the new administration.

The political enemies of Mr. Clay were not, however, content with misrepresenting his public course. They lifted, with a rude and ruffianly hand, the veil from his private affairs, and attempted to destroy his private credit, by charging him with bankruptcy. The consequence was the publication of a letter from Mr. Clay to Robert Wickliffe, Esq., dated May 24, 1829, in which the falsehoods of his assailants were fully confuted. He admitted that he had incurred a heavy responsibility, about ten years before, as endorser for his friends, to which cause his temporary retirement from public life, and the renewal of his professional labors, were to be attributed. The mortgages upon his estate did not amount to ten thousand dollars, and, before the expiration of the year, he hoped there would not remain one fifth of that sum.

"I have hitherto," says Mr. Clay, in this letter, "not all my engagements by the simple of promise; that of living within my income, punctually paying interest when I could not pay principal, and carefully preserving my credit. I am not free absolutely from debt. I cannot richly master extended riches. But my estate would, even now, be estimated at not much less than one hundred thousand dollars. Whatever it may be worth, it is a gratification for me to know that it is the produce of my own honest labor; no part of it being hereditary, except one share, who would offend me very much if he would accept his inheritance. It is sufficient, after paying all my debts, to leave my family alone, and, if I should be separated from them. It is a matter also of consolation to me to know, that this written response of my private affairs can do me no pecuniary prejudice. My few creditors will not allow their confidence in me to be shaken by it. It has, indeed, led to one drawback, which was at the same time a source of pleasure and of pain. A friend lately called on me, at the instance of other friends, and informed me

that they were apprehensive that my private affairs were embarrassed, and that I allowed those embarrassments to prey upon my mind. He came, therefore, with their authority, to tell me that they would contribute any sum that I might want to relieve me. The conditions which such a proposition excited, can be received only by honorable men. I felt most happy to be able to motivate them, and to decline their benevolent proposition."

X.

RETURN TO KENTUCKY.—AGAIN UNITED STATES SENATOR.

THREE or four men who can bear defeat more gracefully, or with more unaffected good humor, than Mr. Clay. Relieved from his official toils as secretary of state, his health rapidly improved, and his fine spirits expanded unchoked. On his journey from the seat of government, previous to his arrival at Harrisburg in Pennsylvania, the roads being extremely bad, he sent his private vehicle ahead, and took the stage-coach. Finding it disagreeable within, however, he removed to an outside seat, next the driver, and, in that situation, entered Harrisburg. The good people of the place expressed a great deal of surprise at seeing the ex-secretary in that *lumpy* and yet *humble* position. "Gentlemen," replied Mr. Clay, "although I am with the *sets*, yet I can assure you that the *set* behind me here much the worst of it."

On his way to Kentucky, Mr. Clay received rational testimonials of the attachment and esteem of the people. He was invited to innumerable public dinners, but was able to appear only at a few. At Frederick in Maryland, he made an admirable speech at one of these complimentary festivals, on the 14th of March, 1829. On the 31st of the same month, he dined with the mechanics at Wheeling, whom he addressed principally in relation to the American system—manufactures and internal improvements. He reached his home at Ashland, with his family, the 6th of April, having been met at some distance from Lexington by a large number of friends, by whom he was most affectionately received.

On the 16th of May, a great public dinner was given to him at Fowler's garden, by his fellow-townsmen. Three thousand sat

down at the table; and Mr. Clay spoke for the space of one hour and thirty-five minutes; the following appropriate toast having been previously given: "Our distinguished guest, friend, and neighbor, HENRY CLAY—with increased proofs of his worth, we delight to renew the assurance of our confidence in his patriotism, talents, and incorruptibility—may health and happiness attend him in retirement, and a grateful nation do justice to his virtues."

Mr. Clay's speech, on this occasion, is one of the choicest specimens of his eloquence, being pervaded by some of the finest characteristics of his style, although there is, of course, an absence of those impassioned appeals, which would have been out of place. The exordium is full of pathos and beauty. He had been separated for four years from his friends and neighbors. After devoting the best energies of his prime to the service of his country, he had been grossly traduced and injured, and his most conspicuous truliness had been elevated to the presidency. He had returned home once more; and now saw before him, gathered together to do him honor, to renew their assurances of attachment and confidence, ones with whom, for more than thirty years, he had interchanged friendly offices—their sons, grown up during his absence in the public councils, accompanying them—and all prompted by ardent attachment, surrounding and solating him as if he belonged to their own household.

After alluding, in the happiest manner, to some of these circumstances Mr. Clay reviewed briefly the course of the past administration—referred to the clamor which had been raised against Mr. Adams for *proscription*—when the fact was, that not a solitary officer of the government, from Maine to Louisiana, was dismissed on account of his political opinions, during the whole of Mr. Adams's administration—contrasted this course with that which President Jackson commenced as soon after his installation—and eloquently pointed out the evil consequences of the introduction of a tenure of public office, which depended upon personal attachment to the chief magistrate.

In concluding his remarks, Mr. Clay touchingly expressed his gratitude to his fellow-citizens of Kentucky, who had "constantly poured upon him a bold and undated stream of innumerable favors." The closing sentences of the speech are in the genuine

language of the heart which can not be counterfeited, and which none can so eloquently employ as Henry Clay.

"Then," said he, "I felt as if I should sink beneath the storm of abuse and distraction, which was violently raging around me, I have found myself upheld and sustained by your encouraging voice and your approving smiles. I have, doubtless, committed many faults and indiscretions, over which you have thrown the broad mantle of your charity. But I can say, and in the presence of my God and of this assembled multitude I will say, that I have honestly and faithfully served my country; that I have never wronged it; and that, however unprepared I lament that I am to appear in the British Presence on other accounts, I invoke the stern justice of his judgment on my public conduct, without the smallest apprehension of his displeasure."

During the summer and autumn of 1829, Mr. Clay visited several parts of the state of his adoption, and every where he was hailed as a friend and public benefactor. On the 17th of December, he addressed the Kentucky Colonization Society, at Frankfort in a speech, in which he eloquently vindicated the policy and character of that benevolent institution. He had been an early and constant advocate of the system of colonization. In his speech before the American Colonization Society, delivered the 20th of January, 1827, in the hall of the house of representatives at Washington, we find the following impressive passage:—

"It is now a little upward of ten years, since a religious, amiable, and benevolent resident of this city (Mr. Caldwell) first considered the idea of planting a colony, from the United States, of free people of color, on the western shores of Africa. He is no more, and the noblest eulogy which could be pronounced on him, would be to inscribe upon his tomb the merited epitaph—Here lies the projector of the American Colonization Society. Among others, to whom he communicated the project, was the person who now has the honor of addressing you. My first impressions, like those of all who have not fully investigated the subject, were against it. They yielded to his earnest persuasions and my own reflections, and I finally agreed with him that the experiment was worthy a fair trial."

After presenting, in a clear and forcible light, the project of the society for the gradual extinction of slavery, Mr. Clay remarked in regard to it:—

"All, or any one of the states which tolerate slavery may adopt and execute it, by co-operation or separate exertion. If I could be instrumental in unshaking this deep-seated stain upon the character of our country, and restoring all cases of revolt on a ground of it by God's authority—If I could only be instrumental in ridding of this foul blot that soiled state that gave us birth, or that not less beloved state which kindly adopted me as her son, I would not exchange the proud satisfaction which I should enjoy, for the honor of all the triumphs ever secured to the most successful conqueror."

To the system of colonization, we believe, Mr. Clay yet looks as a means for diminishing the proportion of the black population to the white in the slave states, until emancipation would be compatible with the security and interests of the latter.

In January, 1839, Mr. Clay made a visit to one of his married daughters at New Orleans. Although appearing there as a private citizen, he found it impossible to escape those attentions which the public gratitude suggested. He was daily visited by crowds of persons, including members of the legislature and judges of the different courts. The ship-masters, who were in port, waited in a body upon him as the champion of *free trade and sailors' rights*. Declining an invitation to a public dinner, he left New Orleans for Natchez, on his way home, the 9th of March. As the boat in which he had embarked, quitted the pier, the scene was of the most animated description. The booms and the tops of the masts, a great number of which were in port, exhibited a crowded and almost unbroken mass of spectators, calculated to see him and do him honor. The shouting multitude, the elevation of flags, and the roar of cannons, which burst from the crews of surrounding vessels, as the boat moved off, presented altogether one of the most imposing spectacles that could be imagined. It was a grand civic occasion, as honorable to the subject of it as any triumph which ever greeted a military conqueror.

At Natchez, persons from all parts of Mississippi were waiting to meet him. The press of the crowd into the sternboat containing the illustrious visitor was so great as to excite alarm; and the mass collected on the wharf was so dense, that much time and exertion were required to make way through it. Soon after his arrival, he accepted a pressing invitation to a public dinner. A vast concourse assembled on the occasion. His speech is described as unusually felicitous. He was several times obliged to stop speaking for some minutes—while the enthusiasm of his hearers exhausted itself in repeated rounds of applause. In the course of his remarks, having occasion to allude to the battle of New Orleans, he paid a generous tribute to Gen. Jackson. Henry Clay never was the man to detract from the merits of ~~any~~ his vast untalented opponents.

On the 27th of March, Mr. Clay reached Lexington, having declined numerous invitations to public dinners on his route. He had stopped on his way, unprovokedly, at Desha'sville, the new seat of government of Louisiana, to see the public buildings, and pay his respects to some of his old friends and acquaintances. Unexpectedly entering the hall of the house of representatives, he was immediately recognised, and the whole body, including the speaker and members of all parties, simultaneously rose to receive him.

In the summer of 1833, having business in the circuit and district courts of Ohio, he visited Columbus, where he was cordially welcomed by the mechanics, at whose celebration the following appropriate toast was given:—

"Our illustrious guest, HENRY CLAY. An efficient advocate in support of the industry of the country. Farmers and mechanics know how to appreciate his services."

His entry into Cincinnati was quite imposing. All classes assembled to witness his approach. He here dined with the mechanics, and his speech upon the occasion is an eloquent vindication of the American system, and a just rebuke of the odious doctrine of nullification, which was then beginning to be preached in South Carolina and Georgia.

In the autumn of 1831, Mr. Clay was elected to the senate of the United States by the legislature of Kentucky, by the following vote: In the senate, Henry Clay, 19; Richard M. Johnson, 19; Warren Pope, 1. In the house of delegates, Clay, 52; Johnson, 43.—At the first session of the twenty-second Congress, he presented his credentials, and took his seat once more in a body where, twenty-five years before, he had made his influence felt, and his talents respected.

Contemporaneous with his reappearance in the senate, was the meeting of the National Republican Convention, which assembled at Baltimore, on the twelfth of December, 1831, and unanimously nominated HENRY CLAY to the office of president of the United States, and JOHN SEABOARD to that of vice-president.

The subject of the tariff began to be vehemently agitated in Congress early in the session of 1831-'32. The discontent of

the south was assuming an alarming aspect; and the system of protection, which Mr. Clay had labored so long and incessantly to establish, was threatened with material qualifications, if not a complete overthrow. In that conciliatory spirit, which he had manifested on many critical occasions, he now approached this exciting topic. On the ninth of January, 1832, he introduced a resolution, providing that the existing duties upon articles imported from foreign countries, and not coming into competition with similar articles made or produced within the United States, ought to be forthwith abolished, except the duties upon wines or silks, and that they ought to be reduced; and that the committee on finance be instructed to report a bill accordingly. This resolution he sustained in an admirable speech of about two hours' duration, in which he spoke warmly in favor of the maintenance of the protective policy and that of internal improvement.

Mr. Hayne followed in reply; and on the second of February, the subject being still under discussion before the senate, Mr. Clay commenced his ever-memorable speech in *defense of the American system against the British colonial system*. It was continued on the next day, and finally completed on the sixth of the same month. Such a chain of irrefragable argument as it presents, with facts the most cogent and appropriate, has rarely been forged by human ingenuity. It will be referred to by future statesmen as their political text-book, when the protective policy is called in question.

After an impressive exordium, he alluded to the distress of the country after the war. 'The period of greatest distress was seven years previous to the year 1824: the period of greatest prosperity the seven years following that act. He then gave a picture of the flourishing condition of the country. He maintained that all the predictions of the enemies of the tariff, in 1824, had been falsified by experience--that all the benefits which he had anticipated had been realized. He alluded to all the interests now protected--all mechanic arts--navigation--agriculture--and manufactures. He argued that the tariff began in 1789, which established the great principle of protection. It was the sacred act of the first Congress--sanctioned by the Father of his country, and most of the eminent statesmen of that

day. Mr. Clay then traced the history of the subject down to 1816; commented on the tariff of that year, its objects, extent, and policy; then the tariff of 1824; the amendment of the system in 1828—the bill of which year was favored on principles directly adverse to the declared wishes of the friends of the policy of protection, although the error then perpetrated was corrected by subsequent legislation.

After a graphic description of the beneficial effects of the policy which they were now called upon to subvert, Mr. Clay asked what was the substitute proposed by those whose design was the immediate or gradual destruction of the American system? The reply is as appropriate to the enemies of the system now as it was ten years ago.

"New Trade!—New Trade!" The call for free trade is as unmeaning as the cry of a spoiled child, in his mother's arms, for the moon or the stars that glitter in the firmament of heaven. It never has existed. It never will exist. Trade implies at least two parties. To be free, it should be fair, equal, and reciprocal. But if we throw our ports wide open to the admission of foreign productions, free of all duty, what ports, of any other foreign nations, shall we but open to the free admission of our surplus produce? We may break down all barriers to free trade, on our part, but they will not be complete until foreign powers shall have removed theirs. There would be freedom on one side, and restrictions, prohibitions, and exclusions on the other. The harbors, and the harbors, and the chains of all other nations will remain undisturbed. * * * * * "Civilization desires themselves. It is not free trade that they are recommending to our acceptance. It is, in effect, the British colonial system that we are invited to adopt; and if their policy prevail, it will tend substantially to the consolidation of their state, under the commercial dominion of Great Britain."

In the course of his speech, Mr. Clay had occasion to introduce the following remarks upon the Irish character. They show his high appreciation of the worth of an important class of our adopted fellow-citizens:—

"Of all foreigners, none attachants themselves so quickly with our people as the natives of the Emerald Isle. In some of the visions which have passed through my imagination, I have supposed that Ireland was, accidentally, just and parcel of this continent, and that, by some extraordinary confluence of nature, it was torn from America, and, drifting near the ocean, was placed in the unfortunate vicinity of Great Britain. The same open-heartedness, the same generous hospitality, the same cordial and unswerving

"New Trade and National Rights," was the tract given by the late Mr. Wilson, the day of the fatal wrecked on board the *Valerian*. The substitution of a single word throughout the whole subject: A "fair trade" is what Mr. Clay has always shown to require for the country.

lating indifference about human life, characterize the inhabitants of both countries. Kentucky has been sometimes called the Ireland of America. And I have no doubt that, if the current of emigration were reversed, and not from America upon the shores of Europe, instead of leaving from Europe to America, every American emigrant to Ireland would thro' find, as every Irish emigrant here finds, a hearty welcome and a happy home!"

On the 13th of March, Mr. Dickerson, from the committee on manufactures, reported, in conformity with Mr. Clay's resolution, a bill for repealing the duties upon certain specified articles of import. The bill was opposed at the threshold because it did not embrace the whole subject of the tariff; because it made no reduction of duties upon *protected* articles. An unimportant debate ensued, and the bill was laid upon the table. After undergoing numerous modifications in both houses, it was finally passed by Congress in July, 1832. By this new law, the principles for which Mr. Clay and the rest of the friends of domestic industry had contended, were preserved. The revenue was greatly reduced, but the protective system remained unimpaired. Of Mr. Clay's efforts, in the establishment of that system, no one has more impressively spoken than Thomas Hart Benton, senator in Congress from Missouri, who, in a circular signed by him, and first published in the "Missouri Intelligencer," December 22, 1833, gives utterance to those just and eloquent sentiments:—

"The principles which would govern Mr. Clay's administration, if elected, are well-known to the nation. They have been displayed upon the floor of Congress for the last seventeen years. They constitute a system of American Policy, based on the agriculture and manufactures of his own country—upon interior as well as foreign commerce—upon internal as well as sea-board improvement—upon the independence of the new world, and upon commercial alliances with Mexico and South America. It is said that others would pursue the same system; we answer that the *founder* of a system is the natural executor of his own work; that the most efficient protector of American iron, lead, hemp, wool, and cotton would be the triumphant champion of the new tariff; the warm friend to interior commerce would be the strenuous who has proclaimed the Mississippi to be the vein of the west; the most zealous prosector of internal improvements would be the president who has triumphed over the president who opposed the construction of national roads and canals; the most successful applicant for treaties with Mexico and South America would be the champion advocate of their own independence.

"THOMAS HART BENTON."

XI

SOUTH CAROLINA—THE TARIFF CONTROVERSY.

THE amended tariff was received with little favour, by the south. Nullification grew daily hotter in its denunciation and measures; and the Union seemed to be greatly in danger. On the 24th of November, 1832, the South Carolina convention passed their ordinance, declaring the revenue laws of the United States null and void; and soon afterward the legislature of the state met, ratified the proceedings of the convention, and passed laws for the organization of the militia and the purchase of arms and ordnance.

In the midst of these troubles, the presidential contest took place, and resulted in the reelection of General Jackson over the opposing candidates, Henry Clay, John Floyd of Virginia, and William Wirt.

On the 10th of December, 1832, soon after the meeting of Congress, President Jackson issued his proclamation, announcing his determination to enforce the revenue laws, and exhorting the citizens of South Carolina to pause in their disorganizing career. This remonstrance produced little effect. It was followed, on the 20th of the same month, by a counter-proclamation from Governor Hayne, warning the citizens of South Carolina against the attempt of the president to seduce them from their allegiance, and exhorting them, in disregard of his threats, to be prepared to sustain the state against the arbitrary measures of the federal executive.

The protective system was at this moment in imminent hazard of being destroyed. General Jackson's administration was always inclined to that policy, originated and principally supported as it had been by a hated rival. The tariff became the great question of the session. It was referred to the committee of ways and means, where it was reconsidered; and on the 27th of December, a bill was reported, which was understood to embody the views of the administration. It proposed a diminution of the duties on all the protected articles, to take effect immediately,

and a further diminution on the 2d of March, 1834. The subject was discussed from the 8th to the 16th of January, 1833, when a message was received from the president, communicating the South Carolina ordinance and nullifying laws, together with his own views as to what should be done under the existing state of affairs. On the twenty-first of the same month, the judiciary committee of the senate reported a bill to enforce the collection of the revenue, where any obstructions were offered to the officers employed in that duty.

The aspect of affairs was now alarming in the extreme. The administration party in the house had shown itself utterly incapable of devising a tariff likely to be accepted by a majority of that body. The session was rapidly drawing to a close. South Carolina had deferred the period of its collision with the general government in the hope that some measure of adjustment would be adopted by Congress. This hope seemed to be daily growing fainter. Should the enforcing bill not be carried into effect against the nullifiers, the tariff was still assumed by the federal administration, insidiously hostile to the protective system.

At this juncture, Henry Clay, deeply impressed with the importance of the crisis, stepped forward to reconcile conflicting interests and to avert the dire consequences which would result from the further delay of an adjustment. On the eleventh of February, he introduced his celebrated Compromise that, providing for a gradual reduction of duties until 1842, when twenty per cent. at a *basic* valuation should be the rate, "until otherwise regulated by law."

Mr. Clay introduced this bill with some pertinent and impressive remarks, in which he deplored the distracted and perturbed condition of the country, and appealed strongly to the patriotism and good sense of Congress to apply a remedy. The bill underwent a long and vehement discussion. None could deny the purity and loftiness of the motives which had led to its presentation; but it was vehemently opposed by many. Mr. Smith, of Maryland, opposed it, because "it contained nothing but protection from beginning to end." Mr. Forsyth exulted over the admission, which had been made by Mr. Clay, that "the tariff was in danger."—"It is," said Mr. F., "at its last gasp—no heli-

here can run it.' The southern members opposed the bill mainly because it provided for a bonus valuation.

Toward the close of the debate, a personal difficulty arose between Mr. Poindexter, of Mississippi, and Mr. Webster. The former, in the course of his reply to a very powerful attack from Mr. Webster upon the compromise bill of Mr. Clay, made references to the course of Mr. W., during the war of 1812. Mr. Webster declined all explanation, and Mr. Poindexter immediately declared that he "felt the most perfect contempt for the senator from Massachusetts." Mr. Clay interfered, with his usual generosity, and in a few remarks, complimentary alike to both senators, effected a mutually satisfactory explanation.

Mr. Clay had conceived the idea of the compromise in Philadelphia in December, 1822, when he was passing a few weeks with his brother-in-law, the late James Hays, Esq., who had fixed his residence in that city, after his mission to France. The re-election of General Jackson to the presidency had been made known the month before, and Mr. Clay had commenced his journey from Ashland to Washington not in the best spirits but resolved to do his duty. Jackson's power was then at its zenith. He had voted the charter of the bank of the United States. He was triumphantly re-elected. His power seemed resistless. Nevertheless, Mr. Clay was resolved to fight on, and to fight to the last.

He believed the president insincere in his profession of attachment to the protective policy; that, under the delusive name of a judicious tariff, he intended the most deadly and determined hostility to the protection of American industry. Mr. Clay saw the partisans of "free trade" supporting General Jackson, with the greatest zeal; and knew that some of them counted upon subverting the whole system through the power and influence of that arbitrary chief magistrate. He saw many of the members of Congress from states known to be friendly to the preservation of that policy, yet willing to go secretly, if not openly, as far as they dared go in asserting the overthrow of that policy.

In the meantime, nullification had assumed a threatening aspect. The supporters of that heresy had gone so far that, if an change in the tariff took place, they must fight or be for ever dis-

ground. Mr. Clay thought that if a civil war were once begun it might extend itself to all the southern states, which, although they did not approve of nullification, would probably not be willing to stand by and see South Carolina crushed for extreme zeal in a cause, which was common to them all.

Such were the circumstances, under which, during the leisure Mr. Clay enjoyed with his friends, Mr. Brown, in Philadelphia, he directed his mind to the consideration of some healing scheme for the existing public troubles.

The terms of this compromise act substantially as it passed, were the result of Mr. Clay's reflections at that time. He communicated them to his friend, the lamented Senator Johnston, from Louisiana, who concurred with him heartily. A committee of manufacturers, consisting of Messrs. Berio, Dupont, Richards, and others, waited on Mr. Clay in Philadelphia, to consult with him on the impending dangers to the protective policy. To them he broached his scheme, and they approved it. He mentioned it to Mr. Webster in Philadelphia, but that distinguished senator did not agree with him. On reaching Washington, Mr. Clay communicated it to many practical manufacturers, to Hezekiah Niles, Mr. Simmons of the senate, from Rhode Island, and others.

They agreed with him, and every practical manufacturer of that day with whom he conversed (except Mr. Ellicott, of Maryland), assented to the project. Most of their friends in Congress, especially in the senate, followed their example. The chief opposition, it was thought, was to be traced to Mr. Webster and gentlemen who had a great deference for the opinion of the Massachusetts senator.

Mr. Clay's own convictions being thus strengthened by the opinions of practical men, he resolved to proceed. He had no interviews with southern members on the subject of the contemplated proposal, until he had prepared and was about to submit the bill; at which time, he had one or two interviews with Mr. Calhoun, at Mr. Clay's lodgings. But through his friend, Governor Letcher of Kentucky, who was intimate with Mr. McDuffie and other southern gentlemen, Mr. Clay ascertained their views. He found one highly favorable state of feeling—that they were so indignant with General Jackson for his procli-

mation, and his determination to put down the nullifiers by force if necessary, *that they greatly preferred the difficulty should be settled by Mr. Clay rather than by the information.*

Mr. J. M. Clayton of Delaware entered with great zeal into the views of Mr. Clay, and seconded his exertions with untiring able, constant, and strenuous endeavours. Often he would say to him, looking at Mr. Calhoun and other members from South Carolina, "Well, Clay, these are clever fellows, and it won't do to let old Jackson hang them. We must save them if possible." Mr. Clayton belonged to a crew of seven or eight senators, every one of whom was interested in the preservation of the protective policy. Without their votes, it was impossible that the compromise should pass. They, through Mr. Clayton, insisted upon the home valuation, as a *non-positum*, from which they would never depart. Mr. Clay told them that he would not give it up, and the compromise bill as yet could have passed without that feature of it.

The southern senators had declared that they would be content with whatever would satisfy the South Carolina senators. Mr. Calhoun had presented strong objections to the home valuation. Mr. Clay told him that he must conform to it, or the measure would be dropped. Mr. Calhoun appeared very reluctant to do so, and Mr. Clay went to the senate on the day when the bill was to be decided, in order to see to what its fate would be. When the bill was taken up, Mr. Calhoun rose in his place and agreed to the home valuation, evidently, however, with reluctance.

Two great leading nullifiers associated with Mr. Clay in bringing forward and supporting his measure of compromise. The first was that he believed the whole protective policy to be in the most imminent peril from the influence of General Jackson and the Democracy of his party. He believed that it could not possibly survive the assault of the opposition thereto, which would operate with a sort of irresistible influence and power. He had seen the ground but concluded without to undermine the policy, nevertheless, against his own mind, frequently and with reluctance. He felt, however, a bill was actually introduced by Mr. Verplank, and depending on the House of Representatives, which would

have utterly subverted the whole policy. He knew, or believed that there was a majority in the house, willing, though afraid, to pass the bill. Witnessing the progress of that party, he did not doubt that at the next session at least, they would acquire strength and courage sufficient to pass the bill. He could not contemplate the ruin, distress, destruction, which would ensue from its passage, without feelings of horror. He believed that the compromise would avert these dangers, and secure adequate protection until the 30th June, 1842. And he hoped, that in the mean time the public mind would become enlightened, and reconciled to a policy, which he had ever believed essential to the national prosperity. *But for the partial experiments, which were made upon the currency of the country, leading to the general disorder in the exchanges, and the business of society, it is yet the belief of Mr. Clay and his friends, that the measures of protection secured by the compromise act up to the 31st December, 1841, would have enabled our manufactures to have flourished and prospered.*

Another leading motive with Mr. Clay, in proposing the compromise, was *to restore harmony, and preserve the Union from danger; to avert a civil war, which beginning with South Carolina, he feared might spread throughout all the southern states.*

It may be added, that a third and powerful motive, which he felt intensely, although he did not always avow it, was an insupportable repugnance to placing under the command of General Jackson such a vast military power as might be necessary to enforce the laws and put down any resistance to them in South Carolina, and which might extend to harm not where. He could not think, without the most serious apprehensions, of intrusting a man of his vehement passions with such an immense power. He could not think without feelings of indescribable dread, of the effusion of blood, the danger to the Union, and the danger to the liberties of all of us, which might arise from the application of such a force in the hands of a man already too powerful, and flushed with recent victory.

It may be farther added, that Mr. Clay thought he perceived with some, a desire to push matters to extremity. He thought he beheld a disposition to see South Carolina and the south punished. Indeed, the sentiment was more than once expressed to

him: "Let them put down the tariff—let them bring ruin, em-barrassment, and distress, on the country—the country will rise with renewed vigor. We shall have the policy, which we wish to prevail, steady and inviolably fixed." He thought even that he perceived a willingness that the effect produced by the memorable Hartford convention at the north, should be neutralized by the effect, which might arise out of putting down by force the nullification of South Carolina. He could not sympathize in these feelings and sentiments. He was for peace, for harmony, for union, and for the preservation too of the protective system. He no more believed than than men, that government was instituted to make great and perilous experiments upon the happiness of a free people—still less experiments of blood and civil war.

After the introduction of the bill of compromise and its refer-ence to the committee, predictions of the failure of the measure were confidently put forth. Even in the committee-room it was as-serted, that there was no chance for its passage; and members rose from their places with the intention of leaving the room, without agreeing upon any report. Mr. Clay said to them, with decision and firmness: "Gentlemen, this bill has been referred to us, and it is our duty to report it, in some form or other, to the senate—and it shall be reported." Some slight amendments were agreed upon, and the bill was reported. Its subsequent fate is known.

In bringing about the adoption of the measure, Messrs. Clayton and Letcher are entitled to the most liberal praise, as the efficient coadjutors of its author.

The private history of the compromise act remains yet to be written. Should it ever be given to the world, it will throw new lustre upon the patriotic and self-sacrificing character of Mr. Clay. It will exhibit, in a still stronger light, his disinterestedness—his devotion to country—his elevation above all political impulses and personal ends—his magnanimity, and his generous intrepidity of spirit.

The compromise bill passed the house February 26, 1850, by a vote of 120 to 81. It passed the senate, the evening 1st of March, by a vote of 29 to 10—Mr. Webster voting against it. Mr. Clay was now once more hailed as the preserver of the re-

public—as the great pacificator. The dark, portentous cloud big with civil discord and division, which had been hanging over the country, rolled away and was scattered. The north and the south were reconciled; and confidence and prosperity were restored. Is not such a civic triumph worth all the poems ever shouted in the ears of a military conqueror? It placed Mr. Clay in a commanding and elevated position—and drew upon him the eyes of the whole nation, as a liberal, sound, and true-hearted statesman, in whose hands the interests of all sections would be safe.

The net was characteristic of his whole public career. The only horizon which bounds his political vision is the horizon of his country. There is nothing small, narrow, sectional, in his views, interests, or hopes. North, south, east, and west—they are all equally dear to him. Kentucky—noble Kentucky—where he is cherished and honored as such a statesman and patriot ought to be cherished and honored by such a gallant and generous constituency—he regards with the attachment and devotion with which no generous nature can fail to be inspired for the soil where his first honors were won, the early theatre of his fame and its fruition—the home of his hopes and his heart. But he looks abroad from the state of his adoption, and down from the pinnacle of his elevation—and there lie Massachusetts, and New York, and the Old Dominion, proud of the blended honors of their Lexington, Saratoga, and Yorktown, radiant with the common glories of their Adamses, Hamiltons, and Washingtons—and he feels that in these glories and honors—in these traditions and records of achievements—in the fame of these illustrious men, he has himself an equal inheritance with any of their children. The influence of this noble, national spirit, pervades the whole of Mr. Clay's public career, and is stamped upon all those great measures by which, in moments of exigency and darkness, he has revived the despairing hopes and retrieved the sinking fortunes of the Union.*

* The following passage is an extract from a paper published by John Tyler, in the Virginia Journal of Commerce, in 1827, in the year of the distribution of the proceeds of the public lands, as recommended by the Kentucky ordinance:—

"Having deliberate opinions, there was but one man who could have borne the brunt of the controversy, and the tendency of nullification to divide the Old

In the autumn of 1823, Mr. Clay, accompanied by his lady fulfilled a design which he had long contemplated, of visiting the eastern cities. His journey was one continued ovation. Arriving at Baltimore, early in October, he was waited upon by thousands of citizens, who came to pay their tribute of gratitude and respect. At Philadelphia, he was received at the Chestnut-street wharf by an immense concourse of people with enthusiastic hurrahs, and conducted to the United States hotel by his friend, John Sergeant. Arriving at New York, he was escorted to his lodgings by a large procession of gentlemen on horseback; and all parties seemed to unite in their testimonials of welcome. A special meeting of the board of aldermen was held, and the governor's room, in the city-hall, appropriated to his use, where he was visited by a constant succession of citizens. At Newport and Providence, he was greeted with every possible demonstration of welcome and admiration; and, on reaching Boston, he was met and conducted to the Tremont house by a very numerous cavalcade.

At all these cities, and many others on his route, he received pressing invitations to public dinners; but, being accompanied by his family, he had, on leaving Kentucky, prescribed to himself the rule, to which he rigidly adhered, of declining all such invitations. By all classes in New England, and particularly by the manufacturing population, Mr. Clay was received as a friend and benefactor. The cordiality of his welcome, showed that his motives in originating the compromise act, had been duly appreciated by those most deeply interested in the preservation of the American system. He visited many of the manufacturing towns, and, on all occasions, met with a reception which indicated how strongly the affections of the people were enlisted in his favor. At Faneuil hall, and on Barker hill, he received addresses from committees, to which he replied in his usual felicitous manner. While at Boston, a pair of elegant silver pitchers, weighing nine

HENRY CLAY. It was my happy lot, Mr. Speaker, to be most glibly and industriously and politely, to receive their names upon the pages of history, in characters indelible and unobliterated. And, Sir, if to have received the country from such sources to have preserved the constitution and Union from internal and external, constitutes any ground for an increased and swelling name among men, then I do believe that he has seen the figure that I wish to see. I speak what I do know, for I was an actor in the review of that glorious period. We had to pass by that wretched building, and held in the hand the olive branch of peace, I, who had not known what war revealed by, as did also, I was proud of him to say before your presence, and the prouder that the alchemy of Heaven, within the limits of my old district, gave him birth.

and a half pounds, were presented to him by the young men. A great crowd was present; and Mr. Clay, though taken by surprise, spoke for about half an hour, in a manner to enchant his hearers. The following opposite toast was offered by one of the young men on the occasion: "Our Guest and Gif—our Friend and Pitcher!"

While at Salem, Mr. Clay attended a lecture at the Lyceum, when the audience, numbering about twelve hundred persons, spontaneously rose, and loudly greeted him on his entrance. On the 4th of November, he left Boston with his family on his return journey. He took the route through Massachusetts to Albany, passing through Worcester, Hartford, Springfield, Northampton, Pittsfield, &c., and being everywhere hailed by a grateful people with every demonstration of heartfelt attachment and reverence.

At Troy and Albany, the manifestations of popular attachment were not less marked than in Massachusetts. In both places the people rose up, as one man, to do him honor; and at both places he made replies to the addresses presented to him, which are excellent specimens of his familiar style of eloquence. The multitudes of citizens who met, followed, and waited upon him at every point, in rapid succession, indicated how large a space he occupied in the public heart. As he said in one of the numerous speeches which he was called upon to make, during his tour, "he had been taken into custody, made captive of, but placed within such delightful bondage, that he could find no strength and no desire to break away from it."

The popular enthusiasm did not seem to have abated as he returned through those cities which he had but recently visited. On his way to Washington, he was met at New York, Newark, Trenton, Philadelphia, Wilmington, and Baltimore, by delegations of citizens, whose attentions rendered his progress one of triumphal interest. He reached the seat of government in season to be present at the opening of Congress.

XII.

THE PUBLIC LANDS—RESIGNATION OF MR. VAN BUREN

MR. CLAY'S course in regard to the public lands, presents a striking illustration of his patriotic disinterestedness, and self-sacrificing devotion to the cause of justice. The characteristic traits which he displayed upon this question, remind us of an anecdote of him, related, a few years since, by that eminent statesman and high-minded whig, William C. Cresson, in a speech at Philadelphia. "On one occasion," said Mr. P., "he did us the honor to send for and consult with me. It was in reference to a step* he was about to take, and which will, perhaps, come to your minds without more direct allusions. After stating what he proposed, I suggested whether there would not be danger in it—whether such a course would not injure his own prospects as well as those of the whig party in general? His reply was—'I did not send for you to ask what might be the effects of the proposed movement on my prospects, but whether it is right. I WOULD RATHER BE RIGHT THAN BE PRESIDENT.'"

On March 22, 1822, Mr. Bibb, of Kentucky moved an inquiry into the expediency of reducing the price of the public lands. Mr. Robinson of Illinois, moved a further inquiry into the expediency of transferring the public territory to the states within which it lies, upon reasonable terms. With the view of embarrassing Mr. Clay, these topics were inappropriately referred, by the administration party, to the committee on manufactures, of which he was a member. It was supposed by his enemies, that he would make a "bid for the presidency," by favoring the interested states at the expense of justice and sound policy. But he did not stop to calculate the consequences to himself. He did not attempt to evade or defer the question. He met it promptly. He expressed his opinions freely and boldly; and those opinions, thus expressed, with equitable conclusions, were immediately seized upon for the purpose of breaking him down in the new states. The design had been to embarrass him, by holding out the alternative of buffing

* His speech on slavery and the reception of states as territories.

the cupidity of a portion of the people of the west, or shocking the sense of justice and invading the rights of the old states—to injuriously affect his popularity either with the old or new states, or with both. But when was Henry Clay known to shrink from the responsibility of an arrow of opinion upon a question of public moment? In about three weeks after the matter was referred to the committee, he presented to Congress a most luminous, able, and conclusive report, and in the bill appended to it, arranged the details of a wise and equitable plan, which in subsequent legislation was able to improve.

Mr. Clay regarded the national domain in the light of a "common fund," to be managed and disposed of for the "common benefit of all the states." This property, he thought, should be prudently and providently administered; that it should not be wantonly sacrificed at inadequate prices, and that it should not be unjustly abandoned, in violation of the trust under which it was held, to a favored section of the country. These principles were the basis of his bill, which provided—

I. That after the thirty-first day of December, 1822, twelve and a half per cent. of the net proceeds of the public lands, sold within their limits, should be paid to Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, Alabama, Missouri, and Mississippi, over and above what these states were severally entitled to by the compact of their admission into the Union; to be applied to internal improvements and purposes of education within these states, under the direction of their legislatures—Independently of the provisions for the construction and maintenance of the Cumberland road.

II. After this deduction, the net proceeds were to be distributed among the (then) twenty-four states, according to their respective federal representative population; to be applied to such objects of internal improvement, education, or colonization, as might be designated by their respective legislatures, or the reimbursement of any previous debt contracted for internal improvements.

III. The act to continue in force for five years, except in the event of a war with any foreign power; and additional provisions to be made for any new state that might be hereafter admitted to the Union.

IV. The minimum price of the public lands not to be increased; and not less than \$20,000 per annum to be applied to complete the public surveys.

V. Land offices to be discontinued in districts where, for two successive years, the proceeds of sales should be insufficient to pay the salaries of the officers employed.

VI. That certain designated quantities of land should be granted to six of the new states, not to be sold at a less price than the minimum price of lands sold by the United States, to be applied to internal improvements.

Such were the simple and just provisions of the land bill of Mr. Clay. To the new states they were abundantly liberal.

without violating the terms of the original cession by the old states; for the money laid out in the new states for internal improvements, subject to the use of the United States, may be justly regarded as for the "common benefit" of the Union.

The introduction of the report and bill, created no little surprise and excitement in the senate. It was hardly expected of a candidate for the presidency, that he should have so promptly and peremptorily rejected the opportunity, thus temporarily presented, of holding for the votes of the new states, by holding out the prospect, at least, of aggrandizement. But on this subject, as on all others, Mr. Clay took the broad national ground. He looked at the question as a statesman, not as a politician. He suffered no individual inducements to influence his opinions or his policy. His paramount sense of duty; his habitual sense of the sacredness of contracts; his superiority to local, sectional, and personal considerations, were never more conspicuously and more honorably manifested than on this occasion.

The bad bill was made the special order for the 29th of June, when it was taken up by Mr. Clay, and advocated with his usual eloquence and ability. Mr. Benton replied. His policy was to reduce the price of a portion of the public lands, and to surrender the residue to the states in which they lie. It would have given to the state of Missouri 25,000,000 of acres, or about 160 acres to every individual in the state, black and white; while the state of New York, by whose blood and treasure, in part, this great domain was acquired, would have been cut off without an acre! Various motions were made in the senate for the postponement and amendment of Mr. Clay's bill. The policy of reducing the price, was urged with great pertinacity by the friends of the administration; but the objections of the report to this policy, were justly regarded as insurmountable and insurmountable; and, on the 3d of July, the bill, essentially in the same form as reported received its final passage in the senate, by a vote of 20 yeas to 18 nays. The late period of the session at which it was sent to the house, and the conflict of opinion in that body, in respect to some of its provisions, enabled the administration to effect its postponement to the first Monday of the following December, by a vote of 91 yeas to 88 nays.

This, of course, was equivalent to its rejection. But such were the wisdom and obvious equity of its provisions, and so highly did it commend itself to the good sense of the people, that the administration party were compelled to yield to the uncontrollable force of public opinion. At the next session, therefore, of Congress, the bill was again taken up, and passed the senate by a vote of 24 to 20, and the popular branch by a vote of 96 to 49. It was sent to the president for his approval.

Notwithstanding the unprecedented favor which it had found among the immediate representatives of the people, it was "trampled," as Mr. Benton subsequently boasted, under the "big foot of President Jackson." The dissolution of Congress, before the expiration of the constitutional term for which he was authorized to retain the bill, enabled that self-willed and despotic chief magistrate to defeat the obvious will of the people. If it had been returned to Congress at the session of its passage, it would have become a law by a two-third vote. It was therefore withheld, and, at the next session, on the 5th of December, 1833, was sent back with the veto of the president; and the veto, as we have every reason to believe, sprung from the personal hostility of General Jackson toward the author of the land bill, and an apprehension that it would augment the popularity of a rival, whom he feared and hated.

The principles of the veto message accorded with those which had been already promulgated by Mr. Benton. General Jackson declared himself in favor of reducing the price of a portion of the public lands, and of surrendering the residue to the states in which they lie; and withdrawing the machinery of our land system. He objected to Mr. Clay's plan of giving an extra 12½ per cent. of the proceeds of the sales within their own limits to the new states, as an "indirect and unadmitted violation of the pledge given by Congress to the states before a single residue was made; abrogating the condition on which some of the states came into the Union; and setting at naught the terms of cession agreed upon the face of every grant under which the title of that portion of the public lands are held by the federal government." Such were the shocking violations of principle and compact, the sole end in this limited and equitable grant to the new states, con-

tempted by the bill of Mr. Clay; and yet we were gravely told by General Jackson, in the same breath, that to sell the lands for a nominal price—to withdraw the land machinery of the government altogether—to abandon the lands—to surrender the lands—to give them to the states in which they lie—"inquired no principle and violated no compact." It was a gross violation of compact—it was a flagrant outrage upon principle, to surrender a *post*—but the outrage was required, and the compact kept inviolate by an abandonment of the *whole*! Such was the reasoning of the vain messenger!

General Jackson had been obliged to change his grounds on this question, in order to thwart the views of Mr. Clay. In his annual message of December 4, 1822, he had recommended a measure fundamentally similar. But the measure now presented to him, though it had passed Congress by triumphant majorities, had been suggested, although not voluntarily, by an individual who shared no part in his counsels or his affections—by one, whom he had ungenerously injured, and whom he therefore disliked. He preferred the gratification of his independence to the preservation of his consistency. The consequence was his arbitrary retention of the bill, by an irregular and unprecedented proceeding, and his subsequent veto.

The right of the old states to the public domain is the right of conquest and of compact. Those lands were won by the blood and treasure of the thirteen provinces. Their title-deeds were signed, sealed, and delivered on the plains of Yorktown. When the clouds of the revolution had rolled away, and the discordant elements of the confederation were taking the shape and system of our present glorious constitution—the heroes and soldiers of liberty assembled for the establishment of a new perfect union. To realize this grand end of their labors, they convened to the thirteen states to make a common cession of their territories to the federal government: that they might be administered for their common benefit, and stand as a pledge for the redemption of the public debt. Patriotic Virginia, following the wise counsels of her Washington, Henrys, and Jeffersons, surrendered without a murmur her boundless domain—now the seat of numerous new states, and still stretching hundreds of leagues

into the unsurveyed and uninhabited wilderness. Her sister states, though they had less to surrender, surrendered all they possessed; and in return for this liberal and patriotic abandonment of local advantages for the common good, the Congress of the United States pledged itself by the most solemn compact to administer this vast domain for the common benefit of its original proprietors, and of such new states as should thereafter be admitted into the Union.

The second of May, 1834, Mr. Clay made a report from the committee on public lands, in relation to the president's return of the land bill. In this paper he exposes with great ability the incompleteness of the president's reasons. For some ten years Mr. Clay was the vigilant, laborious, and finally successful opponent of the monstrous project of the administration for squandering the public domain and robbing the old states. To his unremitted exertions we shall have been indebted for the successive defeats of the advocates of the plunder system, and for the final adjustment of the question according to his own equitable propositions. By this adjustment, all sections of the country are treated with rigid impartiality. The interest of no one state is sacrificed to that of the others. The west, the north, the south, and east, all fare alike. A more wise and provident system could not have been devised. It will stand as a perpetual monument of the enlarged patriotism, unerring sagacity, and uncompromising justice of its author.

The question of confirming Mr. Van Buren's nomination as minister to England, came before the senate during the session of 1831 '32. The conduct of that gentleman while secretary of state, in his *instructions* to Mr. McLane, had excited general displeasure. Not content with exerting his ingenuity to put his own country in the wrong and the British government in the right, Mr. Van Buren had endeavored to attach to Mr. Adams's administration the discredit of bringing forward unfounded "pretensions," and by himself disclaiming these pretensions, to propitiate the favor of the British king. Upon the subject of the colonial trade, he said: "*To set up the acts of the late administration, as the cause of a forfeiture of privileges which would otherwise be extended to the people of the United States, would, under*

existing circumstances, be unjust in itself, and could not fail to excite their deepest REMORSE."*

The personal, anti-American spirit displayed throughout these celebrated instructions constituted a sufficient ground for the rejection of Mr. Van Buren's nomination. Mr. Clay's personal relation toward that gentleman had always been of a friendly character, but he did not allow them to influence his sense of public justice. He addressed the senate emphatically against the nomination, declaring that his main objection arose out of the instructions; the offensive passages in which he quoted

"On our side," said he, "according to Mr. Van Buren, all was wrong; on the British side, all was right. We thought forward nothing but *claims and pretensions*; the British government asserted on the other hand a clear and *incontestable right*. We acted in too haughty and too long insisting upon our *pretensions*, and not yielding at once to their *just demands*. And Mr. McLane was commended to avail himself of all the circumstances in his power to mitigate our *offense*, and to dissuade the British government from allowing their feelings justly injured by the past conduct of the party driven from power to have an adverse influence toward the American party now in power. Sir, was this beseeching language from one independent nation to another? Was it proper in the mouth of an American minister? Was it in conformity with the high, manly, and dignified character of our previous diplomacy? Was it not, on the contrary, the language of an humble vessel to a proud and haughty bark? Was it not penetrating and degrading the American eagle before the British lion?"

The nomination of Mr. Van Buren was rejected in the senate by the casting vote of the vice-president, Mr. Calhoun. It has been said that this act was a blunder in policy on the part of the opposition in the senate — that it made a political martyr of a wily and intriguing antagonist, and commended him to the sympathy and vindictive favor of his party. All this may be true; but it does not affect the principle of the measure. Mr. Clay did not lack the sagacity to foresee its probable consequences; but, when the honor of his country was concerned, expediency was with him always an inferior consideration.

XIII.

THE BANK STRUGGLE.

For twelve years, the country was kept in a fever of perpetual excitement, or in a state of alternate paralysis and convulsion, by the agitation of the currency question. General Jackson found us in 1823 in a condition of general prosperity. The government was administered with republican economy. The legislature, the judiciary, and the executive, every one wielding its constitutional powers, moved on harmoniously in their respective spheres; and the result was a system that secured the happiness of the people and challenged the admiration of the civilized world. Commerce, agriculture, manufactures, and the mechanic arts, flourished; lending mutual aid, and enjoying a common prosperity, fostered by the government, and diffusing blessings among the community. The banking system was sound throughout the states. Our currency was uniform in value, and the local banks were compelled to restrict their issues to their ability of redemption in specie. There was no wild speculation. Industrious enterprise was the only source of fortune. Labor was amply employed, abundantly compensated, and safe in the enjoyment of its wages. The habits of the people were simple and democratic. Our foreign credit was without a stain, and the whole machinery of government, trade, and currency, had been brought to a state approaching the utmost limit to be attained by human ingenuity and human wisdom.

In 1833, General Jackson commenced his "humble efforts" for improving our condition. He advised, in his message of that year, the establishment of a treasury-bank, with the view, among other things, of "strengthening the states," by leaving in their hands "the means of furnishing the local paper currency through their own banks." This was his original plan, and in this message we hear nothing of a better currency, or the substitution of the precious metals for bank paper. In the following year he again brought the subject before Congress, and left it the "investigation of an enlightened people and their rep-

tatives." The investigation took place; and Congress passed a bill for the recharter of the United States Bank. This bill was prematurely vetoed by General Jackson, who condemned it as premature, and modestly remarked in regard to a bank, "Had the executive been called upon to furnish the project of such an institution as would be constitutional, the duty would have been cheerfully performed."

Mr. Clay was one of the foremost in denouncing the extraordinary doctrines of this veto message. On the 12th of July, 1833, he addressed the senate upon the subject. We have already given an exposition of his views upon the question of a bank. They are too well-known to the country to require reiteration in this place. They have been freely avowed on all fitting occasions. Touching the veto power, that monarchic feature in our constitution, his opinions were such as might have been expected from the leader of the democratic party of 1816. He considered it irreconcilable with the genius of a representative government and cited the constitution of Kentucky, by which, if after the rejection of a bill by the governor, it shall be passed by a majority of all the members elected to both houses, it becomes a law notwithstanding the governor's objection.

The abuses to which this power has been subjected under the administrations of Jackson and Tyler, call loudly for an amendment of the federal constitution. The veto of a single magistrate on a bill passed by a numerous body of popular representatives, immediately expressing the opinion of all classes of the community, and all sections of the country, indicates obviously an enormous prerogative. It must so strike every one who has ever reasoned on government. When the people of Paris called upon Mirabeau to save them from the grant of such a power, telling him that, if granted, all was lost, they spoke a sentiment that is as universal as the sense and spirit of liberty. When we reflect that no king of England has dared to exercise this power since the year 1688, we can not but feel that there must have been good reason in the jealousy of the people, and in the apprehension of the crown. Mr. Burke, in his celebrated letter to the sheriff of Bristol, observes, in reference to the exercise of this veto by the king, that it is "woful fortune. Its repeal may

be the preservation of *his existence*, and its existence may be the means of *saving the constitution itself*, on an occasion *worthy of bringing it forth.*" So high a power was it considered by Mr. Jefferson, that he was at one time decidedly in favor of associating the judiciary with the executive in its exercise.

It is in this light that the veto power should be considered—on a most serious and sacred one, to be exercised only on emergencies worthy to call it forth. On all questions of mere opinion, mere expediency, the representatives of the people are the best as they are the legitimate judges.

The monstrous doctrine had been advanced by General Jackson, in his veto message, that every public officer may interpret the constitution as he pleases. On this point Mr. Clay said, with great energy:—

"I conceive, with great deference, that the president has mistaken the purport of the oath to support the constitution of the United States. No one swears to support it as he understands it, but to support it simply as it is in truth. All men are bound to obey the laws, of which the constitution is the supreme; but must they obey them as they are, or as they understand them? If the obligation of obedience is limited and controlled by the measure of information; in other words, if the party is bound to obey the constitution only as he understands it, what would be the consequence? There would be general disorder and confusion throughout every branch of administration, from the highest to the lowest officers—universal nullification."

During the session of 1832-33, General Jackson declared that the public deposits were not safe in the vaults of the United States bank, and called upon Congress to look into the subject, and to suggest what he then considered the "limited powers" of the secretary of the treasury over the public money. Congress made the desired investigation, and the house of representatives, by a vote of 109 to 46, declared the deposits to be perfectly safe. Resolved on gratifying his feelings of personal animosity toward the friends of the bank, General Jackson did not allow this explicit declaration on the part of the immediate agents of the people, to shake his despotic purpose. During the autumn of 1833, he resolved upon that most arbitrary of arbitrary measures, the removal of the deposits. The cabinet council, to whom he originally proposed this measure, are said to have disapproved of it in the most decided terms. Mr. McLane, the secretary of the treasury, refused to lend it his assistance. He was accordingly

transferred to the office of secretary of state, made vacant by the appointment of Mr. Livingston to the French mission; and William J. Duane, of Philadelphia, took his place at the head of the treasury department. Mr. Duane, however, did not turn out to be the pliable tool which the president had expected to find him. On the 20th of September, 1833, it was authoritatively announced to the public that the deposits would be removed. The next day, Mr. Duane made known to the president his resolution neither voluntarily to withdraw from his post, nor to be made the instrument of illegally removing the public treasure. The consequence was, the rude dismissal of the independent secretary from office, on the 23d of September. Mr. Taney, who had sustained the views of the president, was made his successor; and the people's money was removed from the depository where the law had placed it, and scattered among irresponsible state institutions under the control of greedy partisans.

The congressional session of 1833-34, was one of extraordinary interest, in consequence of the discussion of this high-handed measure.

In his message to Congress, the president said: "Since the adjournment of Congress, the secretary of the treasury has directed the money of the United States to be deposited in certain state banks designated by him; and he will immediately lay before you his reasons for this direction. I concur with him entirely in the view he has taken of the subject; and, some months before the removal, I urged upon the department the propriety of taking the step." The "reasons" advanced by Mr. Taney for lending his aid to the seizure of the public money, were such as might have been expected from an able lawyer. However satisfactory they might have been to General Jackson and his party, they were utterly insufficient to justify the act in the eyes of dispassionate and clear-minded men. Mr. Taney undertook to sustain his position by a precedent which he assumed to find in a letter addressed by Mr. Crawford, when secretary of the treasury, to the president of the Mechanics' bank of New York. On the 19th of December, Mr. Clay introduced resolutions into the senate, calling upon Mr. Taney for a copy of the letter an extract from which he had cited in his report.

In his remarks upon the occasion of presenting these resolutions, Mr. Clay made some observations in regard to his own personal relations toward the bank. An individual high in office, had allowed himself to assert that a dishonourable connection had subsisted between him (Mr. C.) and that institution. Mr. Clay said that when the charter, then existing, was granted, he voted for it; and, having done so, he did not feel himself at liberty to subscribe, and he did not subscribe, for a single share in the stock of the bank, although he confidently anticipated a great rise in its value. A few years afterwards, during the presidency of Mr. Jones, it was thought by some of his friends at Philadelphia, expedient to make him (Mr. C.) a director of the Bank of the United States; and he was made a director, without any consultation with him. For that purpose, five shares were purchased for him by a friend, for which he (Mr. C.) afterwards paid. When he ceased to be a director, a short time subsequently, he disposed of those shares; since which time he has never been proprietor of a single share.

When Mr. Clevens was appointed president of the bank, its affairs, in the states of Kentucky and Ohio, were in great disorder; and Mr. Clay's professional services were engaged during several years for the bank in those states. He brought a vast number of suits, and transacted a great amount of professional business for the bank. Among other suits, was one for the recovery of \$100,000, seized under the authority of a law in Ohio which he carried through the inferior and supreme courts. He was paid by the bank the usual compensation for those services and no more. No professional fees were ever more honestly and fairly earned. For upward of eight years past, however, he had not been the counsel for the bank. He did not own the bank, or any of its branches, a solitary cent. Some twelve or fifteen years before, owing to the failure of a friend, a large amount of debt had been thrown upon Mr. Clay, as his creditor; and it was principally due to the Bank of the United States. Mr. Clay commenced a system of rigid economy—established for himself a *sinking fund*—worked hard, and paid off the debt without receiving from the bank the slightest favor.

The resolutions, of Mr. Clay, calling upon the secretary of the

treasury for a copy of the letter said to have been written by Mr Crawford, passed the senate; and on the 13th of December, a communication was received from Mr. Vaney, the character of which was avoided and unsatisfactory. The senate had asked for documents, and he gave them arguments. In reference to Mr. Crawford's opinions, Mr. Clay said, that although there was plausibility in the construction which the secretary had given to them, yet he (Mr. Clay) would undertake to show that the opinions ascribed to Mr. Crawford in reference to the bank charter, were never asserted by him.

On the 20th of December, 1833, Mr. Clay laid the following resolutions before the senate:—

"1. *Resolved*, That, by discharging the late secretary of the treasury, because he would not, contrary to his sense of his own duty, remove the money of the United States in deposits with the Bank of the United States and branches, in conformity with the president's opinion, and by appointing his successor in office, such removal, which has been done, the president has assumed the exercise of a power over the treasury of the United States, not granted by the constitution and laws, and dangerous to the liberties of the people.

"2. *Resolved*, That the reasons assigned by the secretary of the treasury, for the removal of the money of the United States from the United States bank and its branches, communicated to Congress on the third day of December, 1833, are unsatisfactory and insufficient."

Mr. Clay's speech in support of the resolutions, was delivered partly on the 24th, and partly on the 30th of December; and it is one of the most masterly efforts of eloquence ever heard within the walls of the capital. In force and amplitude of argument, variety and appropriateness of illustration, and energy of diction, it is equalled by few oratorical productions in the English language. During its delivery, the lower house was almost deserted; and the galleries of the senate-chamber were filled by a motley attentive audience, whose enthusiasm occasionally broke forth in impetuous bursts of applause—a demonstration, which is rarely elicited except when the feelings are aroused to an extraordinary degree.

In his exordium, Mr. Clay briefly glanced at some of the principal usurpations and abuses of the administration.

"We are," said he, "in the midst of a revolution, hitherto bloodless, but rapidly tending toward a total change of the pure republican character of the government, and to the concentration of all power in the hands of one

1830. The powers of Congress are paralyzed, except so far as exerted in conformity with his will, by a frequent and extraordinary exercise of the executive veto, not anticipated by the founders of the constitution, and not practised by any of the predecessors of the present chief magistrate. And, to crown them still more, a new expedient is springing into use, of withholding altogether bills which have received the sanction of both houses of Congress, thereby cutting off all opportunity of passing them, even if, after their return, the members should be unanimous in their favor. The usual national participation of the senate in the appointing power, is virtually abolished by the constant use of the power of removal from office, without any known cause, and by the appointment of the same individual to the same office, after his rejection by the senate. There often have we, senators, felt that the check of the senate, instead of being, as the constitution intended, a salutary control, was an idle ceremony!

"The judiciary has not been exempted from the prevailing rage for innovation. Justices of the tribunals doubtfully pronounced, have been contemptuously disregarded, and the sanctity of numerous treaties openly violated. The Indian relations, crucial with the existence of the government, and recognised and established by numerous laws and treaties, have been subverted; the rights of the helpless and unfortunate aborigines trampled in the dust, and they brought under subjection to unknown laws, in which they have no voice, promulgated in an unknown language. The most extensive and most valuable public domain that ever fell to the lot of our nation, is threatened with a total annihilation. The general serenity of the country—the life-blood of all its business—is in the most imminent danger of universal disorder and confusion. The power of internal improvement has crumbled beneath the veto. The system of protection to American industry was smothered from impending destruction at the last session; but we are now sadly told by the secretary of the treasury, without a blush, 'that it is no demand to be conceded us off hands, that a tariff for protection merely is to be finally abandoned.' By the 3d of March, 1833, if the progress of innovation continue, there will be scarcely a vestige remaining of the government and its policy, as it existed prior to the 3d of March, 1825."

In the paper read to his cabinet on the 18th of September, 1833, and afterward published in the newspapers, but which he refused to communicate to the senate, when called upon by them on the 2d, President Jackson is made to employ terms of blandishment toward his new secretary of the treasury, as if to gild the shackles of dictation imposed by executive power in regard to the removal of the deposits. He says, he trusts that the secretary will see in his remarks, "only the frank and respectful declarations of the opinions which the president has formed on a measure of great national interest, deeply affecting the character and usefulness of his administration, and not a spirit of dictation, which the president would be as careful to avoid, as ready to resist."

Mr. Clay very happily illustrates the hypocrisy of this de-
fate

ential language. "Sir, it reminds me of an historical anecdote related of one of the most remarkable characters which our species has ever produced. When Oliver Cromwell was contending for the mastery of Great Britain or Ireland (I do not now remember which), he besieged a certain catholic town. The place made a stout resistance; but at length the town being likely to be taken, the poor catholics proposed terms of capitulation, stipulating therein for the toleration of their religion. The paper containing the terms was brought to Oliver, who, putting on his spectacles to read it, cried out: 'Oh, granted, granted! certainly?' He, however, added:—'but if one of them shall dare be found attending mass, he shall be hanged?' (under which section is not annotated—whether under a *second*, or any other section of any particular law, we are not told.)"

After proving, what is now notorious to the whole country, that the removal of the deposits was the act of General Jackson not of him alone, and that the secretary of the treasury was merely the *co's-pere* in the accomplishment of the seizure, Mr. Clay proceeded to show that it was in violation of the constitution and laws of the United States. His argument on this point is faithful and conclusive.

We regret that our limited space prevents us from quoting freely from this interesting speech. It contains a succinct history of all the financial exploits of General Jackson and his subservient secretary up to the period of its delivery; and is so valuable for its documentary facts as it is interesting for the vigor and animation of its style and the impregnability of its arguments.

The resolution declaring the insufficiency of the reasons assigned by the secretary of the treasury for the removal of the deposits, having been referred to the committee on finance, at the head of which was Mr. Webster, was reported with a recommendation that it be adopted. The question upon the resolution was not taken till the 26th of March, when it was passed by the senate, 28 to 18. At the instance of some of his friends, Mr. Clay then modified his other resolution, so as to read as follows:—

"Resolved, That the president in the late executive proceedings in relation to the public revenue, has assumed upon himself authority and power not conferred by the constitution and laws, but in derogation of both."

The resolution was adopted by the following vote:—

YEA.—Messrs. Bidd, Black, Callahan, Clay, Clayton, Ewing, Feedinghouse, Kent, Knight, Leigh, Mangum, Nashville, Pinckney, Porter, Preston, Preston, Riddick, Stiles, Smith, Southard, Sprague, Swift, Taulinger, Tyler, Waggaman, Weider—24.

NA.—Messrs. Benton, Brown, Forsyth, Gurney, Hendricks, Hill, King, King of Alabama, King of Georgia, Linn, McKim, Moore, Morris, Robinson, Shepley, Tallmadge, Tipton, White, Wilkins, Wright—20.

The passage of Mr. Clay's resolution drew forth from the president the celebrated protest, which was communicated to the senate, the 17th of April, 1823. This document was of a most novel and unprecedented character, and gave rise to debates, which will always be memorable in our legislative annals. The assumptions of the president were truly of a kind to excite alarm among the friends of our republican system. In this extraordinary paper he maintains, that he is responsible for the acts of every executive officer, and that all the powers given by law are vested in him as the head and fountain of all. He alludes to the secretary of the treasury as *his* secretary, and says that Congress can not take from the executive the control of the public money. His doctrine is, that the president should, under his oath of office, sustain the constitution *as he understands it*; not as the judiciary may expound, or Congress declare it. From these principles, he infers that all subordinate officers are merely the executors of his supreme will, and that he has the right to discharge them whenever he may please.

These monstrous and despotic assumptions, transcending as they do the prerogatives claimed by most of the monarchs of Europe, afforded a theme for eloquent discourse, which was not neglected by the opposition, who then constituted the majority in the senate. Mr. Pinckney, of Mississippi, protested against the reception of such a paper from the president; and moved that it be not received. Mr. Sprague, of Maine, exposed its fallacies, and denounced its doctrines in spirited and indignant terms. The senators from New Jersey, Messrs. Feedinghouse and Southard, expressed their astonishment and indignation in strong and decided language. Mr. Benton, "solitary and alone," stood forth as the champion of the president and the protest.

The next day (April 18th) the consideration of Mr. Pinckney's

ber's motion was resumed; and Mr. Leigh, of Virginia, addressed the senate for about two hours in a speech of rare ability. Toward its conclusion an unusual incident occurred. Mr. Kimb, of Alabama, had censured for the president the merit of adjusting the tariff question. He might, with quite as much truth, have claimed for him the merit of writing the Declaration of Independence. Mr. Leigh, in reply to this assumption, spoke as follows:—

"Sirs, I can not but remember that, during the anxious winter of 1776-77, when South Carolina, under a deep sense of injustice and oppression (as to that well as ill-founded), it is immaterial now to inquire), was exerting her utmost efforts (no matter now whether wisely or not) to bring about a reformation of the system; when all men were trembling under the apprehension of civil war—*standing firm to the conviction, that if such a contest should occur, let it terminate how it might, it would put our present institutions in jeopardy, and not either in consolidation or dissolution*—for, I am persuaded that the *perilous drop of blood which shall be shed in a civil strife between the South and the rest of our State, will flow from an irreparable wound, that never can be repaired to our benefit*. I can not but remember that the president, though unwilling such vast powers and influences, were concentrated in his hands, and in being about the compromise that saved us from the evils which all men, I believe, and I certainly, so much dreaded. The men are not present to whom we are chiefly indebted for that compromise; and I am glad they are absent, since it enables me to speak of their conduct as I feel, without restraint from a sense of delicacy. I raise my humble voice in gratitude for the services to Henry Clay of the senate, and Robert P. Letcher of the house of representatives—"

Here Mr. Leigh was interrupted by loud and prolonged plaudits in the gallery. The vice-president suspended the discussion, and ordered the galleries to be cleared. While the respondent-at-arms was in the act of fulfilling this order, the applause was repeated. Mr. Benton moved that the persons applauding should be taken into custody; but, before the motion could be considered, the galleries were vacated and order was restored.

On the 21st of April, another message was received from the president, being a sort of answer to the protest, in which he undertook to explain certain passages, which he feared had been misapprehended. Mr. Finckler withdrew his original motion, and substituted four resolutions in which it was embodied. These resolutions were modified by Mr. Clay, and an amendment suggested by Mr. Calhoun was adopted. Messrs. Clayton, Webster, Preston, King, Mangum, and others, addressed the senate eloquently on various occasions upon the subject of the

protest; and, on the 30th of April, Mr. Clay, the resolution of Mr. Poindexter still pending, made his well-known speech. Although the subject seemed to have been exhausted by the accomplished speakers who had preceded him, it was at once re-invigorated with the charms of novelty in his hands. The speech contains the most complete and faithful picture of Jacksonism ever presented to the country.

The resolutions of Mr. Poindexter passed the senate by a vote of 27 to 16 on the 7th of May. They exclude the protest from the journals, and declare that the president of the United States has no right to send a protest to the senate against any of its proceedings.

On the 28th of May, 1834, Mr. Clay introduced two joint resolutions, reasserting what had been already declared by resolutions of the senate, that the reasons assigned by the secretary of the treasury to Congress, for the removal of the public deposits, were insufficient and unsatisfactory; and providing that, from and after the first day of July ensuing, all deposits which might accrue from the public revenue, subsequent to that period, should be placed in the Bank of the United States and its branches, pursuant to the 14th section of the act to incorporate the subscribers to the United States bank.

In presenting these resolutions, Mr. Clay remarked that, whatever might be their fate at the other end of the capital, or in another building, that consideration ought to have no influence on the course of the senate. The resolutions were adopted and sent to the house, where they were laid upon the table, and, as was anticipated, never acted upon.

The labors of Mr. Clay during the celebrated session of 1833-'34, appear to have been arduous and incessant. On every important question that arose before the senate, he spoke, showing himself the ever-vigilant and active opponent of executive usurpation. Immediately after the withdrawal of the public money from the United States bank, and before the "pet banks," to which the treasure had been transferred, had created an unhealthy plethora in the currency by their consequent expansions, the distress among the people began to manifest itself in numerous memorials to Congress, protesting against the president's

financial experiments, and calling for relief. Many of these memorials were communicated to the senate through Mr. Clay, and he generally accompanied their presentation with a brief but pertinent speech. His remarks, on presenting a memorial from Kentucky, on the 26th of February, 1834—and from Troy, the fourteenth of April—are eloquent expositions of the financial condition of the country at those periods. In his speech of the 5th of February, on a motion to print additional copies of the report of the committee on finance, to which had been referred the report of the secretary of the treasury in regard to the removal of the deposits, we find the following just and forcible image:—

"The idea of uniting thirty or forty head banks for the establishment and security of an equal currency could never be realized. As well might the crew of a national vessel be put on board thirty or forty bark canoes, tied together by a goose-rine, and sent out upon the troubled ocean, while the billows were rising mountain-high, and the tempest was exhausting its force on the daring element, in the hope that they might weather the storm, and reach their distant destination in safety. The people would be constituted with a rash fleet of bark canoes, with Ashurst Toney in their command. They would be headed again rather out for old Ironsides, which had never failed them in the hour of trial, whether amidst the ocean's storms, or in the hour of battle."

This session, generally known as the "panic session," was one of the most remarkable that have ever occurred in the progress of our government. Never was there collected in the senate a greater amount of eminent ability. For weeks together the whigs poured forth a torrent of eloquent denunciations, in every form, against that high-handed measure, the removal of the deposits. This was most generally done on the occasion of presenting petitions or memorials from the people against it. Go into the senate-chamber any morning during this interesting period, and you would find some whig on his feet, expatiating on the pernicious consequences of that most disastrous proceeding. It was then that they predicted the evil effects of it, since it fatally and exactly realized.

Mr. Clay was among the

1834, a committee from Philadelphia arrived in Washington with a memorial from a large body of mechanics, depicting the state of prostration and distress produced among all the laboring classes, by the high-handed and pernicious measures of the administration. In presenting this memorial, Mr. Clay took occasion to debate somewhat from the heated track of debate. He made a direct appeal to the vice-president, Mr. Van Buren, charging him with the delivery of a message to the executive. After glancing at the gloomy condition of the country, he remarked that it was in the power of the chief magistrate to adopt a measure which, in twenty-four hours, would afford an efficacious and substantial remedy, and re-establish confidence; and those who, in that chamber, supported the administration, could not render a better service than to repair to the executive mansion, and, placing before the chief magistrate the naked and undisguised truth, prevail upon him to retruce his steps and abandon his fatal experiment.

"No, sir," continued Mr. Clay, turning to the vice-president, "can perform that duty with more propriety than yourself. You can, if you will, induce him to change his course. To you, then, sir, be an unfriendly spirit, but with feelings softened and subdued by the deep distress which pervades every class of our countrymen, I make the appeal. By your official and personal relations with the president, you maintain with him an intercourse which I neither enjoy nor covet. Go to him and tell him with out exaggeration, but in the language of truth and sincerity, the actual condition of his bleeding country. Tell him it is nearly ruined and undone by the measures which he has been induced to put in operation. Tell him that his experiment is operating on the nation like the philosopher's experiment upon a convulsed animal in an exhausted revolver; and that it must expire in agony if he does not pause, give it fresh and sound circulation, and suffer the energies of the people to be revived and restored. Tell him that in a single city, more than sixty bankruptcies, involving a loss of more than fifteen millions of dollars, have occurred. Depict to him, if you can find language for the task, the heart-rending wretchedness of thousands of the working classes. Tell him how much more true clay is to be won by retracing false steps than by blindly rushing on until the country is overwhelmed in bankruptcy and ruin. Entreat him to pause."

In this strain, Mr. Clay proceeded for nearly twenty minutes. Nothing could be more eloquent, touching, and unanswerable, than the appeal, although, of course, it failed of effect. "Well, Mr. Van Buren, did you deliver the message I charged you with?" asked Mr. Clay, as he met the vice-president in the senate-chamber the next morning before the day's session had commenced.

The reply of Mr. Van Buren is not recorded. That gentleman, however, was never celebrated for his powers of repartee. During the period of his vice-presidency, Mr. Clay dined with him on one occasion in company with the judges of the United States court, the heads of departments, and others. Conversation at dinner glanced at the fact, that Tory ministers, both in England and in France, were more disposed than Whig ministers to do justice to the United States, and deal liberally with them in all international negotiations. All the parties present agreed as to the fact; and turning suddenly to Mr. Van Buren, Mr. Clay said: "If you will permit me, I will propose a toast." "With great pleasure," returned the vice-president. "I propose," said Mr. Clay, "*Tory ministers in England and France, and a Whig ministry in the United States.*" The toast was drunk with great cordiality by the company, Mr. Van Buren affecting to laugh, but blushing at the same time up to the eyes, and evidently unprepared for a retort.

The message alluded to by Mr. Clay to the vice-president recalls to mind another, which he requested the late Mr. Grundy to deliver to President Jackson. It was the last of February, 1833, when the land bill was pending. "Tell General Jackson," said Mr. Clay, "that if he will sign that bill, I will pledge myself to retire from Congress, and never enter public life again." Mr. Grundy, who was an amiable and remarkably good-natured person, said: "No, I can't deliver that message; for we may have use for you hereafter." This was, it will be remembered, at the session when the compromise passed.

The first session of the twenty-third Congress terminated the 30th of June, 1834, and Mr. Clay, after his protracted and laborious exertions in behalf of the constitution and the laws, set out immediately on his journey home. As the stage-coach, in which he was proceeding from Charlottesville toward Winchester, in Virginia, was descending a hill, it was overturned, and a wealthy young gentleman, Mr. Hamrickhouse, son of the contractor, was instantly killed by being crushed by the vehicle. He was seated by the side of the driver. Mr. Clay was slightly injured. The accident happened in consequence of a defect in the breast-chain, which gave way. On his arrival at Winchester, Mr. Clay

was invited to a public dinner, which he declined, as well on account of his desire to reach home, as because of this melancholy accident, which disqualified him for immediate enjoyment at the festive board.

XIV.

DIFFICULTY WITH FRANCE--INDIAN WARRIOR.

THE most important question which came before Congress at its second session, in 1814-'15, was that of our relations with France. The claims of our citizens upon that government for aggressions upon our commerce between the years 1800 and 1817, had been repeatedly admitted; but no decided steps toward a settlement had been taken until the 4th of July, 1811, when a treaty was ratified, by which it was agreed, on the part of the French, that the sum of twenty-five millions of francs should be paid to the United States as an indemnity. By the terms of the treaty, the first instalment was to be paid at the expiration of one year after the exchange of the ratifications.

The French government having failed in the performance of this stipulation--the draft of the United States for the first instalment having been dishonored by the minister of finance--President Jackson, in his message of December, 1834, to Congress, recommended that, in case provision should not be made for the payment of the debt at the approaching session of the French chambers, a law should be passed authorizing reprisals upon French property. This was a step not to be precipitately taken; and, to insure its patriotic, dispassionate, and statesman-like consideration, the senate placed Mr. Clay at the head of the committee on foreign relations, to which committee that part of the president's message relating to our affairs with France was referred.

On the 6th of January, 1835, Mr. Clay made his celebrated report to the senate. It was read by him from his seat, its reading occupying an hour and a half; the senate-chamber being

throughout during its delivery by members of the house, and the galleries filled with overflowing. The ability displayed in this extraordinary document, the firmness and moderation of its tone, the perspicuous arrangements of facts which it presents, the lucidity and strength of its style, and the inevitable weight of its conclusions, called forth the admiration and concurrence of all parties. It would seem to have been, under Providence, the means of averting a war with France. In the preparation of it, Mr. Clay had a difficult and delicate task to perform; and it was accomplished with great ingenuity and success. Not a word that could lower the national tone and spirit was indulged in. He eloquently maintained that the right lay on our side, but admitted that the French king had not been so far in the wrong; that all hopes of the execution of the treaty were extinct, nor did he consider that hostile measures were yet justifiable. This temperate, judicious, firm, and statesman-like language, while it removed all cause of offence on the part of the French, imparted new renova to our own diplomacy. While it was all that the most chivalrous champions of their country's honor could ask, it breathed a spirit which called forth the full approbation of the friends of peace.

As soon as Mr. Clay had finished the reading of his report, a discussion arose in the senate as to the number which should be printed. Mr. Polkinton moved the printing of twenty thousand extra copies. Mr. Clay thought that number too large, and suggested five thousand. Mr. Calhoun said he should vote for the largest number proposed. He had heard the report read with the greatest pleasure. It contained the whole grounds which ought to be laid before the people. Of all the calamities that could befall the country, he most deplored a French war at that time. Under these considerations he should vote for twenty thousand copies.

Mr. Ewing and Mr. Porter would vote for the largest number, and the latter would have preferred thirty or forty thousand.

Mr. Preston said he was strongly impressed by the views taken by the committee, and considered them sufficient to satisfy the people that we could honestly and justly avoid war with France. Concurring in the sentiments of the committee, and

tion, in which the committee expressed the opinion that the senate ought to adhere to the resolution, adopted the 14th of January, to avoid the result of another appeal to the French chambers; and, in the meantime, to intimate no ulterior purpose, but to hold itself in reserve for whatever exigencies might arise. The senate concurred in the advice of the committee, who were then discharged from the further consideration of the subject.

On the 4th of February, 1835, Mr. Clay made a brilliant and impressive speech in the senate, upon the subject of a memorial, which he presented from certain Indians of the Cherokee tribe. The memorial set forth, in eloquent and becoming terms, the condition of the tribe, their grievances and their wants. It seemed that of the remnant of this people then in Georgia, one portion were desirous of being ruled to remove beyond the Mississippi, and the other wished to remain where they were, and to be removed from the rigid restrictions which the state of Georgia had imposed upon them. In his remarks, Mr. Clay eloquently alluded to the solemn treaties by which the possession of their lands had been secured to these Indians by our government. The faith of the United States had been pledged that they should continue unmolested in the enjoyment of their hunting-grounds. In defiance of these sacred stipulations, Georgia had claimed jurisdiction over the tribe—had parcelled out their lands, and disposed of them by lottery—degraded the Cherokees to the condition of serfs—denied them all the privileges of freedom, and rendered their condition infinitely worse than that of the African slave. It was the interest, as well as the pride of the master, to provide for the health and comfort of his slave; but what human being was there to care for these unfortunate Indians?

As Mr. Clay warmed in his remarks, and dwelt, more in sorrow than in anger, upon the wrongs and outrages perpetrated in Georgia upon the unoffending aborigines within her borders, many of his hearers were affected to tears, and he himself was obviously deeply moved. The occasion was rendered still more interesting by the presence of a Cherokee chief and a band of the tribe, who seemed to listen to the orator with a painfully eager attention. In conclusion, Mr. Clay submitted a resolution, directing the committee on the judiciary to inquire into the expediency

of making farther provision by law to enable Indian tribes, to whom lands had been secured by treaty, to defend and maintain their rights to such lands in the courts of the United States; also, a resolution directing the committee on Indian affairs to inquire into the expediency of setting apart a district of country, west of the Mississippi, for such of the Cherokee nation as were disposed to emigrate, and for securing in perpetuity their peaceful enjoyment thereof to themselves and their descendants.

The oppressed aboriginal tribes have always found in Mr. Clay a friend and a champion. Although coming from a state which, in consequence of the numerous Indian massacres of which it has been the theatre, has received the appellation of "the dark and bloody ground," he has never suffered any unphilosophical prejudice against the unfortunate red men, to blind his sense of justice or check the proceedings of humanity. He has constantly been among the most active vindicators of their cause—the most efficient advocates of a liberal policy toward them.

To General Jackson's administration, we are indebted for the system which makes the office of the federal government the reward of political partisanship, and proscribes all incumbents who may entertain opinions at variance with those of the executive. The government of the United States dispose of an annual patronage of nearly forty millions of dollars. By the corrupt use of this immense fund, the Jackson dynasty sustained and perpetuated itself in spite of the people. Here was the secret of its strength. Commit what violence, outrage what principle, avoid what interests he might, President Jackson threw him-off back upon his patronage and found protection. The patronage of the press, the patronage of the postoffice, the patronage of the customhouse, with its salaries, commissions, and fees—the patronage of the land-office, with its opportunities of successful speculation—these formed the stronghold and citadel of corrupt power.

On the eighteenth of February, 1835, Mr. Clay addressed the senate in support of the bill for the abatement of executive patronage. His speech contains a striking exposition of the evils resulting from the selfish and despotic exercise, on the part of "a chief magistrate, of the appointing and removing power" and

is pervaded by that truly democratic spirit which has characterized all the public acts of the author.

A bill making an appropriation for the Cumberland road, was discussed in the senate early in February. Mr. Clay spoke in favor of the appropriation, but adversely to the policy of surrendering the road to the states through which it runs.

XV.

PUBLIC LANDS—SPECIAL CIRCULAR—EXPENSIVE RESOLVE.

Our affairs with France, occupied a considerable portion of President Jackson's message to the 24th Congress at its first session. Mr. Clay was again placed at the head of the committee on foreign relations; and, on the 11th of January, 1836, he introduced a resolution to the senate, calling upon the president for information with regard to our affairs with France, and for the communication of certain overtures made by the French government. An additional resolution was presented by him two or three weeks afterward, calling for the communication of the expense which accompanied the French bill of indemnity of the 27th of April, 1835; and also, copies of certain notes which passed between the Duc de Broglie and our charge, Mr. Barton; together with those addressed by our minister, Mr. Livingston, to the French minister of foreign affairs, or to the secretary of state of the United States. These resolutions were adopted, with amendments.

On the 8th of February, 1836, a message from the president was received, announcing that the government of Great Britain had offered its mediation for the adjustment of the dispute between the United States and France. The message was referred to the committee on foreign affairs; and on the 22d of February, a correspondence between the secretary of state and Mr. Bunkhead, on the subject of British mediation, was submitted. This gave occasion for some remarks from Mr. Clay, who said that he could not withhold the expression of his congratulation to the senate.

for the agency it had in producing the happy termination of our difficulties with France. If the senate had not, by its unanimous vote of last September, declared that it was inexpedient to adopt any legislative action upon the subject of our relations with France; if it had yielded to the recommendations of the executive in ordering reprisals against that power, it could not be doubted but that war would have existed at that moment in its most serious state.

Mr. Clay renewed his exertions in behalf of his land bill, during this session. On the 14th of April, it was taken up in the senate as the special order, and discussed nearly every day for a period of two weeks, during which he was frequently called upon to defend and explain its provisions. His speech of April 26, is remarkable for the rigor of its arguments and the force of its appeals. Of this effort, the *National Intelligencer* said: "We thought, after hearing the able and comprehensive arguments of Messrs. Ewing, Southard, and White, in favor of this beneficent measure, that the subject was exhausted; that, at any rate, but little more could be urged in its defense. Mr. Clay, however, in one of the most handsome and forcible arguments which we have ever heard him deliver, placed the subject in new lights, and gave to it new claims to favor. 'The whole train of his reasoning appeared to us a series of demonstrations.'"

The land bill, essentially the same as that vetoed by General Jackson, passed the senate the 4th of May, 1836, by a vote of twenty-five to twenty, and was sent to the house. But the influence of the executive was too potent here yet to admit of the passage of a measure which, though approved by the majority, was opposed by the president because of its having originated with Mr. Clay.

The question of the right of petition came before the senate early in the session. On the 10th of January, Mr. Buchanan presented a memorial from a religious society of friends in Pennsylvania, requesting Congress to abolish slavery and the slave-trade in the District of Columbia. He moved that the memorial should be read, and the prayer of the memorialists be rejected. Mr. Calhoun demanded that the question should be first taken whether the petition be received or not; and a debate, which was

prolonged at various intervals till the 9th of March, sprang up on this preliminary question. Before the question was taken, Mr. Clay briefly explained his views. On the subject of the right of Congress to abolish slavery in the district, he was inclined to think, and counsel required the avowal, that the right *did* exist; though he should take a future opportunity of expressing his views in opposition to the expediency of the exercise of that power. He expressed his disapprobation of the motion to receive and immediately reject, made by the senator from Pennsylvania (Mr. Buchanan). He thought that the right of petition required of the servants of the people to examine, deliberate, and decide, either to grant or refuse the prayer of a petition, giving the reasons for such decision; and that such was the best mode of putting an end to the agitation of the public on the subject.

The question "Should the petition be received?" being taken, was decided in the affirmative—yeas 26; nays 10.

Mr. Clay then offered an amendment to Mr. Buchanan's motion to reject, in which amendment the principal reasons why the prayer of the memorialists could not be granted, were succinctly given. The amendment, not asserting the views of some of his southern friends, was subsequently withdrawn by Mr. Clay, who maintained, however, that he could not assent that Congress had no constitutional power to legislate on the prayer of the petition. The subject was at length laid on the table by a vote of twenty-four to twenty; but the friends of the sacred, *unqualified right of petition*, should not forget that Mr. Clay has ever upheld their cause with his best energies and his warmest zeal.

A report from the secretary of the treasury, showing the condition of the deposit banks, came before the senate for consideration, the 17th of March, 1836. Mr. Clay forcibly depicted, on this occasion, the total insecurity of the vast public treasure in the keeping of these banks. What was then prophesy became history soon afterward. "Suppose," said he, "a great deficiency of southern crops, or any other crisis creating a necessity for the exportation of specie to Europe, instead of the ordinary shipments. These banks would be compelled to call in their issues. This would compel other banks to call in, in like manner, or a panic and general want of confidence would ensue. If—

would become of the public money?" It is unnecessary to point to the fulfilment of these predictions. Soon after the deposits were returned to the pet banks, they became the basis of vast land speculations, into which all who could obtain a share of the government money, plunged at once heads over head; postmasters, custom-house officers, navy agents, pet-bank directors, cashiers and presidents, district attorneys, government printers, secretaries of state, postmasters-general, attorneys-general, president's secretaries, and all the innumerable stipendiaries of the administration. It was this wild speculation, fostered and conducted by the facilities of the deposit banks, that filled the treasury with unrecouped funds. The experiment terminated, as Mr. Clay prophesied it would terminate, in universal bankruptcy.

On the 9th of June, Mr. Clay, from the committee on foreign relations, introduced a report with a resolution, for recognising the independence of Texas whenever satisfactory information should be received that it had a civil government in successful operation. Mr. Preston expressed a hope that the executive was by that time in possession of such information as would enable the senate to adopt stronger measures than that recommended by the committee; and he submitted a resolution calling on the president for such information. Mr. Clay wished that the resolution might be taken up and acted on, as he would be extremely glad to receive information that would authorize stronger measures in favor of Texas. The report of the committee was concurred in; and Mr. Preston's resolution was adopted. The result of the call upon the president, and of the discussion that ensued, was the unanimous adoption, by the senate, on the 1st of July, of the resolution reported by Mr. Clay with an amendment by Mr. Preston, adding a clause expressing the satisfaction of the senate at the president's having taken measures for obtaining accurate information as to the civil, military, and political condition of Texas. Similar resolutions passed the house July 4th.

Mr. Clay spoke on a variety of questions in addition to those we have alluded to, during the session of 1834-35; on the motion to admit the senators from Michigan on the floor, and the recognition of that clause in the constitution of Michigan, which he conceived to give to all men the right to vote on the resolution

of Mr. Calhoun to inquire into the expediency of such a reduction of duties as would not affect the manufacturing interest; on the fortification bill, &c. Congress adjourned the 4th of July, 1836.

On his return to Kentucky, a dinner was given to Mr. Clay by his fellow-citizens of Woodford county. During his absence from home, he had experienced heavy afflictions in the death of a beloved daughter and of his only sister. On rising to speak, he was so overcome by the recollection of these losses, added to an allusion which had been made to the remains of his mother being buried in Woodford, that he was obliged to resume his seat. He soon rallied, however, and addressed the company for about two hours, in an animated and powerful strain. He reviewed the recent acts of the administration—their constant tampering with the currency—the treasury order, directing that all payments for lands should be made in specie—the injustice practised toward the Indian tribes—and the disgracefully protracted Seminole war. In conclusion, Mr. Clay alluded to his intended retirement from the senate of the United States—an intention which, at that time, he fondly cherished.

So fixed was his wish to withdraw from public life, that he had, at one period, in 1836, made up his mind to resign. It is certain, that he looked forward with confidence to declining a re-election; and he expressed a hope at the Woodford dinner that the state would turn its attention to some other citizen.

In the autumn of 1836, Mr. Clay narrowly escaped a violent death. He was riding on horseback in one of his fields, surveying his cattle, when a furious bull, unbroken from some cause or other, rushed toward him, and plunging his horns with tremendous force into the horse on which Mr. Clay was seated, killed the poor animal on the spot. The distinguished rider was thrown to the distance of several feet from his horse, but, though somewhat hurt by the fall, escaped without material injury.

We have already given an exposition of Mr. Clay's views in behalf of colonization. In 1836, he was unanimously elected president of the American Colonization Society, in the room of the illustrious ex-president Madison, deceased. He accepted the appointment.

During the winter of 1836, Mr. Clay was re-elected a senator

from Kentucky for six years from the evening 4th of March. The vote stood: for Henry Clay, 50; for James Guthrie, the administration candidate, 31. Eight members were absent, four of whom, it is said, would have voted for Mr. Clay.

The state of the republic, toward the termination of General Jackson's second presidential term, is yet vividly in the recollection of all our citizens. He had found the country, in 1829, in a condition of unexampled prosperity. The government was administered with economy strictly republican. Congress was the dominant power in the land. Commerce, manufactures, agriculture, flourished. The banking system was in a state of remarkable soundness. There was no disposition to multiply local banks. There was neither temptation nor ability for these banks to expand their issues. The failure of a bank was an occurrence as unusual as an earthquake. Labor was sure of employment, and sure of its reward. There were few brokers, insurers, and money-lenders, by profession. There were no speculators by profession. There were no immense operations in fancy stocks and land schemes. There was but one way of growing rich—hard labor—assiduous industry—early rising—late retiring—and anxious, devoted, and persevering attention to business. Our habits, as a people, were simple and democratic. Our foreign credit was without a stain. The debts which we contracted abroad were such as we could pay—and paid they were, with scrupulous and honorable punctuality. Our currency was, without exception, the most perfect on the face of the globe. No man ever lost a cent by it. It was abundant, safe, and well accredited in every part of the world. All pecuniary operations of trade and commerce were conducted with the most wonderful facility and regularity. Gold and silver were in free circulation, and there was, at all times, an abundant supply of the smaller coins. Millions on millions of exchanges were negotiated in every quarter of the country, and at an average rate of one half of one per cent.—a charge merely nominal in comparison with the subsequent rates. The whole machinery of society, government, trade and currency, was in a state as nearly approaching perfection as human wisdom and ingenuity could compass.

Such was the condition of the republic in 1829. Then the destroyer came—and all was blasted. For eight years he managed the affairs of the country in his own way; and HIS WILL WAS THE LAW OF THE LAND.

During those eight years, what a change came over our affairs! The whole machinery of currency, trade, and government, was deranged. The land was flooded with three or four hundred millions of irredeemable paper. The smaller coins disappeared. Specie payments were universally suspended; and gold and silver were no more a currency than muschysts and diamonds. In trade, everything ran into speculation. Banks sprang up like mushrooms on every side. Any two men who could write their names so as to sign and endorse a piece of paper, were enabled so procure "facilities," which generally turned out to be facilities for their own destruction. Brokers, usurers, money-lenders, speculators, multiplied till their name was legion. Everything was unaturally distended, until, at length, trade came to a dead stand. No one wanted to buy, and everybody was afraid to sell. There was an utter stagnation, paralysis, extinction, of business. Thousands on thousands declared themselves individually bankrupt. As a nation, we were notoriously and miserably bankrupt—and we had hardly foreign credit enough to make it either safe or decent for any American to cross the Atlantic.

In government, a revolution no less pernicious was accomplished. Congress became a mere stopping-stone to hiection appointments, and the session was merely a convenient *respite* of its members for the better arrangement of their land speculations, and the more convenient distribution of the government deposits among the most accumulating banks. The heart of our government was rotten to the core—and, like our currency and our trade, it presented but a miserable contrast to the condition of 1829. And all these revolutions were brought about by the uncontrolled ascendancy of Jacksonism, and by no other agency under heaven!

Notwithstanding these deplorable issues, the end was not yet. The Jackson dynasty was to be perpetuated still another term in the hands of him who was proud to follow in the footsteps of his "illustrious predecessor." The presidential election of 1829,

terminated in the choice of Martin Van Buren. But no one anticipating matters. We have yet the short session of Congress of 1836-'37 to review, before we take leave of the "Hero of New Orleans."

The administration had now a majority in the senate. That noble phalanx of whigs, who had so undauntedly withstood the usurpations of the executive, could now only operate as a minority. One of the first acts of Mr. Clay, was to reintroduce his land bill. On the 19th of December, in pursuance of previous notice, he presented it with modifications suited to the changes in public affairs. It was read twice, and referred to the committee on public lands, at the head of which was Mr. Walker of Mississippi, who, on the 3d of January, gave notice that he was instructed by the committee to move for the *indefinite postponement* of the bill, when it should come up for consideration. Some days afterward, Mr. Walker introduced his bill to limit the sales of the public lands, except to actual settlers, and in limited quantities; and on the 9th of February, 1837, Mr. Calhoun's extraordinary bill, nominally *selling*, but in reality *giving*, to the new states *all the public domain*, came before the senate.

Mr. Clay took ground at once against this scheme. He said that four or five years before, contrary to his earnest desire, this subject of the public lands was forced upon him, and he had, with great labor, devised a plan fraught with equity to all the states. It received the votes of a majority of both houses, and was rejected by the president. He had always considered the public domain a sacred trust for the country and for posterity. He was opposed to any measure giving away this property for the benefit of speculators; and he was therefore opposed to this bill as well as to the other (Mr. Walker's) before the senate. He had hitherto labored in vain—but he should continue to oppose all these schemes for robbing the old states of their rightful possessions. He brought the senate to abstain from three appeals to the equity of the new states from party inducements; and he appealed to the senator from South Carolina whether, if he offered them higher and better lands than the party in power, he did not risk the imputation of being actuated by such inducements.

Fortunately for the country, the rash project of Mr. Calhoun did not reach the maturity of a third reading.

On the 25th of February, the bill from the committee on finance, to alter and amend the several acts imposing duties on imports, being before the senate, Mr. Clay spoke against the measure at some length. His principal objection arose from what he conceived to be the interference of some of the provisions of the bill with the compromise act of 1850. In the course of his remarks, he gave an interesting account of his own connection with that important measure.

He then went on to draw a striking parallel between the compromise act of 1850 as to the protective system, and that other compromise act which settled the much-agitated Missouri question, and by which the latitude of 36 degrees 30 minutes, was established as the extreme boundary for the existence of slavery in that state. Had not congress a right to repeal that law? But what would those southern gentlemen, who now so strenuously urged a violation of our implied faith in regard to the act of 1850, say if a measure like that should be attempted?

Mr. Clay concluded with a motion to recommit the bill for the reduction of duties to the committee on finance, with instructions to strike out all those articles comprised in the bill, which then paid a duty of 20 per cent, and upward, contained in the compromise act. The motion was lost—25 yeas to 34 nays; and the bill was the same day passed by a vote 27 to 18.

Early in the session, Mr. Kwing had introduced a joint resolution rescinding the treasury order by which all payments for public lands were to be made in specie. On the 11th of January, Mr. Clay addressed the senate in a speech replete with arguments and facts in support of the resolution, and in opposition to an amendment, which had been offered by Mr. Rives. The resolution was referred to the committee on public lands, who instructed their chairman to lay it on the table when it should come up. On the 18th of January, a bill rescinding the specie circular was reported by Mr. Walker. It subsequently passed the senate, with some slight amendments, by a vote of 41 to 5; and he received the sanction of the other house; but notwithstanding this fact, and the additional well-known fact, the

the order had been originally promulgated in defiance of the opinion of Congress and the wishes of the people, the bill, "instead of being returned to the house in which it originated, according to the requirement of the constitution, was sent to one of the pigeon-holes of the department of state, to be filed away with an opinion of a convenient attorney-general, always ready to prepare one in support of executive encroachment."

Mr. Van Buren manifested the same contempt for the will of the people, expressed by Congress, as had been shown by his "illustrious predecessors," and refused to interfere until the special circular repented itself in the catastrophe of a universal suspension.

On the 12th of January, a resolution, offered by Mr. Benton, to expunge from the journals of the senate for 1833-34, Mr. Clay's resolution censuring President Jackson for his unauthorized removal of the public depositories, came before the senate for consideration; and on the 16th Mr. Clay discussed the question at considerable length. His speech was in a strain of mingled sarcasm and indignant invective, which made the subservient majority writhle under its scorching power. Never was a measure placed in a more contemptible light than was the expunging proposal by Mr. Clay. Those who heard him, can never forget the look and tone, varying from an expression of unjust scorn to one of good-humored satire, with which he gave utterance to the following eloquent passages:—

"What patriotic purpose is to be accomplished by this expunging resolution? Can you make that not to be which has been? Can you eradicate from memory and from history the fact that in March, 1834, a majority of the senate of the United States passed a resolution which excited your animosity? Is it your wish and wicked object to arrogate to yourself the power of annihilating the past which has been deemed to transpire itself? Do you intend to thrust your hands into our hearts, and pluck out the deeply rooted convictions which are there? Or is it your design merely to stir malice up? You cannot dignify us:—

"Do you not all love the same law and same man?"

"Standing securely upon our common rectitude, and bearing about the shield of the constitution of our country, your party efforts are ineffectual, and we defy all your power. But the majority of 1834 is one whole, and that by which this expunging resolution is to be carried in the other, and let truth and justice, in heaven above, and on earth below, and liberty and patriotism, smite the preponderance."

"What patriotic purpose is to be accomplished by this expunging resolu-

gent. Is it to approve the death and to heal the wounded pride of the chief magistrate? If he has really the hero that his friends represent him, he must, despite all mean concessions, all grovelling apoplexy, all self-degradation, and self-abasement. He would reject, with scorn and contempt, as unworthy of his fame, your black scratches, and your lily lines in the fair records of his country.²

This expunging resolution was passed; but no one will envy the immortality to which the "knights of the black lines" have been consigned.

Mr. Clay addressed the senate upon several other important questions during the session of 1836-'37. Among them were that upon the fortification bill, which were returned to the senate after the house had insisted on the clause for a second distribution of the surplus revenue; and the resolution from the committee on foreign relations, on the subject of our affairs with Mexico.

XVI.

THE SUB-TREASURY—NORTHERN TOUR.

Mr. CLAY had uniformly discouraged the attempts of his friends to induce him to become a candidate for the presidency in the campaign of 1836. He saw the unhappy diversity in the ranks of the opposition; and he saw, perhaps, the inevitable ability of the Jackson dynasty to perpetuate itself in the elevation of Mr. Van Buren. No potent had the executive bureau, through usurpation and the abuse of patronage!

On the 8th of February, that being the day appointed by statute for opening the electoral returns for the presidency and vice-presidency of the United States, the result was proclaimed in the presence of both houses of Congress. The following was ascertained to be the state of the vote:—

<i>For President.</i>	<i>Vice-President.</i>
Van Buren.....170	Johnson.....143
Harrison..... 80	Granger..... 77
White..... 78	Tyler..... 47
Webster..... 44	Smith..... 28
Morgan..... 11	
294	294

It was then declared that it appeared that Martin Van Buren had been duly elected president of the United States, for four years from the 4th of March, 1837; and that no person had a majority of all the votes for the vice-presidency, and that Mr. Johnson and Mr. Granger had the largest number of votes of all the candidates. Mr. Johnson was afterward duly chosen.

It had been hoped by many that under Mr. Van Buren a less destructive policy would be adopted than that which had dignified the reign of the "hero of New Orleans." For the last eight years the country had been governed by executive edicts. Congress had always been disposed to do right, but it had been thwarted by a skulldiving and usurping executive. The will of the people, constitutionally avowed, had been constantly defeated by the imperious and impetuous objections of one fallible and passionate old man.

Congress passed Mr. Clay's land bill; but the executive destroyed it.

Congress said that the deposits were safe in the Bank of the United States; the executive removed them.

Congress refused to issue a specie circular; it was issued by the executive.

Congress rescinded the specie circular; and the executive defeated that rescission.

Now the doctrine of Thomas Jefferson, as adopted and always acted upon by Henry Clay, is, that THE WILL OF THE MAJORITY MUST BE EXPRESSLY EXPRESSED, UNDER CIVIL LAW. But Congress had no influence in the government during the pernicious ascendancy of Jacksonism. It came together to pass appropriation bills, and register the doings of the chief magistrate. The noble majority in the senate, for a while, prevented much mischief, but they could originate and prosecute no settled policy, in consequence of the administration majority in the other branch. We lived literally under executive legislation. Where the president could not vote, he could do some act of violence, and compel Congress either to leave the country without law, or to adapt its legislation to the existing exigencies. Thus he could not prevail on Congress to remove the deposits—but when they were removed, to furnish an instrument of power to himself and of plunder to his

partisans"—Congress was compelled either to leave them with out law, or to pass laws for the regulation of the new depositories.

The hopes that had been entertained of a reform under Mr. Van Buren had proved fallacious; but his attempt to march in the "seven-ligged hots" of his predecessor speedily resulted in a ridiculous failure. He was tripped up at the very start.

The disastrous condition in which the country was left by the "hem of New Orleans," whose "humble efforts" to improve the currency had resulted in the universal prostration of business, and a suspension of specie payments, called upon his successor in the presidential chair for some immediate measure of relief. On the 12th of May, 1837, Mr. Van Buren issued his proclamation ordering an extraordinary session of Congress, to commence the first Monday in September. In accordance with that proclamation, both houses of Congress met at the capital on the day appointed; and the message recommending the sub-treasury system for the deposit, transfer, and disbursement of the public revenue, was transmitted by the president. The consequence was an instantaneous loss of his majority in the house of representatives.

In the election of speaker, at the commencement of the extra session, 224 members voted, making 113 necessary to a choice. Mr. Polk received 116 votes, and was elected. Then came the sub-treasury message, and the vote on the election of printer indicated a sudden disaffection in the ranks, and a general breaking up of the administration party. On the twelfth and final balloting, Thomas Allen, editor of the *Mediciner*, was elected over the Van Buren candidates, Blair and Rice. A decided majority of the house had been elected as friends of Mr. Van Buren; but so alarming occurred his sub-treasury plan, which was, in other words, a scheme for placing the public purse under the control of the president, that he was defeated in the very first party vote after the election of speaker.

The leading topic of the session was of course the new sub-treasury project; and it was discussed in the senate with great ability on both sides. By this bill, the treasury of the United States, the treasury of the mint and its branches, collectors, receivers, postmasters, and other office-holders, were commissioned

to receive in specie, and keep, subject to the draft of the proper department, all public moneys, coming into their hands, instead of depositing them, as heretofore, in banks. Among the earliest and most prominent advocates of this measure was Mr. Calhoun, who suddenly found himself one of the leaders of a party, which for the last five or six years he had been denouncing as the most corrupt that had ever cursed a country.

The bill was taken up in the senate, the 20th of September; and on the 25th, Mr. Clay spoke in opposition to this unbusiness and anti-republican scheme. In this admirable speech he went at length into an examination of the causes that had led to the existing disastrous state of public affairs. To the financial experiments of General Jackson, he traced back unerringly the consequent inflation of the currency—the wild speculations, which had risen to their height when they began to be checked by the preparations of the local banks, necessary to meet the deposits law of June, 1836—the final suspension of specie payments—and all the disorders in the currency, commerce, and general business of the country, that ensued. He then gave his objections to the scheme before the senate. It proposed one currency for the government and another for the people. An well might it be attempted to make the government breathe a different air, be lit and warmed by a different sun, from the people! A hard-money government, and a paper-money people! A government, an official corps—the servants of the people—glittering in gold, and the people themselves—their members—buried in rags, and surrounded by rags! By the proposed substitution of an exclusive metallic currency for the mixed medium, all property would be reduced in value to one third of its present nominal amount; and every debtor would in effect have to pay three times as much as he had contracted for. Then there was the security of the system—the liability to favoritism in the local negotiations—the fearful increase of executive patronage—the absolute and complete union of the purse and the sword in the hands of the president! All these objections were most powerfully elucidated and enforced by Mr. Clay.

He then proceeded to declare what he believed to be the only efficient measure for restoring a sound and uniform currency,

which was a United States bank, established under such restrictions, as the lights of recent experience might suggest. "But," said Mr. Clay, "if a national bank be established, its stability and its utility will depend upon the general conviction which is felt of its necessity. *And until such a conviction is deeply impressed upon the people, and clearly manifested by them, it would, in my judgment, be unwise even to propose a bank.*"

On the 4th of October, the sub-treasury bill, after undergoing various amendments, was read a third time and passed by the senate by a vote of 25 to 20. It was taken up in the house on the 10th of October, and, on the 14th, laid on the table by a vote of 120 to 107.

The defeat of this measure, in the teeth of the executive recommendation, in spite of executive blandishment and terror—the triumph of the majority without doors over the majority within, and of both over patronage and power—revived the dying hopes of the patriot, and infused new life into our constitution. The sceptre of misrule had crumbled. The dynasty, which for nearly nine years had misruled the country, received, on that occasion, its irreparable wound.

A resolution, reported by Mr. Wright from the committee on finance, in relation to the petitions for a national bank, was called up in the senate, the 20th of September. The resolution declared that the prayer of the memorialists might not be granted. In his remarks upon this subject, Mr. Clay alluded to the case in which Mr. Randolph moved, in the house of representatives, a similar negative resolution—"That it is inexpedient to declare war against Great Britain." Mr. Clay said, that if Mr. W. persisted in his resolution, he should move to strike out all after the word *Resolved*, and substitute: "That it will be expedient to establish a bank of the United States *whenever it shall be manifest that a clear majority of the people of the United States desire such an institution.*" The motion was subsequently made and lost; and Mr. Wright's resolution was adopted. The party then in power seem to have had but little reverence for the wishes of a "clear majority of the people of the United States."

The extra-session lasted six weeks—Congress adjourning on the morning of the 16th of October. The measure, on which

the hopes and fate of the administration were staked, had been defeated.

The sub-treasury project came again before the 25th Congress at their second session. The 19th of February, 1838, Mr. Clay once more addressed the senate in opposition to the measure. This speech is one of the longest and ablest ever delivered by him. At the commencement, he stated certain propositions, which he would proceed to demonstrate. He contended:

1st. That it was the deliberate purpose and fixed design of the late Administration to establish a government or treasury bank, to be administered and controlled by the executive department.

2d. That, with that view, and to that end, it was its aim and intention to overthrow the whole banking system, as existing in the United States, when the administration came into power, beginning with the bank of the United States, and ending with the state banks.

3d. That the attack was first confined, from considerations of policy, to the bank of the United States; but that, after its overthrow was accomplished, it was then directed, and has since been continued, against the state banks.

4th. That the present administration, by its resolutions, originating from the highest and most authentic source, had avowed to the philosophy, physical policy of the preceding administration, and stood solemnly pledged to complete and perfect them. And,

5th. That the bill under consideration was intended to execute the plan, by establishing, upon the ruins of the late bank of the United States, and the state banks, a government bank, to be managed and controlled by the treasury department, acting under the commands of the president of the United States.

The manner in which Mr. Clay proceeded to sustain these charges against the administration, was extremely impressive. That he made out his case satisfactorily to the people, subsequent events fully demonstrated.

Mr. Clay appears to have addressed the senate on every question of moment that claimed its attention during the session of 1837-'38; on the reception of petitions for the abolition of slavery in the district of Columbia--the bill to restrain the issuing of small notes in the district--the disturbances on the northern frontier, and the attack on the Caroline, an act which he denounced in the most unmeasured terms--the bill to grant pre-emption rights to settlers on the public lands--the bill to establish the Oregon territory--in favor of the bill to prohibit the giving or accepting a challenge to fight a duel in the district of Columbia--against the bill providing for the graduation and in-

duction of the price of the public lands—and on many other subjects of hardly inferior interest.

A joint resolution, offered by him on the 30th of April, providing for the reception of the notes of sound banks in the collection of the revenue, was adopted by the senate, with some amendments, the 29th of May. It was in effect a repeal of the specie circular.

In the course of the session, Mr. Clay took occasion, in presenting a petition for the establishment of a United States bank, to make known his own views in regard to such an institution. Some of the conditions and restrictions under which it seemed to him suitable to establish such a bank, were briefly given in the following sketch:—

1. The capital not to be extravagantly large, but, at the same time, amply sufficient to enable it to perform the useful financial duties for the government; to supply a general currency of uniform value throughout the Union; and to facilitate, as high as practicable, the equalization of domestic exchange. He supposed that about fifty millions would answer all these purposes. The stock might be divided between the general government, the states, according to their federal population, and individual subscribers; the portion assigned to the latter to be distributed at auction or by private subscription.

2. The corporation to receive such an organization as to blend, in its proportions, public and private control, and combining public and private interests; not, in order to exclude the possibility of the exercise of any foreign influence, non-resident foreigners to be prohibited not only from any share in the administration of the corporation, but from holding, directly or indirectly, any portion of its stock. The bank would thus be in its origin and continue throughout its whole existence, a genuine American institution.

3. An adequate portion of the capital to be set apart in productive stocks, and placed in government security, beyond the reach of the corporation (with the exception of the accruing profits on those stocks) sufficient to pay promptly, in any contingency, the amount of all such paper, under whatever form, that the bank shall put forth as a part of the general circulation. The bill or note holders, in other words, the ease of the convertibility, ought to be protected against the possibility of the failure or the suspension of the bank. The supply of the circulating medium of a country is that facility of a bank, the propriety of the exercise of which may be most controverted. The dealings with a bank of those who obtain discounts, or make deposits, are voluntary and mutually advantageous; and they are comparatively few in number. But the reception of what is loaned and used as a part of the circulating medium of the country, is necessarily a voluntary act; and those who take it who have no other concern whatever with the bank. The money ought to be guarded and covered by the care of the legislative authority; the vigilance of the few will assure themselves against loss.

4. To feel publicly as to the state of the bank at all times, including, besides the usual books of information, the names of every debtor to the bank,

whether as drawn, endorsed, or surety, periodically exhibited, and open to public inspection; or, if that should be found inconvenient, the right to be secured in any citizen to ascertain at the bank the nature and extent of the responsibility of any of its customers. There is no necessity to threaten any red of money against the ordinary transactions of a bank. Publicity will increase responsibility, repress favoritism, increase the reputation of good paper, and, when individual insolvency unfortunately occurs, will deprive the bank of undue advantages now enjoyed by banks practically in the distribution of the effects of the insolvency.

4. A limitation of the dividends so as not to authorize more than one per cent. to be struck. This will check undue expansions in the medium, and restrain improper extension of business in the administration of the bank.

5. A prospective reduction in the rate of interest, not to exceed five per cent. such to six per cent. simply, or, if practicable, to only five per cent. This reduction may be effected by following: to exact any bonus, or, when the profits are likely to exceed the proscribed limit of the dividends, by requiring the rates of interest shall be so lowered as that they shall not pass that limit.

6. A restriction upon the premiums demanded upon post notes and checks used for remittances, so that the maximum should not be more than one and a half per cent. between any two of the remitted points in the Union. Although it may not be practicable to regulate foreign exchange, depending as it does upon commercial crises not within the control of any one government, it is otherwise with regard to domestic exchange.

7. Every practicable provision against the exercise of improper influence, on the part of the executive, upon the bank, and, on the part of the bank, upon the decisions of the country. The people entertain a just jealousy against the danger of any interference of a bank with the decisions of a country, and every precaution ought to be taken strictly to guard against it.

This was a brief outline of such a bank as Mr. Clay thought would, if established, conduce greatly to the prosperity of the country. Its wise and provident restrictions would seem to preclude all those popular objections which generally apply to banks. With regard to the constitutionality of a national bank, Mr. Clay said that forty years of acquiescence by the people—the maintenance of the power by Washington, the father of his country; by Madison, the father of the constitution; and by Marshall, the father of the judiciary, ought to be precedents sufficient in its favor.

This abolition question was agitated in the senate during the last session of the 25th Congress. Mr. Clay had been urged by many of his friends to refrain from speaking on the subject. It was represented to him as impolitic, superfluous, and likely to interfere with his presidential prospects. Such arguments could have no weight with him.

His whole course upon this perilous question, has been that of

the truest, upright, practical, and consistent statesman, the true philanthropist, the sagacious and devoted patriot. When Mr. Calhoun introduced, in the session of 1835-'36, his bill to give postmasters and their deputies a power of inspection and espionage over the mails—the bill which was passed to its third reading by the casting vote of Martin Van Buren—it met with the prompt and decided condemnation of Mr. Clay. No man has more vigilantly watched the sacred right of petition than Mr. Clay. He has condemned, on all occasions, the refusal of the senate to receive petitions. His speech of February, 1839, yields to the abolitionists all that they have a right to demand, and is at the same time so liberal in its doctrines, as to disarm the ultraism of southern hostility. Mr. Calhoun himself was compelled to admit his acquiescence in the soundness of its doctrines, and the necessity which their adoption would promise to the Union. The enemies of Mr. Clay denounced this movement on the abolition question as an effort to achieve popularity. They reasoned from the inevitable result, to an unworthy inducement. To impute unworthy motives to Mr. Clay because of such a result, was to impeach the purity of all public action, and to confine the statesman, who would preserve his political reputation, to the advocacy of unwise and unpopular measures. Popularity *did* follow the promulgation of such sentiments as are contained in the speech of Mr. Clay—the popularity which all good men desire—the popularity of which all great men may be proud—the popularity based upon gratitude for distinguished services, admiration for commanding eloquence, and the eternal sympathies of the people with the righteous.

In the summer of 1839, Mr. Clay visited Buffalo, and passing into Canada, made an excursion to Montreal and Quebec. Returning, he visited the city of New York. He had the previous summer been invited, at an enthusiastic meeting of his friends at Massena Hall, to visit the city, but had then been unable to comply with their invitation. His reception, at the period to which we now refer, was one of the most brilliant ever extended to a public man. Early in the afternoon, he was landed at the foot of Hanscock street, Greenwich, from the steamboat *Jessie Medison*, attended by a large number of citizens. An immense multi-

ials was assembled to greet his arrival, and, as he stepped on the wharf, the air was rent with acclamations from a myriad of voices. The day was most propitious. At Greenwich, a procession was formed, headed by marshals, after whom came a numerous cavalry corps. A band of music preceded the open broughs of Mr. Clay, and a vast concourse of citizens followed in carriages. Everything in the city, in the shape of a four-wheeled vehicle, was in attendance, and tens of thousands of citizens followed on foot. When the head of the procession reached the Astor house, the rear had not yet formed in line. Through the whole extent from the point of landing, through Hudson street, up Fourteenth street to Union place, and down Broadway to the park, a distance of nearly four miles, it was at one and the same time a dense moving mass of horsemen, carriages, carmen, and citizens. Every window on either side of the way was occupied, and acclamations from every house, and the waving of handkerchiefs, and roared salutations, greeted the illustrious statesman as he passed. At Constitution hall, at Masonic hall, and at every place of public resort and amusement, flags were displayed, and bands of music were stationed to hail his approach.

As he reached the park, the tens of thousands who thronged the grounds, the windows, and roofs of the surrounding edifices, the adjacent streets, and the large open space at the junction of Chatham street and Broadway, thundered out the mighty welcome of a grateful people to the gallant, generous, warm-hearted, and noble-minded citizen, whose life had been devoted to their service.

The reception was purely a civic one. It was not a *got-up*, official pageant, where the populace exhibit their gratitude by an invitation of the common council, and display a certain amount of enthusiasm duly provoked for by the resolves and ordinances of the corporation. It was the voluntary, unbought, unbidden, movement of the people, to greet the arrival among them of one who had ever been eminently the MAN OF THE PEOPLE.

XVII.

THE HARRISBURG CONVENTION

As the period of another presidential election drew near, the vast portion of the democracy of the land, opposed to the administration of Mr. Van Buren, began to turn their eyes toward the most able, renowned and consistent of their leaders, Henry Clay, as a fitting candidate for the chief magistracy of the United States. The champion of the people, their interests, and their honor, during the last war—the preserver of the Union on two momentous occasions, when it was threatened with dissolution and civil war; the founder and vigilant protector of the American system; the friend of internal improvements; the intelligent advocate of a sound, uniform, republican currency, and of a judicious tariff; the experienced statesman, who, at Ghent, and in the department of state, had displayed the highest order of talents in the service of his country; the active foe of executive usurpation; the chivalrous defender of the constitution and the laws, who, in his public career, had ever manifested his obedience to the principle that *VIX VULT SE VIX VESTIRE*, faithfully expressed, should give law; the vindicator of human liberty throughout the world—who could present claims so numerous, so powerful, so overwhelming, upon the gratitude, confidence, and suffrages of the people of the United States?

This fact of his having been in two instances an unsuccessful candidate for the presidency, was the only objection worthy of notice, which was brought forward by those who, while they professed to admit his claims, and to accord with him in his political creed, were doubtful of the *expediency* of his nomination. But what were the facts in regard to these two instances? In the election of 1824, he failed in being elected by the primary colleges, in company with John Quincy Adams, Andrew Jackson, and William H. Crawford. So that the argument in this case would have been as valid against any one of these candidates as it can be against Mr. Clay. He was excluded from being one of the three highest candidates, who were returned to the honor

on this occasion, by being *unfairly deprived of electoral votes in New York and Louisiana*. It was, moreover, well known that, if the elections were carried to the house, Mr. Clay would, as the natural result of his great popularity, be elected. The friends of all the other candidates, consequently, had a united interest in excluding him.

With regard to the contest of 1832, the re-election of General Jackson at that time could not be construed into an indication of popular feeling toward Mr. Clay. The "hero of New-Orleans," had, during his first term, just entered upon his novel experiments in the currency; and a great part of the people were disposed to give them a fair trial, and afford him an opportunity to carry out the policy he had commenced. The patronage of the executive was directed, to an extent wholly unparalleled, toward the continuance of the sceptre in his hands. Nullification had begun to show its menacing face, and there were many, even among those who were hostile to the general policy of the administration, and friendly to Mr. Clay, who yet unwisely thought that strenuous measures toward South Carolina would be required, and that the Union would be safest under the direction of a military chief magistrate.

In addition to these circumstances, the party opposed to General Jackson was distracted by anti-masonry, which presented an excellent and popular candidate for president in William Wirt.

These two elections are all in which Mr. Clay has been a candidate for the presidency, and in neither did he have a fair field. He had been nearly twenty times a candidate for the suffrages of the people, and only on these two occasions defeated. Mr. Van Buren, with a clear field and the whole patronage of the government in his own hands, failed in the election of 1840.

The democratic whig convention for the nomination of a presidential candidate, met at Harrisburgh, on the 4th of December, 1840. A decided plurality of the delegates who attended, were in favor of the nomination of Mr. Clay, but a larger number were divided in their preferences between General William Henry Harrison, who had been the candidate of the southern whigs in the previous canvass, and General Winfield Scott, whose name was now for the first time presented. Yet all, or nearly all,

fully admitted Mr. Clay's pre-eminence fitness and worth—they opposed his nomination avowedly on the ground that he could not probably be elected, while another could be. Very many of these bitterly regretted, after the country had fallen into the hands of John Tyler, that they had not taken the risk, if risk there were, of nominating the great Kentuckian.

The convention was organized on the 5th December, by the appointment of Hon. James Harbair as president, with thirteen vice-presidents and four secretaries. A committee of one from each state represented, was appointed to collect the votes of the several delegations and report the nomination of a candidate, and, after a session of nearly two days, it reported in favor of William Henry Harrison. The friends of Mr. Clay—those who had adhered to him to the last—disappointed as they were in this unlooked-for result, were too well aware of the generous sentiments of their candidate, not to acquiesce in it cheerfully and with a good grace. At the meeting of the convention, on the 9th of December, Mr. Banks of Kentucky was the first to rise and announce the hearty concurrence of the delegation from that state in the nomination indicated by the informal ballot announced by the committee. Mr. Preston, from the same state, followed in the same strain, and asked that a letter from Mr. Clay, which had for several days been in possession of a delegate, but which had not been shown, lest it should seem intended to be used to excite sympathy for Mr. Clay, should now be read. Permission being unanimously given, the letter was read by General Leslie Gamba of Kentucky.

In this letter Mr. Clay says: "With a just and proper sense of the high honor of being voluntarily called to the office of president of the United States by a great, free, and enlightened people, and profoundly grateful to those of my fellow-citizens who are desirous to see me placed in that exalted and responsible station, I must nevertheless say in entire truth and sincerity, that if the deliberations of the convention shall lead them to the election of another as the candidate of the opposition, *for few feeling any disaffect, the nomination will have my best wishes and receive my cordial support.*" He then calls upon his friends from Kentucky, regarding all attachments or partiality for himself and guided

Under the influence of considerations like these, the convention unanimously nominated John Tyler, of Virginia, for the vice-presidency; and, having taken this step, adjourned.

A deep disappointment was felt throughout the Whig ranks at the failure of the convention to nominate Mr. Clay for the presidency; but the magnanimous sentiments expressed in his letter, and at the convention, soon began to animate his friends; and they manifested their devotion to principles rather than to men, by rallying vigorously in support of the selected candidates.

With regard to John Tyler, he was very imperfectly known out of Virginia; and if little could be said in his favor, still less could be said to his prejudice. The office of vice-president was generally regarded as one of comparatively slight consequence; and there seemed to be an utter absence of all apprehension of the contingency, by which its importance was so fearfully magnified. Future conventions will never forget the lesson which Mr. Tyler has given to his countrymen and their posterity.

XVIII.

THE CAMPAIN OF 1838.

MR. CLAY'S efforts in the democratic whig cause appear not to have been less ardent, incessant, and faithful, during the congressional session of 1838-40, than at any previous period of his career. The just expectations of his friends had been thwarted at Harriehurg; but that circumstance did not seem either to affect his spirits, or to damp the ardor of his opposition to that policy which he believed injurious to the best interests of his country. He acquiesced promptly, heartily, and nobly, in the nomination of General Harrison, and did not manifest, on any occasion, a lurking feeling of disappointment. He took an early occasion in the senate to reiterate the sentiments expressed in his letter, read at the convention; and he showed himself prepared to do rigorous battle in behalf of the principles which he and his associates had been struggling, for the last twelve years, to maintain.

In the senate, on the 3d of January, 1840, Mr. Southard moved the reconsideration of an order of reference of Mr. Calhoun's land bill to the committee on public lands. The proposition gave rise to a passage between Mr. Calhoun and Mr. Clay, in which severe language was employed on both sides. Allusions being made to their respective political careers at the time of the force bill and the compromise act, Mr. Calhoun said that the gentleman from Kentucky was flat on his back at that time, and was compelled to the compromise — and that he (Mr. Calhoun) was then his master.

In reply, Mr. Clay, in the order of his feelings, remarked: — "The gentleman has said that I was flat on my back — that he was my master on that occasion. He my master! Sir, I would not own him for my slave!"*

The principal questions on which he spoke during the session were: on the abolition of slavery; on the bankrupt bill; the Maine boundary line; Mr. Calhoun's bill to cede the public lands to the states in which they lie; the navy appropriation bill; the independent treasury bill; the branch units; the expenditures of government; the Cumberland road; repeal of the salt tax; and the bankrupt bill. His opinions on nearly all these subjects are so well-known as to render a recapitulation unnecessary.

Notwithstanding the indications of public hostility, and "in spite of the lamentations" in Congress "and elsewhere," Mr. Van Buren and his friends continued to press their odious sub-treasury project, now newly christened under the name of the "independent treasury bill." Against this measure Mr. Clay battled with undiminished vigor and zeal. On the 20th of January, 1840, he addressed the senate in one of his most spirited speeches, in opposition to the bill, which he truly designated as

* Mr. Clay is said to have, on this occasion, somewhat impudently introduced debate. After Mr. Southard's speech, on receiving his seat in the senate, as he was about to leave the chamber, he encountered Mr. Calhoun. They had not spoken to each other for five years; but they now steadfastly extended their hands, and cordially greeted each other, while the benches opened to their eyes. They had almost upon their lives together in Congress; and during the war, and of various times subsequently had stood shoulder to shoulder, against all the more patriotic impulses and aspirations. You had passed over both, and the young men had become old. For a while or more, they could not speak; a moment was both with emotion. At length Mr. Clay said, on putting, "Give my regards to Mrs. Calhoun," and they both shook hands.

a government bank in disguise, demonstrating the assertion by proofs the most convincing.

"A government bank," said Mr. Clay, "may not suddenly burst upon us, but *there* it is embodied in this bill. Let the recollection of the present chief magistrate be secured, and you will soon see the bank absorbing its genuine character. But, thanks be to God! there is a day of reckoning at hand. All the signs of the times clearly indicate its approach. And on the 4th day of March, in the year of our Lord 1841, I trust that the long account of the abuses and usurpations of this administration, in which this measure will be a conspicuous item, will be finally and for ever settled."

He introduced, on this occasion, a bill for the repeal of the sub-treasury system, but it was not acted upon until the will of the people was so presumptorily spoken, that longer resistance to it, on the part of Mr. Van Buren and his friends, was impossible.

During the summer of 1840, Mr. Clay, visited his native county of Harrover, and was everywhere hailed with enthusiasm and reverence. At a public dinner given to him at Taylorsville, June 27th, 1840, he addressed a vast assemblage of his friends in a speech, which may be referred to as a text-book of his political faith. It is probably in the hands of too many of our readers to render an abstract of it useful in this place. Although his opinions on all public questions of importance have been always frankly avowed, he defines his position in this speech with unusual minuteness and precision. With a view to the fundamental character of the government itself, and especially of the executive branch, he maintains that there should be—
 either by amendments of the constitution, when they were necessary, or by remedial legislation, when the object fell within the scope of the powers of Congress:—

- 1st. A provision to render a person ineligible to the office of president of the United States after a certain number of terms.
- 2d. That the term *power* should be more precisely defined, and be subjected to further limitations and qualifications.
- 3d. That the power of dismission from office should be restricted, and the exercise of it rendered responsible.
- 4th. That the control over the treasury of the United States should be entire, and confined exclusively, to Congress; and all authority of the president over it, by means of dismissing the secretary of the treasury, or other persons having the immediate charge of it, be rigorously prohibited.
- 5th. That the appointment of any members of Congress in any office, or any but a few specific offices, during their continuance in office, and for one year thereafter, be prohibited.

Mr. Clay was among the most active of those who took part in the campaign of 1840 which terminated in the complete triumph of the whigs. On the 17th of August, 1840, he addressed the Harrison convention at Nashville, Tennessee, in an interesting and eloquent speech. In allusion to the professions of the Van Buren party to be democrats *per se* *accidit*, he very happily said: "Of all their usurpations, I know of none more absurd than the usurpation of this name."

"I WAS BORN A DEMOCRAT," said he, subsequently in a speech delivered in Indiana—"reared in the cradle of the Revolution—and at the darkest period of that ever-unmemorable struggle for freedom. I recollect, in 1781 or 1782, a visit made by Tuckson's troops to the house of my mother, and of their running *their swords into the new-made graves of my father and grandfather, thinking they contained hidden treasures.* Though then not more than four or five years of age, the circumstance of that visit is vividly remembered, and it will be to the last moment of my life. I was born a democrat—was raised and nurtured a republican—and shall die a republican in the faith and principles of my fathers."

XIX.

THE XXVTH CONGRESS—TELEGRAM.

The election of General Harrison to the presidency in the autumn of 1840, by an immense majority, was hailed by the whigs as the triumphant consummation of their long and arduous twelve years' struggle against the destructive principles and measures which had prevailed during the ascendancy of Jackson and Van Buren. A majority of the people had at length passed their solemn verdict against these measures, and in favor of the legislation for which Mr. Clay and the whigs in Congress had been so unanimously contending. Before commencing his journey to the seat of government, General Harrison visited Mr. Clay, and personally tendered him any office in the president's gift. Mr. Clay respectfully declined all invitations of this kind.

and announced his intention of retiring from the senate as soon as the objects for which he and his friends had been laboring so strenuously, were placed in a train of accomplishment.

The session of Congress preceding the new president's installation, found Mr. Clay at his post, still prompt and active in the service of his country. On the land bill—the repeal of the sub-treasury—the bill to establish a uniform system of bankruptcy—the treasury-note bill—the pre-emption and distribution project—and other important questions, on which his views are familiar to our readers, he addressed the senate with his accustomed eloquence and energy. In his speech of the 28th of January, 1841, on the land bill, he entered into an able vindication of whig principles and measures, as contrasted with those of the expiring administration. There being still a Van Buren majority, Mr. Clay's resolutions, regarding the sub-treasury, after affording occasion for some eloquent debates, were laid on the table, the 19th of February. Some remarks being made in the senate by Mr. Cuthbert, toward the close of the session, of a character prejudicial to Mr. Webster, Mr. Clay eloquently vindicated that distinguished senator, and bore testimony to his exalted merits.

The second session of the 26th Congress terminated on the night of the 3d of March—the Van Buren men having refused to pass a bankrupt bill, and other important measures. The day after the adjournment, General Harrison was inaugurated President of the United States; and, on the 19th of March, he issued his proclamation for an extra session of Congress, to commence on the last Monday in May. Before that period arrived, and precisely a month after his inauguration, the venerable president departed this life; and, by a provision of the constitution, John Tyler of Virginia, the vice-president, was invested with the authority of president of the United States.

The extraordinary session of Congress, convened by the proclamation of the lamented Harrison, took place at the appointed time, the last Monday in May, 1841. Never was there a body of representatives who came together with a more patriotic and honorable desire faithfully to execute the will of their constituents the majority of the people of the United States, than the whigs who composed the 27th Congress. Mr. Clay at once took active

and decided measures for the prompt dispatch of the public business. The subjects which he proposed to this senate, as proper exclusively to engage their deliberations during the extra session, were:—

- 1st. The repeal of the arbitrary law.
- 2d. The incorporation of a bank adapted to the wants of the people and the government.
- 3d. The provision of an adequate revenue by the imposition of duties, and including an authority to contract a temporary loan to cover the public debt created by the last administration.
- 4th. The prospective distribution of the proceeds of the public lands.
- 5th. The passage of necessary appropriation bills.
- 6th. Some modifications in the banking system of the District of Columbia for the benefit of the people of the district.

In the formation of committees, Mr. Clay was placed at the head of that on finance; and, on his motion, a select committee on the currency, for the consideration of the bank question, was appointed. Of this committee he was made chairman. Early in June, he presented his admirable report of a plan for a national bank; and, after a thorough discussion, the bill was passed, which, on the 16th of August, called forth a veto from President Tyler. On the 12th of the same month, Mr. Clay addressed the senate on the subject of this veto. His remarks, although apparently made "more in sorrow than in anger," are pervaded by the spirit of unanswerable truth; and, in his rejoinder to Mr. Rives, on the same day, he rises to a height of eloquence never surpassed in the floor of Congress. In the opinion of many of his hearers, it was one of the most brilliant speeches of his whole senatorial career. On this occasion, he showed, by irresistible proofs, that the question of a bank was the great issue made before the people at the late election. "Wherever I was," said he—"in the great valley of the Mississippi—in Kentucky—in Tennessee—in Maryland—in all the circles in which I moved, everywhere, bank or no bank was the great, the leading, the vital question."

Not long after the veto, as Mr. Clay, with two or three friends, was passing the treasury buildings, along the road leading to Pennsylvania avenue, he noticed a procession of gentlemen, walking two by two, toward the White House. "In the name of wonder, what have we here?" exclaimed Mr. Clay, while his features lighted up with one of those mischievous smiles, which

are so contagious, soon on his countenance. *It was a procession of the 120 Bureau members of Congress, going personally to congratulate John Tyler on his veto!*

The incident was not forgotten by Mr. Clay. The scene was too rich and piquant to pass unnoted. On the 2d of September, a suitable opportunity presented itself in the senate, for a commentary on the occurrence; and he availed himself of it in a manner which entirely overcame the gravity of all parties present. He gave an imaginary description of the scene at the White House, and the congratulations lavished upon the president by his new friends. He pictured to the senate the honorable member from Pennsylvania (Mr. Buchanan) approaching the throne, and contributing his words of encouragement and praise to those which had been offered by the rest. The imaginary speech which he put into the lips of this gentleman, on this occasion, was so characteristic, that Mr. Buchanan subsequently complained in the senate, that it had been gravely attributed to him by several journals, as having been actually delivered, and that he could not divest many of his worthy constituents in Pennsylvania of the idea.

The figure of Mr. Benton, was one of too much importance not to be introduced by Mr. Clay into this fancy sketch.

"I can tell the gentleman from Kentucky, that I was not at the White House on the occasion to which he alludes," said the Missouri senator, interrupting him.

"Then I will suppose what the gentleman would have said if he had been present," continued Mr. Clay, without suffering his imagination to be checked in its flight. And he then represented the wordy and pompous Missourian howling at the executive foot-stool, and tendering his congratulations.

The space to which we have been restricted, will not allow us to present even an imperfect sketch of the whole scene. We can only refer the reader to it as one of the most felicitous of those legitimate presentations of the *Indivisa*, made to illustrate the *res*, which some times occur to relieve the barrenness of legislative debate.

The events which surrounded the veto, are too recent in the minds of the people to render a minute enumeration necessary

here. They are briefly summed up in Mr. Adams's excellent report on the president's veto of the revenue bill. A second bank bill, shaped to meet the reserved views of the president, was prepared, passed, and then retored. The cabinet, with the exception of Mr. Webster, resigned; and the great purposes for which the special session of Congress had been called, was defeated by the will of one man, who owed his influential position to his professed attachment to whig principles, and his declared preference for Mr. Clay as a candidate for the presidency.

Mr. Clay was unopposed in his application to the public business during the extra session. He spoke on a great variety of questions, and, being at the head of two important committees, performed a great amount of hard work. Although his principal measure for the public relief was defeated by the unlooked-for defection of John Tyler, he had the satisfaction of aiding in the repeal of the odious sub-treasury system—in the passage of the bankrupt law—and in the final triumph of his favorite measure, often belittled, but still persevered in, the distribution of the sales of the public lands. By a provision fastened upon this act by the amendment of another, distribution was to cease whenever the average rate of duties on imports should exceed 20 per cent.

A revision of the tariff, rendered necessary by the expiration of the compromise act, was also undertaken. This was the most important subject which engaged the attention of the 27th Congress, at its first regular session. To meet the exigency of the occasion, a provisional bill, suspending the operation of the distribution bill for one month, as well in consequence of a lack of funds in the treasury, as of a desire on the part of Congress to give more mature consideration to the subject of a tariff, was passed. But it encountered still another and another veto from the president.

It has been asserted that Mr. Clay and his friends did not desire an adjustment of the tariff question, during the session of 1841-'42. Nothing could be more unfounded than this charge. In spite of discouragement and mortification, they persevered in their efforts for the relief of the country, and eventually surrendered the distribution clause to meet the views of the president; and the tariff bill finally became a law, through the patriotic endeavors

of the friends of Mr. Clay, notwithstanding the attempt of Mr. Tyler to crush their energies and arouse their opposition.

On the 11st of March, 1842, after one of the longest congressional careers known in our annals, Mr. Clay resigned his seat in the senate of the United States. It having been previously understood that he would take occasion, in presenting the credentials of his successor, Mr. Crittenden, to make some eulogistic remarks, the senate-chamber was, at an early hour, crowded to its utmost capacity, by members of the other house, and by a large assemblage of citizens and ladies. Some of Mr. Clay's best friends had looked forward with apprehension to this event—viewing the aspect, as it did, of a formal and appointed heretaking. They remembered that there was but one step from the sublime to the ridiculous, and they dreaded lest the truly impressive character of the occasion might be marred, or divested of its dignity, by any farewell words. But Mr. Clay had hardly risen to speak before their apprehensions were lost and forgotten in a deep and absorbing interest in the language that flowed calmly, smoothly, and majestically from his lips. He referred to the period of his first entrance into the senate, in 1806. He paid a merited compliment to the high character of that body, and to the ability of its individual members; but added that, full of attraction as was a seat in that chamber, to fill the aspirations of the most ambitious heart, he had long determined to forgo it, and to seek repose among the calm pleasures of "home."

It had been his purpose, he said, to terminate his connection with the senate in November, 1840. Had President Harrison lived, and the measures devised at the extra session been fully carried out, he would have then resigned his seat. But the hope that at the regular session the necessary legislation might be still perfected, induced him to postpone his determination; and events, which arose after the extra session, resulting from the failure of those measures which had been proposed at that session, and which appeared to throw on his political friends a temporary show of defeat, confirmed him in the resolution to attend the present session also—and, whether in prosperity or adversity, to share the fortunes of his friends. But he resolved, at the same

time, to retire as soon as he could do so with propriety and decency. Mr. Clay then continued as follows :—

"From 1818, the period of my entry on this noble theatre, with short intervals, to the present time, I have been engaged in the public councils, at home and abroad. Of the nature or the value of the services rendered during that long and arduous period of my life, it does not become me to speak; history, if she deigns to notice me, or posterity, if the recollections of my humble actions shall be transmitted to posterity, are the best, the truest, the most impartial judges. When death has closed the scene, their sentence will be pronounced, and to that I appeal and refer myself. My acts and public conduct are a fair subject for the criticism and judgment of my fellow-men; but the private motives by which they have been prompted—they are known only to the great Searcher of the human heart and to myself; and I trust I may be pardoned for repeating a declaration made some thirteen years ago, that, whatever errors—and, doubtless, they have been many—may be discovered in a review of my public services to the country, I run, with unshaken confidence, appeal to the Divine Arbitrator for the truth of the declaration, that I have been influenced by no impure purposes, no personal motives—have sought no personal aggrandizement; but that in all my public acts, I have had a sole and single eye, and a warm and devoted heart, directed and dedicated to what, in my judgment, I believed to be the true interest of my country."

Mr. Clay then alluded to the fact that, in common with other public men, he had not enjoyed an immunity from censure and destruction. That he had not been unscathed. And here the allusion to the persecutions of his assailants, led to the mention of Kentucky, the state of his adoption— noble Kentucky—who, when the storm of calumny raged the fiercest, and he seemed to be forsaken by all the rest of the world, threw her broad and impenetrable shield around him, and bearing him up aloft in her courageous arms, repelled the poisoned shafts aimed for his destruction. As Mr. Clay uttered the name of Kentucky, his feelings overpowered him—the strong man was bowed with emotion—he passed his fingers before his eyes for a moment—then rallied, and proceeded with his remarks. To the charge of dictatorship, which was so often in the mouths of his opponents at that time, Mr. Clay replied temperately and happily. We can quote but a fragment of this portion of his volucrant address :—

"That my nature is warm, my temper violent, my disposition, especially in relation to the public service, enthusiastic, I am fully ready to own; and those who suppose that I have been assuming the dictatorship, have only mistaken for arrogance or usurpation, that fervent ardor and devotion which

is natural to my constitution, and which I may have displayed with little regard to cold, calculating, and cautious prudence, in sustaining and zealously supporting important national measures of policy which I have presented and proposed."

The truly generous qualities of Mr. Clay's nature, shine forth from every line of the following passage :

"During a long and arduous career of service in the public councils of my country, especially during the last eleven years I have held a seat in the senate, from the same order and influence of character, I have, no doubt, in the heat of debate, and from honest endeavor to sustain my opinions against adverse opinions equally honestly entertained, as to the best course to be adopted for the public welfare, I may have often inadvertently or unintentionally, in moments of excited debate, made use of language that has been offensive, and susceptible of injurious interpretation toward my brother senators. If there be any here who retain wounded feelings of injury or dissatisfaction produced on such occasions, I beg to assure them that I may offer the simplest apology for my departure on my part from the established rules of parliamentary decorum and courtesy. On the other hand, I assure the members, and all, without exception, and without reserve, that I retire from this senate chamber without carrying with me a single feeling of resentment or dissatisfaction toward the senate or any of its members."

Mr. Clay concluded this memorable address by invoking, in a tone which thrilled through every heart, the blessings of Heaven upon the whole senate, and every member of it. The hushed suspense of intense feeling and attention, pervaded the crowded assemblage as he sat down. For nearly half a minute after he had finished, no one spoke—no one moved. There was not a dry eye in the senate-chamber. Men of all parties seemed equally stricken by the pathos and majesty of that farewell. At length, Mr. Preston of South Carolina, rose and remarked, that what had just taken place was an epoch in their legislative history; and, from the feeling which was evinced, he plainly saw that there was little disposition to attend to business. He would, therefore, move that the senate adjourn.

The motion was unanimously agreed to; but even then the whole audience seemed to remain spell bound by the effect of those parting tones of Mr. Clay. For several moments no one stirred. "In all probability, we should have remained thus to this hour," said an honorable senator to me recently, in describing the scene, "had not Mr. Clay himself risen, and moved toward the exit." And then, at length, slowly and reluctantly the assemblage dispersed.

Shortly after the adjournment, as Mr. Calhoun was crossing the main-chamber, he and Mr. Clay encountered. For five years they had been estranged; and the only words which had passed between them had been those harshly spoken in debate. But now, as they thus inadvertently met, the old times came over them. They remembered only their political companionship of twenty years' standing. The intervening differences which had chilled their hearts toward each other, were forgotten. The tears sprang to their eyes. They shook each other cordially by the hand—interchanged a "God bless you!" and parted. We have alluded elsewhere briefly to this scene. It was a happy sequel to the leading events of the day.

XX.

MR. CLAY A PRIVATE CITIZEN—HIS VIEWS.

On his return to Kentucky, after retiring from public life, Mr. Clay was received with all those manifestations of enthusiastic affection which it is possible for a grateful constituency to exhibit. On the 9th of June, 1842, he partook of a public entertainment, or barbecue, given in his honor near Lexington.

The speech which he delivered on this occasion, is probably fresh in the recollection of many of our readers. Containing, as it does, many personal reminiscences of his past career, and a review of those leading questions of policy upon which we have already given his opinions, it is one of the most interesting of his numerous addresses to popular assemblies.

Early in October, 1842, being on a visit to Richmond, in the state of Indiana, the occasion of his meeting a large concourse of his fellow-citizens, was seized upon by a number of his political opponents to present him with a petition praying him to emancipate his slaves in Kentucky. It was thought that even Henry Clay would be unmoved and embarrassed by so impertinent and unexpected an appeal. A Mr. Mendenhall was selected to present him with the petition, and expectation was

raised to the highest pitch among the few who were in the secret, and who were far from being Mr. Clay's well-wishers, to hear what he would say. Never did he acquit himself more fortunately than on this occasion.

The indignation was great among the assembly, when they learned the object with which Mr. Mendenhall had made his way through their midst to the spot where Mr. Clay stood. They regarded it as an insult to him and his friends; and the probability is, that Mr. Mendenhall would have had some palpable proof of their sense of his impertinence, had not Mr. Clay instantly appealed to the assembly in the following terms:

"I hope that Mr. Mendenhall may be treated with the greatest forbearance and respect. I assure my fellow citizens, here collected, that the presentation of the petition has not occasioned the slightest pain, nor excited any voluntary disagreeable emotion. If it were to be presented to me, I prefer that it should be done in the face of this vast assembly. I think I can give it such an answer as becomes me and the subject of which it treats. At all events, I cannot and should not betray my fellow citizens, for their sake, for my sake, to offer disrespect, an indignity, an violence, by word or deed, to Mr. Mendenhall." Then, turning to Mr. Mendenhall: "Allow me to say, that I think you have not conformed to the independent character of an American citizen in presenting a petition to me. A petition, as the term implies, generally proceeds from an inferior in power or station to a superior; but between us there is entire equality."

Mr. Clay remarked, in continuation, that he desired no concealment of his opinions in regard to the institution of slavery. He looked upon it as a great evil, and deeply lamented that we had derived it from the parental government and from our ancestors. But, without any knowledge of the relations in which he stood to his slaves, or their individual condition, Mr. Mendenhall and his associates had presented a petition calling upon him forthwith to liberate the whole of them.

"Now let me tell you," said Mr. C., "that some half a dozen of these, from age, decrepitude, or infirmity, are wholly unable to gain a livelihood for themselves, and are a heavy charge upon me. Do you think that I should conform to the dictates of humanity by ridding myself of that charge, and sending their fate into the world, with the boon of liberty, to eat a wretched existence in starvation?"

In conclusion, Mr. Clay admirably expressed the hypocrisy of the petitioners by the following proposition, in regard to which they have never taken any steps:

"I shall, Mr. Mendenhall, take your petition into respectful and deliberate consideration; but before I come to a final decision, I should like to know

what you and your associates are willing to do for the slaves in my possession, if I should think proper to liberate them. I own about fifty, whose probable worth fifteen thousand dollars. To turn them loose upon society, with out any means of subsistence or support, would be an act of cruelty. Are you willing to raise and secure the payment of fifteen thousand dollars for their benefit, if I should be induced to free them? The security of the payment of that sum, would materially lessen the obstacle in the way of their emancipation."

Mr. Clay finished his remarks with some friendly advice to Mr. Montcalm, which it is probable that individual will never forget. The tables were completely turned upon those who had thought to annoy and embarrass the great Kentuckian. The lawyer of the petition and his associates were suffered to sink away unnoticed and unheeded by the crowd.

There has never been any concealment on Mr. Clay's part, of his opinions on the subject of slavery. Through the whole course of this memoir, they will be found scattered from the period when he first advocated the gradual eradication of slavery from Kentucky, in 1797, to the present moment. In his speech before the Colonization society, in 1827 [see Chapter X, of the present work], nothing can be more explicit than the language he employs. We refer those who would be enlightened further in regard to his views, to that eloquent address.

On the 29th of September, 1842, Mr. Clay attended the great whig convention at Dayton, Ohio, where ONE HUNDRED THOUSAND WHIGS ARE BELIEVED TO HAVE BEEN ASSEMBLED.

"At 8 o'clock," says one of the actors in the scene, "when every street in the city was filled, and there seemed no resting-place for any, the procession was formed. This occupied a long time. When done, the order, 'March!' was given; and, in solid mass, we moved to welcome the great statesman, Henry Clay, into the city. He was met near the city, and at half-past 9 o'clock, reached the neighborhood of the National hotel. Here a beautiful sight was witnessed. One hundred and twenty five children, in the loveliest period approached, welcomed him with song. Their sweet voices rang out in merry peals, and the multitude responded to it with the heartiest enthusiasm. After this, Mr. Clay occupied a stand for some time, as the procession passed by, welcoming him to Ohio, and, in return, receiving his salutations.

"When the procession had passed, Mr. Clay retired into the hotel. Governor Meadell then appeared at the window, and delivered a speech—returning the thanks of Kentucky for the warm-hearted reception they had met with, and bidding all who loved the name of America, to rally together in defence of American liberty and American labor.

"Mr. Schenck read resolutions, prepared by the committee, nominating Henry Clay and John Davis for the whig candidates for 1844. At this time Mr. Clay was seen in the crowd, and then, as if there had been one voice only, the shout went forth for the statesman of the nation. He answered it;

and, in a speech of two hours, plain, yet eloquent, he spoke, commanding an opinion, deserving as well, the multitude all the while listening with eager attention and breathless silence. And such a speech! It was a master-effort of a master-spirit.

Of this tremendous meeting Mr. Clay afterward remarked, that of all the crowds in Europe or elsewhere, he never saw one so great. A vast sea of human heads surrounded the platform, covering many acres.

In the month of December, 1812, Mr. Clay, having private business in New Orleans, where some of his near relatives reside, visited that city, stopping at Natchez, and other places on his route. He was everywhere received by the people with such enthusiastic demonstrations of popular affection as had never before been bestowed upon any American except Washington.

On his return homeward from Louisiana, about the middle of February, 1813, his progress was continually impeded by vast assemblages of the people to meet and welcome him. At Mobile, on the 2d of February, and at Vicksburg, on the 26th of February, an immense concourse of citizens collected to offer the tribute of their gratitude and respect. The honorable S. S. Prentiss addressed him, on the latter occasion, in that strain of fluent and impassioned eloquence for which that young and gifted orator is distinguished.

At Jackson, the capital of Mississippi, Mr. Clay was met and welcomed by the largest concourse ever assembled in the state. At Memphis, Tennessee, crowds of citizens from the surrounding region assembled to tender him their affectionate respects, to look on and listen to the greatest living champion of their country's honor and interests. Thus felicitated and welcomed on his route, Mr. Clay, with more than a conqueror's trophies, returned, in fine health and spirits, to Ashland, just as spring was beginning to fringe with green the old oaks that waved around his homestead.

Early in April, he addressed a large body of his fellow-citizens in the courthouse yard at Lexington; and, in the course of his remarks, acknowledged, in appropriate language, the attentions which had been paid to him, and the honors which had been showered upon him by all parties during his late trip to the southwest.

It has not been understood that Mr. Clay would make a tour to the south-west during the autumn of 1843, innumerable letters from committees in all sections of the country were poured in upon him, requesting him to visit a multitude of places, both on his route and aside from it. The task of replying to these letters must alone have been exceedingly laborious. North Carolina was, we believe, the first to claim from him a visit. In his reply to a committee of citizens of Raleigh, dated 10th July, 1843, he consents to pay a visit, some time in the course of the next spring to that state, which was "the first to declare the independence of the colonies, and will be among the last to abandon the support of the Union."

Several letters from Mr. Clay, on the subject of the tariff, appeared during the summer of 1843. Nothing could be more explicit and undisguised than the expression of his views. In his reply, dated 13th September, 1843, to a letter from S. F. Bridges, Esq., of Georgia, asking his opinions in regard to the protective policy of 1822, he writes:—

"The aim and substance of what I conceive to be the true policy of the United States, in respect to a tariff may be briefly stated. In conformity with the principle announced in the compromise act, I think, that whatever revenue is necessary to an economical and honest administration of the general government, ought to be derived from duties imposed on foreign imports. And I believe that, in establishing a tariff of these duties, such a discrimination ought to be made, as will incidentally afford reasonable protection to our national interests.

"I think there is no danger of a high tariff being ever established; that of 1822 was eminently deserving that denomination. I was not in Congress when it passed, and did not vote for it; but with its history and with the circumstances which gave birth to it, I am well acquainted. They were highly desirable to American legislation, and I hope, for its honor, will never be again repeated.

"After my return to Congress, in 1831, my efforts were directed to the modification and reduction of the rates of duty contained in the act of 1822. The act of 1837 greatly reduced and modified them; and the act of 1842, commonly called the compromise act, still farther reduced and modified them. The act which passed at the extra session of 1843, which I supported, was confined to the free articles. I had resigned my seat in the senate when the act of 1843 passed. Generally the duties which it imposes are lower than those in the act of 1822. And, without intending to express my opinion upon every item of the old tariff, I would say that I think the provisions, in the main, are wise and proper. If there be any excesses or defects in it (of which I have not the means here of judging), they ought to be corrected.

"My opinion, that there is no danger hereafter of a high tariff, is founded on the gratifying fact that our manufactures have now taken a deep root. In

their infancy, they needed a greater measure of protection; but, as they grow and advance, they require strength and stability, and, consequently, will require less protection. Even now, some branches of them are able to maintain, in distant markets, successful competition with rival foreign manufactures.*

By this it will be seen that Mr. Clay, so far from contemplating the expediency of higher and higher duties, believes that the rapid and constant progress of our manufactures tends ever to diminish, instead of to increase, the necessity of decidedly protective duties. He never was in favor of a high tariff. In his own language, he believes that "the revenue from the general government should be derived from the foreign imports, to the exclusion of direct taxes, and the proceeds of the sales of public lands; and that no more revenue should be levied than is necessary to an economical administration of the government: but that, in levying it, such discriminations ought to be made as will afford moderate and reasonable protection to American interests against the rivalry and prohibitory policy of foreign powers."

Notwithstanding these clear and unequivocal declarations, the attempt is frequently made to misrepresent Mr. Clay's views in regard to the tariff. Surely there is no longer any excuse for ignorance upon this subject among persons claiming to be intelligent.

In December, 1843, Mr. Clay's private affairs again required his presence in New Orleans. He was welcomed on his route to that city by the same testimonials of popular attachment that had signalized his journey of the preceding year; and, during his residence in the great southern metropolis, citizens of all parties seemed to unite in doing him honor. Before his departure, the state convention of the democratic whigs of Louisiana, which was holding its session at the time, formed in procession, the 23d of February, 1844, and marched to the St. Charles hotel, where he was staying, to render their respects. On the 25th of February, he reached Mobile, on his way to North Carolina. Although it was the sabbath, and of course no civic ceremonies denoted the welcome which was swelling in every bosom, yet the wharves were lined with a dense and innumerable throng, eager to catch a glimpse of him as he disembarked. On the 5th of March he left Mobile for Montgomery, Columbus (Georgia),

Macon, and other intermediate cities on his route, followed by the best hopes of the people.

A letter from him to the whigs of Philadelphia, bearing date the 10th of February, 1844, is worthy of mention in this place for the sentiments it expressed in regard to Washington. Mr. Clay had been invited to unite in the celebration of the anniversary of the birth of the hero of Mount Vernon. Distance and unavoidable engagements prevented his acceptance of the invitation. In his reply, he says :—

"The birth of no man that ever lived is so well entitled to perpetual commemoration as a rare blessing bestowed on mankind by the goodness of Providence. In contemplating his career and character, we behold displayed and concentrated in him, valour, dignity, moderation, firmness, fidelity, disinterestedness, wisdom—all the virtues that adorn the warrior, the patriot, the statesman, and the honest man. Most justly has he acquired the title of the Father of his country. During the Revolution, and since, many good men have arisen in the United States; but Washington stands at an immeasurable height, elevated far above them all."

On the 1st of April, 1844, Mr. Clay reached Columbia, South Carolina, where he was the guest of the honorable William C. Preston. On the 5th, he visited Charleston; and here all sorts of honours and gratulations were heaped upon him by the enthusiastic whigs of that hospitable city. He was received by an immense concourse of citizens in the theatre, and being addressed by the venerable Dr. Wm. Read, one of the few surviving officers of the revolution, he replied in a speech of nearly two hours' duration, which commanded and required the closest attention. As the tariff was the subject which most intimately affected the interests of his hearers, he reiterated, with his accustomed frankness, his views in regard to it. He declared himself in favour of a system of protection, moderate, reasonable, certain, and durable—yielding no more revenue than is necessary for an honest and economical administration of the government, and, within that limit, discriminating in the imposition of duties between those articles which do and those which do not enter into competition with domestic industry—throwing the heavier duty on the former, and the lighter duty on the latter. Peace could only be found by taking the middle path. Neither interest nor section could expect to have it all its own way. The matter must be adjusted by concussions, compromise, reconciliation—such concessions, com-

promise, and conciliation, as led to the adoption of the federal constitution, and under the influence of which our political union would continue to fulfil its sacred trust, and move forward in its high career a blessing to our race.

At Raleigh, on the 12th, Mr. Clay met with a reception every way worthy the "Old North state." His friend and former fellow-laborer, H. W. Leigh, of Virginia, made the journey to Raleigh to meet him, and addressed the multitude from the porch of the capitol with great animation and effect. Mr. Clay was escorted by an immense throng of citizens to the residence of the governor of the state, Mr. Morehead, where he remained during his stay in Raleigh.

At Wilmington he addressed the people, and one paragraph of his speech commends him to the confidence of his countrymen of all parties. He said: "I am a whig: I am so because I believe the principles of the whig party are best adapted to promote the prosperity of the country. I seek to change no man's allegiance to his party, be it what it may. A life of great length and experience has satisfied me that all parties aim at the common good of the country. The great body of the democrats, as well as the whigs, are so from a conviction that their policy is patriotic. I take the bond of one as cordially as that of another, for all are Americans. *I place country far above all parties.* Look aside from that, and parties are no longer worthy of being cherished."

On the 18th of April, he passed on to Petersburg, Virginia, and, the Saturday following, embarked for Norfolk, where he did not arrive till Sunday morning, owing to the detention of the boat by fog. His progress was a series of orations. On the 26th, he arrived in Washington. He was now approaching one of the most interesting epochs of his eventful life. By acclamation the whigs of the country seemed to call upon him to stand forth once more, the worthiest embodiment of their principles, the candidate of their choice and affections. In every state there were spontaneous movements of the people, which precluded all doubt as to the result of the deliberations of a whig national convention for the nomination of president. We must here indulge in a brief retrospect of public events connected with Mr. Clay's

recent career; and it is with no wish to revive old griefs that we shall touch upon topics, in their views upon which good whigs may differ. Our object is to present such facts as should guard us for the future against errors, which all experience calls out upon us to shun.

XXI.

CLAY—HARRISON—TYLER.

DURING the whole career of 1840, and up to the time of General Harrison's death, he and Mr. Clay were upon terms of the most confidential intimacy. All were sensible of the noble disinterestedness of Mr. Clay's course, but no one appreciated it more highly, or felt more grateful for it toward him, than General Harrison himself. On the 15th of January, 1840, the general addressed a letter from North Head to Mr. Clay at Washington city, from which we have been permitted to make the following extract:—

"MR. DEAR SIR: The generosity of your nature will not permit you to doubt that my feelings of gratitude toward you for the magnanimity of your conduct toward me, in relation to the nomination for the presidency, are such as they ought to be, although I have so long delayed to express them directly to you. I must beg you also to believe that if the claims derived from your superior talents and experience (so universally acknowledged by my supporters) had prevailed over those which accidental circumstances had conferred upon me, and enabled the convention to name you as the candidate, that you would have had no more ardent supporter in the Union than I should have been."

The first time they met after the election was at the house of Governor Lecher in Frankfort, Kentucky; and Mr. Clay afterward entertained the president elect at Ashland. During their interviews on these occasions, they had long, full, and interesting conversations, on the state of public affairs. In their first interview, General Harrison offered, and Mr. Clay promptly declined any place in the new administration. He was then resolved to retire from the scene to private life. Both of these courses in the expediency of a call of an extra session of Con-

agreeing that the benefit of those measures of public policy which the people, in the great event that had just transpired, had signified their wish to bring about, ought not to be deferred to the ordinary period for the assembling of Congress. Indeed, the bankrupt condition in which Mr. Van Buren had left the treasury was of itself an evil which rendered an early convening of Congress indispensable. It was at their first interview at the governor's, that Mr. Clay, after having declined the offer of any official station, suggested to General Harrison that he ought not, in his official arrangements, to overlook Mr. Webster, and that if he had himself been elected, he should have felt bound, from the high estimation in which that gentleman was then held by the whig party, to tender him some distinguished place. He did not designate any particular station to which he thought Mr. Webster ought to be appointed. Mr. Clay was induced to make this suggestion, because the ground had been taken in several leading whig journals that if he did not go into the cabinet, Mr. Webster ought. The suggestion of Mr. Clay appeared to remove a burden from the mind of General Harrison; and the next day, the latter, in conversation with several gentlemen at Frankfurt, indulged in excessive praise of Mr. Clay for his great disinterestedness and magnanimity.

After the return of General Harrison from Kentucky to North Bend, he and Mr. Clay did not meet until the arrival of the former at Washington to enter upon the duties of the high office to which he had been elected. Their friendly intimacy was again renewed. General Harrison placed his inaugural address in the hands of Mr. Clay, with the request that he would examine it, and intimate any alterations that might occur to him as being necessary. He at the same time informed him that a member of his projected cabinet had prepared an inaugural for him, which he wished him to adopt, but that he would not substitute it for his own for *fifty thousand dollars*. Several of the intended members of the cabinet apprehended that General Harrison's composition would not be well received by the public, and they applied to Mr. Clay to induce him to modify it. In compliance with their request, Mr. Clay carefully examined the document, and proposed a number of inconsiderable alterations, some having

reference to the phraseology, and some to the sentiment, and *most* of them the new president promptly and thankfully adopted. But there was one alteration, longer than any of the others, which he proposed, and against this the general set his face. The proposed alteration was, to expunge the clauses relating to the Greeks and Romans, which may now be seen in the only part of his address. This was touching the general on a tender point; and, in declining to adopt it, he remarked that he was particularly attached to allusions and illustrations drawn from Greek and Roman history; and *opposed* to this remark he related the following anecdote of himself:—

When a member of the house of representatives, he was one day addressing the speaker in a speech of considerable vehemence and length. During its delivery, he made frequent citations from Greek and Roman history. The galleries were excessively thronged, and a man was endeavouring to push his way through the crowd to a position where he could see as well as hear. He could not reach one; but hearing the references to the Greeks and the Romans, he exclaimed, with the most emphatic of oaths, "That's General Harrison! Though I can't see him, I know him by what he says of the Greeks and Romans!"

Mr. Clay's great anxiety, after General Harrison's entrance upon his official duties, was to secure the adoption of those public measures which, by his election, and through his administration, the people wished to establish. This was the absorbing desire of Mr. Clay's heart. He knew that if he interfered in the disposal of the patronage of the government, he would excite jealousies against himself, to which he was aware there existed a predisposition, and impair his just influence in the establishment of wise systems of policy. Painful, therefore, as it was for him to abstain from promoting the wishes of friends, whom he would gladly have served, he abstained from all interference in public appointments farther than to endeavor to prevent the adoption of one or two, which he regarded as injudicious and bad.

If General Harrison had lived, there is reason to believe that all the great and leading measures of the whig party would have been successfully carried out. But it pleased Providence to decree otherwise. The nation had to deplore the untimely death

of General Harrison in one short month after his installation, and John Tyler, as the vice-president, succeeded him.

Mr. Clay had known this latter gentleman a number of years, although he had had no hand in his nomination to the office from which he was transferred to the presidency. Mr. Tyler was affable, polite, and agreeable, in company and conversation. He had made no great figure in any of the various offices which he had filled, was not considered firm of purpose, yet always acquitted himself respectably, and was supposed to be at least honest. His inaugural address, through the medium of the press, at Washington, created hopes—but hopes, which, in the sequel, were sadly disappointed. Shortly after the death of General Harrison, Mr. Clay received two remarkable letters from Virginia, which deserve a passing notice. One of them was from a distinguished citizen of the city of Richmond, and bears date the 4th of April, 1841, the very day on which President Harrison expired. To the letter, the greater part of which was on business, was appended a postscript to the following effect: “We here very had accounts from Washington as to the state of General Harrison’s health. His death is seriously apprehended. Your friend, Judge B. . . ., was just now with me, and says that Harrison will certainly die; that Tyler *look* will kill him. Should that event happen, and Tyler come in, he will play the devil; *how*, I don’t know: but I am sure he will play the devil!”

The other letter, also from an eminent citizen, was dated the 7th of April, 1841, at Williamsburgh, the place of Mr. Tyler’s residence, and to it was appended a postscript, substantially as follows: “We have just heard of the death of President Harrison, and I have just seen Mr. Tyler, who is to succeed him. I told him that it was a great event, and shifted on him an immense responsibility; but that if, upon going to Washington, he would embrace some suitable occasion to announce to the public that he did not mean to be a candidate for the succession, he would have us every, and, probably a successful administration. He remarked in reply, that he had just been thinking of *that*; but,” adds the writer, “it was manifest to me that he had not been thinking *frankly* of it.”

Notwithstanding these predictions and expressions of distrust,

Mr. Clay, in May, 1841, proceeded to Washington to attend the extra session, with a firm determination faithfully to perform his own duty, and to conciliate Vice-President Tyler as far as he could, and engage him to concur and co-operate in the adoption of the public measures demanded by the public welfare, and of which an expectation was authorized by the ascendancy of the Whigs in the national councils.

Upon Mr. Clay's arrival at the seat of government, he promptly called on Mr. Tyler, dined with him, frequently visited him at even in the evening, and, on these occasions, conversed with him in the most frank, friendly, and confidential manner. During these visits, the subject of a bank of the United States frequently formed the topic of conversation; and Mr. Tyler declared that he had formed no opinion against one; that he would form none on the subject till a bill should be matured, passed, and presented to him; and that no mortal, in the meantime, should know what was to be his final determination. And yet, notwithstanding those positive declarations, Mr. Clay had abundant reasons afterwards to believe that Mr. Tyler, before the passage of the bank-bill, had hinted to others that he would approve no bank-bill that could be presented to him!

In his evening visits at the White-House, Mr. Clay often met suspicious persons, who created in his mind some apprehension and alarm. He, however, continued his visits until the eve of the 4th of July, which was the last time he ever entered the presidential mansion while it was occupied by Mr. Tyler. While the bank-bill was pending in the senate, he reluctantly consented to the introduction into it of the clause relating to the branches of the bank, providing for the contingency of the ascent or descent of the states in which it might be proposed to establish them. He yielded to it from two considerations; the first was, that he had reason to believe, from communications received from members of the cabinet of Mr. Tyler, that he would readily approve the bill with that clause inserted; the second was, that without it, the votes of two senators could not be obtained, which were indispensable to the passage of the bill through the senate.

The measures which Mr. Clay regarded as important to occupy the attention of the extra session, were indicated by him in a

as they are called in that part of Virginia, abound, had grown up into tall forest-trees. Orchards had disappeared, and others been planted in their places. The graves of his father, grandfather and grandmother, had been levelled and obliterated by the plough, and the only guide to the spot where they reposed, was an old stump of a pear-tree, whose position he recollected. Pounce to their spirits! It matters little to them whether the ploughshare cut the turf above their poor mortal dust, or a stately monument mark the place of its interment.

The dwelling-house alone remained without any essential change; and tradition had carefully preserved a recollection of the room in which Mr. Clay was born. He was anxious to find a hickory-tree, remarkable for the excellence of its fruit, which stood near by the spring that supplied his father's family with water. It no longer stood there—it was gone! Upon inquiry after it of a friend in the neighborhood, who was possessed of a somewhat poetical imagination, he replied, that when General Jackson was elected president, the tree withered; and when he removed the deposits from the Bank of the United States, it fell decayed to the earth. Mr. Clay, of course, laughed heartily at this fanciful account of the fate of his favorite tree.

We turn from these desultory retrospections to the stirring political events which preceded and attended the presidential canvass of 1844.

XIII.

THE TEXAS QUESTION—THE CONTEST OF 1844.

MR. CLAY'S sojourn in Washington, during the spring of 1844, was one of respite from the fatigues of travel and public receptions. On the 1st of May, he was nominated for the presidency by the whig national convention at Baltimore, and on the 13th of the same month, he set out for Ashland, attended only by his son, and arrived at Lexington the evening of Saturday, the 19th, in fine health and spirits. Here he was enthusiastically welcomed by an immense collection of his fellow citizens. In vain did he attempt to escape from the payment of a public reception. He was compelled to listen to an address of salutation and compliment. His reply was candid, good-humored, and to the point. He told the multitude that he was happy to see them—happy to see every one of them—but there was an excellent old lady in the neighborhood, whom he would rather see than any one else—so, begging them to allow him to return to Ashland, he bade them good-night! This irresistible appeal was received in the spirit in which it was made; and amid the blaze of torches, and the cheers of the people, he was conducted to his home.

Events of interest to the country and to himself, had transpired during the interval of his absence. The question of the annexation of Texas, that fertile source of many woes, had come up; and he had written a most statesmanlike letter on the subject. Bismarckism in regard to him had been started in Congress, with the view of affecting his political prospects; and a whig convention, assembled at Baltimore, had, on the 1st of May, 1844, nominated Henry Clay for president of the United States and Theodore Tilton for vice president.

Mr. Clay's letter on the Texas question, was written while he was partaking the hospitalities of Governor Morehead, at Raleigh, the 17th of April. In this letter, he states the fact that, during his sojourn in New Orleans, he had been greatly surprised by information received from Texas, that in the course of the autumn of 1843, a voluntary migration had proceeded from the extensive

of the United States to the authorities of Texas, to conclude a treaty of annexation. To the astonishment of the whole nation, we were now informed that a treaty of annexation had been actually concluded, and was to be submitted to the senate for its consideration. If, without the loss of national character, without the hazard of foreign war, with the general concurrence of the nation, without any danger to the integrity of the Union, and without an unreasonable price, the question of annexation were presented, it would appear in quite a different light. Mr. Clay then enters upon a review of our past negotiations in regard to the territory of Texas, and of the relations of Texas toward Mexico. And the conclusion at which he arrives is, that if the government of the United States were to acquire Texas, it would acquire along with it all the incumbrances which Texas is under, and among them the actual or suspended war between Mexico and Texas.

And here the language of Mr. Clay has the emphasis of prophecy: "Of that consequence," he says, "there can not be a doubt. *Annexation and war with Mexico are identical.*" In conclusion, he remarks: "I consider the annexation of Texas, at this time, without the assent of Mexico, as a measure compromising the national character, involving us certainly in war with Mexico, probably with other foreign powers, dangerous to the integrity of the Union, inexpedient in the present financial condition of the country, and not called for by any general expression of public opinion." In a subsequent letter, dated Ashland, July 27, 1844, and addressed to two gentlemen of Alabama, Mr. Clay says, unhesitatingly, that, far from having any personal objection to the annexation of Texas, he should be glad to see it, *without dishonor*; but, at the same time, he expresses the conviction that annexation at that time, and under existing circumstances, would compromise the honor of the country; involve us in a war, in which the sympathies of all Christendom would be against us; and endanger the integrity of the Union. National dishonor, foreign war, and distraction and division at home, were too great sacrifices to make for the acquisition of Texas. He remarks in this letter: "I do not think that the subject of slavery ought to affect the question one way or the other. Whether Texas be

independent or incorporated in the United States, I do not believe it will prolong or shorten the duration of that institution. It is destined to become extinct at some distant day, in my opinion, by the operation of the inevitable laws of population."

As the period for the nomination of presidential candidates approached, it became more and more apparent that the Texas question was destined to override all others in the coming contest. The bank, the tariff, and all subordinate matters, were merged in the one great issue of the immediate annexation of Texas. Among the whigs there was a general acquiescence in the views of Mr. Clay on the subject. Some persons, who entertained extreme opinions as to the feasibility of the immediate abolition of slavery, thought him too tolerant; and others, whose interests inclined them a different way, saw, in his opposition to annexation, hostility to the extension of an institution which, it was well-known, was always regarded as an evil. But the great body of the whigs of the Union responded heartily to his sentiments, and recognized the wisdom of his policy and the patriotism of his motives.

Soon after the withdrawal of Mr. Webster from the cabinet, it began to be rumored that our government had made overtures inviting application from the authorities of Texas for its annexation to the United States. These overtures, it was said, were at first coolly received by President Houston; but "being again approached, not to say importuned, by the executive of the United States, he evily consented to listen to proposals." In the meantime, assiduous efforts were made to bring about that state of public opinion in this country that should favor the movements of the friends of annexation. Invidious appeals were multiplied throughout nearly all the democratic journals, intended to arouse the jealousy of our people in regard to the designs of foreign powers. It was boldly asserted that England was intriguing with a view of establishing a commercial ascendency over Texas, and that there was great danger that the young republic would yield to the allurement which were held out. The slave-holding states were called upon to protect themselves against the danger of no formidable a rival as Texas would be under the protection of Great Britain. And then there was the yet more

to which, we believe, Mr. Hancock first gave currency, of "extending the area of freedom!"

It now appears, from the confessions of President Houston and his secretary of state, Mr. Anson Jones, that our government was not a match for that of Texas in diplomacy. Mr. Tyler and his advisers were completely duped by the *façade* of Messrs. Houston and Jones. The bogtrot of English interference was the most unsubstantial of chimeras, and the arguments and assertions based upon it and used for operating on the minds of the people of the United States, were false and empty. Mr. Anson Jones, in a series of letters recently published in the *Galveston Citizen*, claims that it was his diplomacy in bringing about the successful state of feeling in this country, which precipitated the annexation movement; that it was the adroitness of Texas policy which accomplished an object that might have been delayed for years. He at the same time denies that there was any intrigue with foreign powers injurious to the interests of the United States, or really adverse to ultimate annexation. He also makes a declaration which throws light upon the effect which the mode of annexation had upon the origin of the war. He is of opinion that the selection by Messrs. Tyler and Calhoun of the house resolutions instead of the senate amendment was extremely injudicious, and he expresses his surprise that that alteration should have been presented to Texas instead of the other and more powerful mode presented in the proposition for negotiation. He says that this decision of the government of the United States produced surprise in that of Texas, from the belief that *war would immediately follow*; whereas, by the senate's mode of proceeding, annexation could have been effected without war; but he says that Texas had no option but to accept the mode selected by President Tyler. The joint resolution of the house provided for the admission of Texas into the Union on certain conditions. The amendment of the senate, which Mr. Tyler chose to set aside, provided for missions and negotiations, for the arrangement of terms of admission and revision.

The appeals and misrepresentations of the pro-annexation party undoubtedly had a great effect upon that large portion of the people who had neither leisure nor opportunity to look be-

kind the curtain and witness the questionable means and motives at work for the accomplishment of a measure big with portents of war, of death, and slavery. Could they have seen the springs which set the pageant in motion, they might have been disenchanted. The personal ambition of Mr. John Tyler to associate his name with an important movement, and to place himself as a prominent candidate for a second presidential term before the people, was the insignificant origin of that train of national sins and evils which led to the war with Mexico. The democratic convention and Mr. Polk did but steal Mr. Tyler's thunder, and take up the thread of his policy. The issue which he chose to make with the opposite party and the people was one for which Mr. Tyler had provided for his own sake, but which was more remorselessly adopted by those who saw in it an instrument for operating upon the cupidity, the prejudices, and the fears, of a large number of their countrymen.

The Mexican authorities had emphatically declared that annexation would be regarded as an act of war on our part. Mr. Clay had expressed his belief that war would inevitably follow the measure. Mr. Van Buren, exempting for once from the trammels of non-committalism, had written a long letter in decided opposition to the project of immediate annexation; and for this he was thrown overboard by the democratic convention of May, 1844, who in their resolutions recommended the "re-annexation of Texas, at the earliest practicable period, to the cordial support of the democracy of the Union." The soundness of Mr. Clay's views on this question has been abundantly verified in the course of events, though his predictions were derided as chimerical at the time. Annexation was the primary, if not the immediate cause, of the war with Mexico.

It was while this annexation scheme was maturing, and all the arts and devices which chicanery could invent to reconcile public opinion were being actively employed, that the conventions of the two great parties of the Union for the nomination of candidates for the presidential term commencing in March, 1845, met at Baltimore. The whig convention met first. On the 1st of May, 1844, the city of Baltimore presented an extraordinary spectacle. The whole population seemed astir, while

a new one, that was almost in outbuilding it, was pouring in on all sides. At every avenue, railroad-depot, and wharf, wherever coaches, cars, and steamboats, could disengage their passengers, there was a scene of animation exhibited that bespoke the anticipation of some great event. There were to be three conventions during the week: the national convention for the nomination of a president and vice-president; the ratification convention of whig young men from all parts of the Union; and the Maryland gubernatorial convention.

The hospitality of Baltimore was satisfactorily tested on this occasion. An eye-witness of the scene which the city presented described it thus:—

"The whole place resembles a fair. Every street is alive with people, hurrying to and fro from the depots, crowding the sidewalks, clustering round the hotels, chattering, laughing, hurrying. From time to time, as new delegations arrive, music sounds, banners wave, and the whigs, with eager looks and hope, and triumph in their eyes, continue to pour in by thousands from the remotest quarters of the Union. They badge long conspicuously at all button-holes; they portraits, they banners, they ribbons, they songs, they quill-pens, they torches, they caricatures, meet the eye in all directions. Oh, the rushing, the driving, the noise, the counter-charge! To see, and hear, and feel, is glory enough for one day. Not only are the hotels and boarding-houses of all grades and calibres already filled and overflowing, but private dwellings are thrown open with that warm-hearted hospitality which has ever characterized this ardent and amiable population. Everybody is talking; some about who is to be vice-president, but more in anticipation of Thursday's gala. The procession will surpass anything witnessed in this country."

On Wednesday, the 1st of May, 1844, the whig national convention for the nomination of president and vice-president of the United States was held in the universalist church in Calver-street. On calling the list of delegates, it was found that there were only two who did not answer to their names, and they were from the state of Mississippi. The promptitude and unanimity shown in this full attendance was regarded as a happy omen. The honorable Amos Spenser, of New York, was appointed president of the convention, assisted by vice-presidents from all the states of the Union.

For months there had been no doubt or difference among the whigs as to the nominee. The task of the convention was not, therefore, an embarrassing one. Mr. Leigh, of Virginia, rose and remarked that the voice of the whig party of the country

was so decidedly in favor of a certain individual for the presidency, that it would be unnecessary to go through the usual forms of a nomination. He then offered a resolution, declaring HENRY CLAY, of Kentucky, to be unanimously chosen as the whig candidate for the presidency of the United States, and that he be recommended to the people as such. This resolution was adopted by acclamation and loud and prolonged tokens of enthusiasm and applause. A committee, composed of Moses, Burien of Georgia, Barnett of Ohio, Archer of Virginia, Lawrence of Massachusetts, and Krastus Root of New York, was appointed to wait on Mr. Clay and inform him of his nomination. On a proposition being made that Mr. Clay, who was in Washington, should appear in Baltimore the next day, "before the countless thousands who would then be assembled to ratify the nomination," a letter was read from Mr. Clay, in which he briefly said, that he could not reconcile it with his sense of delicacy and propriety to attend either of the whig conventions that week in Baltimore.

The choice of the convention for vice-president fell upon the honorable THOMAS FRANKLINSON, of New Jersey. The result of the first ballot taken, showed 275 votes, of which 139 were necessary to a choice. John Sergeant, of Pennsylvania had 39; Millard Fillmore, of New York, 51; John Davis, of Massachusetts, 83; Theodore Fredlinghuyzen, 101. The result of the second vote was: for John Sergeant, 32; Millard Fillmore, 57; John Davis, 74; Theodore Fredlinghuyzen, 118. The result of the third vote was: for John Davis, 76; for Millard Fillmore, 40; for Theodore Fredlinghuyzen, 155. So it was announced that THOMAS FRANKLINSON, having received a majority of all the votes given, was the candidate of the convention for the office of vice-president of the United States.

Mr. Fredlinghuyzen had been in the courts of the United States and he deservedly possessed the esteem and confidence of the whigs to the fullest extent. He had, however, become identified with an important religious sect, at whose Bible ministrations and missionary meetings he was frequently an active and influential attendant. He was known to belong to the presbyterian

denigration of Christians; and this circumstance, while it brought over few additions to the whig ranks, was destined to be used with great effect in prejudicing the minds of Roman catholics and adopted citizens generally against the whig presidential ticket.

On the 2d of May, the day after the whig nominations had been made the "ratification convention," composed principally of whig young men from all parts of the country, had their procession and their meetings. "This was, beyond doubt," says an eyewitness, "the largest and most imposing political assemblage that ever convened in the United States. Every state of the Union was represented, and several of them by thousands of delegates; an assemblage of distinguished statesmen from one extremity of the Union to the other, was congregated, not of young men only, but veterans in their country's service. The venerable Andrew Spenser, the associate of Jefferson in his most ardent political struggle, was greeted by others of the same school from the east, west, north, and south. Webster and Berrien were there; Crittenden and Clayton, George Evans from Maine, Thomas Kwing from Ohio, Morehead from Kentucky. Eleven ex-governors of the states attended the convention."

We must refer the curious reader to the newspapers of the period for a full description of the great political pageant of the ratification. The procession through the principal streets of Baltimore, was so remarkable for its numbers as for the enthusiasm of which it was the index. "It would be in vain," writes one who witnessed it, "to attempt an enumeration of the banners or their devices: this, I suppose, will all be minutely recorded by some modern Pausanias. Some of them were splendid in the highest degree, especially the grand national prize banner, which was placed upon a high, tasteful car, drawn by four white horses. There were numerous likenesses of Henry Clay, some of them very exquisitely painted, and in various degrees approximating a resemblance of the original, whose true face, however, has not yet been presented, save to those who have looked upon the living original. The truth is, that Mr. Clay's countenance varies so exceedingly in its expression, according to the circumstances in which he is placed, that could it be :

into marble at any one moment, those who had seen him only when in a different mood, would find fault with it as no likeness. The favorite was here shown up in various phases : sometimes as a statesman, seated, and surrounded by books and papers ; sometimes as the farmer of Ashland, in a rural scene, with cattle, plough, and implements of husbandry ; again, as ' father of the American system,' with emblems of home industry round him ; often under the protection of the eagle of his country ; and often between allegorical figures of wisdom, justice, and all manner of virtues ; and in several cases as the favored of his countrymen, who lean upon his portrait with smiles, or point to him as their benefactor. Had Mr. Clay been present, he might be said, parodying the lines of Gray, to read his history in a nation's banners."

At this second convention, the Hon. John M. Clayton of Delaware, presided. Judge Herrick, from the committee appointed at the nominating convention to communicate to Mr. Clay the intelligence of their choice, read the letter of the committee, and Mr. Clay's reply. " Confidently believing," says Mr. Clay, " that this nomination is in conformity with the desire of a majority of the people of the United States, I accept it, from a high sense of duty, and with feelings of profound gratitude." Mr. Webster, having been called for, addressed the meeting eloquently in behalf of the nomination, remarking that all the indications of public sentiment, in all quarters, had proclaimed that Mr. Clay, of all the rest, was the man on whom, upon this occasion, the voice of the country had concentrated. The ratification convention, after the adoption of appropriate resolutions, adjourned *à la die*.

The day after their adjournment, a letter from Mr. Clay, dated Washington, May 3, 1844, was addressed to the National Intelligencer, in which, by way of reply to the numerous invitations poured in upon him to visit his fellow-citizens at various points of the Union, he says : " Hereafter, and until the pending presidential election is decided, I can not accept nor attend any public meeting of my fellow-citizens, assembled in reference to, but object, to which I may have been or shall be invited. It is my wish and intention, when I leave this city, to return home as

quietly and quickly as possible, and, employing myself in my private business and affairs, thence to await the decision of the presidential election, acquiescing in it, whatever it may be, with the most perfect submission."

Twenty-six days after the adjournment of the convention which nominated Mr. Clay, there were two more political conventions in Baltimore, for the purpose of nominating presidential candidates. One of these met on the 27th of May, in the Odd-Fellows' hall, north Gay street; and, after a rather stormy session of three days, nominated, to the surprise of everybody, Mr. James K. Polk of Tennessee, for the presidency. The next day, Mr. George M. Dallas of Pennsylvania, was nominated by the same body for the vice-presidency; Silas Wright, of New York, having declined the nomination. The other presidential convention to which we have referred, met in another part of the city, also on the 27th, and, with extraordinary unanimity, nominated Mr. John Tyler for the presidency.

At an early stage in the proceedings of the democratic convention, a proposition was brought forward by Mr. Saunders, of North Carolina, requiring a two-third vote to make a nomination. This was a fatal blow at the prospects of Mr. Van Buren, and his friends vehemently opposed the proposition. Mr. Benjamin F. Butler of New York, the most active of Mr. Van Buren's adherents, declared that he knew well that in voting by simple majority, the friend he was pledged to support would receive a majority of from ten to fifteen, and consequently the nomination. If two thirds should be required to make a choice, that friend must inevitably be defeated, and that defeat caused by the action of states that could not be claimed as democratic. But, notwithstanding the remonstrance of Mr. Butler and others, the two-third rule was agreed upon by a vote of 148 to 118. After seven ballottings, in which Messrs. Van Buren and Cass received the greater number of votes out of seven candidates, it began to be apparent that the friends of the annexation policy were destined to carry the day. Mr. Young, of New York, remarked that "a firebrand had been thrown into their camp by the mongrel administration at Washington, and this was the motive seized upon as a pretext for a change on the part of some gentlemen. That

frustrated was the abominable Texas question—but *that* question, like a fever, would wear itself out, or kill the patient."

In his letter of April 23, 1844, to a committee in Cincinnati, Mr. Polk had remarked: "I have no hesitation in declaring that I am in favor of the immediate re-annexation of Texas to the territory and government of the United States." There could not be a doubt that it was for their views on this question, henceforth to be made the predominant one, that Mr. Martin Van Buren was abandoned and Mr. Polk adopted as the candidate. "Let Texas be the watchword," said General Jackson, subsequently, in his letter of June 14, 1844, "and victory is certain."

As for the Tyler convention, it was never regarded in any other light than as a joke by the intelligent. The democratic party, thinking they could use Mr. Tyler for their own peculiar ends, tried to preserve their gravity upon the subject and look serious; they succeeded pretty well in this until they had no further use for the renegade, and then their laughter, long suppressed, burst forth: and they have ever since extended no other notice than that of derision to Mr. Tyler and his friends. This convention was composed, in a great measure, of men with little political or any other character to boast of. Its results were impotent and abortive. After affording amusement to paragraphs and newspaper readers; after Mr. Tyler had been nominated, and had accepted the nomination, the farce ended with the formal withdrawal of his name from the list of candidates before the people.

And now the war of calumny, misrepresentation, and abuse, which had been waged in years past against Mr. Clay, was revived in all its violence. That staple article of electioneering slander, the old coalition story, was manufactured anew for the market, with variations to suit the taste of a new generation. Shortly before the meeting of the whig convention, Mr. Linn Boyd of Kentucky, had introduced the subject on the floor of the house of representatives. It would be tedious to quote his citations of exploded calumny, and show how and when their utter falsehood was proved. The conclusion at which Mr. Boyd arrives, after taking for granted that all the mailed slanders against Mr. Clay are established verities, is simply this: "Although," he says, "impartial men may believe, as I do myself, that there was

no *technical* bargain entered into between Mr. Adams and Mr. Clay in their own proper persons, yet it does seem to me that no one, free from prejudice, can carefully examine the circumstances and evidences in the case, without the most thorough conviction that it was understood by the parties that Mr. Clay's appointment to the office of secretary of state, would result from the election of Mr. Adams.* Truly, a lame and ineffectual conclusion! As lame and ineffectual--if we may borrow an illustration applied to a different case---as it would be should some political adversary accuse Mr. Boyd of murder, and, on being called on for an explanation, should say: "Although impartial men may believe, as I do myself, that there was no *technical* murder committed by Mr. Boyd in his own proper person, yet it does seem to me that he has made a slaughterous attempt upon the king's English." By his own admission, Mr. Boyd fully exculpates Mr. Clay.

"Sir," said Mr. Webster, in his speech of January, 1832, on Mr. Ford's resolution, "this charge of a coalition in reference to the late administration, is not original with the honorable member. It did not spring up in the senate. Whether or not, as an argument, or as an establishment, it is all improved. He adopts it, indeed, from a very low origin, and a still lower present condition. It is one of the thousand calumnies with which the press teemed during an excited political contest. It was a charge, of which there was not only no proof or probability, but which was, in itself, wholly impossible to be true. Not one of common information ever believed a syllable of it. Yet it was of that class of falsehoods which, by continued repetition, through all the organs of detraction and abuse, are capable of misleading those who are already far misled; and of further fanning passions already kindled into flame. Doubtless it served its day, and in a greater or less degree, the end designed by it. Having done that, it has sunk into the same *quod stultis and fatuorum refectories*. It is the very out-cast slough of a polluted and shameless press. Incapable of further mischief, it lies in the ocean, lifeless and despised. It is not now, sir, in the power of the honorable member to give it dignity or decency, by attempting to describe it, and to introduce it into the senate. He can not change it from what it is--an object of general contempt and scorn. On the contrary, the farther it be chosen to touch it, is more likely to drag him down, down to the place where it lies itself."

In the autumn of 1811, an interesting communication was made to the public by Mr. B. W. Leigh, of Virginia, on the subject of this old polyanized slander. For some twenty years, the traducers of Mr. Clay in that state, had made frequent mysterious allusions to a correspondence, the publication of which they loudly demanded. Mr. Clay's reluctance to consent to the publication, originating solely in motives of delicacy the most honorable, was

publicly attributed by those who well knew every syllable of the correspondence, to fears of exposure, and referred to us as an admission of guilt. The very men who devalued the publication lest it should expose the hollowness and insincerity of their assertions, clamored for it in the reliance, which for many years proved not unfounded, that Mr. Clay would never consent to vindicate himself by the simple means which they defied him to adopt.

Sometimes during the summer of 1844, Mr. Clay went copies of these letters, which his enemies made the basis of their vague and unprincipled charges, to Mr. Leigh; and, in giving them to the world, that gentleman remarks:—

"If I am rightly informed, no application has ever been made directly to Mr. Clay by Mr. Blair or Mr. Linn Boyd, or by any other of that party, to consent to the publication of these letters. . . . Dissuaded by the earnest entreaties of his friends in Virginia, Mr. Clay has reluctantly consented to the publication (if they think it proper) of these letters, private and confidential as they are, and even playful and sportive in their character. . . . Knowing, as he must have known, that the publication could only be beneficial to him, he has not patiently endured all the calumnies which have been founded on the letters. I now publish them, in order to put down, offensively and for ever, a vile charge, which has been revived after having been completely refuted, and which has been repeated here in Virginia, in the hope that the letters, after so long a delay, would not be published."

From one of these letters, dated January 29, 1825, we quote a few passages, to show that even in the informal freedom of familiar correspondence, Mr. Clay's objections to the elevation of a military chieftain, with purely military claims, to the chief magistracy, would break forth with spontaneous earnestness and force:—

* * * "The known can not comprehend how a man can be known. They can not conceive that I should have voluntarily interposed my conviction, and relied it to tell me seriously what I ought to do:—that it should have required me not to establish the dangerous precedent of elevating, in this early stage of the republic, a military chieftain, merely because he has won a great victory? I am afraid that you will think me moved by these abuses. Be not deceived. I assure you that I never, in my whole life, felt more perfect composure, more entire confidence in the rectitude of my judgment, and a more resolute determination to march up to my duty. And, my dear sir, is there an intelligent and unbiased man, who acted not, sooner or later, concert with me? Mr. Adams, you know well, I should never have selected, if at liberty to choose from the whole mass of our citizens for a president. But there is no danger in his elevation now, or in time to come. Not so of his competitor, of whom I can not believe that killing twenty five

hundred Englishmen at New Orleans qualifies him for the various, difficult, and complicated duties of the chief magistracy. I perceive that I am unconsciously writing a sort of defense, which you may probably think implies guilt. What will be the result? you will ask with curiosity, if not anxiety. I think Mr. Adams must be eluded; such is the prevailing opinion. Still I shall not consider the matter as certain, until the citation is over."

In a card, which bears date the 3d of May, 1844, General Jackson reaffirmed the charge of "bargain and corruption" in a manner which showed that age had not blunted the vindictive asperities of his nature. General James Hamilton, in a letter growing out of this card, dated the 26th of the same month, remarks: "It would, in my humble opinion, have been an act of supererogation on the part of Mr. Clay to have made a bargain for what, by the force and gravity of political causes and geographical considerations, was inevitable without either his crime or his participation—an offer of a seat in Mr. Adams's cabinet. * * * I sincerely believe that Mr. Clay's acceptance of the office that subjected him to such obloquy was the result of a sense of the duty which he owed to the country, to aid by his counsels him whom he had assisted to place in power."

The pertinacious industry with which this patriotic calumny has been taken up by political *chiffonniers* from the kennel where it has been repeatedly cast, "like a dead dog despised," can only be accounted for by the fact, that Mr. Clay's whole career, public and private, will bear the strictest scrutiny of honor and patriotism. He was never one of those incessantling statesmen, who, starting with the assumption that "all is fair in politics," have one conscience for their public and another for their private acts; who look upon deceptions and intrigues that would be contemptible in the man of business or of society as very venial in the politician. In the lack of other points, therefore, for attack in his public history, this miserable suspicion—for, in its next speechless state, the slander could never rise above the dignity of a suspicion—was selected as the one vulnerable spot.

It has been truly remarked that "there is no example in the records of detraction and calumny of such persevering, rancorous, and malignant attacks, as those which have been directed against Mr. Clay during the last twenty years, because of the fact that he did not deem it his duty, acting either upon his own

judgment, or in conformity with the wishes of his constituents whom he represented in the house of representatives, to cast his vote for General Jackson as president of the United States.* Nor were these attacks confined to his public character and life. The domestic fireside was invaded. The social circle was not held sacred. Mr. Clay was denounced as a gambler, a salt-licker, and a profane swearer. Stories the most unfounded, charges the most imaginary, were busily circulated by the opposition, in newspapers and pamphlets, holding him up as a man to be distrusted by the religious portion of the community. It is unnecessary to recapitulate and refute these libels. They served their purpose, doubtless; and any exposure of their utter falsehood, however thorough and irresistible it might be, would not prevent their revival, whenever it might answer the ends of the profligate and the designing to give them currency. "Falsehood," said Mr. Clayton, of Delaware, in a speech delivered some six weeks before the presidential election. "Falsehood is now the order of the day. Perhaps the world before never exhibited more disgraceful spectacles of reckless mendacity for political purposes."⁸

Mr. Clay's professional labors were not interrupted in consequence of his nomination. Soon after his return to Kentucky he engaged in an important law case, in which he displayed as much zeal and watchfulness in behalf of the interests of his client as if he had just entered upon the practice of the law, and was struggling to gain his first suit.

But now the eventful moment that was to influence the fate of the country for years—perhaps for centuries—was at hand. Never before were vast bodies of the American people so intensely interested in a political result as in that of the presidential election of November, 1814. It came at last, and with crushing effect, to thousands and hundreds of thousands, who had hoped and wished well for the republic. Mr. Clay was defeated—but defeated under circumstances far less mortifying to him than such a triumph as that achieved by his opponent, Mr. Polk, would have been. He was defeated by the grossest and most reckless frauds that were ever perpetrated by the practical enemies of republican liberty. These frauds were abun-

sufficient to prevent the true verdict of the people from being unobscured; but, conjoined with other impositions, they lead us irresistibly to the conclusion that, could an honest expression of the public will have been obtained, it would have been in favor of Mr. Clay by a vast preponderance, not only of the intelligence, but of the legal voters of the country. Indeed, had the illegal votes that were polled in the state of New York alone been cast aside, Mr. Clay would have been the president of the United States. We shall have more to say hereafter of the means by which the legitimate expression of the popular will was rendered null and void.

The effect of this great defeat upon the whig party was disheartening in the extreme. You would have thought some stupendous public calamity had occurred, to have seen the signs of deep, sincere grief written upon the majority of honest, intelligent faces. Manifestations of sorrow and of attachment the most touching were offered to Mr. Clay. A profound sigh seemed to be wrung from the nation's heart. Tears, such as Cato might have wept, were shed from many eyes; and many of his truest friends began to despair of the republic. Innumerable were the letters from all parts of the country, filled with patriotic regrets, that found their way to Ashland. Most of these were from personal strangers; some from acquaintances.

"I have sustained many severe losses of dear friends," writes one; "but nothing has hurt me like this. Oh, God! is there no constitutional provision by which illegal votes can be purged out, and the legally elected president restored to this nation?"

"I have thought for three or four days," says another correspondent, "that I would write you; but, really, I am unmanned. All is gone! I see nothing but despair depicted on every countenance. I confess that nothing has happened to shake my confidence in our ability to sustain a free government so much as this. A cloud of gloom hangs over the future. May God save the country!"

Another writes: "What a wound has been inflicted upon the honor and interests of the country! I pray God that truth may yet prevail, and our republican institutions be saved."

"I write with an aching heart," is the language of another letter, "and ache it must. God Almighty save us! Although our hearts are broken and bleeding, and our bright hopes are crushed, we feel proud of our candidate. God bless you! Your countrymen do bless you. All know how to appreciate the man who has stood in the first rank of American patriots. Though unknown to you, you are by no means a stranger to us."

An American in London writes, under date of November 27, 1844: "I will not lose a moment in conveying to you the heart-felt emotion, amazement, and grief, with which I received the news, just arrived, of the result of the presidential election. Great God! is it possible? Have our people given this astonishing, this alarming proof, of the madness to which party frenzy can carry them? The hopes of the wise and the good, in the New and the Old World, rested upon you. But my heart is sick. May God for ever bless you!"

These extracts will convey to the future reader but a feeble impression of that general feeling of chagrin and despondency which was manifested throughout the United States at the result of the election of 1844. It was not a feeling, the offspring of selfish disappointment, of wounded pride, or defeated pertinacity; but one arising from regrets the most purely patriotic and disinterested that our fallible nature can cherish—regrets springing from the most devoted love of country, the most single-hearted attachment to our system of government, the most entire faith in the wisdom and worth of republican liberty. Letters without number from the mothers and daughters of the land were also addressed to Mr. Clay, indicative of the wide-spread affliction which had been produced by his defeat. Numerous testimonials of the unshaken affection and admiration with which he was regarded were presented. The ladies of Virginia held meetings and formed an association, at the head of which was Mrs. Lucy Barlow, for procuring by voluntary subscription a statue to his honor. Their efforts were crowned with the most complete success. Addresses from large bodies of his fellow-citizens in every state of the Union bore to him the fullest assurance that he was still first in their esteem, and that the untoward result of the contest had not affected their convictions of the fact that a

large majority of the legal voters of the United States were in favor of him and his policy.

The presidential electors of Kentucky, having discharged the duty intrusted to them by the people, determined, before separating, to wait upon Mr. Clay in a body, and tender him a declaration of their high esteem for him as a private citizen, and their undiminished confidence in his exalted patriotism and superior statesmanship. No public notice had been given of their intention to visit Ashland, and Mr. Clay himself was not made acquainted with it until a few hours before their arrival. He met them at his door, and, after an exchange of greetings, Judge Underwood, on behalf of the electors, addressed him in a brief and eloquent speech, to which Mr. Clay responded. Both the address and the reply possess such intrinsic and enduring interest, that we copy them entire:—

"MR. CLAY: I have been selected by the members of our electoral college to say to you for each one of us, that we have come to offer you the homage of our personal regard and professed respect. In the work of the hour, many of your neighbors have likewise come to unite with us. On yesterday, at Frankfort, we performed our official duty in obedience to the will of the people of Kentucky, by voting unanimously for yourself and Theodore Tilton to fill the offices of president and vice-president of the United States.

"The machinations of your enemies, their frauds upon the elective franchise, and their duplicity with the people, in promulgating opposite principles in different sections, have defiled your election.

"We have no hope of preferment at your hands, which can tempt us to flatter, nor can the pen of proscription intimidate us in speaking the truth. Under existing circumstances it gratifies us to take you by the hand, and to unite, as we do most cordially, in expressing the sentiments of our hearts and of those we represent in regard to your personal character and political principles.

"Your past services are an interlude with the history of our country for the last forty years, that neither mind nor eye can not prevent succeeding generations from dwelling on your name with admiration and gratitude. Your example will illuminate the path of future statesmen, when those who hate and revile you are forgotten, or are only remembered, like the incendiary who burnt the temple, for the evil they have done.

"To you the election has terminated without personal loss; but to the nation, in our judgment, the injury is incalculable. God grant that the selfishness may not hereafter mourn over the result in disconsolate language!

"While your enemies have not attempted to detract from your intellectual character, they have with unrelenting malice attacked your moral reputation and endeavored to destroy it. The verbal assaults and printed libels employed as means to accomplish political objects, have stained the character of our country and its institutions more than they have injured you.

"In your high personal character, in your political principles, and unswerving zeal and ability to carry them out, may be found the strong motives for our anxious efforts to secure your election. The protection of American labor, a national currency connected with a fiscal agent for the government, the distribution among the states of the proceeds of the public lands, further constitutional restrictions upon executive power and patronage, and a limitation upon the dignity of the president for a second term, were measures which, under your administration, we hoped to mature and bring into practical operation. By your defeat they have been endangered, if not for ever lost.

"But we will not speculate on remote events. If things work well, we shall find consolation in the general prosperity. If apprehended calamity, we are not responsible; and, retaining our principles, we shall enjoy the happy reflection of having done our duty.

"In the studies of Aftand may you long continue to enjoy peace, quiet, and the possession of those great facilities which have rendered you the admiration of your friends and the benefactor of your country. And when at last death shall demand its victim, while Kentucky will contain your ashes, rest assured that old and faithful friends—those who know you longest, loved you best—will cherish your memory and defend your reputation."

The reply of Mr. Clay, as it appears in the Lexington Observer of December 10, 1814, was as follows:

"I am greatly obliged, gentlemen, by the kindness toward me, which has procured this vote from the governor, the presidential electors of Kentucky, and some of my fellow citizens in private life. And I thank you, sir (Mr. Underwood), their organ on this occasion, for the feeling and eloquent address which you have just done me the honor to deliver. I am under the greatest obligations to the people of Kentucky. During more than forty years of my life they have demonstrated their confidence and affection toward me in every variety of form. This last and crowning evidence of their long and faithful attachment, exhibited in the vote which, in their behalf, you gave yesterday at the seat of the state government, as the electoral college of Kentucky, fills me with overflowing gratitude. But I should fail to express the feelings of my heart, if I did not also offer my profound and grateful acknowledgments to the other states which have united with Kentucky in the endeavor to elect me to the chief magistracy of the Union, and to the million and a quarter of freemen, embracing so much virtue, intelligence, and patriotism, who, wherever residing, have directed attentions and influence in my election to the same object.

"Their effort has been unavailing, and the issue of the election has not corresponded with their anxious hopes and confident expectations. You have, sir, assigned some of the causes which you suppose have occasioned the result. I will not trust myself to speak of them. My duty is that of perfect submission to an event which is now irrevocable.

"I will not affect indifference to the personal concern I had in the political contest just terminated; but, unless I am greatly self-deceived, the principal attraction to me of the office of president of the United States arose out of the cherished hope that I might be an humble instrument in the hands of Providence to accomplish public good. I desired to see the former party of the general government restored, and to see dangers and evils which I sincerely believed accompanied it averted and remedied. I was well wick as that the policy of the country, especially in the great department

of domestic labor and industry, should be fixed and stable, that all might know how to regulate and accommodate their conduct. And, fully convinced of the wisdom of the public measures which you have enumerated, I hoped to live to witness, and to contribute to, their adoption and establishment.

"So far as respects my official agency of mine, it has been otherwise decreed, and I have respectfully so to the deities. The future course of the government is altogether unknown, and I wrangled in painful uncertainty. I shall not do the new administration the injustice of condemning it in ad vance. On the contrary, I earnestly desire that, enlightened by its own reflections, and by a deliberate review of all the great interests of the country, and prompted by public opinion, the benefit may yet be secured of the practical adoption of those principles and measures for which we have honestly contended; that peace and honor may be preserved; and that this young but great nation may be rendered illustrious, prosperous, and powerful.

"We are not without consolation under the event which has happened. The whig party has fully and fairly exhibited to the country the principles and measures which it believed best adapted to secure our liberties and promote the common welfare. It has made, in their support, constant and urgent appeals to the reason and judgment of the people. For myself, I have the satisfaction to know that I have escaped a great and fearful responsibility; and that, during the whole survey, I have done nothing inconsistent with the dictates of the purest honor. No mortal man is authorized to say that I held out to him the promise of any office or appointment whatsoever.

"What now is the duty of the whig party? I venture to express an opinion with the greatest diffidence. The future is enveloped in a veil impervious to human eyes. I can not contemplate it without feelings of great discomposure. But I know of only one safe rule in all the vicissitudes of human life, public and private, and that is, conscientiously to satisfy ourselves of what is right, and firmly and unflinchingly to pursue it under all trials and circumstances, confiding in the Great Ruler of the Universe for ultimate success. The whigs are deliberately convinced of the truth and wisdom of the principles and measures which they have espoused. It occurs, therefore, to me that they should persevere in contending for them; and that, adhering to their separate and distinct organization, they should treat all who have the good of their country in view with respect and sympathy, and invite their cooperation in securing the patriotic objects which it has been their aim and purpose to accomplish.

"I heartily thank you, sir, for your friendly wishes for my happiness, in the retirement which henceforward best becomes me. Here I hope to enjoy peace and tranquillity, seeking faithfully to perform, in the walks of private life, whatever duties may yet appertain to me. And I shall never cease, while life remains, to look with lively interest and deep solicitude, upon the movement and operations of our free system of government, and to hope that under the smiles of an all-wise Providence, our Republic may be ever just, honorable, prosperous, and great."

We learn from an eyewitness that the scene, during the delivery of these remarks was at once painful and interesting. While Mr. Clay was expressing his grateful regards for his friends, who had stood up to shield him from the malignant calumnies of

his enemies, and the patriotic hope that the result of the election, in the hands of an all-wise Providence, might be accelerated for good to the country, every eye was suffused with manly tears. The old men who had known him in his earlier career, and had seen him come forth unharmed from amid the arrows of calumny and detraction which had been unsparingly aimed at him, and the unceasing though futile efforts which had been made to arrest his progress—the young men who had been taught in infancy to hush his name, and to revere him as his country's benefactor—wept together. "During Mr. Clay's remarks we occupied a position immediately in front of him; and as we watched his expressive countenance, and saw the deep emotion which at times almost overpowered him, and well nigh choked his utterance as he gave expression to the sentiments which have ever filled his bosom to the exclusion of every selfish feeling, we felt a conviction of his greatness, which, with all our former admiration of this man, we had never before realized."

The following was the numerical result of the election of 1841: For CLAY—Massachusetts, 12; Rhode Island, 4; Connecticut, 6; Vermont, 6; New Jersey, 7; Delaware, 3; Maryland, 8; North Carolina, 11; Tennessee, 13; Kentucky, 12; Ohio, 23.—Total, 105.

For FOLK—Maine, 9; New Hampshire, 6; New York, 26; Pennsylvania, 26; Virginia, 17; South Carolina, 9; Georgia, 10; Alabama, 9; Mississippi, 6; Louisiana, 6; Indiana, 12; Illinois, 9; Missouri, 7; Michigan, 5; Arkansas, 3.—Total, 170.

The official popular vote showed for CLAY, 1,287,912; for FOLK, 1,336,196; for HANEY, the candidate of the "liberal party" (and misnomer!) as they called themselves, 671,127. Mr. Folk's majority over Mr. Clay, exclusive of South Carolina, where the presidential electors were chosen by the legislature, was 38,284. If to this be added 20,000 as the majority of Mr. Folk in South Carolina, his aggregate majority over Mr. Clay was 58,284. Place the Haney vote (671,127) by the side of this, and it will be seen that Mr. Folk did not receive the votes of a majority of the people. Mr. Clay received more votes by upward of twenty thousand than General Harrison, with all his

popularity and the immense efforts of the whigs, received in 1840. Take into account the large abstraction from the whig ranks in the state of New York by Hiram, the donations produced by the "Native" party, and other causes, to which we shall more particularly allude, and it will be seen that the whigs had abundant cause to confide in the strength of their candidate with the people, and to feel assured that, but for the frauds, treacheries, and deceits but were practised, their triumph would have been as complete as *Clairmont* was just.

XXIII.

THE TRADIS AND FOLLIES OF 1844.

THE causes of the defeat of the whigs in the presidential election of 1844, can be distinctly traced without the aid of hypothesis and speculation. Foremost among them we may cite the foreign influence---which, operating principally in the state of New-York, was also powerfully felt in Pennsylvania and other states. Early in the canvass, Mr. Brownson, a recent convert to the Roman catholic religion, the editor of a quarterly review published in Boston, and a writer of no mean abilities, gave the key-note for misrepresentations, which were echoed, with most intelligent effect, from Maine to Louisiana. Of Mr. Frelinghuysen he wrote in the following terms:--

"Mr. Frelinghuysen is not only a whig in the worst sense of the term, but he is also the very impregnation of narrow-minded, ignorant, superstitious bigotry--a man who attacks religious liberty, denounces the unshelved union of church and state, and contends that the government should legally recognize the religion of the majority, and declare whatever goes counter to that to be contra bonos mores. He concentrates in himself the whole spirit of 'Native Americanism,' and 'No Popery,' which displayed itself so brilliantly in the recent burnings of the catholic churches, seminaries, and churches, in the city of Philadelphia."

Invective like this, false and flagrant, carried with them still more operativeness. Mr. Frelinghuysen was well understood to be identified with a sect more earnest, perhaps, than any other in their denunciations of popery and its dangers. We all know

the potency of religious prejudices, and how high above mere social interests a believer will place the interests of the church. The Roman catholics, embracing probably nine tenths of our adopted citizens and foreign immigrants, were jealously alive to suspicions and apprehensions such as Mr. Brownson and others, who had their confidence, saw fit to instill. The recollection of Gen. Harrison's death, a month after his installation, and the consequent elevation of the vice-president to his seat, were fresh in every-body's mind. "Why may not Mr. Frelinghuysen become your president, and, in his presbyterian zeal, burn your churches and drive away your priests?" was the question asked of thousands of foreigners, legal and illegal voters, with irresistible effect.

A native-American party, too, had suddenly sprung into existence about this time. The assiduous attempts of the Democrats to secure by any means, however disorganizing, the foreign vote--the repeated frauds perpetrated by foreigners, falsely claiming to be naturalized, at the polls--the precipitous and anti-American attitude assumed by bodies of them, here and there--the consideration that hordes of immigrants, utterly ignorant of our political system, its workings, and its wants, unable, perhaps, even to read and write, had it in their power, after a brief residence, to vote, while the intelligent American, with sympathies all awake to his country's interests, well versed in her history, and having a deep stake in her welfare, but who had not passed the age of twenty-one, was debarred from the same privilege--facts and considerations like these, had produced a powerful reaction in the minds of native citizens; and, in the states of New York and Pennsylvania, had given rise to a party, undisciplined, badly organized, and deficient in influential leaders, but exercising great capacities for mischief. All the odium produced in the minds of adopted citizens and foreign illegal voters, by the acts and dissensions of this party, was transferred, most unjustly, to the whigs and Mr. Clay, while, at the same time, no measure of support was rendered to them by the new organization. Mr. Clay had never identified himself in any degree with the principles of this party. His course toward foreigners and adopted citizens, had always been one of extreme liberality. The Irish and Germans had always found in him a ready champion and a true

friend. In his speeches in regard to the recognition of South American independence, he had manifested a spirit the most magnanimous and tolerant toward the professors of the Roman catholic belief; and yet now, through the insidious manoeuvres of his opponents, were all the errors and all the prospective acts, threatened and imaginary, of "nativism," converted to his injury!

The apprehension was studiously inculcated by the partisans of Mr. Polk, that the success of this faction was involved in that of Mr. Clay; that the consequence would be an immediate abolition or modification of the naturalization laws, greatly restricting the facilities of aliens for becoming voters. This apprehension had its effect even upon goodly numbers of adopted citizens who had heretofore voted the whig ticket. It also precipitated the naturalizing of thousands with the express purpose of opposing nativism, and sent other thousands to the polls whose votes were in direct violation of the laws of the land.

These facts, it may be said, prove that a reform in our naturalization laws is much needed. But in regard to the question of remedying the evil, Mr. Clay and the whig party stood, and exertion to stand, no more committed than their opponents. The native-American faction was composed of members of both parties; and the attempt to make the whigs responsible for the crude policy, their abstruse intrigues, and their spasmodic movements, was the basest injustice, while at the same time it was too effectual in spreading alarm and misconception among foreign population. Everywhere pains were taken by the opposite party to produce the impression that the whig and native-American parties were identical.

Another obvious cause of the disastrous result of the election, was the combat of the abolition or liberty party, which derived nine tenths of its strength from the whig ranks. There was a time when Mr. James G. Birney might have secured the election of Mr. Clay, and prevented the long train of protracted calamities and crimes, accompanied by bloodshed and affliction, which succeeded the annexation of Texas. But Mr. Birney, the friend of "liberty" and enemy of annexation, threw his influence in the scale of Mr. Polk, and persisted in running for the presidency, well knowing that he was thereby aiding the election of Polk.

It seemed to be by a fatal perversity, that while at the north Mr. Clay was represented as an ultra supporter of the institution of slavery, at the south he should be described as an abolitionist: although, to use his own language, he was "neither one nor the other." In a private letter, which was perused and published, bearing date September 18th, 1844, and addressed to Cassius M. Clay, he says:—

"As we have the same carriage, and are, moreover, related, great care is made at the south against me, of whatever falls from you. There, you are even represented as being my son; hence the necessity of the greatest discretion, and especially that you avoid committing me. You are watched wherever you go, and every word you publicly express will be tortured and perverted as my own are. After all, I am afraid you are too sanguine in supposing that any considerable number of the liberty men can be induced to support me."

The event proved that Mr. Clay's sagacity was not at fault in this apprehension. We have already shown that the whig votes thrown away upon Mr. Hinsey, were more than sufficient to have prevented the election of Mr. Polk. There is a class of impracticable theorists, who, while they are ready enough to censure and partake all the benefits of our confederate system of government, would yet trample upon those principles of compromise on which it was established and must rest. There is some consistency in the conduct of the disorganizers who advocate the dissolution of this noble confederacy because they can not at once renounce to their taste the character of our people and our institutions; but the men who profess a love of the Union, and a desire for its perpetuity, and at the same time pursue a course practically fatal to its honor and its interests, because their own political ideal is unattainable, are the most dangerous foes of the republic. It was by the perversity of such men, that Mr. Clay's election to the presidency was prevented. Alas! they can not give us back the pallant lives and the untarnished honor which their error has cost the country.

Calhoun did its worst in regard to the private and public character of Mr. Clay, as we have already seen,* but the political duplicity resorted to by the partisans of Mr. Polk, was pro-

* The conduct of the allies toward Mr. Polk, presents a more glaring example of that granted by their opponents toward Mr. Clay. The public acts of the same were about multiplied and increased. There was an attempt to hunt up small personalities and search for slanders against him.

duction of far greater mischief. Everywhere at the south, Mr. Polk's claims were based upon the ground of his opposition to a protective tariff, and his pledges in favor of the immediate annexation of Texas. At the north, he was represented as a better friend to the tariff than Mr. Clay; while the issue of annexation was repudiated wherever its unpopularity rendered such a course expedient. Silas Wright, a decided opponent of the Texas project in the senate of the United States, was made a localism candidate for governor of New York, by which the people were blinded, and the friends and enemies of annexation in the party, driven to unite in support of Mr. Polk. Thus, while annexation was the party cry in some sections, and, in fact, the great question of the election, care was taken to disclaim it so far in other sections, that the people should be utterly deceived as to the imminence of the measure.

In the resolutions of the convention which nominated Mr. Polk, there was no allusion, save a very equivocal one, to the tariff. This simply declared, that "justice and sound policy forbid the federal government to foster one branch of industry to the detriment of another, or to cherish the interests of one portion to the injury of another portion of our common country"—one of those axiomatic declarations, which, it is obvious, any party might safely adopt. The example of disingenuousness thus given at the convention, was faithfully copied and improved upon by political managers everywhere. At the south, the declaration was made to mean everything; at the north, nothing. Mr. Polk was quoted as the most strenuous free-trade philosopher in our place, while in another, he was depicted on banners and in wood-cuts, surrounded by evidence of domestic industry, and extending a most paternal measure of protection to American products and manufactures. In the slave-holding states, he was represented as the enemy of all tariffs; while, in the wool-growing and manufacturing states, it was promised that he would favor the protective policy, and, if he did not extend still more protection to domestic industry, would at least leave the existing tariff untouched. The success of these contrary manoeuvres fully answered the expectations of their authors. In Pennsylvania, they were especially effectual in deceiving the people. Mr. Polk received large ma-

justice in examining the most extensively opposed to any disturbance of the tariff. Indeed, throughout the states of Pennsylvania,* New York, and New Jersey, wherever the majority was supposed to be favorable to the policy, the hucufora banner bore the inscription of "protection." By such acts of chicanery were the people swindled out of their votes!

The great and sufficient cause, however, of the defeat of Mr. Clay, were the gross, the undeniable frauds practiced by agents of the opposite party at the polls. We have spoken of the assiduous attempts made to excite the alarms and the prejudices of foreigners against the whigs. The effect was to enlist them almost to a man in opposition to Mr. Clay. The month before the presidential election, there was an election for governor and other state officers in Maryland. The result in the city of Baltimore, showed an increase of votes far beyond any previous ratio. Within a few weeks of the election, not fewer than a thousand naturalization papers had been issued. And it was ascertained that not over forty of the whole number of persons for whom they were procured would vote the whig ticket! Several convictions for fraud upon the ballot-box took place in the courts, all the culprits being of one political complexion. A poor woman confessed that she had loaned the naturalization papers of her deceased husband to *several different persons*, receiving a dollar in every instance for the use of them. There were numerous fraudulent votes accounted for! What a fire-storm the elective franchise where such profligations of the freeman's right can be practiced — by persons, too, just landed on our shores, having no patriotic associations with the past history of the country, no knowledge of our public men and public interests, and hardly able to explain

* When certain documents, proving Mr. Polk's opposition to the nullification, were about being circulated in Pennsylvania, the *Lycoming Gazette* of October 25, 1844, published a William just, Lycoming county, demanded them in the following terms: "From the city of London, the product of British gold. We are your religious and the independent, and when the day of election arrives, we shall be watching that the democracy of Lycoming are honest-hearted and self-governed, and independent to be honest. By voting for James K. Polk and George M. Dallas, you oppose the creation of another national bank, and desire the continuance of the present one? Mr. Polk himself is not a great anti-democratic example of the day among us. When called upon, shortly before the election, by a committee, who wished to know whether the vote in favor of nullifying the tariff, he drafted a resolution very explicit. In a letter dated June 23, 1844, to J. R. Kane, of Philadelphia, he had received the opinion that he was in the words of the *Harrisburg Telegraph* declared, "in favor of a judicious revenue tariff affording the simplest and best protection to American industry."

the difference between a monarchial and republican form of government!

A solitary restraint was put upon these fraudulent voters by the conviction and punishment of a few of the officers; and there was consequently the remarkable falling off of 722 votes in the loose-face vote at the municipal election, which immediately followed, while the whig vote exhibited a diminution of only three. The whig vote at the gubernatorial election was 7,908; the loose-face vote, 9,190; the latter showing an increase of 1,892 over the election for mayor of the preceding year, when the largest vote ever thrown was polled, while the whig increase was only 168!

In Pennsylvania, there were evidences of fraud no less conclusive. At Pittsburg, after the presidential election, twenty-four bills of indictment for perjury and subornation of perjury in taking out naturalization papers, to be used for the benefit of Mr. Polk, were found. There were twenty-five prosecutions, in only one of which was there deficiency of proofs. A number of counties polled more votes than they contained male adult inhabitants, according to the census of 1840. If that census was correct, Pike county had but 748 male adult inhabitants: it polled 920 votes; Monroe county, with 2,034, polled 2,220; Tioga, with 3,342, polled 3,367; Perry, with 3,500, polled 3,671; Columbia, with 5,033, polled 5,109; and Potter, with 732, polled 794 votes. It is a little remarkable, that in no one of the strong whig counties of the state, was any such ratio of increase exhibited. This marvellous multiplication of voters excited naturally no little surprise; for it seemed quite unaccountable that in some of the loose-face counties there should be more voters than adult males, while in all the whig counties the reverse should be invariably the case!

In Georgia, from the tax-list and the census, it was estimated that the number of legal voters at the election of 1844, was 78,644. What was the result? The number of votes cast was 86,247, leaving 7,603 which can only be accounted for by the supposition of fraud. An examination of details, will show that this presumptive unlawful increase is, in every instance, on the side of the *unionists*. The lawful vote of Forsyth, Lumpkin,

Habersham, and Franklin counties, was estimated at 3,202; but they actually returned 4,821 for Clay, and 4,914 for Polk—in all, 5,835! In the four whig counties of Madison, Gilbert, Lincoln, and Columbia, the lawful vote was 3,103; the votes returned were 3,121—of which Clay received 2,124, and Polk 1099. The lawbreakers directed all their efforts to throwing an overwhelming vote in those counties where they already had the ascendancy. Gilbert, the strongest whig county in the state, gave five votes less than it was entitled to, according to the estimate to which we have referred.

The total vote of Louisiana, in the exciting contest of 1840, was 18,912. In that of 1844, it was 26,216! The frauds here were monstrous and palpable. In the single parish of Plaquemines, the vote for Mr. Polk exceeded the whole number of white males of all ages in the parish, in 1840, notwithstanding the property qualification exacted of voters. At the investigations afterward instituted, the steward of the steamboat *Agnes*, *John Gilmore*, swore that the boat went down from New Orleans with a full load of passengers, under the charge of Judge Leonard (the great man of Plaquemines); that he himself, a minor, not residing in Plaquemines, being persuaded by the captain, voted three times at different polls in that parish—every time for Polk and Dallas. *Dr. J. B. Williams*, a voter of Plaquemines, swore that he ascertained that the polls were opened before the legal hour, and were then surrounded by a crowd of *strangers*, one of whom he ventured to challenge; but, as the clerk reached out the book, the sheriff pulled it away, declaring that nobody should be sworn! After this, the foreign votes went in pell-mell. *Affred Pail*, a passenger, and *E. Seymour Austin*, pilot of the *Agnes*, swore to a state of facts within their knowledge, similar to that sworn to by John Gilmore. *Albert Sauge*, engineer of the steamboat *Plaster*, swore that his boat went down with one hundred and forty lawbreakers from New Orleans, who voted after the fashion above described; but when he offered a vote—it being a Clay one—it was refused, the sheriff saying he would swear him! *Paul Casson* testified that he went with other whigs to vote, but they were deterred by seeing Charles Devland driven out of the voting-room, wounded, bloody, and without his hat, having been

beaten by the sheriff for offering a whig vote. There being a large body of men about the polls, threatening the few whigs who approached, the latter were obliged to leave, save in a few instances, without voting, so that the recorded vote of Plaquemine stood—for Clay, 37; for Polk, 1,607! The hundred majority in the state was 609; and if the vote of the Plaquemine precinct had been admitted to be as at the election of 1843, Mr. Clay would have carried the state.

In his remarks at Fannin Hall, on the result of the election Mr. Webster said:—

"I believe it to be an unquestionable fact, that masses of woe, having brought over emigrants from Europe, have, within thirty days of their arrival, seen these very persons carried up to the polls, and give their votes for the highest offices in the national and state governments. Such voters of course exercise no intelligence, and indeed, no will of their own. They can know nothing, either of the question at issue, or of the candidates proposed. They are mere instruments, used by unprincipled men—and made competent instruments only by the accumulation of vices upon vices. Now it seems to me impossible that every honest man, and every good citizen, every true lover of liberty and the constitution, every real friend of the country, would not desire to see an end put to these enormous abuses."

A reform, Mr. Webster added, was just as important to the rights of foreigners, regularly and fairly naturalized among us, as it is to the rights of native-born American citizens.

The total vote in the state of New York, in the president's election of 1844, was—for Clay, 232,473; for Polk, 237,588; for Hickey, 15,812; in all, 485,808. The majority for Polk over Clay was 5,115; the majority for Clay and Hickey over Polk 10,532. In the city of New York, and the counties of Erie and St. Lawrence, the most remarkable increase in the hundred vote was exhibited, and here the largest amount of fraud was perpetrated. For weeks before the election, the courts in the city of New York were crowded by the applicants for naturalization, sent there by the industrious hundred committees. One of the daily papers gave the following account of a scene presented the day before the election: "Yesterday noon, more than three hundred aliens had crowded about the doors of the common pleas in the city-hall, when, the room having been emptied through the windows and the doors reserved for fresh admissions, such a scene was witnessed as has rarely been exhibited in an American

court-room. The doors were violently thrust in, and the avalanche of human beings came onward with such impetuosity, as to smother everything in its course. Gests were torn off, hats were trodden under foot, men were crushed and jammed until almost lifeless, and, in two or three cases, half an hour elapsed before they had recovered themselves sufficiently to speak. Outside of the court-room, the crowd of foreigners was clamorous for admission, and it required the physical force of six officers to make an opening for one of the judges. The court-room was filled and emptied not less than four times during the day, and among the crowd were a number of Irish women." In the city of New York, notwithstanding an admitted defection from the freedom ranks to the whig, the freedom increase from 1840, was 6,361; in St. Lawrence county, it was 1,126, while the whig vote was diminished 131; in Erie, it was 1,300, while the whig increase was only 122.

All the convictions for fraud at the polls in this election were upon one political side, as was all the presumptive evidence of fraud. In the city of New York, the conspiracy for swindling the people bore the marks of deliberate trickery and systematic corruption. There is one plain fact which is a conclusive answer to those who, in their ignorance, might question the assertion that the freedomers are the party which alone avails itself of these infamous outrages on the elective franchise. There is a simple remedy for the evil—a registry law. In the cities of Massachusetts, this law is found to operate as an efficient check to all illegal voting; and in Massachusetts, we see none of that inordinate increase in the freedom vote, that was exhibited in other places, where no such restrictions are established. The facilities for illegal voting in the city of New York, are enormous. A single individual, by dint of hard-swearing and adroit management, can vote at all the voting-booths in the city, numbering upward of sixty! A well-drilled band of a hundred men, might easily cast upward of a thousand votes in one day! A registry law is the only sufficient means of preventing the evil. Compel every legal voter in every ward to have his name enrolled on a printed list of voters some days previous to the election, so that time may be given to the ward officers to compare the lists, and

satisfy themselves of their correctness, and you provide a safeguard against the profanation of the ballot-box. Which party has solicitously asked for such a safeguard, and which has repudiated it? Which party, after repeated exertions, procured a registry law, and which party, the moment they came into power, abrogated it with an indolent haste? The replies to these questions fix the stigma of fraud and corruption where it belongs. The locofoco party of New York, have ever shown themselves the reckless and inconsiderate opponents of a registry law. They denounce it as anti-democratic. And why? Because it takes the poor man from his work to go and register his name, and presupposes a certain amount of information on his part as to the requisitions of the law, for the absence of which information he ought not to be disfranchised. This is the sum and substance of locofoco argument against a registry law; as if it were undemocratic to secure the majority, by the only efficient safeguard, from being cheated, by requiring voters to go through the simple form of registering their names a fitting time before the opening of the polls! Although locofocoism may arrive at its conclusions by logic like this, it is obviously at war with sound democracy. The opposition which the party has always maintained in New York to a registry law, is proof presumptive that the charges of fraud brought by the whigs are not unfounded.

The system of betting on elections, always objectionable, invariably operates in favor of the least scrupulous party. The money wagered is forestalled and parcelled out among political hacks, whose pay depending on the successful result of their services, they are incited to exertions the most reckless to compass their ends. Let the whigs always beware of betting with their antagonists. "It is sought, and it can not come to good." The money foolishly lost in this way by whigs at the election of 1844, went to respite the services of thousands of these necessary politicians who are ever ready to attach themselves to the party which pays the best.

In the state of New York alone, there were cast spurious votes enough to defeat the election of Mr. Clay. In Louisiana, Georgia, and Pennsylvania, similar frauds were perpetrated on a smaller scale. Had the true voice of the majority of legal voters in

these states been loyal, the result would have been favorable to the whigs. But misrepresentation, brute force, and political immorality prevailed. The subject is an ungracious one to dwell upon. The history of the frauds of 1844 is a dark chapter in our annals. Party profligacy then exhausted its resources in the attainment of its ends.

We have already described with what renewed confidence and attachment the country turned to Mr. Clay after that defeat.

"I have been," he writes, the 25th of April, 1845, "in spite of unexpected dissidences, the object of honors and of compliments usually rendered only to those who are successful and victorious in the great enterprises of mankind. To say nothing of other demonstrations, the addresses and remonstrances which I have received since the election from every quarter, from collective bodies and individuals, and from both sexes, conveying sentiments and feelings of the warmest regard and strongest friendship, and the pouring the issue of the election, would fill a volume. I have been as much, if not more, affected by them than I was by my disappointment of personal interest of my own in the event of the contest."

X X I V.

THE WAR ON MONETARY-FINANCIAL POLICY.

The public acts of Mr. Clay exhibit unequivocally the principles by which he would have been guided and the policy he would have pursued in the event of his election. They are the principles and the policy to which the whig party owed, and continued to owe, all its cohesion and all its power. A triumph without these would not be a whig triumph. It might benefit a few office-seekers and professional politicians here and there, but it would be barren of all good to the people at large.

In the opinion of Mr. Clay, the policy of the country in regard to the protection of American industry seemed, previous to the election of 1844, to be rapidly acquiring a permanent and fixed character. Yielding to the joint influence of their own reflections and experience, the slave states were fast subscribing to the justice and expediency of a tariff for revenue, with discriminations for protection. At such an auspicious moment, beguiled by the misrepresentations which poshomed Mr. Polk as equally a

friend to the tariff with Mr. Clay, the great states of Pennsyl-
vania and New York, both friendly to the protective policy,
allowed it to be perilled and impaired by the ascendancy of a
hostile administration.

The distribution of the proceeds of the sales of the public
lands, was another measure which the triumph of the whigs would
have secured; and if the great national inheritance of those lands
is not wasted in a few years by graduation and other projects
of alienation, it must be through the adoption of a system kindred
to that which Mr. Clay has consistently advocated. Internal im-
provements, the removal of obstructions from our rivers and
harbors, the enlargement of all those facilities which contribute
to the comfort, the prosperity, and the dignity of mankind, would
have been embraced in that comprehensive and generous policy
which has always found a ready champion in Mr. Clay. Instead
of a barren and unproductive war, the pernicious consequences
of which will be felt to a remote prosperity, we should have had
the money of the nation expended upon objects which would
have been permanently productive and beneficial. In return for
all the money and blood lavished in the unrighteous war with
Mexico, what can we show? Territory, which we could have
acquired by peaceful means at a tenth part of the expenditure?
But what amount of unacquired territory, or of unspent spoils,
could require the desolation inflicted upon thousands of hearts by
the ravages of war?—

* Why praise we, prodigal of fame,
The eagle that sets the world on flame?
The future Muse *his* brow shall bind,
Whose godlike beauty spurs mankind,
For those whose bloody garlands crown,
The hero may breathe, the marble frown;
To *his*, through every rescued land,
Ten thousand living trophies stand.”

Had the true wish of the country prevailed, we should have had
no war with Mexico, no national debt, no repeal of the tariff of
1842, no sub-treasury, no imputation against us, by the united
voice of all the nations of the earth, of a spirit of aggression and
hazardous territorial aggrandizement.

At the commencement of the second session of the twenty eighth Congress (December, 1844), the acting president, Mr. Tyler, officially announced to the two houses that "a controlling majority of the people, and a large majority of the states," had declared in favor of the immediate annexation of Texas. "Instructions," he added, "have thus come to both branches of Congress from their respective constituents, in terms the most emphatic. It is the will of both the people and the states, that Texas shall be annexed to the Union, promptly and immediately." He remarked further: "The two governments having already agreed, through their respective organs, on the terms of annexation, I would recommend their adoption by Congress, in the form of a joint resolution, or not, to be perfected and made binding on the two countries, when adopted in like manner by the government of Texas."

The subject of annexation was soon taken up in Congress and discussed with great zeal on both sides; and, finally, after the public mind had been intensely agitated in regard to it, the recommendation of Mr. Tyler was adopted; and early in March, 1845, a joint resolution for annexing Texas was passed and approved. The proposition was accepted by Texas, through her Congress and a convention; and the annexation project was complete. The incidents which followed may be briefly summed up. Mr. Polk was no sooner seated in the presidential chair, than the consequences, which Mr. Clay had predicted, and Mexico had threatened, began to develop themselves. The Texas we annexed was "revolutionary Texas." There was, moreover, a disputed boundary between her and Mexico. In anticipation of the refusal of Mexico to receive our minister, Mr. Sillwell, the administration gave directions to General Taylor to take position on the west bank of the Rio Grande. Congress was in session at the time; but Mr. Polk did not see fit to consult Congress in regard to measures which must necessarily lead to a collision between the two countries. It was only by rumors and reports that our representatives knew that these measures were unaring until the war burst forth, and the work of blood commenced in earnest. The territory into which the president, of his own caprice, had thus ordered our troops, was one to

which neither Texas nor the United States had any just claim—a territory in possession of a nation with which we were at peace! In the language of the octogenarian Albert Gallatin, “the republic of Texas had not a shadow of right to the territory adjacent to the left bank of the lower portion of the Rio del Norte. Though she claimed, she never had actually exercised jurisdiction over any portion of it. The Mexicans were the sole inhabitants, and in actual possession of that district. Its forcible occupation, therefore, by the army of the United States, was, according to the acknowledged law of nations, as well as in fact, an act of open hostility and war. The resistance of the Mexicans to that invasion was legitimate; and therefore the war was unprovoked by them, and commenced by the United States.”

This story is lucidly told by Mr. Clay in his speech at Lexington, the 13th of November, 1847—in a speech to which we shall have occasion to allude again. In this he says:—

“How did we unhappily get involved in this war? It was predicted as the consequence of the annexation of Texas to the United States. If we had not Texas, we should have no war. The people were told that if that event happened, war would ensue. They were told that the war between Texas and Mexico had not been terminated by a treaty of peace; that Mexico still claimed Texas as a revolted province; and that, if we received Texas into our Union, we took along with her the war existing between her and Mexico. And the minister of Mexico formally announced to the government at Washington that his nation would consider the annexation of Texas to the United States as producing a state of war. But all this was denied by the partisans of annexation. They insisted that we should have no war, and even imputed to those who forebode it sinister motives for their groundless prediction.

“But, notwithstanding a state of virtual war necessarily resulted from the fact of annexation of one of the belligerents to the United States, actual hostilities might have been probably averted by prudence, moderation, and wise statesmanship. If General Taylor had been permitted to remain, where his own good sense prompted him to believe his strength to remain, at the point of Corpus Christi; and if a negotiation had been opened with Mexico, in a true spirit of unity and conciliation, war possibly might have been prevented. But, instead of this pacific and moderate course, while Mr. Nichol was heading his way to Mexico with his diplomatic credentials, General Taylor was ordered to transport his cannon and plant them in a hostile attitude opposite to Matamoros, on the east bank of the Rio Bravo, within the very disputed territory the adjustment of which was to be the object of Mr. Nichol’s mission. What else could have transpired but a state of war?

“Thus the war commenced; and the president, after having produced it, appealed to Congress. A bill was proposed to raise fifty thousand volunteers, and, in order to commit all who should vote for it, a preamble was inserted, falsely attributing the commencement of the war to the act of Mex-

etc. I have no doubt of the patriotic motives of those who, after struggling to dissent, the bill of that flagrant error, found themselves constrained to vote for it. But I must say that no earthly consideration would have ever tempted or prevailed on me to vote for a bill with a palpable falsehood stamped on its face. Almost idolizing truth as I do, I never, never would have voted for that bill."

Our last war with Great Britain Mr. Clay characterized as "a just war. Its great object, unassumed at the time, was free trade and sailors' rights against the intolerable and oppressive acts of British power on the ocean." He continued:—

How totally unjust is the present war! This is no war of defence, but an unnecessary and of offensive aggression. It is Mexico that is defending her firesides, her country, and her altars, not we. And how different also is the conduct of the whig party of the present day from that of the major part of the federal party during the war of 1812! Far from interposing any obstacles to the prosecution of the war, if the whigs in office are responsible at all, it is for having lent too ready a facility to it, without careful examination into the objects of the war. And, out of office, who have studied to the prosecution of the war with more order and authority than the whigs! Where hearts have been bled more freely than those of the whigs! Who have more assiduously nursed the beds of our husbands, brothers, and fathers, than whig parents, whig wives, and whig brothers, in this deadly and unprofitable strife!

The twenty-ninth Congress, the first which met under the administration of Mr. Polk, found the country prosperous and contented. Under the equitable tariff of 1842, domestic industry, in all its branches, received a wholesome measure of protection and encouragement. Our exports and imports exhibited neither an undue expansion nor a contraction indicative of a public financial decline. The revenue of the country was steady, ample, and reliable; and the public debt which Mr. Van Buren's administration had originated and fostered, was diminishing at the rate of millions annually. At length it seemed that the fluctuations to which the trade and industrial enterprise had been subjected, in consequence of European assaults upon the tariff, were at an end; and that commerce and manufactures were about to be established on a stable basis. The bitter hostility of the south to the protective system was fast dying; and in the states of Georgia and Virginia factories were going up and new resources developing themselves, as if to strengthen, by the ties of interest, the sympathies of different sections of the country upon a subject which had been rife with potentia of fraternal discord and dissension.

Undeterred by this spectacle of prosperity and harmony, the administration laid its profane hands upon the tariff of 1842. In its stead they gave us that of 1846. By this substitute, there is actual discrimination against portions of the labor of the United States, and in favor of that of foreign countries. Owing to extraordinary causes, among which the famine in Europe and the war with Mexico are prominent, we have not yet fully realized the legitimate consequences of this disastrous retrograde movement in the policy of the country.

In a letter bearing date the 5th of June, 1846, Mr. Clay explained the whole practical philosophy of the protective principle in the following luminous remarks:—

"The manufactures of Great Britain have reached a very high degree of perfection by means of her great capital, her improving skill and machinery, her cheap labor, and under a system of protection long, perseveringly, and rigorously enforced. She, moreover, possesses an immense advantage for the sale and distribution of her numerous manufactures, in her vast colonial possessions, from which those of foreign powers are either entirely excluded, or admitted on terms very unequal with her own. I am not therefore surprised, that, under these favorable circumstances, Great Britain should herself be desirous to adopt, and to prevent on other nations to adopt, the principle of free-trade. I shall be mistaken if any of the great nations of the continent should follow an example the practical effects of which will be so beneficial to her, and so injurious to them. The propriety of affording protection to domestic manufactures, its degree, and its duration, depend upon the national condition and the actual progress they have made. Each nation, of right, ought to judge for itself. I believe that history records no instance of any great and prosperous nation, which did not draw its essential supplies of food and clothing from within its own fields. If all nations were just commencing their career, or if their manufactures had all made equal progress, it might perhaps be wise to throw open the markets of the world to the freest and most unrestricted competition. But it is manifest that while the manufactures of some have acquired all the maturity and perfection of which they are susceptible, and those of others are yet in their infancy, struggling hard for existence, a free competition between them, must redound to the advantage of the experienced and skilled, and to the injury of those who are just beginning to naturalize and establish the arts.

"Without leaving particularly the operation of our earlier tariffs, adjusted both to the objects of revenue and protection, and coming down to the last, it seems to me that if there were ever a beneficial effect from any public measure fully demonstrated, it is, that the tariff of 1817, beyond all controversy, relieved both the government and the people of the United States from a state of pecuniary embarrassment bordering on bankruptcy. Entertaining these views and opinions, I should deeply regret any abandonment of the policy of protection, or any material alteration of the tariff of 1817, which has worked so well. If its operation had been even doubtful, would it not be wiser to await further developments from experience before we plunge into a new and unexplored theory? Surely any misfortune is as great to the business and pursuits of a people as that of perpetual change."

In a letter of September 10, 1816, written subsequent to the abolition of the tariff of '02, Mr. Clay remarked: "I believe the system of protection, notwithstanding the opposition which it has often encountered, has pushed the nation forward half a century in advance of where it would have been if the doctrines of free-trade had always prevailed in our public councils. Whether it will be pushed back again to the same or any other extent by the tariff recently established, which has sought to subvert the previous system, and to embody those doctrines, remains to be seen. I confess that I seriously apprehended great injury to the general business of the country, and ultimately to the revenue of the government."

The sub-treasury system, adopted August, 1816, has been found injurious to the public interests, unwisely, expensive, and liable to the grossest abuses. But the war and the tariff have diverted public attention from its practical operation. In his message of December, 1817, the president says: "The constitutional treasury created by this act went into operation on the first of January last. Under the system established by it, the public moneys have been collected, safely kept, and disbursed, by the direct agency of officers of the government, in gold and silver; and transfers of large amounts have been made from points of collection to points of disbursement, without loss to the treasury, or injury or inconvenience to the trade of the country." With treasury-notes below par, as they were about the time of the promulgation of these assertions, it may easily be seen why there should have been great facilities of transfer; but there have been repeated instances of great losses to the country in consequence of the defects and evils in the sub-treasury system. The

only class benefited by its operation are the officials and the favored financiers of the government. According to Mr. Polk's own confession, "in some of its details, not involving its general principles, the system is defective, and will require modification." We have thus glanced briefly at some of the measures of Mr. Polk's administration. To enumerate all that it has left undone, which it ought to have done, had the best interests of the country been consulted, would be but to recapitulate many of those objects of policy which the public career of Mr. Clay exhibits him as contending for.

The consequences of his non-election to the presidency have been—an unrighteous and demoralizing war; the abrogation of a tariff under which the country was thriving beyond all precedent; and the establishment of a sub-treasury: for all which, in the language of the "ancient mariner" of *Cadaveris*, we—

"Præsumere non debemus,
 And præsumere non potest deus."

"At the commencement of the war," says Mr. Hubbs, in his speech before the house, February 5th, 1848, "our finances were in the most prosperous condition, there being a surplus of ten millions of dollars in the treasury. And now, after the war had been prosecuted twenty months, we are on the verge of bankruptcy. We have consumed the ordinary revenue, exhausted the ten millions surplus, together with a loan on treasury-notes to the amount of thirty-three millions, and are now called upon for a grant of sixteen millions more, to supply the wants of the government during the present fiscal year; and this sum, I am persuaded, will be found too small by eight or ten millions. So that, when the war shall have continued twenty-five months, we shall have expended in addition to the ordinary revenue, some sixty-eight millions of dollars. This is but a part of the burdens brought upon us by this unnecessary war. Our conditions of war have been accumulating for years in our arsenals, some fifteen millions of dollars' worth of our public domain given, or to be given, in bounty to our soldiers, and bug-bits of pensions and private claims growing out of the war—these should be taken into the account, and will go far in increasing the sum. These are some of the pecuniary burdens which a weak and wicked administration have wantonly brought upon the people."

X X V.

PUBLIC TESTIMONIALS—THE IRISH FAMINE.

We learn now that neither the untoward issue of the presidential contest of 1844, nor the shades of Ashland, could remove Mr. Clay from before the public eye. Though not president of the United States, though dispensing no patronage, and holding no power of promotion, he yet exercised a moral sway over his countrymen which station could never give, nor the removal of it take away. Though not chief magistrate, he was still chief organizer of the republic; and though he could not bestow lucrative posts and profitable jobs, he could communicate what was far better—high convictions of public duty, generous views of public policy, and great truths, which his past acts and present opinions commended to every patriotic mind.

Attention has already been made to the testimony in his honor which the whig ladies of Virginia resolved upon soon after his death. Their proceedings were denounced by some loyal brethren as a "movement conceived in a spirit of rebellion to public sentiment." Rather were they a token of sympathy with the beatings of the public heart. These ladies determined to procure a statue of Henry Clay to adorn the metropolis of his native state, and liberally have they carried out their plan; employing a native artist, Mr. Joel T. Hart, to execute the work, and manifestly providing the means for its accomplishment. Mr. Hart, having modelled the statue, has gone to Europe to cut it in marble. A competent critic thus describes the model:—

"Mr. Hart has blended the idea and spirit of action with the actual presence and exhibition of repose: the latter always so essential to the highest and most agreeable effect of the sculptor's art. Mr. Clay is represented as holding the weight of his body principally upon his right foot, the left being thrown a little forward, and the toes turned out. The head is sufficiently erect to give dignity and spirit to the general bearing, without approaching the offensive and vulgar line of arrogance and self-reliance, and the face is turned slightly to the right, in the direction of the corresponding arm. The fingers of the left hand rest lightly and gracefully upon a pedestal, appropriately placed, while his right arm, just fallen from an implied position, is sufficiently extended from the chest to show, with the open and unworshipping palm, rather just flushed, instead of continuous and habitual repose.

The face is full of bely valuation, self-possession, and the signs of constant power.

"The costume is a simple citizen's dress, such as Mr. Clay usually wears. The coat, unbuttoned, is loose enough not to be stiff and formal; shoes are worn instead of boots, according to Mr. Clay's honorable custom; and the shirt-collar is turned down, not according to his custom, but as a matter of great convenience, if not necessity to the artist, in the exhibition of the neck and throat."

During his visit to Washington in the winter of 1848, an excellent full-length likeness of Mr. Clay was taken by Chester Harding, of Massachusetts. It was procured by the voluntary subscription of the people of Washington, in testimony of their appreciation of the noble qualities and public services of one who had spent so long a portion of his life in their midst, during which he had so completely won their esteem and affection.

Few public men ever had such troops of devoted friends as Mr. Clay. It is not by professions only that their devotion is manifested. In the spring of 1845, he met with a substantial, and, at the same time, a most touching and signal proof of the estimation in which he is held. A number of friends, residing in the eastern states, having learned indirectly that a considerable portion of Mr. Clay's entire property was about to be swept away in pay the notes of one of his family connections, on which he was underwriter, quickly raised the sum of fifty thousand dollars, and paid the notes at the bank in which they were deposited. The first intimation which he had of the movement was the reception of his cancelled obligation; and not a name was disclosed of the individuals who had had any agency in the transaction.

The artisans and mechanics of the country have, in instances too numerous to mention, shown their sense of the efficient support which Mr. Clay has always rendered to the cause of American industry and skill. In the autumn of 1845, the working gold and silver artificers of the city of New York presented him a silver vase three feet high, neatly and elaborately chased, and bearing a complimentary inscription. Its value was a thousand dollars. Mr. Clay has more reason than people are generally aware of to feel a sympathy with the mechanic classes. His only surviving full brother was once a very skilled cabinet-maker, and several specimens of his handiwork remain among the furniture at Ashland.

In November, 1846, a magnificent vase was presented to Mr Clay by the ladies of Tennessee. His address upon the occasion of receiving the donation contains so much of public interest, that we quote it entire :

"**DR. M'KAY:**—It is no ordinary occurrence, nor any common mission, that honors me by your presence. To be deputed, as you have been, by a large circle of Tennessee ladies, to bear the flattering sentiment toward me which you have just so eloquently expressed, and to deliver to me the precious testimonial of their inestimable respect and regard which you have brought, is a proud incident in my life, ever to be remembered with feelings of profound gratitude and delight.

"My obligation to these ladies is not the less, for the high opinion of me which they do me the honor to entertain, because I feel entirely conscious that I owe it more to their generous partiality than to any merits I possess, or to the value of any public services which I have ever been able to render.

"If, indeed, their kind wishes in relation to the issue of the late presidential election had been gratified, I have no doubt that we should have avoided some of those public measures, so pregnant with the evils to our country, to which you have adverted. We should have prevented, undisturbed, and without hazard, peace with all the world, have had no unhappy war with a neighboring sister-republic, and, consequently, no deplorable waste of human life, of which that which has been sacrificed or impaired in an insular climate, is far greater and more lamentable than what has been lost in the glorious achievements of a brave army, commanded by a skilled and gallant general.

"We should have saved the millions of treasure which that unnecessary war has and will cost—an immense amount—sufficient to improve every useful harbor on the lakes, on the ocean, on the gulf of Mexico, and in the interior, and to remove obstructions to navigation in all the great rivers in the United States.

"We should not have subverted a patriotic system of domestic protection, fostering the industry of our own people and the interests of our own country, the great benefits which have been practically demonstrated by experience, for the vicinity pronounced an alien policy of free trade, fostering the industry of foreign people and the interests of foreign countries, which has brought in distress and ruin to every nation that has had the temerity to try it. The beneficial tariff of 1817, which raised both the people and the government of the United States out of a condition of distress and embarrassment, bordering on bankruptcy, to a state of high financial and general prosperity, would now be standing unimpaired, in the statute book, instead of the fatal tariff of 1842, whose calamitous effects will, I apprehend, never or later, be certainly realized.

"All this, and more of what has since occurred in the public councils, was foretold prior to that election. It was desired, deliberated, or understood; and we may realize the unfortunate consequences. But both philosophy and patriotism enjoin that we should not indulge in maxims reports as to the immediate past. As a part of history in which it is embodied, we may derive from it instructive lessons for our future guidance, and we ought to redouble our exertions to prevent their being unprofitably lost.

"I receive, with the greatest pleasure, the splendid and magnificent vase of silver which the ladies of Tennessee, whom you represent, have changed

you to present to me. Wrought by American artists, endorsed by my fair countrywomen, and brought to me by an ever-faithful, and, as distinguished friend, it comes with a triple title to my grateful acceptance. I request you to convey to those ladies respectful and cordial assurances of my warm and heartfelt thanks and acknowledgments. Tell them I will carefully preserve, during life, and transmit to my descendants, an unfeeling recollection of their elegant and generous manifestations of attachment and confidence. And tell them, also, that my fervent prayers shall be offered up for their happiness and prosperity, and shall be united with those that they may live to behold our country emerged from the dark clouds which encompass it, and once more, as in better times, standing out, a bright and cheering example, the moral and political model and guide, the hope, and the admiration, of the nations of the earth.

"I should entirely fail, Dr. McSwain, on this interesting occasion, to give substance to my feelings, if I did not eagerly wish it to express to you, my good friend, my great obligations for the faithful and unintercepted friendship which, in prosperous and adverse fortune, and amid all the vicissitudes of my chequered life, you have constantly, zealously, and faithfully displayed. May you yet long live, in health, happiness, and prosperity, and enjoy the richest blessings of a merciful and beautiful Providence."

Engaged in legal and agricultural pursuits, receiving continued testimonials of the esteem and gratitude of his countrymen, and making occasional excursions, Mr. Clay passed the greater portion of the two years which succeeded the contest of 1844. A letter, which bears the date of Lexington, May 25, 1845, gives a pleasing picture of the genial simplicity and hospitality to be found at Ashland:—

"I have at last realized one of my dearest wishes—that of seeing Mr. Clay at Ashland. I called on him with a friend, this morning, but he was absent on his farm, and Charles, his freed slave, told us he would not be at home till afternoon; so we returned to Lexington, and, at five, P. M., retraced our steps to Ashland. Mr. Clay had returned, and meeting us at the door, took hold of our hands before I could even present a letter of introduction, and made us welcome to his house. His manners completely overcame all the ceremonies of speech I had prepared. We were soon perfectly at home, as every one must be with Henry Clay, and, in a half-hour's time, we had talked about the various sections of the country I had visited the past year, Mr. Clay occasionally giving us incidents and recollections of his own life; and I felt as though I had known him personally for years.

"Mr. Clay has lived at Ashland forty years. The place here the name when he came to it, as he says, probably on account of the ash timber, with which it abounds; and he has made it the most delightful retreat in all the west. The estate is about six hundred acres here, all under the highest cultivation, except some two hundred acres of park, which is entirely cleared of underbrush and small trees, and is, to use the words of Lord Marjoth, who stayed at Ashland nearly a week, the nearest approach to an English park of any in this country. It serves also for a noble pasture, and here I saw some of Mr. Clay's fine horses and Durham cattle. He is said to have some of the finest stock in all Kentucky, which is to say, the finest in America; and, if I am able to judge, I confirm that report. The larger part of

his farm is devoted to wheat, rye, hemp, &c., and his crops look most splendidly. He has also paid great attention to ornamenting his lands with beautiful shade trees, shrubs, flowers, and fruit orchards. From the road, which passes his place on the northwest side, a carriage road leads up to the house, lined with locust, spruce, cedar, and other rare trees, and the rose, jessamine, and ivy, were clambering about them, and peeping through the grass and the hedges like so many tin-glazing babies, as we discovered.

Ashland is about a mile from Lexington, easterly, on the road leading out of Main street, and is one of the loveliest situations around the delightful town. Mr. Clay's mansion is nearly hidden from the road by the trees surrounding it, and is so quiet and secluded, save to the throng of pilgrims continually passing up there to greet its name, that you feel as if you were in the wilderness. Some parts of it are now undergoing repairs, and Mr. Clay took me about to see his contemplated improvements. The houses at his place are all very neat, and surrounded by better gardens, and more flowers and shrubbery, than one half the farm-houses in the country, and all the inmates are as happy as human beings can be. 'Charles,' of whom so much has been said, is a kind of second master of the household of Mr. Clay, and enjoys the greatest trust and confidence. To him are the keys of the wine-cellar he given without fear, and on all occasions, when help was needed, Mr. Clay would call for Charles. It was Charles who brought us wine, Charles was at the door, at the carriage, at the gate, everywhere in fact, and as polite and civil as a man asking for office. He is a fine looking, middle-aged man, about thirty years old, and I do not believe he could be drawn from Mr. Clay except by absolute necessity, except in his devotion to him. As I said, Mr. Clay has lived at Ashland forty years. He said he had seen Cincinnati grow from a small village to its present size, and had witnessed the growth of much of the west at the same time. Besides the six hundred acres, he has about two hundred more at a distance, in the rear of Ashland, and these two lots form his estate.

As it was nearly night when we called on Mr. Clay, we had hardly time to see things properly, and he invited me to come up again. I went up the day following, in company with the 'Gives Bell Ringers,' who were also on a visit to Ashland. Mr. Clay received the band and myself warmly at the door, and, after a few civilities, put on his white hat and walked through the grounds with us, talking freely and familiarly to all. He is the most easy and affable man I have ever seen. He picked a rose for each of our wives I have most carefully preserved, and shall give it to my lady here, when I find one, and she may consider it a prize! He told me, while we were walking, about Lord Mansfield's early rising at Ashland, and said that his lordship used to go on foot a mile down to the post-office, and bring up the mail before he went out of bed. Of Mansfield, Mr. Clay spoke in the highest terms.

After an hour spent in the park and garden, the bell-ringers proposed giving Mr. Clay and his family a specimen of their music, and we of course adjourned to the house. Here, for the first time, I saw Mrs. Clay, and a son, Mr. John Clay. Mr. Clay was expecting the bell-ringers, and had invited for the occasion a few friends. They performed before him to his very great delight. On this occasion, Mr. Clay sent for some of his home-made wine-pressed at Ashland from the 'Strawberry-steps.' It was most delicious; something like sparkling buck in flavor, but of a richer taste. After performing several pieces in the house, the bell-ringers went out into the park, and sang the choruses on a grove of twelve fells, their partners remaining in the house. I never heard anything so beautiful as the sound of the bells during that chime. Mr. Clay said he would be glad to have a chapel in

the park, if he could always hear such voices from it. It was to me a *vera brevis*.

"On Sunday, the day following my last visit to Ashland, I could not resist the inclination to see once more a place to me so very hallowed. On my way up I passed Mr. Clay, who, with his wife, had started for church. 'Alas!' thought I, as I looked upon his high, white hair, for the last time, 'can this be the gambler, sabbath-breaker, blasphemer; all these vile characters combined, which have been revealed to him, and cried aloud by men whose lips were too foul to speak so great a name as he will bear when they and their memories are less than yours?' One hour with Mr. Clay at home, through life on all these execrable lies, and he who enjoys that hour says in his heart, 'That is the simplest and noblest man I ever looked upon.'"

Mr. Clay passed a good part of the winter and spring of 1846 in New Orleans, whither he had been called by professional business. It would be but a repetition of past scenes to describe with what a warmth of welcome he was received. He took occasion, on his departure, to visit St. Louis, where he arrived on the 4th of April, and met with a most enthusiastic reception. He reached his residence at Ashland, on the 22d of that month, with his health much benefited by the travel and relaxation he had enjoyed.

An attempt was made, the succeeding winter, to induce Mr. Clay to accept an election to the United States senate, to fill the vacancy occasioned by the retirement of Mr. Morehead, whose term was to expire the next 4th of March; but Mr. Clay peremptorily declined the honor. He was again in New Orleans the succeeding winter. He was present at the celebration of the anniversary of the landing of the pilgrims, the 22d of December; and is reported by one of the newspapers of the day to have remarked, on being called upon to reply to a complimentary toast:—

"Although leading a life of retirement, I am not wholly unacquainted of the proceedings relating to the condition, welfare, and prospects, of our country. And when I was around me to-night, General Brooke and other old friends, I felt half inclined to ask for some mark or token in the army, in which I might serve, to stamp the wrongs done to my country. I have thought that I might yet be able to capture or slay a Mexican. I shall not be able to do so, however, this year, but hope that success will still crown our gallant arms, and the war terminate in an honorable peace."

These remarks have been the subject of some ridiculously severe misapprehensions. If they are correctly reported—which is very doubtful—who that knows Mr. Clay, does not recognise the half-sarcastic, ironical spirit, in which they were intended?

At the social table, not dreaming, probably, that there were "chiefs" about him "takin' notes," a ludicrous image starts into his mind, and he gives it utterance. The idea that he would be so far inflated with martial ardor, and catch the warlike infection, as to shoulder a musket, presents itself to his mind and drops from his lips in a purely jocular, conversational tone. But it is at once taken up and misrepresented by his opponents.

While in New Orleans, early in 1817, the wail of famishing Ireland fell on the ears of Mr. Clay, and at once aroused the warmest sympathies of his heart. Being invited to attend a meeting held in aid of the sufferers, he went; and, being loudly called for by those present, addressed them as follows:

"MR. PRESIDENT AND FRIENDS—GENTLEMEN:

"I hesitated to accept the invitation which has brought me here. Being a mere sojourner, and not a member of this community, I doubted the propriety of my presence and participation in the proceedings of this meeting, and apprehended that my notice might be misunderstood. But on consulting my pillow, and considering that the humanity of the object of this assembly is banished by no latitude nor locality, and ought to be co-extensive with the whole human family—it seemed to me that all considerations of fastidious delicacy and dignity should be waived and merged into a generous and ungenerous effort to contribute to the relief of the suffering, which have excited our feelings. If I should be mis-conceived or misrepresented, the experience of a long life has taught me that the best response to minute censure and mis-representation, is the fearless and faithful discharge of duty, in all the conditions of life in which we may be placed; and the answer to tradition and calumny, is consistent rectitude and the approbation of such one's heart.

"Mr. President—If we were to hear that large numbers of the inhabitants of Asia, or Africa, or Australia, or the remotest part of the globe, were daily dying with hunger and famine—no matter what their color, what their religion, or what their civilization—we should deeply lament their condition, and be irresistibly prompted, if possible, to mitigate their sufferings. But it is not the distresses of any such distant regions that have arrested us together on this occasion. The appalling and heart-rending afflictions of Ireland and Irishmen, form the object of our present co-operation. That Ireland, which has been in all the difficulties of our national existence our friend, and has ever extended to us her warmest sympathy—those Irishmen, who, in every war in which we have been engaged, on every battle-field, from Quebec to Monterey, have stood by us, shoulder to shoulder, and shared in all the perils and fatigues of the conflict.

"The imploring appeal comes to us from the Irish father, which is so identified with our own as to be almost part and parcel of it. It is a plea of our bone and flesh of our flesh. Nor is it any ordinary case of human misery, nor a few isolated cases of death by starvation, that we are called upon to consider. Famine is stalking abroad throughout Ireland, whole towns, counties—even the human beings, of every age and of both sexes, at this very moment, are starving or in danger of starving to death for bread. Of all the forms of dissolution of human life, the pauper and agony of that

which proceeds from famine are the most dreadful. If one dies fighting gloriously for his country, he is cheered in his expiring moments by the patriotic strains of his country. He knows that his surviving relatives and friends, while lamenting his loss, will be gratified and honored by his devotion to his country. Poets, painters, sculptors, historians—will record his deeds of valor and perpetuate his renown. If he dies by the sudden explosion of the barrels of a cannon, or by a storm at sea, death is quiet and easy, and soon performs his mission. A few piercing shrieks are uttered, he sinks beneath the surface, and all is still and silent. But a death by starvation comes slow, lingering, and excruciating. From day to day, the wretched victim feels his flesh decaying, his speech sinking, his friends falling around him, and he finally expires in horrible agony.

"Behold the wretched Irish mother—with hag-ridden looks and streaming eyes—her famished children clinging to her tattered garments, and gazing piteously in her face, begging for food! And see the distracted husband-father, with pallid cheeks, standing by, horror and despair depicted in his countenance—struggled with the reflection that he can afford no succor or relief to the dearest objects of his heart, about to be snatched for ever from him by the most cruel of all deaths.

"This is no fancy picture; but, if we are to credit the terrible accounts which reach us from that theatre of misery and wretchedness, is one of daily occurrence. Indeed, no imagination can conceive—no tongue express—no pencil paint—the horrors of the scenes which are there daily exhibited. Ireland, in respect to food, is differently situated from all the countries of the world. Asia has her abundant supply of rice; Africa, her dates, yams, and rice; Europe, her bread of wheat, rye, and oats; America, a double resource in the small grains, and a never-failing and abundant supply of Indian corn—that great supporter of animal life, for which we are not half grateful enough to a bountiful and merciful Providence. But the staple food of large parts of your island is the potato, and when it fails, pinching want and famine follow. It is among the inscrutable dispensations of Providence, that the crop has been lighted three last two years; and hence the privation of food, and this appeal to the sympathy of American hearts.

"Shall it be in vain? Shall starving Ireland—the young and the old—dying women and children—stretch out their hands to us for bread, and find no relief? Will not this great city, the world's store-house, of an exhaustless supply of all kinds of food, bestow to its overflowing warehouses by the Father of Waters, act on this occasion in a manner worthy of its high destiny, and obey the noble impulses of the generous hearts of its blessed inhabitants? We are surrounded, by the common Savior of Ireland and of us, to love one another as ourselves; and on this, together with our higher obligation, from all the best and purest of our holy religion. We know, that of all the forces of humanity and benevolence, none is more acceptable, in the sight of God, than the practice of charity. Let us demonstrate our love, our duty, and our gratitude to him, by a liberal contribution to the relief of his suffering Irish children.

"I, therefore, as an ordinary citizen has brought us together. This is no political gathering. If it had been, you would not have seen me here. I have not come to make a speech. When the heart is full, and agitated by its own feeling emotions, the paralyzed tongue finds utterance difficult. It is not formal eloquence, nor glibbed words, that Ireland needs—but substantial food. Let us rise to the magnitude of the duty which is before us, and by a generous supply from the magnitude of our means, witness the goodness and cordiality of our sympathy and remembrance."

At the conclusion of this speech, one loud and unanimous shout of approval was raised, in which officers and audience participated. The effect of the speech is well told in a letter addressed to Mr. Clay by two Irishmen of New York, and accompanied with an elegant gift of cutlery. They say:—

"It was the good fortune of one of us, to hear your speech in behalf of the fast-fading millions of our native land, when in New York we were business during that dreadful winter of 1846 '47; it has since been the fortune of the other to hear and to witness in Ireland, and elsewhere in Europe, the admiration and gratitude which that speech has excited; it is the pleasing duty of both to thank God that your thrilling appeal to the best feelings of our common humanity was the means, by stimulating the energies of ever-blessed charity among the American people, of saving thousands of our countrymen from a death of agony and horror. It must be an abiding joy to your generous heart, to know that American benevolence is devoutly blessed in parishes and cabins, where even your name, illustrious as it is, had hardly been heard before the famine; and that thousands have been impelled, by their deliverance from the worst effects of that dire calamity, to invoke blessings on the head of HENRY CLAY.

"You have often, and most appropriately, received at the hands of your countrymen by birth, fitting acknowledgments of your services, in the shape of rare products of their unsurpassed mechanical ingenuity and skill. Our humble offering is the work of foreign artisans, in grateful acknowledgment of your powerful aid to an oppressed and suffering race on the other side of the Atlantic. We trust it may not, on that account, be unacceptable, but that, among your many tokens of American esteem and thankfulness, a single remembrance of the tears of gratitude which, at the mention of your name, have bedewed the cheek of suffering Ireland may not be unseasonable."

"I must have had a heart colder than stone," says Mr. Clay in reply, "if I had been capable of listening to the sad account of Irish distress without the deepest emotions. My regret was, that I could do little or nothing to mitigate the sufferings of a generous and gallant people. Nor did my own countrymen, I am fully persuaded, require any stimulus from me, to prompt them to extend all practicable succors, to those with whom we were intimately connected by so many jangling ties."

XXVI.

WAR IN MEXICO—DEATH OF HENRY CLAY, JR.

THE war with Mexico was, in its results, as honorable to the arms of the United States, as, in its origin, it was disgraceful to the administrations of Messrs. Tyler and Polk. The series of brilliant successes achieved under Generals Taylor and Scott—the rapidly succeeding victories of Palo Alto, Resaca de la Palma, Monterrey, Buena Vista, Cerro Gordo, Churubusco, and Chapultepec—are unparalleled in the history of modern warfare, in the numerical inferiority of the forces by which vast numbers were overcome.

It was with heavy forebodings that Mr. Clay left New Orleans. Our gallant army under Taylor, was known to be in a situation of great peril, surrounded by overwhelming numbers of the enemy and depending solely upon the personal courage of the officers and men, united to the intrepidity and sagacity of their revered general, for its safety. Mr. Clay's son Henry, had quitted the practice of the law, and hastened to join the standards of his country in Mexico, early in the contest, and was now with Taylor at Buena Vista. This generous-spirited young man was born in 1811. Having graduated with high honors at West Point academy, he had studied law, married, travelled a while in Europe, and returned to Kentucky, to serve his country on the battle-field when the occasion invited.

As Mr. Clay was leaving Frankfort for Ashland, he received the melancholy intelligence of the death of his son. The paper containing the news was handed to him by a friend, and he carefully read it until he came to the sad announcement. Then he trembled like an aspen, but uttered no word, save a command to the driver to move on. " Amid all the clustering honors of his elevated career," says a writer of the day, " Mr. Clay has been a man of sorrows. The affections of his home have been great as his own heart, and have yearned over his children with an intensity of love which only noble natures know. But—

* Affliction seemed unnumbered of his parts?

death has been lost about his hearth-stone; and one by one by his own many of those who so proudly shined from a father or grandfathers, taken from him. Their heroisms of his devoted upon the survivors; and his son, who has been in arms and shared his virtues, was the pride and glory of his honored old age. But his country demanded that son. The struggle of the father's heart must have been a mighty one; but he devoted him, as he had devoted his own heroic life, to his country. The heroism of Colonel Clay, rendered it certain that his father would be brilliant, but probable that it would also be hard. Mr. Clay seemed to feel a parental presentiment that such would be the fact. We rejoice that the unhappy feeling found him at home and among his kindred, though all the land is his home, and every heart his kindred, where his tears could mingle with those of the stricken partner of his affliction. We dare not, even in imagination, intrude upon the scene unobserved by sorrow; yet we know enough of the heroic man to believe that, even in his hour of desolation, the pride of the patriot and the parent may afford some solace, and that the sentiment of *Clay's* *over his death* *has* *will* *rise* *from* *his* *heart* . . .

"The nation's!"

Thanks to the gods! my son has done his duty.

How beautiful to death when called to virtue!

Who would not be that youth? What pity is it

That we can die but never be seen in our country!"

The following letter from General Taylor, communicating the affecting intelligence to Mr. Clay, is so honorable to the writer as it is to the departed hero:—

"HARRISBURG, ARK., 10th FEBRUARY, 1847.
"ANNA BERRY, BERRY, March 8, 1847."

"MY DEAR SIR: You will no doubt have received, before this can reach you, the deeply distressing intelligence of the death of your son in the battle of Buena Vista. It is with no wish of intruding upon the sanctity of parental sorrow, and with no hope of administering any consolation to your wounded heart, that I have taken the liberty of addressing you these few lines; but I have felt it a duty which I owe to the memory of the distinguished dead, to pay a willing tribute to his many excellent qualities, and while my feelings are still fresh, to express the desolation which his untimely loss, and that of other kindred spirits, have occasioned.

"I had but a casual acquaintance with your son, until he became known to a number of my military family, and I can truly say, that no one ever won a more ready upon my regard, or established a more lasting claim to

my request and esteem. Manly and honorable in every impulse, with no feeling but for the honor of the service and of the country, he gave every assurance that in the hour of need, I could lean with confidence upon his support. Now was I disappointed. Under the guidance of himself and the honored McKee, gallantly did the sons of Kentucky, in the thickest of the strife, uphold the honor of the state and the country.

"A grateful people will do justice to the memory of those who fell on that eventful day. But I may be permitted to express the bereavement which I feel in the loss of valued friends. To your son, I felt bound by the strongest ties of private regard, and when I miss his familiar face and those of McKee and Hardin, I can say with truth that I had no consolation in our success.

"With the expression of my deepest and most heartfelt sympathies for your irreparable loss, I remain your friend,
Z. TAYLOR.

"Hon. HENRY CLAY, New Orleans, La."

General Taylor has always been forward to appreciate and recognize the eminent public services and claims of Mr. Clay. In a letter to Joseph R. Ingersoll, dated August 3, 1847, he writes: "At the last presidential contest, it was well-known to all with whom I mixed, whigs and democrats—for I had no reservations in the matter—that I was decidedly in favor of Mr. Clay's election; and I would now prefer seeing him in that office to any individual in the Union." This is sufficiently emphatic. Lasting honor to the tried and honorable soldier, who was thus yield the palm to civic worth and qualifications!

"My life has been full of domestic afflictions, but this last is one of the severest among them," wrote Mr. Clay to a friend soon after the news of the fall of his son. The morning 8th of April, in a letter to a committee of the whigs of Auburn, he alluded to the Mexican war in the following terms:—

"You express your regret on account of the unexpected issue of the last presidential election. I ought to feel none for myself personally. Besides being relieved from a vast responsibility, it furnished the occasion of the exhibition of testimonials, and the outpouring of affection from the hearts of my friends and countrymen, of which I had no previous conception that I ever could be the honored object. Their spontaneous and disinterested manifestations are worth far more than the presidency itself. For our common country, I do regret the issue of the contest. Had it been otherwise, we should have preserved the protective policy, under which we had made such rapid and encouraging advances; the march of improvement in our rivers and the harbors, would not have been arrested; and, above all, we should have avoided this unnecessary war of aggression with a neighbor, seen its phases by interval discussions. The brilliant achievements, and the glorious laurels acquired, during its prosecution, gratifying as they are to our national pride and character, can never compensate for the exceptional manner in which it was begun, the lives and patriotic lives which have been sacrificed, and the fearful issues which, I tremble in contemplating, may grow out of its termination. But I have not now a

heart to dwell on this painful theme. I turn from it with hope and diffident submission to Him whose mechanical wise but inevitable disposition has permitted this wretched calamity to visit our beloved country."

An interesting event transpired at Ashland, during the summer of 1847. It can best be told in the language of an eyewitness, under date of June 25th:—

"A notice was very generally circulated through the public papers of the country, some two or three years ago, to the effect that Mr. Clay had become a member of the protestant episcopal church. The wish was doubtless father to the thought, so Mr. Clay had not at that time taken any such step. He has always been known to have the highest respect for the institutions of Christianity, and to have been a decided believer in the divine authenticity of the Christian religion. His amiable and now deeply-afflicted wife having, for many years, been an humble follower of his blessed Author. When the weather permitted it, being as he does a mile and a half from church, Mr. Clay has always been a regular attendant on its services; and for some three years past, having had more leisure from public duty, his attention had entirely been turned to the high considerations connected with things spiritual and eternal—his life having been devoted so intensely to the good of others, as scarcely, until this period of retirement, to leave him an opportunity to think of himself. But he has at length recognized his great powers to God. He was baptized in the Little pool at Ashland, on Tuesday, the 23d instant, together with one of his daughters-in-law (the other being already a member of the church) and her four children, by the Rev. Edward F. Berkeley, rector of Christ church, Lexington. The baptism was administered privately, for the reason that the congregation of Christ church are replacing their old church with a new edifice, now in rapid progress of erection, and are not suitably situated for the most solemn and decent administration of this rite in public.

"When the minister entered the room, on this deeply solemn and interesting occasion, the small assembly, consisting of the immediate family, a few family connections, and the clergyman's wife, was up. In the middle of the room stood a large round-table, on which was placed, filled with water, the magnificent cut-glass vase presented to Mr. Clay by some gentlemen of Pittsburg. On one side of the room hung the large picture of the family of Warrington, himself an episcopalian by birth, by education, and a devout communicant of the church; and immediately opposite, on a side-table, stood the bust of the lamented Harrison, with a chaplet of withered flowers hung upon his head, who was to have been confirmed in the church the day both after he died. His witnesses of such a scene. Around the room were suspended a number of family pictures, and among them the portrait of a beloved daughter, who died some years ago, in the triumphs of that faith which her noble father was near about to embrace; and the picture of the late lost son, who fell at the battle of Buena Vista. Could these silent lookers-on at the scene about transpiring, have spoken from the marble and the canvas, they would heartily have approved the act which dedicated the great man to God. There was a deep emotion pervading that small assembly, at the crisis, under such circumstances, of the solemn ordination of the church."

Early in the ensuing August, Mr. Clay left Kentucky to try the benefit of sea-bathing at Cape May. On the 14th of that month

he reached Philadelphia, having been greeted at every stopping-place on his route, with the sympathizing respects and enthusiastic cheers of the people. At Philadelphia, he became the guest of Mr. Henry White. An immense multitude soon assembled before the house, anxious to catch sight of the venerated statesman. When he appeared on the balcony, the manifestations of enthusiasm and of welcome were indescribable; every man of the vast crowd seemed anxious to extend a personal token of admiration and attachment. When silence was restored Mr. Clay remarked that he had come to the city without any intention—certainly without any desire—of causing such a manifestation. He had left his home for the purpose of escaping from affliction and perpetually recurring feelings; in the hope of finding among the friends whom he might meet during his travels, a portion of consolation for the heaviest affliction Providence had ever visited upon him: but under whatever circumstances he might have come, he would be void of gratitude, he would be destitute of all the finer feelings of nature, if he failed in thankfulness for the kindness so manifested. The city of Philadelphia, he was proud to say, had, during all the trials, difficulties, and vicissitudes of his chequered career, been his warm and steadfast friend.

Had it even the occasion were not well, the feelings under which he labored would prevent him from seizing upon it for the purpose of making a set speech; and in parting, he would only add the expression of a wish—as the day which ushered in the sabbath, that all men should respect, was nearly spent—that they would unite with him in the sentiment, that in our country, whether it is directed in its public measures by a good government or a bad one—whether it is in prosperity or adversity—in peace or at war—we should always give our hearts, our hands, and our hopes. Mr. Clay then bade his fellow-citizens farewell, and retired amid the stormy plaudits and affectionate “good-nights” of the dispensing multitude.

At Cape May, Mr. Clay was the object of renewed testimonials of public love and regard. The country people for miles around crowded to see him, while all the visitors to the island vied with each other in demonstrations of honor and sympathy. On the afternoon of the 18th, he experienced a somewhat serious

escape from serious injury. Riding out in the hench in company with a young lady from Kentucky and two of his friends, in Mr. Hurlaskoy's coach, drawn by four spirited horses—on their return, the driver, in curbing one of the leaders rather suddenly, caused him to commence kicking. Both leaders then kicked the horses behind them, and these jumped and reared until they broke the shaft, and ran the carriage into the fence. Just before it struck, Mr. Clay seized the young lady in his arms, opened the door, and leaped out of the carriage unhurt, before the driver or any of the bystanders could render assistance. The carriage rolled on, struck the fence, and was considerably damaged.

While sojourning at this pleasant watering-place, delegates from New York and New Haven, made a trip to Cape May purposely to invite him to visit their cities. The scene of their interview with him, was one of the most interesting and animating that had been experienced even in the career of one who had so long been the subject of public honors the most grateful and estimable. It took place in the great hall of the Mansion house, which was crowded on the occasion with spectators, many of whom were ladies. After appropriate music from a good band, Mr. Clay made his appearance, and Mr. Nicholas Dean, who had been commissioned as their spokesman by the New York delegation, addressed him as follows:

"Through the unexpected kindness of friends, I am the honored instrument of expressing to you, sir, belated, sentiments which are common to us all. You are surrounded by a few of your fellow-citizens from the city of New York—and the result of political association, and the stirring of party organization—who had individually learned from the public press that you were sojourning in their vicinity, and who, by our simultaneous inquiries, thus themselves heard a soft voice of communication, and hastened here to grasp you by the hand, and offer to you the tribute of their warm salutations. [Cheers and other manifestations of applause.]

"But, sir, we have another and more important duty to perform; we come in the name of four hundred thousand persons, to ask you once again to visit our metropolis. [Applause.] Once again to permit us, within the circle of our own corporate limits, to express to you our deep appreciation of the eminent services which you, through a long series of years, have rendered, not to us only, but to our whole country; [Cheers of applause.] once again to furnish us the opportunity of expressing to you our undiminished confidence and esteem, the love, the reverence with which we regard you. [Continued applause.]

"There, sir, are no ordinary sentiments, nor are they felt in any ordinary degree. They are the warm and hearty expressions of a generous and grateful spirit; suffer them not to be chilled by defeated hope, or in any

degrees expressed by present disappointment. Permit us, we pray you, sir to announce to our friends with the speed of lightning that [with emphasis] Henry Clay will come to them. [Applause loud and long.]

"A hundred thousand tongues are waiting to spread the glad intelligence, and the great aggregate heart of our entire city is throbbing to bid you welcome, thrice welcome, to its hospitality." [Cheers, shouts, cheers.]

During the delivery of this address, Mr. Clay seemed gratefully touched, and after a pause of a few moments, he replied in the following language:—

expense would well be paid. [Transcending applause.] No, I am not insensible to these tokens of public affection and regard. I am thankful for them all. [Cheers.] To you, gentlemen, of the committee of New York, who, in behalf of four hundred thousand individuals whom you represent, have taken so much trouble, I am deeply thankful for this manifestation of your regard, but I must reluctantly decline the honor of your invitation. In the cities of Trenton, New Haven, and Philadelphia, I must beg [here Mr. Clay addressed the committee from the other place] of you, to excuse me; and trust in their affection to do so; for if I do not place myself in the affections of my countrymen, whether should I go, and where should I feel by the wide ocean, without a company, and without a guide. [Very great applause.] I trust beg of you, gentlemen of all these committees, to receive your steps, cheered and sustained with my warmest feelings of gratitude. The look, changed with warm thanks from me, and tell my friends that nothing but the circumstances in which I am placed, nothing else (for we may as well mingle a laugh with our tears, and borrow the words of the Irish under-sheep) situated as I am, and I may say, circumstanced as I am, - deprives me of the honor of meeting you. [Loud cheer.] Tell them, and I hope this response will be considered as a specific answer to each of the committees (for if you could see how my time is occupied here, you would know it is impossible for me to meet any that you are cheered with the expression of the best feelings of my heart. And you, gentlemen of New York, be assured that it will be long before this evidence of your regard will be forgotten. Among the recollections of the incidents of this journey, this visit will be prominent, and the circumstances which led to it. I wish you an agreeable voyage on your return; and make my apologies for being constrained to decline your kind invitation."

After passing a few days at Newcastle with his friend the Hon. John M. Clayton, and having been absent from home about a month, Mr. Clay returned to Kentucky, reinvigorated in health and spirits, and carrying with him new stores of recollections of honors, and testimonials of attachment, with which his countrymen had everywhere marked his progress.

XXVII.

SPEECH ON THE MEXICAN WAR.

In every important engagement in Mexico our armies had been successful. The victory of Buena-Vista had been a fitting climax to the military operations of Taylor; and Scott had achieved a new conquest of Mexico hardly less marvellous than that which Cortez had accomplished centuries before. The city of the Montezumas was occupied by our troops. The fortresses of the country and her principal port were in our possession. Mexico was at our feet; and the question was, "What is to be done with our victory?"

Some were for annexing the whole country. Others were for drawing a line, and claiming all inside of it. Some were for despoiling Mexico; and others were for magnanimously abandoning all the fruits of our conquest. At this juncture, the 13th of November, 1847, Mr. Clay, whose views upon the subject had been looked for with solicitude, lifted his voice in behalf of the humane, the honourable, and the politic course. It was at Lexington that his speech on the Mexican war was delivered. An immense concourse of citizens was present to hear him. Among them were Senator Crittenden, Governor Letcher, the honorable Gerrit Davis, and a whole host of distinguished Kentuckians and eminent strangers from other states, as well as many ladies, who all listened with the deepest attention. Mr. Clay is represented as having spoken with all the fervor and animation of his younger life; and, notwithstanding the length of the speech and his energetic delicacy, and the fact that his voice had been impaired by a speech of more than three hours' duration, which professional duty had required him to make only a few days before, there was no lack of physical strength to the end, when he seemed as fresh as at the commencement. His exhortation on this occasion is graceful and touching. The weather being unfavourable the circumstance was converted to his use in associating it with his topics. He said:—

"The day, is dark and gloomy, unsettled and uncertain, like the small

dism of our country in regard to the monstrolous war with Mexico. The public mind is agitated and anxious, and is filled with various apprehensions as to its indefinite continuance, and especially as to the consequences which its termination may bring forth, touching the harmony, if not the existence, of our Union. It is under these circumstances I present myself before you. An ordinary occasion would have drawn me from the retirement in which I live; but, while a single pulsation of the human heart remains, it should, if necessary, be dedicated to the service of man's country. And I have hoped that, although I am a private and humble citizen, an expression of the views and opinions I entertain might form some little addition to the general stock of information, and afford a small assistance in delivering our country from the perils and dangers which surround it."

There is a graceful melancholy in the following allusion to the approach of old age:—

"I have come here with no purpose to attempt to make a fine speech, or any artificial oratorical display. I have brought with me no rhetorical bequests to throw into this assembly. In the circle of the four seasons has come, and the season of youth has passed away. In the progress of years, my spring time has gone by, and I too am in the autumn of life, and feel the frost of age. My deeds and amours, fondly as we once, calmly, seriously, and plainly, upon the grave and momentous subjects which have brought us together. And I am most solicitous that not a solitary word may fall from me offensive to any party or person in the whole extent of the Union."

Mr. Clay then took a review of those scourges of mankind, of which war is not the least:—

"War, pestilence, famine, by the common consent of mankind, are the three greatest calamities which can befall our species; and war, as the most fearful, justly stands in front. Pestilence and famine, we doubt not, since although inevitable purposes, are inflictions of Providence, to which it is our duty, therefore, to bow with submission, humble solicitude, and resignation. Their duration is not long, and their ravages are limited. They bring, indeed, great affliction while they last, but society soon recovers from their effects. War is the voluntary work of our own hands, and whatever reparation it may deserve should be directed to ourselves. When it breaks out, its duration is indefinite and unknown. Its victims are hidden from our view. In the sacrifice of human life, and in the waste of human treasure, in its losses and its burdens, it affects both belated nations; and its real effects of mangled bodies, of death, and of desolation, continue long after its thunders are hushed in groans. War unhinges society, detaches its peaceful and regular industry, and scatters poisonous seeds of disease and immorality, which continue to germinate and diffuse their baneful influence long after it has ceased. Drivelling by its edicts, pomp, and pageantry, it lures those who embark in it, after their return from the bloody fields of battle, from engaging in the industrious and peaceful vocations of life.

"We are informed by a statement, which is apparently correct, that the number of our countrymen slain in this lamentable Mexican war, although it has yet been of only eighteen months' existence, is equal to one half of the whole of the Anacis in loss during the seven years' war of the Revolution.

that "And I venture to assert that the expenditure of treasure which it has occasioned, when it shall come to be fairly ascertained and fasted up, will be found to be more than half of the pecuniary cost of the war of our independence. And this is the condition of the party whose men have been everywhere constantly victorious?"

After stating these views in regard to the origin and causes of the war with which the reader of his life is already familiar, Mr. Clay came to the consideration of the question, how was it to be brought to a satisfactory close? The mode which he indicated was, that Congress, inasmuch as it had the right, either at the beginning or during the prosecution of any war, to decide the objects and purposes for which it was proclaimed, or for which it ought to be continued, should, by some deliberate and authentic act, declare for what objects the existing war should be prosecuted. He supposed the president would not hesitate to regulate his conduct by the pronounced will of Congress, and to employ the force and the diplomatic power of the nation to extents that will. But, if the president should decline or refuse to do so, and, in contempt of the supreme authority of Congress, should persevere in waging the war, for other objects than those proclaimed by Congress, then it would be the imperative duty of that body to vindicate its authority by the most stringent, and effectual, and appropriate measures. And if, on the contrary, the enemy should refuse to conclude a treaty, containing stipulations securing the objects designated by Congress, it would become the duty of the whole government to prosecute the war with all the national energy, until those objects were attained by a treaty of peace. There could be no insuperable difficulty in Congress making such an authoritative declaration. Let it resolve, simply, that the war should or should not be a war of conquest; and, if a war of conquest, what was to be conquered.

To the project of annexation Mr. Clay expressed his decided hostility:—

"Does any candid man," he asked, "believe it possible that two such heterogeneous countries, with territories of nearly equal extent, with populations so incongruous, so different in race, in language, in religion, and in laws, could be blended together in one harmonious mass, and happily governed by one common authority? Manners, dissent, insurrections, rebellions, would inevitably ensue, until the incompatible parts would be broken asunder, and possibly in the frightful struggle, one potent glorious Union itself would be dissipated or dissolved. We ought not to forget the warning

wisdom of all history, which teaches the difficulty of combining and reconciling things together, conquering and the conquered nations. After the lapse of eight hundred years, during which the Moors held their conquest of Spain, the insupportable wrongs, perseverance and obstinacy of the Spanish race finally triumphed, and expelled the African invaders from the peninsula. And, even within our own time, the colossal power of Napoleon, whom at its highest height, was incompetent to subdue and subjugate the proud Castilian. And here, in our own neighborhood, Lower Canada, which near one hundred years ago, after the conclusion of the seven years' war, was ceded by France to Great Britain, remains a foreign land in the midst of British provinces, foreign in feelings and attachments, and foreign in laws, language, and religion. And what has been the lot with poor, pale, but, generous, and oppressed Ireland? Centuries have passed since the overbearing Saxon system and subjugated the Emerald Isle. Rivers of Irish blood have flowed during the long and saddest conflicts. Insurrection and rebellion have been the order of the day; and yet, up to this time, Ireland remains often in feeling, affection, and sympathy, toward the power which has so long borne her down. Every Irishman hates, with a mortal hatred, his Saxon oppressor. Although there are great circumstantial differences between the condition of England and Ireland, as compared to that of the United States and Mexico, there are some points of striking resemblance between them. Both the Irish and the Mexicans are probably of the same Celtic race. Both the English and the Americans are of the same Saxon origin. The Catholic religion predominates in both the former, the Protestant among both the latter. Religion has been the fruitful cause of dissension and dissent between the Irish and the English nations—Is there no reason to apprehend that it would become so between the people of the United States and those of Mexico, if they were united together? Why should we seek to interfere with them in these modes of worship of a common Saviour? We believe that they are wrong, especially in the exclusive character of their faith, and that we are right. They think that they are right and we wrong. What other rule can there be than to leave the followers of each religion to their own solemn convictions and consciences duty toward God? Who, but the great Architect of the universe, can judge in such a question? For my own part, I do sincerely believe and hope, that those who belong to all the departments of the great church of Christ, if, in truth and purity, they conform to the doctrines which they profess, will ultimately receive an equal share in the various of life, which all are bound to seek. I think that there is no potentate in Europe, whatever his religion may be, more enlightened or at this moment so interesting to the liberal heart of the papal see!

* But I suppose it to be impossible that those who favor, if there be any who favor the annexation of Mexico to the United States, can think that it ought to be perpetually governed by military sway. A certainly no victory of human liberty could deem it right that a violation should be perpetrated of the right principles of our own revolution, according to which, force ought not to be created and force ought not to be held, without representation on the part of those whom to obey the one, and pay the other. Then, Mexico is to participate in our councils and equally share in our legislation and government. But, suppose she would not voluntarily choose representatives to the national Congress, is our obduracy to follow the election to that hall-door, and by force to compel them, at the point of the bayonet, to deposit their ballots? And how are the nine millions of Mexican people to be represented in the Congress of the United States of America, and the

Congress to the United States of the republic of Mexico sustained? To every Mexican without regard to color or caste, *par capitem*, to exercise the elective franchise? How is the quota of representation between the two republics to be fixed? Where is the seat of common government to be established?—And who can foresee or forestall, if Mexico, voluntarily or by force, were to share in the common government what would be the consequences to her or to us? Unrequited, as I fear her population yet is, for the essential enjoyment of self-government, and of habits, customs, language, laws, and religion, so totally different from our own, we should prevent the prevailing spectacle of a confused, distracted, and wretched government. We should have a Mexican party, a Pacific ocean party, an Atlantic party, in addition to the other parties, which exist, or with which we are threatened, each striving to execute its own particular views and purposes, and reproaching the others with dissenting and disappointing them. The Mexican representation, in Congress, would probably form a separate and imperious caste, always ready to throw itself into the scale of any other party, to advance and protect Mexican interests. Such a state of things could not long continue. Those whose God and geography have pronounced should live unnumber, could never be permanently and harmoniously united together.

"Do we want for our own happiness or greatness the addition of Mexico to the existing Union of our states? If our population were too dense for our territory, and there was a difficulty in obtaining honorably the means of subsistence, there might be some reason for an attempt to enlarge our dominions. But we have no such apology. We have already, in our glorious country, a vast and almost boundless territory. Beginning at the north, in the frozen regions of the British provinces, it stretches thousands of miles along the coasts of the Atlantic ocean and the Mexican gulf, until it almost reaches the tropics. It extends to the Pacific ocean, borders on three great inland seas, the lakes, which separate us from the possessions of Great Britain, and it embraces the great father of rivers, from its uppermost source to the Gulf, and the still larger Missouri, from its mouth to the gorges of the Rocky Mountains. It comprehends the greatest variety of the richest soils, capable of almost all the productions of the earth, except tea and coffee and the spices, and it includes every variety of climate, which the heart could wish or desire. We have more than ten thousand millions of acres of waste and uncultivated lands, enough for the subsistence of ten or twenty times our present population. Ought we not to be satisfied with such a country?—Ought we not to be profoundly thankful to the Giver of all good things for such vast and beautiful land? Is not the height of ingratitude to him to seek, by war and conquest, indulging in a spirit of rapacity, to acquire other lands, the homes and habitations of a large portion of his common children? If we pursue the object of such a conquest, besides mortgaging the resources and resources of this country for ages to come, in the form of an enormous national debt, we should have greatly to augment that debt, by an assumption of the sixty or seventy millions of the national debt of Mexico. For I take it that nothing is more certain than that, if we obtain voluntarily or by conquest a foreign nation, we acquire it with all the incumbrances attached to it. In my humble opinion, we are now bound, in honor and necessity, to pay the just debt of Texas. And we should be equally bound, by the same obligations, to pay the debt of Mexico if it were annexed to the United States."

Upon the question of the extension of the system of negro slavery over newly-acquired territory, Mr. Clay spoke with that

same ingenuities which characterized his views on the slavery question, when, nearly fifty years ago in Kentucky, he declared his belief that the proportion of slaves in comparison with the whites was so inconsiderable, that a system of gradual emancipation, that would ultimately eradicate the evil, might be safely adopted. That system differed from the plan of immediate abolition for which the abolition party of the present day contend. That party had done irreparable mischief even to the very cause which they espoused, by saying nothing of the disorder which they had produced between different parts of the country. Mr. Clay then alluded to the efforts of the American Colonization Society, of which he had been one of the principal founders. He then continued:—

* It may be argued that, in admitting the injustice of slavery, I admit the necessity of an instantaneous reparation of that injustice. Undoubtedly, however, it is not always safe, practicable, or possible, in the great majority of states and public affairs of nations, to remedy or repair the infliction of previous injustice. In the imposition of it, we may appear and denounce it, by our most strenuous exertions; but, after its consummation, there is often no other alternative left us but to deplore its perpetration, and to acquiesce, as the only alternative, in its existence, as a evil, and thus the frightful consequences which might ensue from the vain endeavor to repair it. Slavery is one of these unfortunate instances. The evil of it was inflicted upon us, by the parent country of Great Britain, against all the entreaties and restraints of the colonies. And here it remains, and will us, and we must dispose of it as best we can under all the circumstances which surround us. It continued, by the importation of slaves from Africa, in spite of colonial resistance, for a period of more than a century and a half, and it may require an equal or longer lapse of time before our country is entirely rid of the evil. And, in the meantime, wandering, pestilence, and dissipation, among ourselves, and the life of our Territories, may be all necessary to accomplish our ultimate deliverance from it. Unnumbered similar inflictions of irreparable national and individual injustice might be multiplied to an indefinite extent. The case of the annexation of Texas to the United States is a recent and an obvious one, which, if it were correct, can not more be required. Texas is now an integral part of our Union, with its own voluntary consent. Many of us oppose the annexation with honest zeal and most earnest exertions. But who would now think of perpetrating the folly of sending Texas out of the confederacy, and throwing her back upon her own independence, or into the arms of Mexico? Who would now seek to drive her from this Union? The Creeks and the Choctaw Indians were, by the most expeditious means, driven from their country, and transported beyond the Mississippi river. Their lands have been lately purchased and occupied by inhabitants of Georgia, Alabama, Mississippi, and Tennessee. Who would now conceive the flagrant injustice of expelling these inhabitants and restoring the Indian country to the Choctaw and Creek, under color of repairing the original injustice? During the war of our Revolution, millions of paper money were issued by our ancestors, in

the only currency with which they could achieve our liberties and independence. Thousands and hundreds of thousands of families were stripped of their homes and their all, and brought to ruin, by giving credit and confidence to that spurious currency. Scarcely necessity has prevented the repetition of that great national injustice."

The sentiments and the policy recommended by Mr. Clay in this practical and eloquent speech were embodied in the following resolutions, which he read and so-credited to the judgment of the meeting:—

"1. *Resolved*, as the opinion of this meeting, that the primary cause of the present unhappy war, existing between the United States of America and the United States of the republic of Mexico, was the annexation of Texas to the former; and that the immediate occasion of hostilities between the two republics arose out of the order of the president of the United States for the removal of the army under the command of General Taylor, from its position at Corpus Christi, to a point opposite Matamoros, on the east bank of the Rio Bravo, within territory claimed by both republics, but then under the jurisdiction of that of Mexico, and inhabited by its citizens; and that the order of the president for the removal of the army to that point was improper and unconstitutional, it being without the concurrence of Congress, or even any consultation with it, although it was in session; but that Congress having, by subsequent acts, recognized the war thus brought into existence, without its previous authority or consent, the prosecution of it became thereby national.

"2. *Resolved*, That in the absence of any formal and public declaration by Congress of the objects for which the war might in its progress, the president of the United States, as chief magistrate, and as commander-in-chief of the army and navy of the United States, is left to the guidance of his own judgment to prosecute it for such purposes and objects as he may deem the honor and interest of the nation to require.

"3. *Resolved*, That by the constitution of the United States, Congress, being invested with power to declare war, and grant letters of marque and reprisal, to make rules concerning captures on land and water, to raise and support armies, to provide and maintain a navy, and to make rules for the government of the land and naval forces, has the full and complete war-making power of the United States; and, so possessing it, has a right to determine upon the justice, causes, and objects, of any war, when it commences, or at any time during the progress of its existence.

"4. *Resolved*, as the further opinion of this meeting, that it is the right and duty of Congress to declare by some authentic act, for what purposes and objects the existing war ought to be further prosecuted; and that it is the duty of the president in his official conduct to conform to such a declaration of Congress; and that if, after such declaration, the president should decline or refuse to endeavor, by all the means, civil, diplomatic, and military, in his power, to execute the sanctioned will of Congress, and, in defiance of its authority, should continue to prosecute the war for purposes and objects other than those declared by that body, it would become the right and duty of Congress to adopt the most efficacious measure to arrest the further progress of the war, taking care to make ample provision for the honor, the safety and security of our armies in Mexico in every contingency. And, if Mexico should decline or refuse to conclude a treaty with us, stipulating

for the purposes and objects as declared by Congress, it would be the duty of the government to prosecute the war, with the utmost vigor, until they were obtained by a treaty of peace.

"6. *Resolved*, That we view with serious alarm, and are utterly opposed in any purpose of annexing Mexico to the United States, in any treaty, and especially by conquest; that we believe the two nations could not be happily governed by one common authority, owing to their great differences of race, law, language, and religion, and the vast extent of their respective territories, and large amount of their respective populations; that such a union, against the consent of the emancipated Mexican people, could only be effected and preserved by large standing armies, and the constant application of military force; in other words, by despotic sway, exercised over the Mexican people in the first instance, but which thence would be just cause to apprehend, might in process of time be extended over the people of the United States. That we deprecate, therefore, such a union, as wholly incompatible with the genius of our government, and with the character of free and liberal institutions; and we anxiously hope that each nation may be left in the undisturbed possession of its own laws, language, civil and religion, and territory, to pursue its own happiness according to what it may deem best for itself.

"7. *Resolved*, That considering the series of splendid and brilliant victories achieved by our brave armies and their gallant commanders, during the war with Mexico, notwithstanding a single reverse, the United States without any danger of their honor suffering the slightest touch, can practice the virtues of moderation and magnanimity toward their discomfited foe. We have no desire for the dismemberment by the United States of the Republic of Mexico, but wish only a just and proper division of the limits of Texas.

"8. *Resolved*, That we do positively and emphatically disclaim and disavow any wish or desire on our part, to acquire any foreign territory whatsoever, for the purpose of propagating slavery, or of introducing slaves from the United States, into such foreign territory.

"9. *Resolved*, That we invite our fellow citizens of the United States, who are anxious for the restoration of the blessings of peace, or, if the existing war shall continue to be protracted, are desirous that its purposes and objects shall be defined and known, who are anxious to avert present and future perils and dangers, with which it may be fraught, and who are also anxious to promote contentment and satisfaction at home, and to elevate the national character abroad, to assemble together in their respective communities and to express their views, feelings, and opinions."

The speech was often interrupted by bursts of applause; and both at its commencement and its close Mr. Clay was heartily cheered. The promulgation of its sentiments were attended with the happiest effects, not only at home in shaping public opinion, but in Mexico in influencing her public men in the adoption of temperate and pacific counsels. "It is hardly possible," wrote one of the journalists of the day, "to over-estimate the importance of this step."

From the intelligent and the right-thinking throughout the country a response arose in favor of the sentiments thus boldly

announced. The necessity for such a "voice potentia!" at the critical time is well told in the language of the address of the immense meeting which convened at the Tabernacle in New York, the 20th of December, 1847, in response to the Lexington resolutions:—

"The spirit now dominant in the national councils, and rampant throughout the land, not only strikes at gray hairs and tramples on the lessons of experience, but regards with impatience and ill-disguised contempt every appeal to considerations of morality, philanthropy, or religion, in regard to the prosecution or termination of the war. The fierce lay of the blood-hound on the war-path of his prey draws the calm voice of reason and the soft pleadings of humanity. Who that realises the moral accountability of nations can doubt that we have fallen upon evil days?

"In this crisis a voice from the west reaches the ear and fixes the regard of the American people. A venerable patriot, illustrious by forty years of eminent service in the national councils, emerges from his honored seclusion to address words of wise admonition to his fellow-citizens. That voice, which never counselled might be dishonor or injury this Union, is lifted up, probably for the first time, in exposure of the questions presented on which this war was commenced, in reprehension of its character and objects, and in remonstrance against its further prosecution. At the sound of that impressive voice, the scales of delusion fall from thousands of blushing eyes, the false glitter of the conqueror's glory vanishes, revealing the hideous lineaments of wrong; and the stern question which stung the first murderer is brought home essentially to every breast which softens a conscience: 'Where is thy brother?'—To what end do we despoil and slay our fellow-men guilty of being born two thousand miles southward of us? By what divine law are we authorized thus to deface and destroy the image of God?

"The great statesman of the west was too well acquainted with human nature, and had too much experience of its worst developments, to hope that such an appeal as he has made to the nation's moral sense would not be resented and resisted. He knew that exposed depravity would pour out its vials of wrath on his devoted head; that fell equally would neglect for a moment its prey to tear him with its fangs; and that malice would stimulate rebelling to hunt and devour him through the length and breadth of the land. Calmly he faced his breast to the storm; unflinchingly he contemplates its fiercest rage, its most diabolical howlings. Stilled in the principle of an approving conscience and of the commutation of the vice and good throughout the world, he prefers no redress, requires no sympathy, solicits no aid. For himself he desires nothing; for his imperilled country he demands the services and the sacrifices of all her upright and patriotic sons.

"And his appeal has not been fruitless. On every side the people, aroused as by a trumpet-blast, are waking to a consciousness of their duty. No longer sunk in apathy because they can perceive no mode in which exertion can avail, they realize at last that every honorable man should be employed to arrest the work of conquest; and they feel that, in view of the brilliant achievements of our armies, and the utter prostration of their foes, the honor of our country can best be preserved and exalted by the exercise of magnanimity toward the vanquished. The terms of terminating the war have been clearly pointed out by him who is emphatically first in the affections and in the confidence of the American people, HENRY CLAY; and

It needs but that their representatives shall be faithful as he has been fear-
less to insure a speedy restoration of peace."

The language subsequently adopted at the meeting at Charles-
Garden—the largest meeting ever gathered in this country
under one roof—was:

"Resolved, That we record the late speech of Mr. Clay at Lexington, in
response of the causes, character, and objects, of the present war on Mexico,
as among the noblest and most patriotic efforts of the great and true man,
who would rather be right than be president."

XXXIII.

COMMEMORATION SPEECH OF JOHN QUINCY ADAMS.

EARLY in the congressional session of 1817 '18, Mr. Clay
was carried by professional business to Washington. His re-
ception there was brilliant and hearty beyond measure. He
had declined all public testimonials, but he could not evade the
greetings which the people rose on one man to extend. "Mr.
Clay's personal popularity suffers no abatement," writes one.
"He can not move without having a throng at his heels. He
lives in an atmosphere of hurrahs." The character of his jour-
ney to the seat of government may be told in his own language
at the meeting of the American colonization society in January,
1818, in the hall of the house of representatives:

"I have just terminated, a journey of considerable length and uncom-
monly performed in mid winter, and commended at every place where I have
stopped by thousands of friends, bearing absolutely no luggage whatever for
that preparation which ought always to be made before a man presents
himself to address so respectable and intelligent an audience as this. I came
before you without a solitary note, and with very little mental preparation
of any sort, absolutely with no preparation for an elaborate address."

We have already alluded to Mr. Clay's efforts in the cause of
the Colonization society. The report that he was to speak at
their annual meeting called forth one of the largest assemblages
ever convened in the capital. Every nook and corner in the
hall of the house was crowded, and hundreds of anxious atten-
dants were disappointed in obtaining admission. Mr. Clay

showed no abatement of intellectual vigour or patriotic ardor. Experience had fully demonstrated the wisdom of those views to which he had given utterance almost half a century before. Time had shown that his colonization scheme, like his protective policy, was founded in justice and benevolence, and here in itself the germ of future blessings. It had been opposed by the apathy of southern advocates of slavery, and by the perverse hostility of northern professors of philanthropy; in the words of Mr. Clay, "it had been surrounded by difficulties, and beset by enemies in front and in rear, and on both flanks. The abolitionists have assailed it, as well as those of the opposite extreme." But in spite of all obstacles, it has grown, as truth must ever grow, though slowly, yet surely.

Mr. Clay alluded to the fact that about thirty years ago, the Rev. Dr. Finney of New Jersey, and others with him, met in that hall, and consulted and agreed upon the great principles of the foundation of the society. Of that number Mr. Clay was one. At first they did not intend to do more than to establish a colony on the coast of Africa, to which the free people of color in the United States might voluntarily and with their own free consent without the least restraint, coercion, or compulsion, proceed and enjoy untrammelled those social and political privileges which under the circumstances of the case they could not enjoy here. The founder saw, what is now manifest to the country, that the people of color and the white race could not possibly live together on terms of equality. They did not stop to inquire whether this state of things was right or wrong. They took the *fact* of impossibility for those two races to live together in equal social conditions, and proceeded to operate upon that fact, without regard to the question whether the fact arose from an unalterable prejudice, that should be expelled from our breasts, or whether it was an incident for our guidance. The simple object was to demonstrate before the world the practicability of establishing a colony of free blacks in Africa.

Utopian and impracticable as the colonizationists believed the purpose of the abolition movement to be—to emancipate without a moment's delay the whole of the black race in the United States—they did not interfere with it in any way. Their object was

to demonstrate the practicability of colonization. *That demonstration has been made.*

But it has been urged that this is the country of the black man and therefore he should not be sent to Africa, which is not his country. In some sense, those blacks who have been born upon the soil may claim this for their country; and so could the Israelites claim Egypt for their country, because during a long period of time they were captives in Egypt. So could all the Israelites born in the wilderness during their progress from Egypt to the promised land, claim the wilderness for their country; but still, in contemplating the beam which guided the progress of that most remarkable of all the families of man, neither Egypt nor the wilderness, but Canaan, was their home, and to that home they were finally led. Who, then, can doubt, in a solitary instance, that Africa is the real home of the blacks, though they may have had a casual birth upon this continent? And who can fail to see that native missionaries will be the most effective for the conversion of their African brethren, who are of the same body with themselves, and with whom they can completely harmonize in all their interests, sympathies, and affections? At this moment there have been four or five thousand colonists sent to Africa, and we have heard that there are in the republic of Liberia twenty-five places of public worship dedicated to the same Lord and Saviour whom we worship, and that thousands of the natives are rushing into the colonies in order to obtain the benefits of Christian education and a knowledge of the arts.

With regard to the argument that it is impossible to transport to Africa all the free people of color in the United States, Mr. Clay remarked:—

"Why, gentlemen, if I am not mistaken, there comes yearly into the single port of New York an emigration amounting almost to the annual increase of the population in that city, and perhaps exceeding the annual increase of all the free people of color in the United States. And this is done voluntarily, upon the great motives of all human action. Thus, the German and Irish immigrants flock to our shores annually, with no consideration on the part of their governments and with no individual aid, in numbers equal, perhaps, to the annual increase of all the Africans in the United States, bond and free. Thus all come to our country in obedience to one of the laws of our nature—in pursuance of the great controlling principle of human action, and which enters into all great enterprises: they come here to better their condition; and I hope they will better their con-

dillon. And so it would be with all our free people of color. Were they to be transported from the United States to Africa, would not their condition be physically, morally, socially, and politically, better and happier than anything which they could stand to or hope for here? It is vain to attempt to eradicate the feeling which keeps a slender these two classes. It is vain for the office of philosophy or humanity to attempt what is as utterly impracticable as joining together those whom God himself, by the difference of color and various other distinctions, perhaps, has declared ought to be separate. [Clamors.] Then, to send them to Africa—not by violence, not by coercion, not against their will, but with their own full consent—let me say to abolitionists and to those on the other extreme—to all men—why should not the free colored race residing among us have the option to go to Africa or remain in the United States?"

Mr. Clay compared the growth of the colony of Liberia with that of Jamestown and Plymouth. The ravages of disease had been much less in the instance of the former. Its growth, too, had been encouraging in comparison. It should be in this case as in all other settlements in new countries. There should be foremen—pioneers—who will prepare the way, raise subsistence, build houses, make places of comfort and convenience for those who are to follow them; otherwise they may be thrown upon the shores of the continent of Africa to suffer. Better to proceed according to the laws of Nature herself—slowly, surely, and so carefully measuring every step that we take.

Mr. Clay related a case illustrative of the increased rigor of the laws against the black population in some states of the south, so that emancipation is prohibited.

"In the state of Alabama, a respectable and kind gentleman, whom I never saw in my life, devised to me in his will some twenty-five or thirty slaves, without any intimation as to the cause or motive of the bequest. I was surprised at this, but had some reason to believe, in consequence of my connection with this society, that the generous deviser had confidence in me, and that I would send them to Liberia. Accordingly I took measures to accomplish the object of their colonization, and have been happy to learn since I came to this city that twenty-three of them have actually embarked as the part of New Orleans for that colony, and the remainder will follow as soon as they are ready. Now, what would have been the condition of these poor creatures had the existence of the colonization society? They could not have been freed in Alabama, for the laws of that state prohibit emancipation—in consequence, no doubt, of the independent agitation of this subject in the north. I had to take them to New Orleans as my slaves, and they were equalled as my slaves until they got out of the jurisdiction of the United States."

Here, then, appears the object of the Colonization society— that of affording individuals, as well as states, who may have the control of free people of color and slaves which they may wish

to counterpoise, the opportunity of gratifying their wishes, by offering them a transportation to the shores of Africa. The abolitionists, by their opposition to colonization, have but riveted more firmly the chains of slavery.

"I would not involve all parties," said Mr. Clay in concluding, "I would beseech the abolitionists, and I would beseech all those who hold the doctrine of the opposite extreme, to sit down upon the institution of slavery—and would beseech all men to look solely and dispassionately at this great project which commands itself to their friendly consideration. I would beseech them to discard their prejudices, and ask them in the name of God that, under whose smiling providence I yearly believe this society has thus far been conducted, and will in future continue, to look and sympathize in a neutral this experiment of twenty-five years' continuance, which, without power, without revenue, without any aid except what has been furnished by the charity of men, has carried on a war—and my war, not a defensive war—and transported to Africa between five and six thousand emigrants from the United States. I would not, you to look at the territory which we have acquired; three hundred and twenty miles out west on the west of Africa, and in every part of which the slave trade has been suppressed!"

Then there were the great objects of civilization—the benefits of the arts to be extended to the native Africans—the propagation of Christianity. "Oh, then, gentlemen—go on," said Mr. Clay, "in the name of the cause, I shall soon leave you and this theatre of action for ever; but I trust that the spirit which led to the formation of this society will inspire me, and that, in other hands and under other auspices, this colonization society of ours may be still found asserting its sufficiency, in cooperation with the republic of Liberia, to transport to that region every free person of color who may be disposed to go there, until, I trust, the separation of the two races shall be at last completed, and other generations shall have sprung up to invade—as in closing I now do—upon the noble cause of colonization the blessings of that God whose smile, I think, has been hitherto extended to it."

Mr. Clay sat down amid proofs of applause and the hearty approbation of his audience, if we may except a few ultrarights of both sides. Indeed, as Mr. Clay always takes the national, the practical, the just, and the conservative view of affairs, ultrarism of all kinds is generally found ranged among his opponents.

This speech before the colonization society was followed, on the 11th of February, 1848, by his appearance in the Supreme court room as one of the counsel in the case of William Houston

and others across the city bank of New Orleans. "At an early hour," says a correspondent, "the avenues leading to the capitol were thronged with crowds of the aged and young, the beautiful and gay, all anxious to hear—perhaps for the last time—the voice of the sage of Ashland. On no former occasion was the supreme court so densely packed—every inch of space was occupied, even to the lobbies leading to the senate. Mr. Clay rose a few minutes after eleven o'clock, the hour at which the court is organized. It has been often said, and truly, that he never was and never could be repeated successfully. His magic manner, the captivising tones of his voice, and a natural grace, singular in its influence and peculiarly his own, can never be transferred to paper. To realize their charms, he must be seen and heard. His exordium was in every way becoming and appropriate. He referred with feeling to the first time on which he appeared before that tribunal—not one of those who then occupied seats on the bench remained. But it was a grateful reflection, that amid all the political shocks to which the country had been subjected, the supreme court had maintained its elevated name, its dignity, and its purity, unsoiled and unsuspected. He then proceeded to the argument of the cause. By the common consent of the court and the immense and enlightened audience, comprising some of the foremost minds of the nation, Mr. Clay exhibited as much rigour of intellect, clearness of elucidation, power of logic, and legal analysis and research, as he ever did in his palmy days. Much was expected from him, but he more than realized every expectation. It was no display of oratorical powers, but a sound and strict argument, adapted to the cause and to the court."

"In his exordium," says another of his hearers, "we discern a subjective beauty, and a fitness to the peculiarity of the occasion, which rendered it eminently impressive. Involving, as it did, affecting recollections of the past, as contrasted with the present, it had in it a quality of tenderness, rendered more intense by the mellow tones of that wonderful and variable voice which Mr. Clay possesses, and which, however firm for a septuagenarian, is beginning to be touched with the transparency of age. The fact to which he alluded was, that he was now before us

entire new work of judgment, as compared with that in which previous he years ago made his first legal argument. A striking fact, reminding the aged and venerable advocate of his own decline, and the judges of their hastening destiny."

Changing the tone of his remarks, Mr. Clay replied to the gentleman, the Hon. John Sergeant, of Philadelphia, who had complained of the speed which had characterized the proceedings of counsel for the plaintiffs. Mr. Clay advocated the importance of making honorable haste in all legal matters, and, in this connection, described the following scene:

"I happened, some years ago, in the performance of a public service, to be almost in England, and I occasionally attended both houses of Parliament, and the courts in Westminster-hall. In, at one contemplating these great assemblies, and those learned tribunals, I had anything to say upon a comparison between them and our own, of what I have witnessed when in that country, it was not that there was less eloquence or less ability either displayed in parliament, when great and important subjects were brought before that body, but that there was a greater economy of time. The speakers there would begin with their subject, and would end when the subject was exhausted. But, sir, when I went into either apartment of Westminster-hall, where I attended, as I did some or twice, the court sitting in bank, I was there impressed still more with the economy of the dispatch of business.

"I entered the court-room, I remember, very early one morning. The lordships, the judges, were clothed with purple like your honours, but that was the only analogy between your honours and them, for they wore, also, their flowing wigs, falling upon their shoulders. While there, there were sparkling eyes, no bewitching smiles, no words to weary the whole room;—and I think, may it please your honours, it was not longer than the half of this—contained only the judges and officers of the court; and a host of gentlemen of the legal profession. Upon the first seats the chief members of the bar, the serjeant-at-law; and upon the seats behind, the other members of the bar, all clothed in black robes. Well, after the tip-stall had pronounced the introductory 'God save the King,' his lordship asked the oldest serjeant, 'Have you any motion to make?' 'Yes, please your lordship; I have a case in which I wish to establish this point, regarding the point.' 'Why,' said his lordship, 'you can not maintain that.' 'No,' said the serjeant, 'I only wish to quote a few authorities.' 'It is not necessary,' said his lordship, turning to his notes, 'the proposition can not be maintained,' and the same observation was echoed along the line of judges, and the case was dismissed in less time than it takes me to describe the incident."

Mr. Clay insisted upon the importance of speed in legal matters, and aroused a laugh, even among the honorable judges, by speaking of a certain tradition, illustrating the length of speeches which are said to have been made by *Philadelphia lawyers*. He did not mean to convey the idea that the lawyers of the brotherly city were not learned and highly honorable men, for he remem-

bered with the greatest respect the Puchinos, the Lowises, and the Ingersolls, of that city; but he did mean to say that they had a passion for long speeches. With regard to the delays which occurred in our courts of justice, he thought that the lawyers themselves were generally at fault, though it was sometimes the case that the judges were not quite so prompt as they might be. He spoke of the one-hour rule which prevailed in another chamber of the capitol, and suggested that the present court might gather therefrom a salutary lesson.

At this stage of his remarks, Mr. Clay entered upon a statement of the case under consideration; and his argument is represented to have been "brilliant in the extreme, sound, graphic, clear, and persuasive; while his voice and manner were more like those of a lawyer in the early prime of life than of a patriarch in his profession."

During his sojourn in Washington, Mr. Clay dined, on one occasion with Mr. Polk. "It is likely," writes a correspondent, "you have heard of his remark to Mrs. Polk. He observed with infinite grace, that he had never heard of anybody who complained in the least of *her* administration, though he had occasionally heard some complaint of her husband's. What a princely path is Mr. Clay's! Clothe him never with 'subtlest eyeross.' Let the almond and myrtle wave o'er his grave!"

The fourth Monday in May, and the 7th of June, having been fixed upon by the administration party and the whigs respectively for their conventions for the nomination of presidential candidates, meetings began to be held throughout the country, at which strong preferences for Mr. Clay were enthusiastically expressed. Many good whigs thought it more expedient to put up General Taylor, and discussions, which the future only could decide, were entered upon, generally with composure and in a good spirit. New York proclaimed herself for Clay in a mass meeting at Castle-Garden, believed to be not less than ten thousand strong. "But its numbers," said the Tribune, "vast as they were were but a single element of this immense meeting. In character, intelligence, order, and dignity, no doubt whether an assemblage more deserving of respect, was ever seen. Although the deep and ardent enthusiasm for CLAY would frequently burst out in cheer

like thunder-peals, especially at every allusion, to our great leader's name, yet no word (that we heard) was uttered, or comment expressed, disrespectful to his merits, and when Mr. White spoke of General Taylor as a gallant and able commander, the expression was warmly responded to, despite the unanimous feeling that Henry Clay was the man for president. Of course, when Mr. CLAY'S name first occurred in the address, there were such demonstrations of delight as only failed to bring down the roof above us, and the allusion to his Lexington speech was received with hardly less enthusiasm. The resolution pledging the whigs of New York to abide and sustain the choice of the whig national convention, was most heartily responded to. And when Mr. Sedden appealed to all present, and especially to the reporters, to say whether they ever saw a larger, more numerous, more enthusiastic meeting, he called attention to a truth which not even the most inveterate adversary could venture to deny.*

We wish we could give at length the proceedings of this animated meeting, but our limits forbid. Henry Grinnell, Esq. presided, and N. B. Blunt, Esq., presented the address and resolutions. From the former, we make the following fragmentary quotations:—

"Mexico lies bleeding and groans at our feet. Our national honor, if ever needed, has been fully vindicated. Young men have been sold with blood and ransoms. We can at least afford to be magnanimous. For what purpose—is what end—is the war to be further prosecuted? It too was great: we deny the right to continue the war for such a purpose. It too is deadly: it has already been rendered. The trunk is stripped of all value relating to the war has assumed a new and distinct form. Territory, the extension of the so-called 'area of freedom'—a rapacious spirit of plunder—the spoliation of a weak and fallen enemy—constitute the sole grounds for a further continuance of the conflict. It can and must be terminated. Human blood must cease to flow. The cause of humanity, the honor of the country, the welfare of the people, justice and rebellion, imperatively demand that the contest should end. . . . First and foremost among the many true patriots and statesmen who have raised their voices and interposed their exertions to stem this flood of injustice, and to re-assert the current of public opinion to its wonted channel, stands the name of HENRY CLAY of Kentucky. He made no obliquity of our hands: his deeds are written in the chronicles of his country's glory. Pre-eminence as he has borne in the subject, in the halls of legislation, and the field of diplomacy; the moral warfare, the self-devotion, and the calm severity, displayed in his memorable speech at Lexington, from the preceding act in a life well spent in the service of his country, and designate him as the way upon whose course and wisdom all may rely. We, therefore, the whigs of New York, do hereby

nominate, and do earnestly recommend to the whigs of the Union, Henry Clay, as our candidate for president of the United States."

The Hon. Joseph L. White, the Hon. Dudley Sedden, and Horace Greeley, Esq., addressed the meeting in eloquent and appropriate terms. "I believe," said Mr. Greeley, "that in the last election we could not have been beaten but for the unfortunate panic which broke out among our fellow-citizens of foreign birth, who feared that if the whigs should succeed they would be disfranchised, and even forbidden to live on this soil. The election of James K. Polk was thus effected by fair votes and foul. Now, fellow-citizens, one month before or after the election, Mr. Polk could not have been elected, and he, or somebody not unlike him, will be the candidate opposed to us again. Under these circumstances, Mr. Clay is the proper exponent of our principles and candidate of our party; he is the man who would have prevented the annexation of Texas and the war with Mexico; he is the man who was defrauded out of his election before. Now let the people have an opportunity to retrieve their error; and I believe they will rush to his standard with unexampled enthusiasm. Let the whig banner float with the name of our tried and loved leader inscribed upon it, and I am confident that it will be borne onward to a signal and beneficent triumph."

A letter from the Hon. John M. Davis of Virginia, addressed to the editor of the Richmond Whig, was read at this meeting, and published with the proceedings. The following extracts, illustrating as they do the conflict in sentiment among whigs previous to the election of 1848, will be read with interest in connection with the political history of Mr. Clay:—

"If General Taylor is a 'no-party candidate,' which is the only position he has yet assumed, then I am not of his party, for I am a party man, and that party is the whig party. I have nothing to ask, and I want nothing of Mr. Clay or General Taylor, or any other executive, and I will not do, what I would regard as a surrender of my principles, to make any man president; and, therefore, I can not advocate the nomination of a gentleman who has never filled a political position, who comes fresh from the battle field, heralded only by his military achievements, and whose political views are carefully concealed as well from his friends as his opponents.

"Let a such one question: if General Taylor is elected as a 'no-party' candidate, will he prove a 'no-party' president? If he should, then he will not suit me or any other whig. If not, would he not disappoint those who elected him? If a majority of the people are so dissatisfied with the principles and measures of both the great parties of this country, as to elect a

president belonging to neither, could he select a whig cabinet and adopt whig measures, without a betrayal of the trust confided to him by those who elected him? or, in other words, if he is elected upon the ground that he will not wear himself a whig, and commit himself to whig policy, would he not be equally justified in selecting a cabinet as a whig cabinet - and in adopting a business as whig policy?

"I have reason to believe Mr. Clay has lost no strength in those states that he carried in 1816, and that he is greatly strengthened in many that he then lost - especially in New York, which our friends count more on beyond the possibility of a doubt - for my meeting of New Hampshire and which many of our friends are confident Georgia, Indiana, Louisiana, together with Pennsylvania, which may be carried by selecting a suitable man to place on his ticket - my sister went on Tuesday. With these views, I shall show I believe my constituents would do, not give him up for any man of doubtful principles and of more doubtful success."

"When I say I feel confident that Mr. Clay can be elected, I know I shall be answered - 'So you thought so '11.' True I did - and did so well, but that is no reason we should be deceived again. It is, on the contrary, the best reason why we should not be. I am only reminded of the more cautious in my calculations by that unexpected and disastrous defeat."

"He will not only not have the catholic sentiment, the foreign influence, the native American party, the annexation of Texas, &c. &c. to operate against him, but they will all work in his favor, and most of all, the protracted and horrible war, and the ruinous condition of the country, which will be plainly spread before every man's eyes before the election comes on, will swell his triumph in my belief beyond all calculation that his more numerous friends have yet made - and if the whig party are sincere in their expression of preference for him, my advice to them is, to hold on to him as their only sheet anchor for the conservative principles of whiggery."

"As all events, let us await the action of a national convention. It will be time enough for us who prefer him, to give up Mr. Clay, when the whigs of the nation, in general council assembled, shall recommend General Taylor to us as a proper and more available candidate."

What gave added interest to the great Castle-Garden meeting, was the fact that it was held on the anniversary of the day when the news of the treaty of Ghent was received at New York. Thirty-three years before, the British ship-of-war *Humble* had come into the bay, and "just as twilight was deepening into darkness, a pilot boat came up to Whitehall, announcing her arrival with the tidings that peace had been made at Ghent by HENRY CLAY and his associates in that memorable communication."

On Monday, the 23d of February, at half past one o'clock, the venerable John Quincy Adams, then in his eighty-first year, while in his seat in the house of representatives, was stricken down by paralysis, and hurled to the speaker's room in the capital. It had been the earnest wish of his heart to die like Cæsar in the midst of his labors, and that wish was accomplished literally

"This is the last of earth—I am content" was the last memorable sentence that he uttered. The expiring statesman was placed on a cot-bed, with his head toward the west. In this condition, breathing calmly, except at intervals, and manifesting no signs of pain, he lingered, for the most part incesessible, for five or four hours. While he lay in this state, Mr. Clay visited him, and for some minutes held the hand of his speechless and unconscious friend in silent grief. Look at that spectacle, ye who still attach any credit to the vile slander bargain between them for the sale of the presidency! Clay takes the hand of the dying Adams—of the mighty man, and the bravest, the eloquent counsellor, the incorruptible patriot, the laborious and brave-hearted statesman, the truly honest man! Who can doubt, that could he have spoken, the "old man eloquent" would have said of these charges against Mr. Clay, as he said of them in 1843: "As I expect shortly to appear before my God to answer for the conduct of my whole life, should these charges have found their way to the throne of eternal justice, I will, in the presence of Omnipotence, pronounce them false!"

The physician had told Mr. Clay that Mr. Adams might linger for a week or more. Mr. Clay had professional business in Philadelphia, which claimed his early attention. His friends, too, had made arrangements for his reception. Thousands, who had been expecting him, would be awaiting him on his way. Under these circumstances, he did not feel justified in disappointing public expectation. Two hours after his departure from Washington, Mr. Adams died; but it was not till he was on his journey from Baltimore to Philadelphia, that Mr. Clay received the sad intelligence.

He arrived at Baltimore the evening of the 24th, and was received at the railroad-depot by an immense crowd. Arrived at the residence of his friend, Christopher Hughes, the crowd, which had followed, congregated in front of the dwelling, and, amid constant and loud cheers, called for Mr. Clay to make his appearance. After a short delay, an upper window was thrown open, and Mr. Clay made his appearance, greeted by tremendous cheering. When silence was with difficulty restored, he said—

"Gentlemen, I want to know what you are making all this noise about?"

"We wanted to see you," said loud cheer 1, was the response.
A voice in the crowd. "You are that same old com' you?"

Mr. Clay. "Exactly: I am that same old com'." Loud cheer again, and laughter.

Mr. Clay. "Gentlemen, now I will make a compromise with you; if you will let me alone, I will let you alone."

He here withdrew, amid the most vociferous cheering, the window was closed, and the crowd withdrew.

Early the next morning, Mr. Clay started for Philadelphia, where his reception was again as cordial and brilliant as the most extensive popular enthusiasm could make it. He here became the guest of the mayor, Mr. Smith. "You see the most immense assemblage of people I ever met!" said Mr. Clay to the numerous concourse which gathered in front of the house, in the hope of getting a speech from him, "You want something to come out of my mouth, and I want to put something into it." [Laughter.] Will you agree with me on one point—that is, to go home and get your suppers, and let me get my dinner?" [Cheers and laughter.] The crowd then dispersed, after giving "three times three" for Henry Clay!

At a public reception meeting, the evening following, at Independence hall, Mr. Clay remarked that, "but for the loss that the country has just sustained in the decease of Mr. Adams, this would have been one of the happiest occasions of his life. As it was, the loss of the parent of patriots and best of men, had caused a sensation of grief to pervade the whole country; and how much greater than those of others, must be the feelings of one who had been closely connected with him, in both public and private life—who had ever found him, in all trials, and under all circumstances, the pure and elevated patriot—the tried, the faithful friend, the wise and good man! The loss was heavy to all, but to none more so than the speaker. His heart was so overcharged with the emotions natural to the loss, that he could make no set speech; yet he could not avoid referring to the sad event."

Mr. Clay's visit to Philadelphia was connected with professional business in the settlement of a large estate, of which he

was left the executor by a former resident of that city, who died some years before in Indiana. But being so near New York, he could not well decline the pressing and unanimous invitation of her common council to pay them a visit as the city's guest. He left for New York the 7th of March, encountering there and everywhere the same hearty reception which he had before so often experienced.

The following account of Mr. Clay's reception by the corporation of New York, and of his visit to the city, was originally published in the New York Daily Tribune, from which it is here taken, with slight alterations. The reception took place on Thursday, March 7, 1848. The Tribune says:—

"A more brilliant day for the ceremonies attendant upon the visit of Henry Clay to our city could not have been desired. The air was clear and elastic, the skies bright, and the waters of the bay as smooth as in summer. Nature seemed to have decked herself in holiday attire to welcome the illustrious delegate to the continental congress of the Union.

"The substantial and spacious steamer *C. Vanderbilt*, had been kindly placed at the disposal of the common council by Captain Vanderbilt for the occasion. She had been newly painted and refitted for the season just commencing, and, by her beauty and convenience of her arrangements, was well adapted for the service to which she was now appropriated.

"The committee having in charge the duty of meeting Mr. Clay at Anclay and conducting him to the city, had contemplated being accompanied by some two hundred invited guests; but so great was the desire to see this city's illustrious visitor, that at least six hundred persons obtained tickets, and only the impossibility of making room for a larger number, prevented a much more crowded attendance. Among those present were the members of the common council and many eminent citizens, in both public and private life. All seemed filled with that enthusiastic attachment to Mr. Clay which he, of all men, has the power of calling forth and securing. As the *Vanderbilt* put off, she was loudly cheered by the multitude assembled on the wharf, and the passengers of one or two boats that she met in the passage down the bay, manifested the same sympathy in the progress of the excursion.

The boat arrived at Anclay at about half-past eleven o'clock, and, as soon as the crew landed, the committee proceeded on shore to receive Mr. Clay, with the Philadelphia delegation, and escort him on board. When he appeared, the air was rent with shouts, which were repeated as he passed amid the crowd, quietly leaving his response to the warm expressions of them around him. He appeared in excellent health, and bore himself erect with all the vigor of a young man. His form has lost little of its apparent strength, and his features retain the same manly and noble grandeur which so truly express the character of the man. He was conducted to the upper cabin of the *Vanderbilt*, where Martin M'Michael, Esq., on behalf of the Philadelphia committee, resigned him into the care of our city council in the following address:—

"MR. PRESIDENT! The committee which speaks through me, have come

visit, every social and political prejudice has been forgotten, and we are united as the heart of one man in extending the right hand of fellowship to so distinguished and illustrious a stranger. You have come among us, sir, not with the gilded trappings of military splendor, nor the haughty notes of a victorious chief; but in the private citizen—not wearing upon your brow as proud a civic wreath as could be retained by the affections of the American people for one of their noblest and most honored sons. It is, therefore, in the sincerity of our hearts, that we anticipate with pleasure the opportunity which you have afforded us of presenting to our constituents one whom all will delight to honor, who, in the enthusiasm of their feelings will hail with pleasure that hour when you shall have become their welcome and their honored guest, and they shall have seen the person and heard the voice of him, who for so many years, has been associated in their recollections with the darkest and brightest days of our country's history. For whether at foreign courts, in the domestic saloons, or in the halls of legislation, your services will ever be appreciated by a grateful and exulting people, and when this age, with all its partialities and prejudices, shall have passed away, and the future historian shall sketch a faithful picture of the past, your name will appear in bold relief among its noblest and proudest sons.

"We the more fully appreciate this visit, sir, because we know that you have yielded to our invitation, not to gratify any ambition of your own, nor to hold up or establish present or posthumous fame, but to gratify the people of our own city, and to respond to the wish unanimously expressed, that once again they might be permitted to welcome as their guest the statesman whom they honor and the citizen whom they love. For had you consulted only your own feelings, or the dictates of your own judgment, you would have avoided the multitude which you are about to encounter. We are an enthusiastic people, and while we shall endeavor to exempt your visit as far as to render your visit pleasant and agreeable, yet it would be too much for us to promise, or you to expect, that quiet and repose which we know you desire, and which thousands yearn and demand. As well might we undertake to hush the raging tempest, and say to the winds, 'Be still!' as to control the excitement of our people when the Sage of Ashland treads upon their soil and walks within their walls. But we can, and do command you to him who controls the desires of nations, to protect you as in the hollow of his hand while absent from your hearth, and again restore you to those domestic associations within the family circle—also, so recently reduced! In retrospecting upon the past, or looking forward to the future, you may realize the fact, that however situated, whether upon the classic shores of Greece or among the republics of South America, whether planting the cross of disembowled Poland, or quaffing and voluptuously belching the name of Henry they will remain as a monument of devoted patriots, from which we and our children may derive lessons of instruction worthy of the philosopher and the scholar, the statesman and the sage! Again we exhort you on board this noble steamer; the mayor will respond to it upon our behalf, and all the people will join in one harmonious shout of 'Welcome! welcome to our homes!'"

When President Franklin had concluded, Mr. Clay replied as follows:—

"*Mr. President and Gentlemen of the Council of New York:* I thank you most heartily for this interesting occasion, and thank you, sir, for the well

ments which you have done in the hour of emergency. I wish that I could find language to convey to you the feeling and the gratitude with which the very resplendent and flattering masses of this reception received. But the truth is, and I might as well own it, that if I ever had any great talent at public speaking, eloquence, or eloquence, it can not now be exerted, and for two reasons: one is that my heart is full, and the other that I am not at all in favor for myself, but for my country. [Great applause.] * * * *

"And now, Mr. President, though I am not to speak to your audience in the terms of eloquence, I am at least to speak to you, and so sure you are happy I am to be more than once my fellow citizens of New York, and to meet those who are interested with the best of duty of directing the destinies of so great and important a city."

During the delivery of Mr. Clay's speech, the cabin deck yielded to the weight of the crowd, and gave way some three inches, and the alarm was given that it was breaking through. Many persons, in consequence, retreated to the lower deck. Mr. Clay, looking around, as if to see what was about to happen, was assured by the captain of the boat that there was no danger. "Well," said he, "I like always to know the ground I stand on." Through the whole trip he seemed in excellent spirits, and many genial sallies from his lips were received with loud satisfaction by those surrounding him.

After he had concluded speaking, there was a general rush to take him by the hand, but he obtained silence by waving a splendid bouquet, the gift doubtless of some fair Philadelphia, and said, "Gentlemen, you know I am a good deal of a compromise man. I have a compromise to propose to you, which is, that instead of your coming up to shake my hand, I shall go around and shake yours." This was unanimously agreed to, of course, and he descended upon the main deck, exchanging salutations with old friends or new ones by the way. Between High-Constable Hays and himself, a very playful meeting took place; and to whatever quarter of the boat he went, he was greeted with the same hearty cheers which welcomed him on board at first. Finally, after partaking of a lunch, he went upon the hurricane deck, whence, in the wheel-house, he had a fair view of the scenery of the bay on the way up.

On arriving at the city, instead of landing at Castle-Garden, as had been contemplated, the Vanderbilt was obliged, by the state of the tide, to land at pier No. 2. From there Mr. Clay

accompanied by the common council, the Philadelphia delegation, and a large number of citizens, marched through the noisy streets to Castle-Garden. The crowd in the streets and on the Battery was immense, and so thick that it was difficult for the police to make way for the procession to move. As Mr. Clay passed along, he was greeted by such cheers as only the warm enthusiasms of spontaneous hearts can produce.

On entering Castle-Garden, an impressive spectacle then presented itself. The whole of that vast area was filled with people, waiting with impatience for his arrival. As soon as he entered, he was greeted by deafening cheers, which were repeated until it seemed as if the people would not have done with these proofs of their affection for their distinguished visitor. At last silence was restored, when President Franklin spoke as follows to the mayor :—

* You Honor: I have pleasure, in behalf of the committee of the common council, to remark to your charge, together with that of this vast assembly of our fellow-citizens, the holy of Henry Clay of Kentucky."

After the cheering had again subsided, his honor the mayor rose and spoke in these terms :—

* Mr. CLAY: The pleasing duty has been assigned to me as the representative of the constituted authorities of the city of New York, to tender to you as hospitably—to extend to you a cordial welcome.

* It is not necessary for me—indeed, sir, it would not become me on an occasion like the present—to direct to your many and valued public services. The whole country gratefully acknowledge the zeal, the devotion with which a whole life has been passed in upholding her interests—in defending her honor—in augmenting her prosperity—and we, sir, citizens of the great commercial metropolis of this western world, rejoice that we are permitted to testify to you personally our appreciation of the worth, the talents, the statesmanship, and the pure patriotism, which have combined to surround with a halo of imperishable glory the name of Henry Clay.

* Our welcome, sir, is not mere lip-service, but from the abundance of the heart the mouth speaks.

* We receive you, sir, as the honored, the cherished guest of this great city. Its inhabitants, without reference to creeds or sects or parties, have risen forth to greet you, and in their name, sir, with all the warmth which words fresh from the heart can convey, I bid you welcome."

Mr. Clay then rose and replied as follows :—

* Mr. Mayor: I wish I could find adequate language to express to you and this audience the feelings of a grateful heart, the feelings excited by a splendid and unqualified reception. * * * * *

* But, Mr. Mayor, the president of the council has told you that he has committed my body to your custody. No, that expression could not fail



to it, receive his visits, and avoided those manifestations of attachment which the people seemed universally to be animated with toward him. In the forenoon, however, he visited the Rutgers Young Ladies' Institute, where a great number of ladies were assembled to receive him. He was addressed in behalf of the young ladies by the principal, who also read an address to him composed by members of the institution. From this address we give one or two paragraphs, together with Mr. Clay's reply:—

"We hail you as the advocate of peace—the richest boon that can be conferred upon a nation. And while we admire the patriotism that would not spare a well-beloved son in the hour of trial, but combined with calm reflection that the final object of a father's deep affection should be sacrificed upon the altar of his country's good; still more would we honor that moral courage that manfully maintains the right in the face of the greatest opposition, and boldly rebuffs the spirit of war and aggression. To such a spirit, cherished and regarded by the nation's rulers, must we be indebted for the blessings of peace in our own highly-favored land; for the extended commerce, and polished society of large and opulent cities, or the grateful retirement, and refining pleasures of the country; but most of all, for the knowledge and understanding of those arts and sciences which raise above our country than stately edifices, or well-tilled grounds, and our institutions of learning that shall rightly train the youthful mind, and fit the sons of America for an elevated station in this great republic. And to you, and men of your principles, we look for the diffusion of like services in a neighboring nation, whose smiling valleys and fruitful fields have been laid waste by the cruel spirit of rapine and bloodshed.

"And now, dear sir, in conclusion, we would tender our heartfelt acknowledgments for the great pleasure and honor which your visit has afforded us. The events of this day can never be forgotten by us; the remembrance of Henry Clay will ever be indelibly engraved upon our hearts.

"Fare thee gay, and preserve you, and may your path continue to be like that of the reversed one when the nation may mourn—'shining ones and more into the perfect day.'"

Mr. Clay then replied briefly as follows:—

"I thank you, sir, and the young ladies whom you represent, for this most kind welcome and distinguished reception. Among the agreeable incidents which attended my brief visit to this city, there is no one to which I shall owe with more satisfaction and delight than upon my having had occasion to meet in this place the future mothers and present daughters of my country. I did not come here for the purpose of making a speech, but I will, however, say that I trust that the noble objects which the founder of this institution had in view in its establishment, may be fully attained. I trust that the opportunities which the young ladies possess of improving their minds, cultivating their taste, expanding their understandings, by the advantages here offered, may not be lost, but that they may fulfil their high destiny, and render themselves a blessing to their parents, an ornament to their country, and acceptable to that God to whose providence I shall always pray for their prospering fame and happiness."

Mr. Clay having concluded, withdrew, receiving at every step in the passage out of the room, the smiles of that beautiful crowd of girls, and shaking the hands and replying to the salutations and good wishes of those who happened to be near enough to speak to him.

On Thursday morning, March 9th, Mr. Clay, in company of his common council, drove out to the Institution for the Blind. On arriving, he was received by the principal, who briefly addressed him, and then forth from Mr. Clay one of the most felicitous and beautiful speeches that it was ever the fortune of these ears to listen to. It was full of pathos and the eloquence of elevated sentiment. This was followed by poetical addresses to Mr. Clay from two young ladies, pupils of the institute, with which he was highly gratified.

The party then proceeded to the Institution for the Deaf and Dumb, where addresses were also delivered. The distinguished visitor was greatly interested in the modes and results of the instruction administered at these admirable institutions.

It was intended to visit the High Bridge, but owing to the severity of the rain, the party returned to the city. At six o'clock, Mr. Clay dined with the common council at the New York hotel, and in the evening, appeared at the ball at the Broadway theatre. This was a most brilliant festival. Even the violent rain, which prevailed the whole evening, seemed to have made little diminution in the crowds who were present. We refer especially to the ladies, who were drawn there in large numbers by the desire of seeing the honored statesman of Ashland, who had consented to attend, principally with the desire of gratifying his fair countrymen.

The theatre was splendidly illuminated, and the stage long with gorgeous drapery, representing the American colors. Mr. Clay entered about nine o'clock, in company with Ex-President Van Buren, and escorted by the common council. He was received with three cheers, and immediately the company formed into double lines, extending the whole length of the stage, down which the distinguished guests walked, greeted most cordially actually at every point, and finally took their station at the further end, where the ladies crowded at once to take them by the hand

Mr. Clay seemed in excellent spirits; his fine eye sparkled with kindly feeling, and the dense throng which gathered around, displayed the most marked reverence and attachment toward him.

The next morning, Friday, having been appointed for the citizens of New York to pay their personal respects to Mr. Clay, he reached the city-hall with his honor the mayor and the members of the committee of reception, at about eleven o'clock. A great number of gentlemen were there collected, waiting for his arrival, they received him with the usual manifestations. As soon as the doors of the governor's room were thrown open, the crowd began to pour through them; and a steady stream of persons, eager to exchange salutations with the illustrious visitor, occupied all the avenues to the place. It was impossible to obtain admission, except by taking a place in the mass and moving with it gradually up the stairs toward the door; and the number of persons was so great, that it must have required nearly an hour for a single individual to reach the governor's room.

In order that the thousands who had collected outside, finding it utterly impossible to effect an entrance, might not be disappointed in their wish to see him, Mr. Clay appeared on the balcony at the close of his lecture. After the enthusiastic cheering with which he was received had subsided, Mr. Clay said he had come here with the expectation of shaking all his friends by the hand; he had been undergoing that operation for the last three hours—indeed, ever since he had been in the city. Instead of working twelve hours, even if he had worked twenty-four hours a day, it would not have sufficed; and as he had given all that were in the inside of the building his hand, he now gave all on the outside his heart!

On Saturday morning, Mr. Clay received the ladies of New York at the same place, and many thousands were present. Mr. Clay arrived at the appointed hour, and was received with all the honors by the mass of gentlemen and ladies assembled at the city-hall. The business of reception commenced immediately, Mr. Clay shaking hands and exchanging a pleasant word with all, receiving warmer tributes from some, and now and then carrying his politeness so far as to yield a lock of hair to the begging seizure of some patriotic matron. The ceremony was continued till

after the appointed hour, when Mr. Clay was compelled to retire, although many ladies had not yet enjoyed the pleasure of an interview.

On Saturday afternoon, Mr. Clay visited the High Bridge, in company with several members of the common council, and was highly gratified with that magnificent work. He returned to the city, and was entertained at dinner by F. Phillips Phoenix, Esq., after which he attended the performance of the oratorios of the "Creation," by the Sacred Music Society. He was there much more the subject of attention to the audience than the music, and in the course of the evening, briefly and eloquently replied to an address from the ladies of the society.

On Sunday morning, Mr. Clay attended St. Bartholomew's church, with his honor the mayor, where an unusually large congregation was assembled. On the way thither, he was met by a large number of Irishmen, who thus sought the opportunity of quietly expressing to him the warm feelings which his efforts in behalf of Ireland have roused in the breasts of all her sons.

On Monday morning (says the Tribune) a large assemblage was collected at the New Jersey railroad office, foot of Liberty street, to witness the departure of Mr. Clay. A little past nine o'clock, he arrived in a carriage with his honor the mayor and the committee of reception, and was received with loud cheers by the multitude, who not only occupied the street, but the roofs of the buildings about the railroad office, all eager to obtain a view of him. Just before the ferryboat started at the wharf, Mr. Clay came forward, and bowed his farewell to the people, who returned it with cheers, after which he took his seat again in the carriage, and was driven on board the boat. As the boat put off, the assemblage again cheered loudly, and so the visit of the veteran and honored statesman to the commercial metropolis was ended.

The committee accompanied Mr. Clay to Newark, where they resigned him to the authorities of that place. He was welcomed there with the warmest enthusiasm, and after spending a short time, went on to Philadelphia, where he remained a day privately, and then returned home by way of Baltimore. The Tribune, in speaking of his visit to New York, says: "Mr. Clay has been with us

five days, and through the whole time has received such tokens of deep respect and enthusiastic attachment, as no man but himself could have elicited. We now see how firmly he stands in the affections, not of a few persons, or of any particular class, but of the whole people. If there were any doubt before, the fact is now undeniable, that no man lives who is so truly beloved, revered, and trusted, by the people of this city, as Henry Clay.

XIX.

MR. CLAY AS A LAWYER AND AS A MAN.

Of such paramount interest have been the details of Mr. Clay's public career, that we have but little room to bestow upon his private and professional history, inasmuch as it has been to him. We have alluded to his early successes at the bar, but space fails us in the attempt to supply even an imperfect sketch of his numerous triumphant efforts in the sphere of his profession—efforts which have not failed in brilliancy and success with the arrival of his threescore and tenth year.

Owing to the more popular character of his political labors, he has not enjoyed, out of the boundary of the supreme court, half the reputation which was his due as a jurist of extensive attainments and profound ability. But the writer has been assured by the late Mr. Justice Story, that Mr. Clay was regarded by Chief-Justice Marshall as second in these respects to no lawyer in the country. His arguments always evinced great reflection, and oftentimes extensive legal erudition; and his appeals were of that generous and elevated character, which rejects every ail of a narrow or *pettifoggish* cast. We must content ourselves with a mere reference to this department of Mr. Clay's history; referring the reader, for information in regard to it, to the reports and records of the United States courts and the courts of Kentucky.

Mr. Clay is now (1848) in his seventy-first year, and, notwithstanding his varied and arduous labors, tussling his mental and physical powers to an extraordinary degree, and the several po-

trials of dangerous illness to which he has been subject, he bears in his personal appearance the promise of a vigorous, healthful and prolonged old age. In stature, he is tall, somewhat erect, and commanding, with finely-formed limbs, and a frame capable of much endurance. From his features, you might at first infer that he was a hardy backwood-man, who had been accustomed rather to the privations and trials of a frontier life, than to the arena of debate and the diplomatic table. But when you meet his full, clear gray eye, you see in its flashes the conscious power of a well-trained and purified intellect, as well as the glance of an intrepid soul. Its lustre gives animation to the whole countenance, and its varying expression faithfully interprets the emotions and sentiments of the orator. Much of the charm of his speaking lies in his clear, rotund, and melodiously melodious voice, which is of wide compass, and as distinct in its low as in its high tones. The effect of it, when a passion is to be portrayed, or a feeling of pathos aroused, is like that of a rich instrument upon the ear.

Nothing could be more felicitous than Mr. Clay's personal manners and address. They convey to every one the conviction that he is a true man—that there is no sham about him and his professions. Frank, affable, natural, and communicative, he was, without assumption, as much at home among European potentates as among his own constituents at a barbers. His perfect self-possession and repose of manner spring, not so much from long intercourse with the world and with society, as from that indigestible democratic instinct, that true nobleness of character, which looks unaffectedly to the inward man solely, and not to the outside insignia with which he may be decorated.

Never was public man so personally popular in the United States. "The true source of his extraordinary influence," says a writer of the day, "is to be found in that most potent of all human influences, a *tact and ready sympathy*. There are no barriers between his heart and the hearts of others. Bring them in contact, and the efflux of his kindly feeling is instantaneous. Instead of selfishly wrapping himself in the thoughts of *self*, he thinks of *others*. His thoughts become their thoughts, and their thoughts become his thoughts. An interchange of kindly feeling

because spontaneous and immediate. Mr. Clay is not only a strong man in himself, but he possesses the ability to command and carry with him all human agencies and influences which come within the sphere of his action."

In his integrity and sprightliness of character, no one who was ever brought in contact with him, could fail to place the most implicit reliance. "He is an honest man," says one, who knows him well; "he is a fair-dealing man; he is a true man; he is a man who believes in his own principles, who follows his own convictions, who avows his own sentiments and acts on them, who never deserted a friend, who was never deterred from his purpose, who was never seduced from what he undertook to do. He is a man of *foi*, in the largest sense of that word. No man has ever been more severely tried in public life in this country; and no man ever exhibited a more sublime constancy in all his great and repeated exhibitions of that noblest of all qualities in a public man—trustworthiness. The nation may rely on him that he is what he is, and that he will do what he says he will do."

"In our opinion, the most remarkable mental endowment of Mr. Clay is his *excellent sense*. He is the most sagacious public man this country has produced, except Benjamin Franklin. His knowledge of affairs seems rather intuitive than the result of experience. We have heard him deliver some of his greatest speeches. We have read them all. His fame as an orator is world wide. But what is the source of these great discourses? No flowers of rhetoric adorn them; no vast fund of acquired erudition enriches them. Mr. Clay hardly ever quotes from books. No elaborate argumentation. What then? The grandeur of an intellect that seems to perceive truth intuitively, mixed to a pattern as perfect as that of Demosthenes: this is the man, full of spirit, full of sense."

Among the eminent persons who have borne testimony to those qualities which qualify Mr. Clay so worthily for the highest office in the gift of the American people, is the late Col. Richard M. Johnson of Kentucky. We are indebted to the *Richmond Whig* for the following anecdote:—

"On the 30th of September last, Col. Johnson being in Staunton, Virginia, a number of gentlemen paid him the respect of calling to see him. One of

the company resorted to him, "Colonel, when you reach the railroad junction, you will be near the *Nestles of Heaven*." The honest old warrior's face immediately lighted up with an expression of sincerity and pleasure, and he eloquently said: "I shall be delighted to see that place. Every spot of ground Henry Clay touches he immortalizes. I have been in public life for forty years, and in that time have been associated with all the great men of the country. Leaving out Madison and Gallatin, who were old men when I first stepped upon the theatre of politics, I will place Jefferson first, then HENRY CLAY. He is a perfect Hercules in all the qualities that can adorn human nature. Some men may excel him in a single quality—for instance, Webster may be a greater orator; or some may be more renowned for deep research; but take Clay all in all, he has not an equal in the Union, in either the north or south, the east or the west. In moral courage, in physical courage, in industry, in patriotism, and in every noble quality, he is without a superior. I have been associated with him on committees in connection with Calhoun, Cassinady, Coker, Webster, and other distinguished individuals, but Clay was always the master spirit. We looked up to him as the *Ayas* of the Union; and by his counsel we were guided in our deliberations. If the rest of the committee scumbled before him, and were in doubt how to proceed, when he made his appearance, all eyes were turned upon him—and we were certain to be right when we followed his opinion. He is a great man—a very great man!"

As a writer, Mr. Clay will credibly compare with any of the public men of the day. His style is singularly picturesque, simple, forcible, and correct, evincing a preference for good old Saxon words over those derived from the Latin and Greek languages. In this respect it is perfectly Addisonian. His instructions to the ministers sent to the Congress of Panama, his land report of 1802, his report on the differences with France, and numerous documents which emanated from his pen while he was at the head of the department of state, may be referred to, not only as papers evincing masterly statesmanship, but as excellent specimens of English unadorned.

In his tastes and habits of life, Mr. Clay is remarkably simple and unostentatious. He is an early riser, and methodical and industrious in the disposition of his time. His punctuality is proverbial. He is quite as noted as Washington was for this good quality; which we generally find in the greatest perfection with those who have the greatest consideration for others.

In April, 1793, about a year and a half after Mr. Clay removed to Kentucky, he married Lucretia Hart, daughter of Colonel Hart, a highly respectable gentleman of Lexington. Another daughter was married to James Brown, Esq., afterward minister to France under Messrs. Monroe and J. Q. Adams. Mrs. Clay was born

in 1787, at Hagerstown, Maryland, being four years younger than her husband. They have had eleven children, six daughters and five sons, and a larger number of grandchildren. Four of the daughters died young. Susan Hart, then Mrs. Durable, of New Orleans, and at the age of twenty. Ann Brown Clay, born in 1807, married James Erwine, Esq., of New Orleans; and is said to have borne a great resemblance to her father in her captivating social, and intellectual qualities. She died in 1833, the last of the six. The news of her death so affected Mr. Clay, that he fainted on receiving the communication. The affliction of the bereavement was most bitter.

Theodore W. de Clay, the eldest son, was born in 1802. In consequence of an accidental injury, he became deranged, and has been for many years the inmate of an insane retreat. Thomas Hart Clay, the second son, born in 1803, is married and has a family. He is engaged chiefly in the manufacture of hemp. Henry Clay, Jr., born in 1811, fell at Buena-Vista, gallantly leading his men, February, 1847. James B. Clay, born in 1817, is married and in the practice of the law at Lexington. John M. Clay, the youngest of the family, born in 1821, has also been educated for the legal profession.

The virtues of Mrs. Clay, though of the modestive kind, are not the less admirable and deserving. Her benevolence, her industry, her studious attention to her household and her guests, have been the theme of eulogy with all who have visited Ashland. When General Bertrand, the faithful friend of Napoleon, was there, he was much astonished at the extent and variety of the duties discharged with so much activity and system by Mrs. Clay. Her dairy, garden, greenhouse, pleasure-grounds, and the operations of a farm of between five and six hundred acres, were all under her vigilant and comprehensive supervision.

In his domestic and social relations, no man could be more strictly honorable and blameless than Mr. Clay. The charge has been brought against him by his enemies, of having visited the gaming-table. It is admitted that, in early life, Mr. Clay had a fondness for play—not for the sake of the money sported, but for the company and the excitement. He has never played at a public table or at gambling-houses. *For upward of thirty years*

he has not played at any game of hazard. Never to his knowledge has a pack of cards been seen at Ashland. We mention these facts, not that we suppose that Mr. Clay objects to the recreation of cards, where nothing is staked, but because the personal and representative, and the most respectable character required to him, in connection with this subject, have been made eminent by his example. We have rarely noted the head and front of his offending. Many instances of the profane and irreverent which he carries into all formalities of a parliamentary nature might be mentioned; but we forbear.

It is with Mr. Clay's public history that we have chiefly to deal. The legislative records of the nation are the sources from which it may be derived. There is, doubtless, simply and immutably recorded, throughout a period of more than forty years. From these magnificent archives of the past, the materials will be drawn for a monument more permanent than marble or brass. Never were the views of a public man upon all questions of public policy more impressively and unequivocally expressed, more clearly and logically defined. On no one point is there an indication of shuffling, of a disposition to evade or defer the responsibility of uttering an opinion. In contemplating his career, we are often reminded of those lines by the author of "Philip Van Artevelde:"

"All my life long

I have beheld with most respect the man
Who knew himself and knew the ways before him,
And knew among them those who could be true,
With a clear foresight, not a doubtful courage,
And, having chosen, with a steadfast mind
Pursued his purpose."

Such a man is Henry Clay! And in no one public act of his life does he seem to have been actuated by other than pure and patriotic motives. "I WOULD RATHER BE RIGHT THAN BE WELL-LIKED." In that expression we have a key to his conduct from the moment he first entered the national councils; and in that expression, we have an earnest of the single-heartedness of purpose with which the affairs of the country would be conducted under his administration. But the presidency could not add to

his fame. The wonder of the wise and the good that he was not president, would speak louder in his behalf, and be a prouder tribute to his worth, than their exultation at his success. The absence of his bust from the triumph, will be more noted than its presence could ever be.

Whatever the Future may have in store, "the Past is secure." His name lives in the hearts of his countrymen. His fame is incorporate with the history of the republic. May they both be blessed with the highest honor which a free people can bestow!

New York, May, 1848.

END OF MARGENT'S LIFE OF CLAY.

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The first question, then, for practical consideration was this—Can Mr. Clay be elected? Is the Whig party strong enough, in and of itself, to nominate the man of its choice with a reasonable probability of electing him?

Mr. Clay, it was notorious, had been repeatedly beaten; but only once when he was sustained by the full strength of the Whig party. This severe race of 1824 had only demonstrated one thing—the hostility of the people to the abuses and corruptions of congressional usurpation. All beyond this was accidental—fortuitous. In 1832, the Anti-Jackson strength was divided by Anti-Masonry, which abstracted from Mr. Clay the votes of several States which he would otherwise have carried. And in 1840, Mr. Clay was barely beaten by the Know-Nothing swindle in Pennsylvania, whereby a large body of voters were carried against him by the preposterously false and impudent, but nevertheless successful, assumption that Mr. Polk was the better Protectionist of the two, and were drawn in swell the vote of the latter under banners inscribed "Polk, Dallas, and the Tariff of '42"—by the terrors of Nativism which had been infused into the great body of our adopted citizens by the Church-burning and other acts of violence committed in Philadelphia, in the spring and early summer of that year—by the audacious and persistent assertion of Birney and Co. that the Annexation of Texas was as much favored by Mr. Clay as by Mr. Polk, and more likely to be effected by the former, because of his far greater ability and influence—and by the atrocious frauds and illegal workings, whereof the Plaquemine canvass in Louisiana afforded the most conspicuous illustration. That a majority of the legal voters of New-York and Louisiana cast their ballots for Mr. Clay, in 1844, is morally, though not legally, demonstrable. That a majority of those of Pennsylvania would have done so had they not been deceived and misled, is also palpable. The votes of these States, added to those actually thrown for Mr. Clay, would have given him nearly two-thirds of the entire Electoral body, and rendered his election more triumphant than was that of Mr. Polk. Yet in no canvass were Whig principles ever more plainly and thoroughly proclaimed, nor more absolutely relied on, than in that of 1844, by the supporters of Mr. Clay

This friends of Mr. Clay in 1848 argued thus: New-York, which alone defeated us in '44, is now for us, hesitantly and reluctantly; she has been carried by the Whigs in the last two elections—in that of '47 by an overwhelming majority. She has elected a delegation almost unanimously for Mr. Clay, and she tells us officially and otherwise that her vote is more certain for him than for any other Whig. Now admit that we may lose some one or more of the Eleven States which voted for Mr. Clay in '44, we insist that there is at least as much probability that we shall carry Pennsylvania, Louisiana, and some other of the States which then voted for Mr. Polk, leaving New-York as clear and absolute gain, which is as much as we actually need. Since, then, it is conceded that Mr. Clay is the first choice of nearly all Whigs, and is demonstrable that he could pretty certainly be elected, we insist that he and no other is the man who ought to be nominated.

But the friends of Mr. Clay cherished serious objections, moreover, to the support of General Taylor, his leading competitor for the nomination, in view of the circumstances under which his name was presented. That General Taylor was an honest, brave, humane patriot and soldier, they were not inclined to doubt; but his life had been mainly spent in camps and forts on the frontier at or beyond the outskirts of civilization; so that he was confessedly ignorant, to a remarkable degree, of the great questions of public policy which for a generation had convulsed the country. He had never voted at any election, and no one could say when or where, prior to the suggestion of his name for the Presidency, he had evinced any decided interest in, or even familiarity with, those great benevolent principles and measures for which the Whigs had so patiently and resolutely struggled. To nominate him for President, therefore, in view of his inopportunity professions and the ceaseless inquiries which first designated him as a candidate, seemed to many of the Old Guard like abandoning the great purposes of our organization as a party, and advertising the world that we cared more for grasping the office than for advancing our principles. Such considerations made the thought of surrendering Mr. Clay for any other candidate, but especially General Taylor, exceedingly

distasteful to a large proportion of the most zealous, intelligent, and devoted Whigs.

On the other hand, it was urged—True, General Taylor is not a Statesman of the same grade with Mr. Clay; but he is an honest, patriotic Whig, who will hear and heed advice from all those whom a Whig President should heed—he is eminently a man of strong common sense, of popular sympathies, of liberal views, and immensely popular with all those who are but honestly or not at all attached to any party. He is already the declared and accepted candidate of these; his nomination will be generally hailed as an omen and forerunner of triumph; and his election will do much to calm the effervescence and assuage the bitterness of party spirit, restoring, in good degree, the golden era of Washington and Monroe.

These considerations ultimately prevailed. Indeed, it seems probable, in view of all the facts, that a majority of all the delegates went to Philadelphia expecting, if not absolutely desiring, General Taylor's nomination, though prevented by instructions and previous commitments, if not by the strong repugnance of their immediate constituents, from immediately voting to produce it.

It is not likely that anything within the scope of human effort could have changed the result, yet the success and mainly appearance in Philadelphia, just as the Whig Convention was assembling, of General Cass, the antagonist nominee, with several of his leading advocates, did much to hasten it. The speeches made from hotel steps and windows by these gentlemen were of a peculiarly acrimonious and exasperating character, and, being addressed mainly to Whig audiences, tended to excite in their minds a most intense and overwhelming desire for success at all hazards in resentment of this insolent and irritating incursion. And, as the local sentiment at Philadelphia, corroborating the indications of the political barometer at Washington, pointed strongly to General Taylor as the man with whom success was most certain, their effect on the nomination was very perceptible; and when Kentucky had been called through on the first ballot for President, and had given a majority of her votes for General Taylor over her own illustrious Statesman, in whose support she had never before wavered, it

was manifest to all but the most devoted and uncompromising supporters of Mr. Clay that no hope of his nomination remained. The Convention had been organized by the choice of Governor John M. Morehead, of North Carolina, as President, with the usual complement of Vice-Presidents and Secretaries, and the following was the declared result of its several ballottings:

State.	First Ballot.			
	Clay	Webster	W. L. G.	Other
Maine	0	1	0	0
New Hampshire	0	0	0	0
Vermont	1	0	0	0
Massachusetts	0	0	12	0
Rhode Island	0	1	0	0
Connecticut	0	0	0	0
New York	25	0	0	0
New Jersey	0	1	0	0
Pennsylvania	0	12	0	0
Delaware	0	0	0	0
Maryland	0	0	0	21
Virginia	15	7	0	0
North Carolina	0	0	0	0
South Carolina	1	1	0	0
Georgia	0	0	0	0
Alabama	0	1	0	0
Mississippi	0	0	0	0
Louisiana	0	1	0	0
Ohio	1	1	70	1
Kentucky	2	0	0	0
Tennessee	12	0	0	0
Indiana	1	2	0	0
Illinois	1	2	0	0
Missouri	7	0	0	0
Arkansas	0	0	0	0
Michigan	0	0	0	0
Texas	0 ^a	0	0	0
Florida	0	0	0	0
Wisconsin	1	0	0	0
Iowa	0	1	1	0
Total	111	27	83	4
Total 220. No choice.				

Second Ballot.

Taylor, 118 Clay, 20 Scott, 12 Webster, 22 Clayton, 4
No choice again. Adjourned to next morning.

Third Ballot.

Taylor, 130 Clay, 24 Scott, 15 Webster, 17 Clayton, 4

Fourth Ballot.

Taylor, 171 Clay, 102 Scott, 43 Webster, 14.
Taylor over all, 222.

^a Cast by the Louisiana delegation, under instructions.

Whereupon General ZACHARY TAYLOR was declared the Whig candidate for President.

It was made a subject of reproach to Mr. Clay, throughout the earlier stages of the canvass which succeeded, that he did not just forth and exert his great personal influence in behalf of General Taylor, and especially to soothe the feeling of profound dissatisfaction which the preference of the latter had excited. Looking only to his own popularity and position, it would probably have been well for him to do what had been desired of him by the friends of General Taylor. Yet it is but fair to consider that the nomination of General Taylor had been made on grounds expressly and peculiarly derogatory to Mr. Clay's standing in the party and grating to his feelings — on the ground, namely, that long and efficient service in the foremost ranks of the party and a towering ascendancy in the direction of its efforts, served rather to unfit than to qualify one for the bearing of its standard and the reception of its highest honors. Mr. Clay may well have said — "If General Taylor is so transcendently popular, as his friends represent him, that his nomination is equivalent to an election, why should I be required to take the laboring oar in the canvass? When it is notorious that his more ardent friends reversed their determination to support him to the end, whether nominated at Philadelphia or not, and when no word of his was ever uttered to rebuke that determination, why may I not await some authoritative and explicit avowal of his devotion to Whig principles before denouncing repugnance to his support as rebellion against the Whig party? Would it not seem officious and supererogatory on my part if I were to step forward masked by General Taylor, as his champion when his especial friends have so often declared that he only needed a free course and to be let alone by the politicians to insure his enthusiastic and overwhelming triumph at the hands of the people?"

At length, however, about the 1st of September, the strong feeling of discontent in many quarters at the equivocal position still maintained by General Taylor was brought to a head by his written acceptance of a nomination made by a public meeting in Charleston, S. C., of himself for President in connection with General Butler, the regular candidate of the antagonist party, for

Vice-President. This, in the eyes of politicians more practical and familiar with party usages than General Taylor, was a virtual repudiation of the Whig party as having any special claim to his fidelity or favor in case of his election to the Presidency.

An impulsive and spontaneous movement to repudiate the nomination of General Taylor and substitute that of Mr. Clay, or some other known and unflinching advocate of Whig principles, was commenced at Albany, and followed by meetings of similar import in New York and other places. These having resulted to the formal presentation of Mr. Clay, especially in New York, as a candidate for President in the pending contest, constrained him to break the silence he had hitherto observed, and peremptorily forbid the use of his name in any such connection. Still, he made no public allusion to the nomination of General Taylor; took no active part in the canvass; and, if he even voted at the Presidential Election, the fact was not publicly noted.

The contest, though much closer than the more ardent friends of General Taylor had predicted, resulted to his election. Pennsylvania decided the question in his favor, casting an unprecedented vote and giving him a handsome majority. Fifteen of the thirty States gave 163 electoral votes for General Taylor, while the other fifteen gave but 127 to General Cass, so that the former was elected by a majority of 36 electoral votes. The nomination of Mr. Van Buren for President by the National Free Soil Convention at Buffalo, and his zealous support by the Barnburner section of the Democratic party in New York, doubtless contributed materially to this result. On the 4th of March, 1849, ZACHARY TAYLOR, of Louisiana, was inaugurated as President, and MELLAND FULLBROOK, of New York, as Vice-President for the ensuing four years.

During 1849, the people of Kentucky elected and held a Convention to revise their State Constitution. In view of the election, Mr. Clay addressed them a long and able letter, temperately setting forth his reasons for desiring that a plan of Gradual Emancipation and Colonization should be adopted. His views were acceded to by a large majority; but their utterance is now the less creditable to their author.

XXXI.

REPLY TO CASH ON AUSTRIA—ON FUGITIVE SLAVES.

The struggle for the Annexation of Texas to our Union was regarded by all discerners as marking a new era in the history of this country. From the moment the project was adopted by John Tyler as a last desperate expedient for the prolongation of his power, a perilous sectional excitement was inevitable. His Secretary of State, John C. Calhoun, in officially explaining and justifying the course of the Executive in acceding to Annexation, expressly based it on a lively apprehension that the existence and perpetuity of slavery in the Union might be endangered by its abolition in Texas, which he deemed likely to be brought about by some arrangement between that country, should it remain independent, and Great Britain. General James Hamilton, of S. C., treated Annexation as a measure calculated to give "a Gibraltar to the South." Every vehement advocate of slavery as "a corner-stone of our republican edifice," became instinctively a champion of Annexation; every slave-trader at once prepared to forget, or to sink, all party differences in its favor; and, long before the country had been fully aroused to the true nature and magnitude of the issue, a very powerful interest, consisting in part of the stocks, bonds, &c., of Texas, had been concentrated upon the issue of Annexation, eager to make it override all others.

At the North, on the other hand, a very general aversion to the scheme was entertained. The unpopularity of Tyler, providently emphatic, was increased by this project of Annexation, on which it reflected discredit in turn. Annexation had no ardent friends in the Free States, beyond the three or four hundred persons whom the prospect of the hope of spoils still attached to the waning fortunes of Tyler, and the still smaller number who were interested in Texas Stocks and Bonds. And when, by the nomination of Polk and Dallas, the Democratic party was inextricably committed to Annexation, the greater portion of its members in New York and other Free States, under the

on a resolution submitted by General Cass, directing the Committee on Foreign Affairs, to inquire into the expediency of suspending diplomatic intercourse with Austria, because of her barbarities inflicted on the betrayed and persecuted patriots of Hungary. General Cass, maintaining the resolution, expressly appealed to Mr. Clay for his support, intimating that his expectation was grounded on Mr. Clay's well-known sympathy with those who struggle and sacrifice for liberty, as evinced in his eloquent and powerful efforts in behalf of South American independence. Mr. Clay was thus morally constrained to speak, and he committed his remarks by subscription to such a proposition taking the form of a resolution of inquiry, when the facts on which action was demanded were historical and known to the whole world. He continued:

"Now, I think that the question should be treated as if it were a direct proposition to suspend diplomatic intercourse with the present rulers of Austria on the original resolution. And, sir, I have been very much struck with the want of sympathy between the present and ex-propos of the honorable senator from Michigan. In his previous he depicted the atrocities of Austrian despotism. Who doubts the perpetration of these crimes? Is the most glowing strain of eloquence, he pronounced to be the language of offending Hungary. Who doubts that? He speaks of the atrocities committed by her—the disgrace of the war, and shame of all of America. Who doubts it? These were the grounds of the honorable senator, but what was his conclusion? It was to require the recall of a British legation of Affairs that we happen to have at Vienna! Why, the natural consequence would be to declare war immediately against Austria, if she had consented and been willing herself from the impossibility of coming in contact with her, this resolve might be difficult of accomplishment. But, sir, there is another mode that is much more congenial, much more compatible with the course we ought to take. The evils that afflict and bleed Hungary are now scattered through all quarters of the globe; every hospitable shore, every sea now wounding their coast, and every air is rentured throughout Europe. Let the How, Sweden, Prussia, France, and some other plan for affording succor and relief to the wretched Hungary—something that shall be worthy of their necessities, and the feelings of all who, upon a brave and generous people, shall do honor to a country which has been a resource—something that shall be worthy of a country which is the ark of the oppressed and the oppressor from all quarters of the world—something that shall be worthy the acceptance of the gallant and patriotic with which those who have fought in defence of their own country. When the Federal Senator shall have done this, then he may call on me, and call not in vain, for esteem and support in behalf of a proposition such as I have indicated. Sir, indubitably, owing to some objection which it is not necessary for me now to dwell, some of them of a very pointed nature—among which are charges against the conduct in behalf of the Hungarian war, which, if well founded, must never live with me—indeed, I think

Hungary fell suddenly, and to the surprise of the American world. She is subdued; she is crushed.

Now, if we reject this resolution, I have been anxious to satisfy myself upon what principle we can vindicate it. What principle does it involve? It involves the principle of assisting, on the part of this government, a right to pass judgment upon the conduct of Foreign Powers—a branch of the subject that has been well treated of by the senator who sits before me (Mr. Hale). Have we any such power? The most extensive bearing of the principle involved in the resolution proposed by the honorable senator from Michigan, assumes the right, on the part of this nation, to pronounce upon the conduct of all other nations, and to follow it up by some direct action, such as the suspending of intercourse. We are directing, at present, the exercise of that power toward a nation, on account of the manner in which they have conducted a war, or of the manner in which they have treated the unfortunate prisoners who were taken during the progress of that war. But where is to be the limit? You begin with war. You may extend the same principle of action to politics or religion—to society or to social principles and habits.

The honorable senator before me (Mr. Hale) has spoken of the conduct of Russia; and undoubtedly, as between Russia and Austria, I consider Russia the more culpable. It is true, she had a pretext for her interference. She was afraid of the contagion of liberty in Hungary, lest it might affect her autocratic possessions. That was the pretext for her interference. In the eyes, however, of Austria, though I think Hungary was right and Austria wrong in respect to the cause and object of the war, still there were relations existing between Hungary and Austria, which did not exist between Hungary and Russia. Russia's interference, then, was voluntary, spontaneous, uncalled for. She had no such pretext or ground for it as Austria had, in undertaking to subjugate those whom she was pleased to call rebellious subjects; and yet the honorable senator has permitted Russia to pass—and, by-the-by, allow me to say that, but for the interference of Russia, Hungary would have succeeded. She had succeeded, and she would have eventually triumphed in the struggle with Austria. The honorable senator, instead of directing his proposition against Russia, as I would have done, directs it against Austria, the less offending power of the two, and proposes to pass Russia by unnoted. But if the principle contained in the proposition be true, we have a right to combine into the conduct of Russia, and into that of other nations. Where, then, is the limit? You may extend it to Religion. You may extend it to the Inquisition. Have we not an equal right to say to Spain, 'Unless you abolish the Inquisition, we will suspend diplomatic intercourse with you?' . . . Sir, if we are to become the detacher of nations, the conquests of other powers, I again ask the honorable Senator where are we to stop? and why does he confine himself to Austria alone?

Mr. President, the honorable Senator admitted that he entertained no apprehension that I was one of those stationary politicians who refuse to advance as the opportunities; one of those politicians, I think his expression was, that stand still; that he was in favor of Progress—in favor of going ahead. Sir, I should like to understand the meaning of this word 'Progress,' of which the honorable Senator speaks. I should like to hear a definition of it. Has not this nation progressed with most astonishing rapidity in point of population? Has it not by far exceeded, in this respect, every other nation in the world? Has it not progressed in commerce and manufactures? Has it not increased in power with a rapidity greater than

Just may be found to correspond with our notion and judgment of what is right and proper in the administration of human affairs. Still, it does not become us to take such perilous and unnecessary grounds, and I trust that we shall not adopt such a course. I see no necessity for referring this resolution to a committee. I think it would be unwise to adopt it, and I trust the Senate will at once negative the resolution; or, if it should be referred, confiding in the sound judgment of the Committee on Foreign Relations in anticipation, I feel perfectly sure of the rejection of the resolution by the committee."

The resolution of General Cass was not adopted in the Senate and a proposition afterward made by him to strike out of the general appropriation bill the item providing for the outfit of a *Chargé d'Affaires* to Austria, was, on the 16th of April, negatived, by a vote of 28 to 17.

On the 11th of February Mr. Clay proposed the following resolution:—

"Resolved, That in future, when a member of Congress dies and has been buried in the vaults, the Senate will not feel itself called upon to extend to the memory of the deceased the honors and ceremonies which have been of late years usually accorded; but will restrict itself hereafter to the appropriation of those honors and ceremonies to cases of the death of members during the session of Congress."

This resolution coming up in order on the 28th of March, Mr. Clay, in supporting it, said:—

"There are but two cases which can justify the practice of Congress in adjourning on account of the death of a member. One is, that a member dying here, the rites of burial are due to him, and our religion and our feelings both unite in inducing us to cooperate in the performance of these rites; the other is, when a man associating with us in our public duties during the session—subjoining with us upon all occasions, private as well as public—falls before the great destroyer in our midst, sympathy with him—feeling for his family—regret for the event—render the body, or a portion of the body, incompetent, for a day at least, to discharge its public duties. Both these considerations unite, when the death occurs among us; but if the death happens at a great distance from us—especially of an unknown individual, long buried, with whom there has been no association—none of these considerations and motives induce us, it strikes us, to adjourn, and discontinue the discharge of our public duties, in consequence of an event exciting no more interest to most of us than the death of any other prominent individual in public life would do. These are the considerations which I think prevailed in the Senate at the time when the subject was first suggested to them. They appear to me to call us on—and we have most of us been in Congress a length of time, and felt the inconveniences—to adopt this resolution."

Mr. Clay's proposition was earnestly opposed by Jefferson Davis, of Mississippi, but was adopted without a division.

XXXIII.

TEXAS ANNEXATION AND BURNETT'S CHAIRMANSHIP.

General Taylor, having been elected President, in November, 1849, but not yet inaugurated, Mr. Clay, on the reassembling of the new Kentucky Legislature, in December, 1849, was again chosen a Senator of the United States for a full term of six years from the 4th of March, 1850. His election was unanimous.

A special session of the Senate was held at the opening of General Taylor's Administration, but Mr. Clay did not deem his attendance therein necessary. At the opening of the regular session, however, on the 4th of December following, he took his seat in the Senate, nearly forty-three years subsequent to his first appearance as a member of that body.

The dispatch of public business was for some time delayed by the failure of the House to elect a speaker. The Whig candidate was Robert C. Winthrop, of Massachusetts, that of the Opposition was Howell Cobb, of Georgia, but these were the Southern Whigs who obstinately refused to vote for Mr. Winthrop, because of the support given by him, with a majority of the Whig members, to the Walnut Paving, while an equal or larger number of Free Soil Democrats withheld their support from Mr. Cobb, because he was supported and elected over and over expressly as an opponent of that Paving. Hence there were some half dozen members elected as distinctive Free-soilers, who would vote for neither of the leading candidates, while two Whigs, two Democrats, and one Free-soiler, were absent at the opening. The vote on the first ballot was Cobb 103, Winthrop 96, and 22 scattering; and the contest was continued with like results until the 25d, when the House voted, by 151 to 106, that, if no choice should be effected on the first, second, or third ballot ensuing, then the candidate having the highest vote on the next following ballot should be declared the Speaker elect. Under this resolution, Mr. Cobb was, on the 6th ballot, chosen Speaker, having 102 votes to 99 for Winthrop, and 20 scattering.

On the 7th of January, Mr. Clay rose to address the Senate

head of such men as Silas Wright and B. F. Butler, still proclaimed their invincible hostility to any scheme of Annexation which should come to the benefit of slavery—to any Annexation which did not guarantee equal advantage to the Free with the Slave States.

These professions were not justified by their subsequent acts—if indeed they could have been without cutting loose from and defying the bonds of party. Mr. Polk having been elected as an avowed and unconditional Annexationist, and thus clothed with immense patronage and power, the triumph of Annexation was inevitable, and the imposition of conditions unpalatable to the great bulk of its supporters and patrons impossible. Feeble efforts to limit or qualify the victory of the Slave Power were made in the House by Richard D. Davis, of New York, and John P. Hale, of New Hampshire, but with no other effect than that of silencing the former into subservieney, and driving the latter out of the party. Annexation was decreed by joint resolutions of the two Houses, a day or two before Mr. Polk's formal accession to power, upon conditions which secured its whole territory to slavery, and imposed no effectual limitations on the claim of Texas to extend her dominion to the Rio Grande, and thus absorb one half of the Mexican department of Tamaulipas, a portion of Chihuahua, Coahuila, and nearly the whole vast extent of New Mexico, where the Spanish or Mexican Flag had reigned in undisputed supremacy from a period long anterior to the settlement of the Cavaliers at Jamestown, or the landing of the Pilgrims at Plymouth. And Mr. Polk, by ordering the march of a strong detachment of troops to the banks of the Rio Grande opposite Matamoros, evinced a determination to support the utmost claims of Texas with the whole power of the Government, and secure to Slavery the fullest measure of aggrandizement from its triumph.

This was the War with Mexico provoked and commenced; such were the aspects under which it was prosecuted. But when, after a year of unbroken success, the President applied to Congress for Three Millions of Dollars to be used, if advisable, in the negotiation of a peace, it became evident that large acquisitions of territory, even beyond the apocryphal limits of Tex-

as, were insisted; and now, the Northern Democracy, smarting under a sense of the justice of the Whig taunts that, in this whole business of Texan Annexation and Mexican War, the blood and treasure of the nation had been lavished for the extension of Slavery, were stirred up to an assertion of independence. When the \$3,000,000 proposition above-mentioned came up for decision in the House, a hasty consultation was held between the leading Democrats of the North, from which resulted a *Proviso*, moved by Mr. Wilmost of Pennsylvania, and hence designated by his name, declaring that no territory which might be acquired from Mexico at the close of the war should be opened to the introduction of Slaves. This *Proviso* was adopted by the House: nearly all the members from the Free States, without distinction of party, sustaining it; but it failed in the Senate, where it was left over unacted on, having been received from the House just previous to the hour fixed for the close of the session of 1847. And though the question was repeatedly revived during the three following sessions, and the principle of the Wilmost *Proviso* nearly as often reaffirmed by the House, yet it was never concurred in by the Senate, but on several occasions negatived by that body. The short session of 1851-2 was rendered memorable by an earnest and protracted struggle, respecting the organization of the Territories acquired by conquest and treaty from Mexico—the House insisting on the introduction of Slavery therein, and the Senate rejecting any such condition. Ultimately, the session closed as it had begun, no Wilmost *Proviso* having been passed, nor any legal provision made for the civil organization of the Territories.

The question of prohibiting Slavery in the Territories necessarily blended with and embarrassed the settlement of the Boundary of Texas. The historical as well as actual Territory of Texas, prior to her Annexation, stopped far short of the Rio Grande, and in fact extended no farther West and South than the valley of the Nueces; and that it did not extend beyond 34° North, is indisputable. Up to the day that General Taylor received orders from the War Department to march down to and take post on the Rio Grande, there had never been a settlement nor another in any part of the valley of that river under the flag

of Texas. No dollar of tax had ever been collected by Texas on territory watered by the Rio Grande, nor had one of her civil officers ever served a process there. On two or three occasions, during the desultory warfare which had for years been prosecuted between Texas and Mexico, expeditions, half preliminary, half military, had borne the flag of Texas to the banks of the Rio Grande, and once or twice had assailed and captured one of the Mexican cities on the right bank of that river; but they were almost immediately routed or compelled to make a hasty retreat to avoid an encounter with overwhelming force; so that the Texan flag had at no time floated for a month continuously in the Rio Grande valley. The only expedition by which Texas ever attempted the subjugation of New Mexico was surprised, defeated, and nearly every man in it made prisoner, before it had advanced within sight of Santa Fe. Yet Texas asserted on paper that her western boundary was the Rio Grande; so that Congress was impelled, in view of this assertion, to stipulate in the annexing resolutions for an express consent by Texas, that all questions of boundary between her and Mexico should be subject to settlement by the Federal Government—a requirement which was reluctantly but explicitly submitted to.

But when President Polk, by marching our army down to the Rio Grande while our Government still professed to maintain amicable relations with Mexico, had clearly assumed that the territorial rights of Texas were extensive with her utmost claims, and Congress had formally asserted that in the conflicts which followed within sight of Matamoros, "American blood" had been shed on "American soil," Texas very naturally insisted that all equivocal or hesitating by the Federal Government as to the rightfulness of her claim was precluded, and that its validity was fully admitted and established. Whatever objections to that claim Mexico might have offered, the *United States* could interpose none without an impeachment of *their own* integrity and veracity. When, therefore, the whole of New Mexico and the left bank of the lower Rio Grande became by conquest and treaty the territory of the United States, Texas took possession of the latter, and asserted her right to the former as one which the Federal Government could with decency neither gainsey nor resist. And if the party

which plunged the country into war on the assumption that Texas extended to the Rio Grande had contained no power, it is not probable that the claim would have been officially resisted.

The election of General Taylor, however, changed materially the aspects of the case. The Whigs, as a party, had always scouted the territorial claims of Texas as preposterous, and consequently regarded the war on Mexico as originated in fraud and presented in false light and impurity. General Taylor himself was thoroughly convinced that Texas had no more right to New Mexico than to Oregon, and was ready as President to repel force by force, if needed, in resistance to her pretensions. And as Texas, incited by the proslavery states of Slavery in other States of the South, proclaimed and avowed a determination to vindicate her claim by the sword, a collision between her authority and that of the Union seemed, though a part of the inevitable collision in which the active support of Texas by the whole force of the Slave States, and a consequent disunion of the Union, were by many deemed inevitable.

The Democratic party of the Free States, though it had very generally professed acquiescence in the principle of the Wilkes Proviso, and though many of its leaders in Congress and elsewhere reflected great zeal for the preservation of Free Soil from the blighting tread of Slavery, manifested no disposition to resist the subjugation of New Mexico to the dominion of Slavery under the pretense of organizing it as part of the rightful territory of Texas. Having so recently and so vehemently scouted the pretensions of the territorial claims of Texas, the party could not, without palpable and glaring inconsistency, resist the acts of Texas in further assertion of those claims and an undeniable avowal thereof. Thus, with nearly the entire South supporting the pretensions of Texas for Slavery's sake, and the North divided and paralyzed by the commitment of one half its statesmen and people to those pretensions through their justification of the war on Mexico, there remained no hope of any direct action by Congress looking to the preservation of New Mexico from the doom that threatened her. The danger was great and obvious, that while Congress duly uttered with Free Soil professions and

speeches, and a majority of the House seemed impressed with anxiety to preserve California and Utah from the very remote and contingent peril of an establishment of Slavery therein, New Mexico might be absorbed by Texas, and thus converted into a Slavery-sustaining region as large as France, carrying the 'peculiar institution' up to 42° North or nearly the latitude of Boston. All that General Taylor's administration could have done in resistance to this consummation must have been confined to the offensive and forcible operations of Texas, for which a politic and moderate expenditure of money upon the degraded and ignorant population of New Mexico might have abated all necessity. Had \$100,000 been skillfully dispersed in New Mexico, in 1843-50, in support of the Texan pretensions, it is probable that "the county of Santa Fe" might have been organized and the whole territory of New Mexico thereby subjected henceforth to the sovereignty and the institutions of Texas.

21. *Resolved*, That no slavery shall ever exist by law, and is not likely to be introduced into any of the territory acquired by the United States from the republic of Mexico, it is the expectation of Congress to provide by law either for its introduction into or exclusion from any part of the said territory; and that appropriate territorial governments ought to be established by Congress in all the said territory, not assigned to the inhabitants of the present state of California, without the adoption of any restriction or condition on the subject of slavery.

This resolution, sir, proposes, in the first instance, a declaration of two truths, one of law and the other of fact. The truth of law which it declares is, that there does not exist at this time, slavery within any portion of the territory acquired by the United States from Mexico. When I say, sir, it is a truth, I speak my own solemn and deliberate conviction. I am aware that some gentlemen here held a different doctrine; but I persuade myself that they themselves, when they come to review the whole ground, will see sufficient reasons for a change, or at least a modification of their opinions; but that, in all events, if they adhere to that doctrine, they will be found to compose a very small minority of the whole mass of the people of the United States.

The next truth which the resolution asserts is, that slavery is not likely to be introduced into any portion of that territory. That is a matter of fact; and all the evidence upon which the fact rests, is, perhaps, as accessible to other members as it is to me; but I must say that, from all I have heard or read, from the testimony of all the witnesses I have seen and conversed with, from all that has transpired and is transpiring, I do believe that not within one foot of the territory acquired by us from Mexico will slavery ever be planted, and I believe it could not be done even by the force and power of public authority.

Sir, facts are daily occurring to justify me in this opinion. Sir, what has occurred? And upon that subject, and indeed upon this whole subject, I invite members from the free states especially to consider what has occurred even since the last session— even since the commencement of this session— since they took their respective constitutions, without an opportunity of consulting with them upon that great and important fact—the fact that California herself, of which it was asserted and predicted that she never would establish slavery within her limits when she came to be admitted as a state; that California herself embracing, of all other portions of the country acquired by us from Mexico, that country into which it would have been most likely that slavery should have been introduced; that California herself has, not in convention, and by a unanimous vote, embracing in that body detachments from the state of Mississippi, as well as from other parts, who concurred in the resolution—that California by a unanimous vote, has declared against the introduction of slavery within her limits. I think, then, that taking this leading fact in connection with all the evidence we have from other sources on the subject, I am warranted in the conclusion which constitutes the second truth which I have stated in this resolution, that slavery is “not likely to be introduced into any of the territory acquired by us from Mexico.”

Sir, the latter part of the resolution asserts that it is the duty of Congress to establish appropriate territorial governments within all the country acquired from Mexico, exclusive of California, not embracing in the acts by which those governments shall be constituted either a prohibition or an admission of slavery.

Sir, much as I am disposed to defer to high authority, maxims as I really am to find myself in a position that would enable me to co-operate heartily with the other departments of the government in conducting the affairs of this great people, I must say that I can not without a dereliction of duty consent to an

to ascertain, but all the means requisite to the ascertaining of the sum were not then provided, and it is not very essential at this time, because it is the principle and not the amount that is most worthy of consideration. Now, sir, the ground upon which I base this liability on the part of the United States to pay a specified portion of the debt of Texas is not new to me. It is one which I have again and again assumed to be an opinion entertained by me. I think it is founded upon principles of truth and eternal justice. Texas, being an independent power, recognized as such by all the great powers of the earth, heretofore to be made to her, to enable her to prosecute the then existing war between her and Mexico. She told those whom she invited to make those loans, that "if you make them, the duties on foreign imports shall be speedily pledged for the reimbursement of the loans." The loans were made. The money was received, and expended in the establishment of her liberty and her independence. After all this, she annexed herself to the United States, who thenceforward required the right to the identical pledge which she had made to the public creditor to satisfy the loan of money which he had advanced to her. The United States became the owners of that pledge, and the recipient of all the duties payable in the ports of Texas.

Now, sir, I do say that, in my humble judgment, if there be honor, or justice, or truth among men, we do owe to the creditors who thus advanced their money upon that pledge, the reimbursement of the money, in all events to the extent that the pledged fund would have reimbursed it, if it had never been appropriated by us to our use. We must recollect, sir, that in relation to that pledge, and to the loan made in virtue and on the faith of it, there were three parties bound—I mean after Annexation—the United States, Texas, and the creditor of Texas, who had advanced his money on the faith of a solemn pledge made by Texas.

Texas and the United States might do what they thought proper; but in justice they would do nothing to deprive the creditor of a full reliance upon the pledge upon the faith of which he had advanced his money. Sir, it is impossible now to ascertain how much she now receives by her foreign imports; but it would be most right to go there now and examine at Galveston and her other ports, to ascertain how much she now receives by her foreign imports; because, by being incorporated into this Union, all her supplies, which formerly were received from foreign countries, and subject—many of them at least—to import duties, are now received by the existing trade, instead of being received from other countries, as they would have been if she had remained independent. Considering the extent of her territory, and the rapid manner in which her population is increasing, and is likely to increase, it is probable that in the course of a few years there might have been such an amount received at the various ports of Texas—she remaining so dependent—as would have been adequate to the extinction of the debt to which I have referred.

But, sir, it is not merely in the discharge of what I consider to be a valid and legitimate obligation resting upon the United States to discharge the specified debt, it is not upon that condition alone that this payment is proposed to be made; it is also upon the further condition that Texas shall relinquish to the United States any claim that she has to any portion of New Mexico. Now, sir, although, as I believe, she has not a valid title to any portion of New Mexico, she has a claim; and for the sake of that general peace and harmony, for the sake of that accommodation which ought to be as much the object of legislation as it is of individuals in their transactions in private

life, we may do best what an individual in such a case himself might do, give something for the redemption of a slave, although it should not be well founded, for the sake of peace. His, therefore, proposal and this resolution does propose that we shall pay the amount of the debt contracted by Texas prior to its annexation to the United States, in consideration of our redemption of the duties applicable to the extraction of that duty, and that Texas shall also, in consideration of a sum to be advanced, relinquish any claim which she has to any portion of New Mexico.

The fifth resolution, and the sixth, like the third and fourth, are somewhat connected together. They are as follows:

5th.Resolved, That it is the opinion of the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society, that it is the duty of the people of the United States to petition the Congress of the United States, to the effect that the Government of the United States should not be bound to pay the amount of that debt to the British.

6th. Resolved, That it is the duty of the people of the United States to petition the Congress of the United States, to the effect that the Government of the United States should not be bound to pay the amount of that debt to the British.

The first of these resolutions, Mr. President, in somewhat different language, is not substantially so other principle than that which was accepted by the Senate of the United States twelve years since, upon a resolution which I then offered, and which passed, at least the particular resolution passed, by a majority, of four-fifths of the Senate. I allude to the resolution presented by me in 1828. I shall not enlarge on that resolution, at present, for itself; it declares that the institution of slavery should not be established in the District of Columbia without the concurrence of three conditions; first, the assent of Maryland; second, the assent of the people within the district; and third, compensation to the owners of the slaves within the district for their property.

The next resolution proposed does not so precisely demand. It is that the slave-trade within the district ought to be absolutely prohibited. I do not mean by that the alienation and transfer of slaves from the inhabitants within this district—the sale by one individual to another of a slave (such the one owns and the other wants, that a husband may perhaps be put along with his wife, or a wife with her husband). I do not mean by that at all the question of the right of property in slaves among persons living within the district; but the slave-trade to which I refer, and, I think, pronounced an abomination more than forty years since, by one of the most gifted and distinguished sons of Virginia, the late Mr. Randolph. And when, therefore, it is not declared in the constitution of the United States, and when it is not declared at the assembly of 1829, it is a great mistake at the North, if they suppose that gentlemen living in the slave States look upon one who is a regular trader in slaves with our particular love or kindness. They are often sometimes unjustly, perhaps, excluded from social intercourse. I have known some memorable instances of the sort. But, the objection to this trade. It is a usual and limited impurity in the redemption of that portion of the district formerly belonging to Virginia. There are Alexandria, Richmond, Petersburg, and Norfolk, south of the Potomac, and Baltimore, Annapolis, and perhaps other ports, north of the Potomac. Let the slave dealer, who chooses to collect his slaves in Virginia and Maryland, go to these places, let him not come here and establish his jail, and put on his chains, and sometimes check the sensibilities of our nature by a long train of slaves passing through that avenue leading from this Capital to the house of the Chief Magistrate of one of the most glorious Republics that ever existed. Why should he not do it? Sir, I do not speak the sentiments of every Southern man, and every man coming from the slave States, when I say let

it terminate, and that it is an abomination; and there is no occasion for it; it ought no longer to be tolerated.

The seventh resolution relates to a subject embraced in a bill now under consideration by the Senate. It is as follows:—

That,Resolved, That more effectual provision ought to be made by law, according to the spirit and intent of the constitution, for the restriction and delivery of persons found travelling or labor in any State who may escape into any other State or Territory in the Union.

Sir, that is no accident, and has been so clearly shown by the debate which has already taken place on the subject, that I have not now occasion to add another word.

The last resolution of the series of eight is as follows:—

And that,Resolved, That Congress has no power to prohibit or restrain the trade in slaves between the seceding States; but that the admission or exclusion of slaves brought from one into another of those, depends exclusively upon their own particular laws.

It is obvious that no legislation is necessary or intended to follow that resolution. It merely asserts a truth, established by the highest authority of law in this country, and, in conformity with that decision, I trust there will be no mutual acquiescence.

I should not have thought it necessary to endorse in that resolution the declaration which is embraced in it, but that I thought it might be useful in treating of the whole subject, and in accordance with the practice of our British and American ancestors, occasionally to resort to great fundamental principles, and bring them freshly and manifestly before our eyes, from time to time, to avoid their being violated upon any occasion.

Mr. President, you have before you the whole series of resolutions, the whole scheme of arrangement and accommodation of those distracting questions, which I have to offer, after having bestowed on those subjects the most anxious, intensely anxious, consideration ever since I have been in this body. How far it may prove acceptable to both or either of the parties on these great questions, it is not for me to say. I think it ought to be acceptable to both. There is no sacrifice of any principle, proposed in any of them, by either party. The plan is founded upon mutual forbearance, originating in a spirit of concession and concession; not of principles, but of matters of feeling. At the North, sir, I know that from feeling, by many at least cherished as being dictated by considerations of humanity and philanthropy, there exists a sentiment adverse to the institution of slavery.

Sir, I might, I think,—although I believe this project contains about an equal amount of concession and forbearance on both sides—have asked from the free States of the North a more liberal and extensive concession than should be asked from the slave States. And why, sir? With you, gentlemen Senators of the free States, what is it? An abstraction, a sentiment,—a sentiment, if you please, of humanity and philanthropy—a noble sentiment, when directed rightly, with no sinister or party purpose; an generous sentiment—a detestable sentiment—or rather the abuse of it—when directed to the accomplishment of unworthy purposes. I said that I might ask from you larger and more extensive concessions than from the slave States. And why? You are numerically more powerful than the slave States. But that there is any difference—for upon that subject I can not go along with the without expression of feeling, by some of my friends arising from the same class of States from which I come—not that there is any difference in valor, in prowess, in noble and patriotic daring, whenever it is required for the safety and salvation of the country, between the people of one class of

States as; those of the other. You are, in point of numbers, less numerous; and prodigious and immensity should ever be allied.

But there are other reasons why concession upon such a subject as this should be more liberal, more extensive, coming from the free than from the slave States. It is, as I remarked, a sentiment, a sentiment of humanity and philanthropy, on your side. Ay, sir, and when a sentiment of that kind is honestly and earnestly cherished, with a disposition to make sacrifices to enforce it, it is a noble and beautiful sentiment; but, sir, when the sacrifice is not to be made by those who cherish that sentiment and incite to it, but by another people, in whose situation it is impossible, from their position, to sympathize and to share all and everything that belongs to them, I need say to you, Senators from the free States, it is a totally different question. On your side it is a sentiment without sacrifice, a sentiment without danger, a sentiment without hazard, without peril, without loss. But how is it on the other side, to which, as I have said, a greater amount of concession ought to be made in any scheme of compromise?

In the first place, sir, there is a vast and incalculable amount of property to be sacrificed, and to be sacrificed, and by your clearing in the common market, but exclusive of you. And this is not all. The social intercourse, habit, society, property, life, everything, as it is called, is at hazard, in a greater or less degree, in the slave States.

Oh, look at that storm which is now raging before you, beating in all its rage pitilessly on your family. They are in the South. But where are your families, where are your people, Senators from the free States? They are safely housed, enjoying all the blessings of domestic content, peace, and quiet, in the bosom of their own families.

Behold, Mr. President, that dwelling-house now wrapp'd in flames. Listen, sir, to the rattle and hum which fall in succession, amid the crash; and the flames ascending higher and higher as they trouble down. Behold these women and children whose flying from the calamitous scene, and with their shrieks and lamentations imploring the aid of such Senators. Where home is that? Whose wives and children are they? Yours in the free States? No. You are looking on in safety and serenity, whilst the conflagration which I have described is raging in the slave States, and produced, not intentionally by you, but produced from the inevitable tendency of the measures which you have adopted, and which others have carried beyond what you have wished.

In the one scale, then, we behold sentiment, sentiment, sentiment alone; in the other property, the social fabric, life, and all that makes a life desirable and happy.

But, sir, I find myself engaged much beyond what I intended, when I rose this morning from my lodgings, in the expectation with which I intended the resolutions should go forth in the consideration of the world. I ran not out, however, before I concluded, relating an incident, a startling incident, which occurred prior to my leaving my lodgings this morning.

A man came to my room—the name at whose instance, a few days ago, I presented a memorial calling upon Congress for the purchase of Mount Vernon for the use of the public—and, without being at all conversant of what passed, I entertained in the discharge of my public-duty to-day, he said to me: “Mr. Clay, I heard you make a remark, the other day, which induces me to suppose that a previous notice in my possession would be acceptable to you.” He then drew out of his pocket, and presented to me, the object which I now hold in my hand. And what, Mr. President, do you suppose it is? It is a fragment of the wall of Washington—an fragment of that wall in which

now repose in silence, in sleep, and speechless, all the earthly virtues of the venerated Father of his Country. Was it pertinent that it should have been thus presented to me? Was it a sad passage of what might happen to that fabric which Washington's virtue, patriotism, and valor, established? No, sir, no. It was a warning voice, coming from the grave to the Congress now in session to beware, to pause, to reflect, before they lend themselves to any purposes which shall destroy that Union which was created by his exertions and example. Sir, I hope an impression may be made on your mind such as that which was made on mine by the reception of this precious relic.

And, in conclusion, I now ask every Senator, I entreat you, gentlemen, in fairness and candor, to examine the plan of accommodation which this series of resolutions proposes, and not to pronounce against them until convinced after a thorough examination. I move that the resolutions be read and referred.

The careful reader can not fail to perceive that Mr. Clay's propositions, though couched in language inoffensive to the pride of the South, were calculated and intended to exclude Slavery from all the territory acquired from Mexico by treaty. In authoritatively affirming that the "peculiar institution" had no legal foothold in that territory, it effectually precluded its establishment therein; since Slavery was very unlikely to be established by others than slaveholders, and these could hardly increase and multiply so as to obtain controlling power in a region where slaves could not be legally held. In proposing the extinguishment of whatever claim Texas might be supposed to have to New Mexico, he provided also for the almost certain exclusion of Slavery from the latter; since the danger was not that the people of New Mexico, present or future, would legalize Slavery, but that the extension of the jurisdiction and laws of Texas, so as to cover this territory, would make New Mexico slave-hold-¹

"I do not intend, Mr. President, to enter into this discussion; and I do so simply for the purpose of saying that I regret extremely that the distinguished Senator from Kentucky, in his laudable desire to settle a very troublesome question, now agitating the people of the United States, should have even proper, rather unreasonably, as I think, to take one-half of the territory of the State I have the honor in part here to represent, to make a preface leading to a spirit of encroachment on the constitutional rights of one-half of the Union. I do not intend to enter into any discussion of that grave and important question, nor do I intend, when the discussion of those resolutions shall arise, to put myself in opposition to the position of either of the distinguished Senators from Kentucky; but I do propose now to propose, when that discussion shall arise, that the territories of Texas are to the 15th Article; that no power at all exists in Congress to take cognizance of that question; and that the Congress of the United States can not interfere with the territories of the State of Texas, without inflicting a deeper stain on the high reputation of the government of the United States for justice, than would be done by appropriating the entire amount of territory which was acquired by war for the exclusive benefit of one-half of those who acquired it."

Mr. Poote, of Mississippi, rose to rebut the presumption of acquiescence, which the silence of Southern senators might justify, and objected to the tenor of Mr. Clay's resolutions on those, among other grounds:

1. That in asserting the inapplicability of the abolition of slavery in the district of Columbia by Congress, they affirm by implication, the power of Congress to legislate on that subject; whereas, he maintained, that Congress has no such legislative power at all.

"2. The resolutions of the honorable Senator assert that slavery does not now exist by law in the territories recently acquired from Mexico; whereas, I am of opinion that the treaty with the Mexican Republic carried the Constitution, *with all its guaranties*, to all the territory obtained by treaty, and secured the privilege to every Southern slaveholder, to enter any part of it, attended by his slave property, and to enjoy the same therein free from all restriction or hindrance whatever."

3. He was unwilling to affirm that slavery would not be introduced into the territories.

"4. Considering, as I have several times heretofore formally declared, the title of Texas to all the territory embraced in her boundaries as laid down in her law of 1820, full, complete, and undeniably, I am unwilling to say anything by resolution or otherwise, which may in the least degrees draw that title into question, as I think is done by one of the resolutions of the honorable Senator from Kentucky."

Mr. Mason, of Virginia, also objected to the general scope and spirit of Mr. Clay's propositions, saying:—

"There is another, which I deeply regret to see introduced into this House by a Senator from a slaveholding State; it is that which assumes that

slavery ourselves not exist by law in these countries. . . . That was the very proposition advanced by the non-slaveholding States at the last session, assented to and approved, as I thought, by gentlemen from the slaveholding States. . . . I deem it to be my duty to enter a decided protest, on the part of Virginia, against such doctrines. They resemble the whole question at once, that our people shall not go into the new territories and take their property with them; a doctrine to which I never will assent, and for which, sir, no law can be found."

To the same effect, Col. Jefferson Davis of Mississippi, following, said:—

"An honorable and distinguished Senator, to whom the country has been indebted to look for something that would heal the existing dissensions, instead of raising new barriers against conciliation, introduced those heretofore erected, and suggests the existing danger. A representative from one of the slaveholding States takes his oath for the first time in disregard of this admitted right. Now, Mr. President, did he stop here. The boundary of a State, with which we have no more right to interfere than with the boundary of the State of Kentucky, is encroached upon. The United States, sir, as the agent for Texas, had a right to settle the question of boundary between Texas and Mexico. Texas was not annexed as territory, but was admitted as a State, and at the period of her admission, her boundaries were established by her Congress. She, by the terms of annexation, gave to the United States the right to define her boundary by treaty with Mexico; but the United States, in the treaty made with Mexico, subsequent to the war with that country, received from Mexico, not merely a cession of the territory that was claimed by Texas, but much which lay beyond the asserted limits. Shall we, then, acting simply as the agent of Texas in the settlement of this question of boundary, take from the principal for whom we act that territory which belongs to her, to which we asserted her title against Mexico, and appropriate it to ourselves? Why, sir, it would be a violation of justice, and of a principle of law which is so plain that it does not require me to have been led to the profession of law to understand it. The principle I refer to is, that an agent can not take for his own benefit anything resulting from the matter in controversy, after having acquired it as belonging to the principal for whom he acts. The agent can not appropriate to himself rights acquired for his client. The right of Texas, therefore, to that boundary, was made complete by the treaty of peace, which allowed the only rival claim to the territory. It was definitely defined by the acts of her Congress before the time of annexation, and I have only to refer to those acts, to show that the boundary of Texas was the line Bernardo Norte, from its mouth to its source. What justice, or even decent regard for fairness, can there be, now that Texas has assented to Annexation upon certain terms, to propose a change of boundary in violation of those terms, and by the power we hold over her as a part of the United States?"

The debate was still further continued by Messrs. Jefferson Davis of Mississippi, King of Alabama, Downs of Louisiana, Herndon of Georgia, Butler of South Carolina, all deprecating the spirit and drift of Mr. Clay's resolutions, or more mildly objecting "but they concurred too much to the North; and by Mr

Clay in reply, explaining and defending them. Not one Northern senator objected that they conveyed too much to the South. Mr. Hays (afterward a Compromise man), said :—

"I protest against this compromise, if you please to call it, because in not one single point, it is clearly and decided in its tendency, does it propose in the benefit of the people of the South. Without all respect in the slightest degree, to the motives that influenced the honorable Senator in the presentation of this resolution, I am sure the people of the South will not consider it a compromise of all our noble and great principles. I am sure you say that when the people of the South come to see this great compromise, and understand that it concedes to the State and two or three Territories to the South, and surrenders the abolition of the slave trade in the District of Columbia to the North, without any other gain whatever to the South, they will not be satisfied with it. No Southern man shows me that it conveys a single advantage to the South, and, therefore, I protest against it."

Mr. Harrison objected to the avowment that slavery has now no legal existence in the territories acquired from Mexico. He said :—

"I would not, for a single moment, have it controverted by my constituents that I could acquiesce in the propositions inserted in these resolutions. Before they can receive my sanction, the terms and provisions contained in them, will first be substantially ascertained, and there are some important conditions which must be supplied. . . . I am satisfied as I have to do in the earlier stages of this discussion, I must at the present season, with the question of the validity of the laws which are supposed to exclude slavery from the territories acquired from Mexico, I may be permitted to say, to meet the declaration of opinion by the destruction of opinion, and the revocation of the resolution to maintain the opinion by arguments, that the opinion which I have expressed on this subject at an anterior period, is the opinion which after the most careful examination, the most arduous deliberation I could bestow on the subject, I now entertain, and that, with such power as shall hereafter be given me, I am ready to maintain it whenever the opportunity is offered."

In the same spirit, Mr. Butler, of South Carolina, asked :—

"What is there in the nature of a compromise being accepted as it is with the proposition that, by the existing laws in the Territories, it is almost certain that slaveholders can not, and have no right to, go there with their property. . . . I shall always think that, under a constitution giving equal rights to all parties, the slaveholding people, as such, can go to these Territories and retain their property there. But if we adopt this proposition of the Senator from Kentucky, it is clearly on the basis that slavery shall not go there. . . . We have only asked, and it is the only compromise to which we shall submit, that Congress shall withhold the hand of violence from the Territories. The only way in which this question can be settled, is for gentlemen of the North to withdraw all their opposition to the territorial governments, and not insist on their statutory prohibition; the Union is then safe enough."

We may not hereafter find so good an opportunity to state that

Mr. Foote of Mississippi (who afterward signalized himself as a most devoted and zealous champion of Compromise), took occasion (February 14), to renewedly assail Mr. Clay's proposition as conceding everything to the North, closing with the following classic and dignified simile:—

"It is my opinion that the honorable Senator from Kentucky is at present playing the game of political peace with our neighbors of the North in a manner decidedly unskillful. He is throwing into the hands of his adversaries all the *trump cards* in the pack, and depriving his partners and himself of the privilege both of holding *aces* and of *winning the odd tricks of legislation*. He is doing more than this, even; he generously gives his enemies *two bullets and a trigger* with the ace suspended, while he rashly strikes his all upon the imaginary potency of a mere broken staff. The fate of such gaming as this, it is not easy to predict."

The resolutions were then made the special order for the following Tuesday, when Mr. Clay addressed the Senate at length in their favor till the adjournment, resuming and concluding his argument on the following day. Having already given in full his remarks on introducing the resolutions, we need not here restate his general views. The debate was continued by Messrs. Harrier, Jefferson Davis, Downs, Miller of New Jersey, Benton, Rusk, Bell (who introduced a separate proposition), Calhoun (whose speech was read by Mr. Mason of Virginia, Mr. C. being then prostrated by the disease of which he died a few days afterward), Walker of Wisconsin, Webster, and several others, exhibiting the greatest diversity of views on the general subject involved. At length, on the 11th of March, Mr. Foote of Mississippi, asked unanimous consent to the taking up of Mr. Bell's proposition, in order to refer it to a committee such as he had already proposed, to consist of thirteen Senators; six each from the slaveholding and non-slaveholding States respectively, and the thirteenth to be chosen by the twelve; said committee to be charged with the duty of maturing some scheme of Compromise for the final settlement of all pending questions relating to slavery and the territories. This was an essential modification of a kindred resolve submitted by Mr. Foote, on the 14th of February, and, though withdrawn at this time, was renewed by Mr. Foote, a few days after, and ultimately adopted. Of this Committee, Mr. Clay was unanimously chosen Chairman (April 10), Mr. Foote having declined serving thereon. The remaining members

electd by ballot, were Messrs. Cass, Dickinson, Wright, Webster, Phelps, Cooper, King, Mason, Downs, Mangum, Hell, and Herrin. The opponents of the projected compromise generally declined to vote. Mr. Clay, on the 8th of May, made an elaborate report from a majority of the committee, affirming the propriety and necessity of a Compromise; and indicating the bases on which it should be effected. These bases were substantially as follows:—

1. The admission of any new State or States formed out of Texas to be postponed until they shall hereafter present themselves to be received into the Union, when it will be the duty of Congress fairly and faithfully to execute the compact with Texas by admitting such new State or States with or without Slavery as they shall by their constitutions determine.

2. The admission forthwith of California into the Union, with the boundaries which she has proposed.

3. The establishment of territorial governments without the Wilcox Proviso for New Mexico and Utah, including all the territory recently acquired by the United States from Mexico, not contained in the boundaries of California.

4. The combination of these two last mentioned measures in the same bill.

5. The establishment of the western and northern boundary of Texas, and the exclusion from her jurisdiction of all New Mexico, with the grant to Texas of a pecuniary equivalent; and the provision for that purpose to be incorporated into the bill admitting California, and establishing territorial governments for Utah and New Mexico.

6. More effectual enactments to secure the prompt delivery of persons bound in service or labor in one State, under the laws thereof, who escape into another State. And,

7. Abstaining from abolishing Slavery; but, under a heavy penalty, prohibiting the Slave Trade in the District of Columbia.

The Committee's propositions differed, as will be seen, from Mr. Clay's original resolutions; first, in allowing the absolute right of any new States which may be formed out of Texas to admission into the Union on the usual terms without regard to the existence or non-existence of Slavery therein; and, secondly, in combining the admission of California in the same bill with the organization of the new territories, and the settlement of the boundary of Texas—for this also was included in the Omnibus Bill, though the fact does not appear in the committee's synopsis above given. The Fugitive Slave Law and that prohibiting the

Slave-Trade in the District of Columbia were pressed in separate bills. The former was substantially the bill submitted to the Senate months before by Mr. Mason, of Virginia, as the Omnibus Bill was in good part made up of the several bills providing for the admission of California and the organization of the territories which had already been reported by Mr. Douglas from the Territorial Committee. The proposition to pay Texas a sum not then specified, but afterward fixed by Mr. Clay at \$10,000,000, for the relinquishment of her claim to New Mexico, was the only portion of the plan of Compromise absolutely original with Mr. Clay.

The debate on this important Report and the leading bill accompanying it immediately commenced, and engrossed the time of the Senate for nearly three months. More than half the Senators made set speeches thereon. The bill was assailed with equal vigor and resolution from each side of Mason and Dixon's line by Messrs. Seward, Hale, Hamlin, Davis, Baldwin, Dayton, &c., on the part of the North; and by Messrs. Hunter, Mason, Butler, Turner, Yulee, South, Berland, &c., on behalf of the South. Mr. Benton was likewise among its most vigorous and indefatigable opponents—resisting it, however, not on any ground of intrinsic objection to its material provisions, but mainly on that of the incongruity of the various propositions composing it. This was, indeed, the weak point of the measure, and the able politicians opposing it did not fail to perceive and profit by the fact. The bill was finally killed by an amendment moved by Mr. Dawson, of Georgia, and tacitly assented to by Mr. Clay, providing, in effect, that until such time as the boundary line between the State of Texas and the territory of the United States be agreed to by the legislature of Texas, the territorial government for New Mexico, authorized by this act, shall not go into operation east of the Rio Grande, nor shall any State be established for New Mexico embracing any territory east of the Rio Grande. This amendment was regarded by many friends of New Mexico who were also friends of the Compromise as exposing that territory to be overrun and swallowed up by Texas—the very danger to avert which had been the chief inducement of their assent to the Compromise. This amendment hav-

was carried by a vote of 30 to 28, Mr. Peever, of Maryland, moved the striking out of all that portion of the bill which related to New Mexico which provided 'Yves, 33; Nays, 22' and this proved the death-blow of the 'Omnibus.' The several portions of the bill were now successively stricken out, until there remained only the sections providing for the organization of the Territory of Utah, in which shape it was ordered to a third reading by a vote of 32 to 18. The bill in this shape passed on the 1st of August, and was followed in the course of the session by separate bills providing for the admission of California, the organization of New Mexico with the settlement of the boundary of Texas on a basis which gives Texas far more and secures to New Mexico less territory than did the proposition of Mr. Clay in the Committee of Thirteen, while providing equally with that for the payment of the full \$10,000,000 to Texas. The Fugitive Slave Act and the abolition of the Slave-Trade in the District, also passed both Houses, were approved by the President, and thus became laws of the land. Mr. Clay, however, worn out by his protracted labors and anxiety in leading the defence of the Omnibus bill, left his seat and the city on the 2d of August for a season of repose and medical treatment, and did not return till near the close of the month. Of all the measures originally included in the plan of Compromise, there remained to be passed by the Senate only that providing for the abolition of the Slave-Trade in the District of Columbia, which he heartily supported.

Nothing further of moment occurred, so far as Mr. Clay was concerned, during the Session, which was closed by adjournment on the 30th of September, when Mr. Clay returned to his home in Kentucky.

The limits and scope of this work would not justify a complete history of the origin, progress, and final triumph, of the so-called Adjustment or Compromise of 1850. Our task in this place is to set forth the agency of Mr. Clay in effecting that Compromise, the motives by which he was governed, and the objects for which he struggled. The wisdom of his views, the beneficence of his measures, we leave to time and the sober judgment of the country and of mankind. There may be a far-reaching view of the

whole subject which condemns *any* compromise, however equitable as a purchase of present tranquillity at the expense of a ultimate and more important goal. Mr. Clay, though never justifying slavery in the abstract, nor desiring its perpetuation, much less its extension, was yet a slaveholder and the representative of slaveholders. He did not, therefore, and could not be expected to, regard the general subject as it was regarded by determined and uncompromising opponents of slavery, like Sumner, Giddings, and Horace Mann. But whoever believed that he was impelled to derive and advocate the Compromise by devotion to slavery, or a desire to extend its dominion and power, does him great injustice. His views may be assailed as superficial and defective, but his aims were unselfish, patriotic, and national. He labored beyond his falling strength for what he earnestly deemed the proseruation of the Union and the welfare of his beloved country.

XXXIV.

THE REVENUE AND HARBOUR BILL OF 1851.

The thirty-first Congress commenced its second session on the second day of December, 1850; but Mr. Clay, on whom the weight of years began to press heavily, did not take his seat until the sixteenth of that month. The session was mainly devoted to routine business, in which he took little part, but evinced, on every suitable occasion, a pervading anxiety that the Compromise measures of the preceding session should remain undisturbed. His name heads a list of forty-four members of Congress, affixed to a public pledge not to support any opponent of those measures, of whatever party, for any responsible station; and he voted uniformly against taking into consideration any memorial or remonstrance requiring the repeal or modification of any of these measures. It is hardly necessary to add, that a large majority of both Houses stood with him on this point.

He also crined, on various occasions, an anxious, though not important, desire for a revision of the Tariff of 1846, to th

and that more efficient Protection might be afforded to our languishing Manufacturers. In presenting some petitions for such revision (December 23, 1838), he said :

"Mr. President, I will take occasion to say that I do hope that now, when there is an apparent calmness upon the surface of public affairs, which I hope is real, and that it will remain without disturbing the deliberations of Congress during the present session - for one, I should be extremely delighted if the subject of the Tariff of 1816 could be taken up in a liberal, kind, and national spirit; not with any purpose of revising those high rates of Protection which at former periods of our country were established for various causes, sometimes from sinister causes, but to look deliberately at the operations of the Tariff of 1816, and, without disturbing its essential provisions, I should like a consideration to be given to the question of the protection of branches and great staples, of the existence of which there can be no earthly doubt. Whether some suitable legislation can not take place for that purpose, ought to be deliberately considered. We should see whether we cannot, without injury, without prejudice to the general interests of the country, give some better Protection to the Manufacturing interests than is now afforded.

"The fact is no longer doubtful that the slaves are established and are flourishing daily in the farmers of the country. The fact is no longer doubtful that the squabbles and broils are daily chapping in the country. Whether it is possible to arrest this downward course, and to throw a little spirit of hope and encouragement into this great industrial interest without agitating the country generally, and without any extravagance of legislation, are questions, I think, very well worthy of serious consideration; and I hope, in the calm which we are at present allowed to enjoy in relation to other great topics which have so long and so directly agitated the country, that, at some early period during the present session, this subject will be taken up and dealt with in a spirit of kindness, and harmony, and utility."

On the 19th of February, the bill "Making Appropriations for the Improvement of certain Harbors and Rivers," was received by the Senate from the House, where it had passed, the day previous, by a vote of 163 to 37. This bill was reported by Hon. R. M. McLane, of Baltimore, from the Standing Committee on Commerce, amended, on his motion, in Committee of the Whole -- both Committees, as well as the House itself, having a 'Democratic' majority, who had, of course, full powers to change the bill as they saw fit. On the final vote, however, about three-fourths of the Yeas were given by Whigs, while all the Nays, but four or five, were Democrats. The bill, having thus reached the Senate, was referred to its Committee of Commerce, by which (February 25) it was reported back without amendment. Mr. Davis of Massachusetts, in reporting it, gave notice that he should, at an early day, call it up for consideration.

On the 1st of March—there being but three days of the session remaining—Mr. Budger, of North Carolina, moved the postponement of the previous orders in favor of taking up the River and Harbor Bill. This motion was resisted by Messrs. Bradley, Hoiland, Foote, Hunter, Rusk, Turry, and Archison, all strenuously insisting on giving precedence to various other measures. It was at once made manifest to the Senate, that the current rumor of a 'Democratic' caucus having determined that all decisive action on this bill should be stayed off for the session, was well founded. Mr. Bradley moved that Mr. Budger's motion do lie on the table, which was defeated—Yeas 23; Nays 39. After the discussion had proceeded long enough to unmask the game of the Opposition, Mr. Clay interposed as follows:—

"I wish to say one or two words only; I hope the friends of the bill—the real friends of the bill—will insist upon immediate action; it is now or never for the bill. If we should take up the Civil and Diplomatic Appropriation bill, we would soon have the Navy bill up, then the Army bill, and this bill will not be taken up. No, there is time enough for all, if we would not move and talk less."

The motion to take up finally prevailed—Yeas 31; Nays 25—and the debate thereon commenced. Mr. Davis of Massachusetts, in opening it, only said:—

"I am requested by the Committee on Commerce, which reported this bill, to say something in its support; but, in the present state of business, and the extreme pressure of time, I do not feel at liberty to go into details of this measure with any particular explanation. If we had time and opportunity, I should do it with very great pleasure, and give the Senate all the information in my power. But I can say, generally, that these appropriations are spread, I believe, over the entire country, and they amount to about two millions three hundred thousand dollars. This amount is to be applied to the harbors on the coast and on the lakes, and to the rivers of the interior; and I may add that by far the great majority of them apply to works that have been long since commenced by the government, and from time to time carried forward by appropriations. Many of these works are now out of repair, and the country expects them to be put in a proper condition. With these remarks, I leave the subject to the Senate."

Mr. Clemens, of Alabama, commenced the Opposition game of moving amendments, proposing to restrict the application of the fifty thousand dollars proposed for the improvement of the Tennessee to a certain part of that river. Hereupon Messrs. Foote, Bright, and Hamlin, made speeches against the bill generally, or against particular features of it. Mr. Clay, in reply, went straight to the heart of the matter, as follows:—

"There are three modes of killing a bill. One is by meeting it headly straightforward, coming up to the mark, and rejecting it. Another is by amendments upon amendments, trying to make it better than it was. Of course I do not speak of the motives of Senators in offering the present amendments. I speak of the effect, which is just as certain, if those amendments are adopted, as if the bill were rejected by a vote against its passage. A third mode is to speak against it time when there is very little time left.

"Sir, I have risen to say to the friends of this bill, that if they desire it in pure, I trust they will vote with me against all amendments, and come to an speedy and rapid action as possible. Under the idea of an amendment, you will gain nothing. I think it likely there are some items that should not be in the bill; and you may expect in any human week, where there are forty or fifty items, to be passed upon, to find perfection. If you do, you expect what never was done, and what you will never see. I shall vote for the bill for the sake of the good that is in it, and not against it on account of the bad it happens to contain. I am willing to take it, as a man takes his wife, 'for better, for worse,' believing we shall be much more happy with it than without it.

"An honorable Senator has gotten up and told us that here is an appropriation of \$1,500,000. Do you not recollect that for the last four or five years there have been no appropriations at all upon this subject? Look at the ordinary appropriation in 1852 of \$1,200,000, nor is it a more remarkable fact that these Administrations—most hostile to the doctrine of Internal Improvements have been precisely those in which the most lavish expenditures have been made. Thus we are told, this year, that there were five, six, or eight hundred thousand dollars during Van Buren's administration, and \$2,500,000 during the first year of Mr. Van Buren's. Now, there has been no appropriation during the last three or four years, and, in consequence of this delinquency and neglect on the part of Congress's representatives, because some \$2,500,000 are to be appropriated by this bill, we are to be startled by the financial horrors and difficulties which have been presented, and driven from the duty which we ought to pursue. With regard to the appropriation made for that portion of the country from which I come—the great valley of the Mississippi—I will say that we are a reasoning people, a fact-finding people, and a contrasting people; and how long will it be before the eyes of this vast valley will also be opened and temple down your little air-splitting distinctions about what is national, and denounce what is not and fair, on the part of this Government, in relation to their great interest? The Mississippi, with all its tributaries—the Red, White, Arkansas, Tennessee, and Ohio rivers—constitute a part of a great system, and if that system be not national, I should like to know one that is national. We may add here that a little work, great in its value, one for which I shall vote with great pleasure—the Great West in the little State of Delaware—is a great national work, while a work which has for its object the improvement of that vast system of rivers which constitutes the Valley of the Mississippi, which is to save millions and millions of property and many human lives, is not a work to be done, because it is not national? Why, look at the appropriations. Here was our young sister, California, admitted last the other day; \$1,000,000 for a harbor there to improve her fisheries, and how much more for the purchase of. Four or five hundred thousand dollars more in that single State for two objects than the totality of the sum proposed to be appropriated here. Around the margin of the coast of the Atlantic, the Mexican Gulf, and the Pacific coast, everywhere we pour out, in boundless and unnumbered streams, the treasure of the United States, but none to the

interior of the West, the Valley of the Mississippi every cent is contested and divided for that object. Will not our people draw the contrast? Talk about commerce; we have all sorts of commerce. I have no hesitation in saying that the domestic commerce of the Lakes and the Valley of the Mississippi is greatly superior in magnitude and importance to all the foreign commerce of the country, for which thousands of expenditures are made. Sir, I call upon the North-western Senators, upon Western Senators, upon Eastern Senators, upon Senators from all quarters of the Union, to recollect that we are parts of one nation's country, and that we are not anxious to see, from month to month, from day to day, in consequence of the existence of snags in the Mississippi, which can be removed at a trifling expense, hundreds of lives and millions of property destroyed, in consequence of the destruction of the boats navigating those rivers, for the want of some little application of the means of our common government.

"I do not say that these people will be driven to any great and important action, threatening the integrity of the Union. No, sir; they will stand by this Union under all circumstances; they will support it, they will defend it, they will fly anywhere and everywhere to support it; but they will not endure much longer this partial, limited, exclusive appropriation of the public revenue of the country to this mere snags of the country, without doing anything for that interior which equals nearly, if it does not entirely constitute a majority, of the population of the country.

"Mr. President, I have been drawn into these remarks very irregularly, I admit. I am delighted to see some of my Democratic friends breaking the miserable trammels of party. Nationality! Is not that a national improvement which contributes to the national peace, whether the improvement be in the little State of Delaware, or in the great Valley of the Mississippi river? What makes it better, especially in regard to the Mississippi river, is, that from the vast body of water it is impossible to make any great national improvement. All that can be done is to make small annual improvements, by clearing out towns from that great national highway, to take up the annual snags which form themselves in the river. It requires constant and incessant application of means in order to keep the stream clear. I have been drawn into these observations contrary to any purpose I had. Here is the measure before us. If gentlemen choose to exhibit the remainder of the session in useless amendments, the effect of which is to destroy the bill; if they choose to exhaust the session in speeches made from time to time, let them not charge us with defeating the appropriation bill. We are ready—for me, I am ready—to pass upon it item by item, and then take up the appropriation bill and do the same thing with regard to it."

The debate was continued, almost entirely by opponents of the bill, throughout the day and evening. Mr. Cramer's amendment was adopted in committee, by a vote of 27 to 23, but afterward stricken out upon consideration that any amendment to the bill, which would send it back to the House at that late hour of the session, would inevitably defeat it. Gen. Cass made a long speech in exposition of his views on the general subject; but, though there was very little "noise and confusion" prevailing in the Senate, the obscurity previously shrouding his ideas of River

and Harbor improvement was not dispelled by it. Mr Downs, of Louisiana, moved that the bill be laid on the table; which motion was rejected. Yeas 23; Nays 34. Various motions to amend, to adjourn, &c., were voted down; but finally, it being late on Saturday night, the majority were wearied into an adjournment. Mr Cass making the motion on the ground that it was near the Sabbath. The motion prevailed, by a vote of twenty-nine to twenty-five.

Monday was the last day of the session, and the Senate met at 10 A. M., at the earliest moment. Mr Clay said:

"Mr. President, I rise to make a motion to disperse with the morning business, and previous orders, in order to proceed with the unfinished business which was left in that case on Saturday last; and, while I am up, I beg leave, not to make a speech. For I should consider him a member of almost any parliament who should make a speech on this day. But to say it is tantamount to the Senate, and to the country, that there is no majority in this body in favor of the passage of that bill; and I wish to appeal to the justice, to the generosity, to the fairness of the majority, to say whether they will, if they have the power, and I know they have the power, defeat the bill by measures of delay, and procrastination. If they are determined to do it, although such a determination is incompatible with the genius of all free governments, and I should hope, also, incompatible with the sense of propriety which each individual member must feel. If there is a determination upon the part of the majority to defeat the bill, by measures to which they have the power to resort, but I am bold to believe they would not. If there is such a determination, and they will allow it, for one, as I think it of the most importance that great measures connected with the operations and utterance of the Government, measures of appropriation, should be adopted, notwithstanding the pain which I should feel to be so obliged to submit to the action of a minority, intending to defeat the will of a majority—if such is the avowed purpose, I will myself vote for the laying this bill upon the table. I hope there will be no such purpose. I trust that we shall take up the bill and vote upon it; and I implore its friends, if they desire to pass it, to say not one word, but come to the vote upon it."

Mr. Clay passed, but no member of the minority would avow the conspiracy which had really been formed to defeat the bill by talking against time, insidious propositions of amendment, and all manner of side-blows. Although that majority had already wasted many hours in reading odd reports and discussing irrelevant propositions with no other purpose than that of preventing any decisive action on the bill, yet they did not scruple to complain of a want of time for properly considering this subject, and on that ground demanded that the bill be given up by its friends. Mr. Hunter, of Virginia, opened by urging the mo-

cessity of action on the general appropriation bills and arguing that it was not fair for a majority to pass bills of this nature just at the close of the session. The fact that the Senate had wasted time in the discussion of other measures was cited by him to prove that no time remained for the consideration of this. Mr. Foster, of Mississippi, declaimed against reckless legislation, saying:—

"I should deem myself criminal in the highest degree, if I did not use all the means within my reach, of preventing hasty legislation upon such a subject."

Messrs. Butler, Gwin, and Bradford, also criticized a determination to persist in the tactics whereby the passage of the bill had hitherto been impeded. Mr. Rusk, of Texas, however, took a different view, which we will present in his own words:—

"Mr. President, I desire to say only a very few words, and not with a view of delaying action on this bill. If we were within the last hour of the session, instead of within the last twenty-four, believing, as I do, that there is a majority of the Senate in favor of this bill, I would not obstruct its passage. Four years ago, I laid down the principles upon which I intend to act. When I find that there is a clear and express majority in favor of any measure, however much I may condemn it—and, by the way, the objects of this bill I do not condemn—I will not vote to do indirectly what I can not constitutionally do directly. If the majority choose to assume the responsibility of passing what I consider to be a sublimely insane measure, upon them let it rest. But I must say, with great deference to other Senators who have voted in this matter, that I think they have taken the wrong course."

Having listened to the objections of Senators, Mr. Clay said:—

"I at least will not be guilty of losing either my voice or my presence by speaking to-day. I have been simply to call for the Yeas and Nays on the motion, and if there be really a majority against the bill in its present shape, hope they will lay it on the table."

The Yeas and Nays were ordered: the River and Harbor bill was again taken up—Yeas 30, Nays 25—and the fire of opposition, under the guise of propositions of amendment, recommenced. All were voted down, as was a proposition by Mr. Foster to lay the bill on the table. A proviso moved by Mr. Bradford, modified by Mr. Cuss, which would have virtually nullified the bill, was offered in the following words:—

"And it is hereby expressly provided that the appropriations in this act shall take effect upon, and authorize the expenditure of only

surplus or excess, or shall remain in the Treasury of the United States, after deducting from the public revenues the sums necessary to meet the appropriations that have been or shall be made by Congress, to execute existing laws, and liquidate private claims."

This proposition was defeated by a tie vote, as follows:—

Yea—Messrs. Atchison, Benton, Bradburn, Bright, Butler, Clay, Fleming, Jefferson Davis of Miss., Danvers, DeCadeau, Douglas, Downey, Felch, Frantz, Geary, Hamilton, Houston, Hunter, Wm. A. Jones, Mason, Morton, Norris, Ruff, Sack, Smith, Strong, Tamm, Whitecomb and Yule. 72.

Nay—Messrs. Badger, Caldwell, Bell, Dickson, Chase, Charles, Clay, Cooper, John Davis of Miss., Dodge of Wis., Dodge of Iowa, Evans, Green, Hale, Jones, Mangum, Miller, Pearce, Pratt, Easton, Sebastian, Stewart, Shields, Smith, Spruance, Underwood, Upham, Wale, and Walker. 72.

Thus it will be seen that while a decided majority of the Senate were professedly favorable to the bill, some of them through a salutary fear of their constituents, yet one half of all the members present were ready to paralyze its operation by voting in a proviso which would have precluded any action under it during the ensuing fiscal year; since it could not possibly be determined until the close of the year, whether there would, or would not, be the requisite surplus in the Treasury.

But the bill just escaped this side-blow, and the game of proposing amendments to hang speeches upon and waste time, was resumed. An attempt to take a recess for dinner was made and defeated; a clause in the bill appropriating \$25,000 "for the removal of the obstructions in the Rio Grande river, Texas," was desperately assailed as an encroachment on the post-sovereignty of Mexico over the sands, reefs, and sandbanks, to be found in that river. But the Senate refused to amend. About 9 P. M. of this last night of the session, Mr. South, of Louisiana, moved to insert as follows:—

"For deepening the passage of the mouth of the Mississippi river, \$400,000."

And on this, after making a speech, he went to the clerk's desk an elaborate report of a survey of the mouth of the Mississippi, which he insisted on having read, and on this an hour or previous time was consumed with a minute & instead of wearing out the patience of the Senate. Finally, Mr. Phelps, of Vermont, moved to dispense with the further reading, and on this an hour more was wasted, in the course of which Mr. Clay said:—

"I came to the Senate this evening, and I said that I would move to take up the bill now under consideration; but that if the minority who oppose the bill would say that, in the exercise of their parliamentary rights, they intended to resist to the utmost its passage, I would not insist upon it. I wanted an avowal; no such avowal was made. We have gone on to this time, and in what manner, the Journal of our proceedings will show. The question which this day's proceedings presents is, whether the majority or the minority shall prevail. No one has attempted to deprive the minority of any rights appertaining to them. I hope the other portion of this body, the majority, have their rights also, and the great question, that question which lies at the bottom of all free institutions is, whether the majority or the minority shall prevail. Upon the issue of that question, I, for one, am ready to go before the country and abide their decision."

The debate still went on, another motion to lay the bill on the table was defeated by a vote of 33 to 23; and finally the question of stopping the further reading of Mr. Soule's report was reached and decided in the affirmative—Yeas 27, Nays 19. Then more speeches, and another proposition to postpone, which was voted down; and more speeches again, of which the burden was the tyranny of the majority in not allowing any amendments to prevail, though every Senator knew that any amendment, however trifling, would defeat the bill; as its adoption would send it back to the House, where one-third could arrest it by objecting to a suspension of the rules in favor of taking it up.

Thus, with more speeches and more amendments, the time was worried away until midnight. That hour afforded a pretext for a new discussion as to the right of the Senate to sit longer, and the validity of its acts in case it should do so, in which another hour was consumed. This interlude closed, as every one knew it must, by the Senate resolving that each Congress has a right to sit and act until noon on the 4th of March, or for two full years from the commencement of its legal powers; but by this time Mr. Clay, bending beneath the weight of years, and worn out with severe and protracted labor, perceiving that the bill was inevitably lost, had left the Senate for the night. Finally, after dragging on till four o'clock in the morning, and the minority successfully resisting every effort to reach a decisive vote, the bill was postponed (Yeas 29, Nays 19) to 8 o'clock, in order to take up and pass the appropriation bills.

At the hour of eight, Mr. Clay was in his seat, ready for action, though many younger and stronger men were absent. But so much time was consumed in the passage of the appropriation

bills that the River and Harbor bill could not be taken up. It lay dead on the table, having been defeated by the most unscrupulous exercise of the power granted to minorities in legislative bodies for the protection of their right of discussion, with no intent that the will of a majority should thereby be frustrated. And yet, in this case, for the sake of screening three or four Democratic aspirants to the Presidency from coming on a means now with regard to which the dignities of the South and the interests of the West came in direct collision; the precious time of the Senate was recklessly wasted, and other measures of vital importance either wholly defeated, or driven through with a haste which precluded even their reading in the Senate, though millions were voted away by them.

The effort to pass the River and Harbor bill was the last earnest legislative struggle in which Mr. Clay was ever engaged. Though seventy-four years of age and not a member of the Committee by which the bill was reported, he took his place naturally, and by sheer force of character, at the head of the majority in that momentous though fruitless struggle. "His eye was not dim, neither was his natural force abated," and the spectator could not fail to admire the chivalry of nature and gallantry of bearing wherewith he led the charge against the strongholds of parliamentary privilege wherewith the minority had so fearfully entrenched themselves. Though the Whig party numbered far less than half the Senate, yet on this question a clear majority were constrained to range themselves under his banner; and there was something impressive in the manner wherewith Mr. Clay spoke of "We of the majority" desiring such and such action, and exhorted "you of the minority" to draw from manly hard-fighting, and allow the majority to pass the bill. I doubt whether there ever was an intelligent and independent legislative assembly wherewith Mr. Clay, being a member, would not in time have won a majority to his side—not, perhaps, in party designation, but in substance and practice. He led because he instinctively perceived and chose the right path, in which the greater number could not choose but follow. And it was well that the last determined effort of the Great Commonwealth should be made in behalf of that cause which had so warmly enlisted his

youthful energies, and in whose advocacy he had first become known to the Nation. More than forty years had now elapsed since the then youthful Senator from Kentucky had proposed a deliberate, persistent, and systematic diversion of a portion of the Federal Revenues to the beneficent work of internal improvement; and it was fit that the last note of his trumpet voice should resound through that same chamber in unwavering, undying devotion to that same great and good cause. The stag, long hunted, had returned to his native heath to die; and the haying hounds cowered before the glances of his flashing eye until it closed in death.

X X X V.

RESPONSE TO KENNETH—ILLNESS AND DEATH.

A *Joint Called Session* of the Senate was held from and after the close of the regular Session of Congress to dispose of a large amount of executive business which had accumulated during the regular Session, and been left over at its close unacted on. For attending this *Called Session*, twenty-four of the Senators received what is termed 'Constructive Mileage,' or the legal allowance for traveling expenses as though they had actually repaired to their distant homes and returned again to Washington, between the close of the Regular Session on the 31 of March, and the opening of the *Called Session* on the following day. The amount thus abstracted from the Treasury, as far as services never rendered, an expense never incurred, was in all about \$10,000, of which over \$5,000 fell to the share of Senator Gwin, of California, while other Senators from the remote States received from Fifteen Hundred to Three Thousand dollars each. Mr. King, of Alabama, who, as President of the Senate, certified the correctness of these accounts, did not himself accept the *Constructive Mileage*.

Mr. Clay, it need hardly be said, utterly and distinctly refused it, as did about half of the Senators holding over. Re-
 sistance to the practice of charging *Constructive Mileage* had existed
 Mr. Clay had been open and thorough in his denunciations

it. When an attempt was made in the Senate to reject the nomination of Elihu Whittelsey as a Comptroller of the Treasury, because of Mr. Whittelsey's disallowance of the charges of Constructive Mileage in passing the accounts of the Senate's Secretary, Dickins, in 1849, Mr. Clay met the attempt with the most determined resistance. No man was ever more scrupulously and inflexibly honest in his charges against the Treasury. While other Members of Congress, even those accounted most upright and unselfish, had increased their charge for Mileage as 'the usually traveled route' from their several homes to Washington, was considerably extended by the substitution of steam-haul conveyance by devious rivers for the more direct, but far slower and more expensive, staging of former days, Mr. Clay had steadily refused to profit thus by the law's imperfection. He saw no reason for increasing his charge of Mileage some fifty to one hundred per cent, in the fact that he could now reach Washington more cheaply and expeditiously by taking a longer route than he had formerly been able to do by a direct one. Other Statesmen, more popular and successful than he, did not hesitate to take all that a liberal construction of the law would give them, and even add to that the proceeds of Constructive Mileage; but their example had no influence, their impunity no temptation, for Henry Clay.

Mr. Clay returned to his home on being released from his public duties at Washington, and remained there through the Summer, in delicate, though not yet broken, health; enjoying, for him, an unusual measure of quiet, and devoting himself mainly to his family, his rural pursuits, and a serene contemplation of and preparation for the great change now manifestly approaching. Once during the Autumn he addressed an elaborate letter to his friends in New-York, in reply to one from them, urging therein the duty of sustaining the Compromise in all its parts, and endeavoring to calm the agitation respecting Slavery, which had so recently threatened the harmony if not the existence of our Union. This was almost, if not quite, the only occasion during the season wherein he was induced to break the silence which had now become so grateful to him.

The opening of the second session of the XXXIII Congress found him again in Washington, but unable to take his seat in the Senate. In fact, none other than a Patriot accustomed to think only of his country and his duty would have left home in his state of health for a distant field of arduous public effort. Learning from others how ill and feeble he was, I had not intended to call upon him, and remained two days under the same roof without asking permission to do so. Meanwhile, however, he was casually informed of my being in Washington, and sent me a request to call at his room. I did so, and enjoyed a half hour's free and friendly conversation with him, the saddest and the best! His state was even worse than I had feared; he was already emaciated, a prey to a severe and distressing cough, and complained of spells of difficult breathing. I think no physician could have judged him likely to live two months longer. Yet his mind was unclouded and brilliant as ever, his aspirations for his country's welfare as ardent; and, though all personal ambition had long been banished, his interest in the events and impulses of the day was nowise diminished. He listened attentively to all I had to say of the repulsive aspects and revolting features of the Fugitive Slave Law and the necessary tendency of its operation to excite hostility and alienation on the part of our Northern people, unaccustomed to Slavery, and seeing it exemplified only in the brutal arrest and imprisonment of some humble and inoffensive negro whom they had learned to regard as a neighbor. I think I may without impropriety say that Mr. Clay regretted that more care had not been taken in its passage to direct this act of features needlessly repulsive to Northern sentiment, though he did not deem any change in its provisions now practicable.

Four or five weeks afterward, Louis Kussuth visited Washington, in compliance with the official inclination, and in due time paid his respects personally to Mr. Clay, still confined to his sick chamber; whom, after the mutual interchanges of civilities, Mr. Clay said:—

"I owe you, *de*, an apology for not having acceded before to the desire you were kind enough to intimate—more than care to see me; but, really, my health has been so feeble that I did not dare to hazard the excitement of so interesting an interview. Besides, *de* (he added, with some pleaze-

and, your wonderful and inspiring eloquence has mesmerized as though a portion of our people wherever you have passed, and even some of our members of Congress pointing his hand toward the two or three million who were present, that I found it some trouble to influence, but you might shake my faith in some principles as related to the foreign policy of this government, which I have long and constantly cherished.

"And in regard to the matter you will afford me, I hope, to speak with that sincerity and candor which becomes the interest of the subject here for you and for myself, and which is due to us both, as the citizens of this land.

"I trust you will believe me, Sir, when I tell you that I entertain the liveliest sympathies in every square, in Liberty as Democracy, and in every country, and in this I believe I express the natural sentiment of my countrymen. But, Sir, for the sake of my country, you must allow me to proceed to discuss the policy you propose to let. Warring the years and momentous question of the right of one nation to assume the country's goods or among nations for the enforcement of international law, or of the right of the United States to dispute to Russia the character of her relations with the nations around her, let us come at once to the practical consideration of the matter.

"You tell us yourself, with great truth and propriety, that there is sympathy, or the expression of sympathy, and not advance your purposes. You require material aid? And indeed it is assumed that this mere declaration that of the sympathy of Congress, or of the President, or of the public, would be of little avail, such as we were prepared to receive these declarations by a resort to arms, and unless other nations could see that preparation and determination upon our part.

"Well, Sir, suppose that war should be the issue of the matter, can you persuade me, could we then do it anything for you, Sir, for in the cause of liberty? To transport men and arms across the ocean in sufficient numbers and quantities to be effective against Russia and Austria would be impossible. It is a fact which perhaps may not be generally known, that the most imperative reason with Great Britain for the close of her last war with us, was the immense cost of the transportation and maintenance of forces and supplies of war in such a distant theater, and yet she had not perhaps more than 20,000 men upon this continent at one time. Upon land, Russia is invulnerable to us, we are unable to land. Upon the ocean, a war between Russia and this country would result in mutual annihilation to commerce, but probably in little else. I learn recently that her war machine is superior to that of any nation in Europe, except perhaps that of Britain. Her preparation, her resources limited, while we, on our part, would offer no reply to her unless we wish and when we choose.

"Thus, Sir, after effecting nothing in such a war, after abandoning our ancient policy of unity and non-interference in the affairs of other nations, and thus justifying them in abandoning the terms of their peace and non-interference which they have hitherto preserved toward us, after the downfall, perhaps, of the friends of liberal institutions in Europe, her despots, including and presided by our fatal example, may then upon us in the hour of our weakness and exhaustion, and with an almost equal, or a little less, force of men and of arms, they may say to us, 'You have not so the example. You have quit your way to stand on foreign ground, you have abandoned the policy just professed in the day of your weakness, to interfere in the affairs of the people upon this continent, in behalf of those principles the suppression of which you say is necessary to your prosperity.' Is

your existence. We, in our own turn, believing that your sacerdotal doctrines are destructive of, and that non-sacerdotal principles are essential to the peace, security, and happiness of our subjects, will obliterate the bed which has nourished such noxious weeds; we will crush you as the proper parallel of doctrines so destructive of the peace and good order of the world.*

"The indomitable spirit of our people might and would be equal to the emergency, and we might remain unshaken even by so tremendous a commotion; but the consequences to us would be terrible enough. You need allow me, Sir, to speak thus freely, as I feel deeply, though my opinion may be of but little import, as the expression of a dying man. Sir, the recent melancholy subversion of the republican government of France, and that enlightened nation voluntarily placing herself under the yoke of despotism, teach us to despair of any present success for liberal institutions in Europe. They give us an impressive warning not to rely upon others for the vindication of our principles, but to look to ourselves, and to cherish with more care than ever the security of our institutions and the preservation of our policy and principles.

"By the policy to which we have adhered since the days of Washington, we have prospered beyond precedent—we have done more for the cause of liberty in the world than arms could effect. We have shown to other nations the way to greatness and happiness; and, if we but continue united to our people, and persevere in the policy which our experience has so clearly and triumphantly vindicated, we may in another quarter of a century furnish an example which the reason of the world can not resist. But if we should involve ourselves in the tangled web of European politics, in a war in which we could effect nothing, and if in that struggle Hungary should go down, and we should go down with her, where then would be the end, hope of the friends of freedom throughout the world? Far better is it for ourselves, for Hungary, and for the cause of liberty, that, adhering to our wise, pacific system, and avoiding the distant wars of Europe, we should keep our lamp burning brightly on this western shore as a light to all nations, than to hazard its utter extinction, amid the ruins of fallen or falling republics in Europe."

"This mature and deliberate expression of Mr. Clay's views respecting the course which our Government should pursue with regard to European Politics was the last counsel which fell from his lips with respect to public affairs. A private letter, which he had previously written, expressing a preference for Mr. Fillmore as the Whig candidate for President, was made public about the same time with this; and the preference thus expressed he cherished to the last, though he never failed to do justice to the eminent abilities and distinguished public services of Mr. Webster and General Scott. Though now on the brink of the grave, he manifested a lively interest in the doings of the Whig National Convention at Baltimore; and, when its choice had fallen upon General Scott, he expressed satisfaction and acquiescence, though his own choice had been different.

But higher themes engrossed in larger measure his time and thoughts. Mr. Clay had been through life an unshaking believer in Christian Revelation, whereof his own father had lived and died a minister, while his mother and his wife were his long disciples. Years ago, while yet harassed by sickness and with the prospect of a serene old age before him, Mr. Clay had united with the Protestant Episcopal Church at Lexington, and had ever since enjoyed its communion. The chaplain of the Senate, Rev. C. M. Butler, was a minister of that church as well as a personal friend of Mr. Clay, and spent much of the Winter at the bedside of the dying man.

Mr. Clay's piety was humble and self-distrustful, but his faith was firm and unshaken; and, though his sufferings were severe and protracted, he was resigned to their infliction as the salutary discipline of a spirit which, in bygone years, had contemplated but faintly and vaguely the fleeting vanities of earth. No hotel, no hospital, embraced a Christian soul preparing to bid adieu to its tabernacle of flesh in more entire renunciation of self-righteousness, in more exclusive reliance on the mercy manifested through the world's Redeemer, than that of Henry Clay.

Though his strength declined daily, and the ability to walk, to sit, to rise, and finally to speak, had been successively withdrawn, yet so great was his natural vigor of constitution, and so far had he already outlived the expectations of his most sanguine friends, that a hope began to be cherished and expressed that his frail thread of life would endure until the approaching 4th of July, so that his soul would wing its flight to the society of his Country's departed patriots and statesmen on the 26th Anniversary of her Declaration of Independence, but the extending fat had otherwise decreed. On the 29th of June, at 12 minutes past 11 o'clock, while no one was apprehending his immediate departure, and when only Governor Jones, of Tennessee, was present, with his son, his host, and his faithful servant, his breathing, which had gradually grown faint and fainter, entirely ceased. So gentle and tranquil was the change, without convulsion or struggle, that his devoted attendants believed it but a momentary sleep, and bent over him in anxious hope of his speedy return to consciousness. That hope was destined not to be realized;

the mighty spirit had thus peacefully abandoned its wasted tenement and soared on wings of light to the mansions of eternal rest.

XXXVI.

EULOGIES IN CONGRESS—FUNERAL HONORS.

THE two Houses met at 12 o'clock, and the members went generally on their way to the Capitol when overtaken by the tidings of Mr. Clay's death. In the Senate, before the reading of its journal, Mr. Hunter, of Virginia, said:—

"Mr. President, a rumor has been circulated that Henry Clay is dead. His colleague is absent, rendering the fact not official. I therefore move that the Senate adjourn."

The motion was agreed to, and the Senate adjourned.

In the House, after the reading of the journals, Mr. Venable, of North Carolina, said:—

"In consequence of the report—which may be true—that Henry Clay, the illustrious Senator from Kentucky, breathed his last at his lodgings a few moments since, I move that the House adjourn."

This was carried without a division.

Of the next day's proceedings in both Houses, I give the full and carefully corrected report of the *The Globe*. It is as follows:—

The anticipated formal announcement of the death of Hon. Henry Clay brought together an unusual assembly. Members of the House intermingled with Senators; the representatives of foreign sovereigns paid the tribute of their presence; Cabinet Ministers, and Heads of Bureaux, and members of the Judiciary, clustered without the bar. Of the illustrious contemporaries of the distinguished dead but few remain; but two were attracted all eyes—the Secretary of State, Daniel Webster, sat there. The General-in-Chief of the Army, Major-General Scott, was present. Attorney-General Crittenden, long the colleague of the deceased; the Hon. Beverly Johnson, a contemporary

in the Senate, and one of the Attorney General's predecessors, and numerous others, as eminent for their eloquence and their genius, there contemplated the end of human greatness.

The Chaplain to the Senate, the Rev. C. M. Butler, in his opening prayer, supplicated for the living; but he also offered Christian consolation by speaking hopefully of the dead, whose declining days were cheered by the Gospel dispensation.

The Journal having been read, Mr. Underwood* rose and said:

"Mr. President, I rise to announce the death of my colleague, Mr. Clay. He died at his residence, in the National Hotel of this city, at seven o'clock, minutes past eleven o'clock, yesterday morning, in the seventy-eighth year of his age. He expired with perfect composure, and without a groan or struggle.

"By his death, our country has lost one of its most eminent citizens and statesmen; and, I think, its greatest orator. I shall not detain the Senate by narrating the transactions of his life, and recital his. His distinguished services to a state seem inseparably connected with the history of his country. As representative and senator in the latter House of Congress, as member in the body, as secretary of State, and as chief justice, he lay, in all these positions, exhibited a wisdom and patriotism which have made a deep and lasting impression upon the general heart of his countrymen. His thoughts and his actions have already been publicly and to the world in written biography; we cannot avoid citation and reports, in the journals of the two Houses; and in the pages of American history. They have been engraven on medals of gold. Their memory will survive the monuments of marble and the medals of gold; for they are preserved and dear by the friction of ages. But the thoughts and actions of my late colleague have become identified with the immortality of the human mind, and will pass down from generation to generation as a portion of our national inheritance, incapable of annihilation, so long as genius lives in admiring, or liberty survives.

"Mr. President, the character of Henry Clay was formed and developed by the influence of our free institutions. His physical, mental, and moral faculties were the gift of God. That they were greatly improved by the facilities afforded by our institutions, can not be questioned. They were not cultivated, improved, and directed, by a liberal or well-governed education. His respectable parents were not wealthy, and had not the means of maintaining their children at college. Moreover, his father died when he was a boy. At an early period, Mr. Clay was thrown upon his own resources, without patrimony. His preparation was at the office in Richmond, Va., where he there studied law. He studied some five months, and returned to Lexington, Kentucky, where he commenced the practice of his profession before he was of full age.

"The road to wealth, to honor, and power, was open before him. Under our constitution and laws, he might freely employ his great facilities undisturbed by legal impediments, and untroubled by exclusive privileges. Very

*Joseph Underwood, (Baker,) of Kentucky.

ment, Mr. Clay made a deep and favorable impression upon the people among whom he began his career. The exactness of his natural faculties was soon displayed. Nervously stimulated him in their cultivation. His proficiency, skill, and fidelity, in professional engagements, secured public confidence. He was elected member of the Legislature of Kentucky, in which body he served several sessions prior to 1816. In that year he was elevated to a seat in the Senate of the United States.

* At the bar met in the General Assembly of Kentucky, Mr. Clay first manifested those high qualities as a public speaker which have secured to him so much popular applause and admiration. His physical and mental organization eminently qualified him to become a great and impressive orator. His person was tall, slender, and commanding. His temperament ardent, fearless, and full of hope. His countenance clear, expressive, and variable—indicating the emotion which predominated at the moment with exact similitude. His voice, cultivated and modulated in harmony with the sentiment he desired to express, fell upon the ear like the melody of enrapturing music. His eye beaming with intelligence and flashing with conversations of genius. His gestures and attitudes graceful and natural. These personal advantages won the propensities of an audience, even before his intellectual powers began to move his hearers; and when his strong common sense, his profound reasoning, his clear conceptions of his subject in all its bearings, and his striking and beautiful illustrations, united with such personal qualities, were brought to the discussion of any question, his audience was enraptured, raptured, and led by the orator as if enchanted by the lyre of Orpheus.

* No man was ever blessed by his Creator with faculties of a higher order of excellence than those given to Mr. Clay. In the quickness of his perceptions, and the rapidity with which his conclusions were formed, he had few equals, and no superior. He was eminently endowed with a nice discriminating taste for order, symmetry, and beauty. He detected in a moment everything out of place or deficient in his own, upon his farm, in his own or the dress of others. He was a skillful judge of the form and qualities of his domestic animals, which he delighted to ride on his farms. I could give you instances of the quickness and minuteness of his keen faculty of observation which never overlooked anything. A want of neatness and order was offensive to him. He was particular and neat in his handwriting, and his apparel. A slovenly habit or negligence of any sort met his condemnation; while he was so exacting that he attended to, and arranged little things to please and gratify his natural love for neatness, order, and beauty, his great intellectual faculties grasped all the subjects of jurisprudence and politics with a facility resembling almost intuition. As a lawyer, he stood at the head of his profession. As a statesman, he stood at the head of the Republican Whig party for nearly half a century—his title to pre-eminence among his illustrious associates.

* Mr. Clay was deeply versed in all the springs of human action. He had read and studied biography and history. Shortly after I left college, I had occasion to call on him in Frankfort, when he was attending court, and well I remember to have found him with Plutarch's Lives in his hands. No one better than he knew how to read himself of human motives, and all the circumstances which surrounded a subject, or could present them with more force and skill to accomplish the object of an argument.

* Mr. Clay, throughout his public career, was influenced by the highest patriotism. Unflinching in the truth of his convictions and the purity of his purposes, he was ardent, sensitive, suspicious, in the pursuit of objects

which he believed essential to the general welfare. These were stated in his way were thrown aside without loss of consistency. He never affected a superior's deference to men or opinions which he thought hostile to the best interests of his country; and hence he may have wounded the vanity of those who thought themselves of consequence. It is certain, whatever the cause, that at one period of his life Mr. Clay might have been referred to in proof that there is more truth than fiction in those prophetic lines of the poet:—

"He who assaults the mountain-top, & stands
 In lists of spears, must tempt his strength and sword;
 He who attempts to rise, must strike his fall;
 Short look down on the hills, if there be any,
 Through his chain the snare of glory gleams,
 And far beneath the snare and snare's support,
 How'd his name for such, and how'd his fate,
 For ailing compass, and for a sick of lead,
 And thus around the hills, which to their summit led."

"Calumny and detraction stepped their stile upon him. But how gaining the channel. He outlasted neither and never. He lived long enough to prove to the world that his ambition was no more than a holy aspiration to make his country the greatest, not a powerful, and least restricted on the earth. If he desired its high office, it was because the greater power and influence resulting from such elevation would enable him to do more than for otherwise could for the progress and advancement. Most of his own countrymen, then of his whole race, the sympathies embraced all. The African slave, the people of Spanish America, the children of non-combatants, the whole race—all families of men, without respect to color or class, found in his expanded heart and compassive intellect a friend of their elevation and amelioration. Such ambition as that is truly implantation in the human heart for raising the down-trodden nations of the earth, and aiding them for regenerated existence in politics, in morals, and in religion.

"Bold and determined Mr. Clay was in all his actions, he was, nevertheless, reconciling. He did not absolutely adhere to things impracticable. If he could not accomplish the best, he contented himself with the next approach to it. He has been the great compromiser of those political opinions and opposing opinions which have, in the belief of thousands at different times, endangered the perpetuity of our Federal Government and Union.

"Mr. Clay was no less remarkable for his admirable social qualities than for his intellectual abilities. As a companion, he was the delight of his friends; and no man ever had better success. They have loved him from the beginning, and loved him to the last. His hospitable mansion at Delmar was always open to their reception. His private ever-there departed without feeling happier for his visit. But, alas! that happy domestic life has already been converted into a house of mourning, already has interred lady who, for more than fifty years, bore to him all the endearing relations of wife, and whose noble condition prevented her from leaving him in this city, and watching the struggle at his last hour by those revealing attentions which women can give as well as a woman and a wife. My first infant into her breast and round the Christian spirit of submission under her benevolent. It cannot be long before she may expect a reunion in Heaven. A million smiles with her and her children on account of their free and noble loss.

*Mr. Clay, from the nature of his disease, declined very gradually. He bore his protracted sufferings with great equanimity and patience. On one occasion he said to me that when death was inevitable and near at hand, and when the sufferer was ready to die, he did not perceive the wisdom of praying to be 'delivered from sudden death.' He thought under such circumstances the sufferer was relieved by death the better. He desired the termination of his own sufferings, while he acknowledged the duty of patiently waiting and abiding the pleasure of God. Mr. Clay frequently spoke to me of his hope of eternal life, founded upon the merits of Jesus Christ as a Saviour; who, as he remarked, came into the world to bring 'life and immortality to light.' He was a member of the Episcopalian Church. In one of our conversations he told me that, as his hour of dissolution approached, he found that his affections were concentrating more and more upon his domestic circle—his wife and children. In my daily visits he was in the habit of asking me to detail to him the transactions of the Senate. This I did, and he manifested much interest in passing occurrences. His inquiries were less frequent as his end approached. For the week preceding his death, he seemed to be altogether abstracted from the concerns of the world. When he became so low that he could not converse without being fatigued, he frequently repeated those around him to converse. He would then quietly listen. He retained his mental faculties in great perfection. His memory remained perfect. He frequently mentioned events and conversations of recent occurrence, showing that he had a perfect recollection of which was said and done. He said to me that he was grateful to God for continuing to him the blessing of reason, which enabled him to contemplate and reflect on his situation. He manifested, during his confinement, the same characteristics which marked his conduct through the vigor of his life. He was exceedingly anxious to give his friends 'farewell,' as he called it. Some time before he knew it, we commenced writing through the night in an adjoining room. He said to me after passing a painful day, 'perhaps some one had better remain all night in the parlor.' From this he thus he knew some friend was constantly at hand ready to attend to him.

*Mr. President, the majestic form of Mr. Clay will no more grace these halls. No more shall we hear that voice which has so often thrilled and charmed the assembled representatives of the American people. No more shall we see that steady hand and eye of light, as when he was engaged in unfolding his policy in regard to the vital interests of our growing and mighty republican empire. His voice is silent as earth for ever. The darkness of death has obscured the luster of his eye. But the memory of his services—not only to his beloved Kentucky, but only to the United States, but to the cause of human freedom and progress throughout the world—will live through future ages, as a bright example, stimulating and encouraging his own countrymen and the people of all nations in their patriotic devotion to country and humanity.

With Christians, there is yet a valley and a higher thought in regard to Mr. Clay. They will think of him in connection with eternity. They will contemplate his immortal spirit occupying its true relative magnitude among the moral stars of glory in the presence of God. They will think of him as having fulfilled the duties allotted to him on earth, having been regenerated by Divine grace, and having passed through the valley of the shadow of death, and reached an ever-lasting and happy home in that home not made with hands, eternal in the heavens.

*On Sunday morning last, I was watching alone at Mr. Clay's bedside.

mark of respect to the memory of the deceased, will go forth, mourning for one month by the usual mode of wearing crepe on the left arm.

* Resolved, As a further mark of respect extended by the Senate to the memory of Henry Clay, and his long and distinguished services to his country, that his remains, in pursuance of the last wish of his family, be removed to the place of sepulchre selected by himself at Lexington, in Kentucky, in charge of the President and Arms of the Senate, and be interred by a committee of six Senators, to be appointed by the President of the Senate, who shall exercise power in every the resolution hereof.

Mr. Cass.† "Mr. President: Again has an impressive warning come to teach us that in the midst of life we are in death. The ordinary business of this Hall was suspended, and its members hushed, before the power of Him who says to the storm of human passions, as He said of old to the waves of Galilee, 'Peace, be still.' The lessons of His mercifulness, severe as they may be, often become merciful dispensations, like that which is now spreading sorrow through the land, and which is reminding us that we have higher duties to fulfil, and greater responsibilities to encounter, than those that meet us here, when we lay our heads upon His holy word, and invoke His holy spirit, promising to be faithful to that Constitution which He gave us in His mercy, and will withdraw only in the hour of our blindness and disobedience, and of His own wrath.

"Another great man has fallen in our land, ripe indeed in years and in honors, but never dearer to the American people than when called from the theatre of his services and renown, to that land for whom the lofty and the lowly meet, all meet at last.

"I do not rise upon this mournful occasion to indulge in the language of panegyric. My regard for the memory of the dead, and for the obligations of the living, would equally rebuke such a course. The severity of truth is at once our proper duty and our best consolation. Here during the revolutionary struggle, our deceased associate was one of the few remaining public men who connected the present generation with the actors in the trying scenes of that eventful period, and whose names and deeds will soon be known only in the history of their country. He was another illustration, and a noble one, too, of the glorious equality of our institutions, which freely offer all their rewards to all who justly seek them, for he was the architect of his own fortune, having made his way in life by self-education; and he was an early adventurer in the great forest of the West, then a world of primitive vegetation, but now the abode of intelligence and religion, of prosperity and civilization.

"But he possessed that intellectual superiority which overcomes surrounding obstacles, and which local exclusion can not long withhold from general knowledge and appreciation. It is almost half a century since he passed through Chillicothe, then the seat of government of Ohio, where I was a member of the Legislature, on his way to take his place in this very body, which is now listening to his reminiscences, and to a feeble tribute of regard from one who then saw him for the first time, but who can never forget the impression he produced by the charm of his conversation, the frankness of his manner, and the high qualities with which he was endowed. Since then he has labored to his country, and has taken a part, and a prominent part, both in peace and war, in all the great questions affecting her interests and her honor; and though it has been my fortune often to differ from him, yet I believe he was as pure a patriot as ever participated in the renown of a nation, anxious for the public good, and seeking to promote it during all the vicissitudes of a long and eventful life. That he exercised a powerful influence within the sphere of his nation, through the whole country, is well we

† General Lewis Cass (Democrat), of Michigan.

all feel and know; and we know, too, the eminent endowments which gave him this high distinction. Frank and fearless in the expression of his opinions, and in the performance of his duties— with rare powers of eloquence, which never failed to give the attention of his auditory, and which always commanded admiration, even when they did not carry conviction— prompt in decision and firm in action, and with a vigorous intellect, trained in the contests of a stirring life, and strengthened by cultured experiences and observation, joined with an ardent love of country, and to great purity of purpose; these were the elements of his power and success. And we dwell upon them with unfeigned gratification, now, when we shall soon follow him to the cold and silent tomb, where we shall commit earth to earth, when he goes, not to die, but with the blessed conviction of the truth of that Divine revelation, which teaches us that there is life and hope beyond the narrow house, where we shall leave him alone to the mercy of his God and of ours.

"He has passed beyond the reach of human praise or censure; but the judgment of his contemporaries has preceded and pronounced the judgment of history, and his name and fame will dwell forever upon his country, and will be proudly cherished in the hearts of his countrymen for long years to come. Yes, they will be cherished and treasured, and will be read when these warlike nations that surround us, smother the witness of his triumphs, but in a few brief hours, when his mortal frame, despoiled of the mortal part, shall rest under this dome for the last time, he becomes the witness of his defeat in that final contest where the majority shall before the end of the century— when these warlike nations shall themselves have fallen, like all the works of man, leaving their broken fragments to fill the streets of human magnificence, and the very ruins which announce decay and destruction.

"I was often with him during his last illness, when the world and the things of the world were fast fading away before him. He knew that the silver cord was almost loosed, and that the golden bowl was breaking at the fountain; but he was resigned to the will of Providence, feeling that the who gave has the right to take away in His own good time and manner. After his duty to his Country, and his anxiety for his family, his first concern was for his country, and his last wish for the preservation and perpetuation of the Constitution and the Union, dear to him in the hour of death, as they had ever been in the vigor of life. Of that Constitution and Union whose defense, in the last and greatest crisis of their peril, had called forth all his energies, and had stimulated the unconquerable and powerful emotions, which he who witnessed can never forget, and which no doubt haunted the frail catastrophe, a uniform new display with reverence and solemnity, rest his honorably to themselves, then to the memory of the subject of their attachment. And when we shall enter that narrow valley that we who have passed before us, and which leads to the judgment seat of God, may we be able to say, through faith in His Son, our Savior, and in the heavenly language of the hymn of the dying Christian— dying, but ever living and triumph-
ant—

"The world needs a prophetic
 I dreamt upon my death day
 With words prophetic
 Good, good your message, I have
 I dreamt when I was dying
 Of death when I was living

"Let us die the death of the righteous, and let our last end be like his."
 34.

Mr. HUNTER.* "Mr. President, we have heard, with deep sensibility, what has just fallen from the Senators who have preceded me. We have heard, sir, the voice of Kentucky—and, upon this occasion, she had a right to speak—in mingled accents of pride and sorrow; for it has rarely fallen to the lot of any State to lament the loss of such a son. But Virginia, too, is entitled to her place in this procession; for she can not be supposed to be unmindful of the sin which beamed her to the dead. When the earth opens to receive the mortal part which she gave to man, it is then that affection is eager to linger in its bosom every recollection but those of love and kindness. And, still, when the last veil is to be drawn, it is then that we look with anxious interest to the deeds of the life, and to the remainings of the heart and the mind, for those more enduring monuments which are the creation of an immortal nature.

"In this instance, we can be at no loss for those. This land, sir, is full of the monuments of his genius. His memory is as inseparable as American history itself, for he was one of those who made it. Sir, he belonged to that marked class who are the men of their country; for it was his rare good fortune not only to have been endowed with the capacity to do great things, but to have enjoyed the opportunities of achieving them. I know, sir, it has been said and deplored, that he wanted some of the advantages of an early education; but it, perhaps, has not been remembered that, in many respects, he enjoyed such opportunities for mental training as can rarely fall to the lot of man. He had not a chance to learn as much from books, but he had such opportunities of learning from men as few men have ever enjoyed. Sir, it is to be remembered that he was reared at a time when there was a state of society in the Commonwealth which gave him birth, such as has never been seen there before nor since. It was his early privilege to see how justice was administered by a Pendleton and a Wythe, with the best of whom he was in the daily habit of familiar intercourse. He had constant opportunities to observe how forensic questions were managed by a Marshall and a Wickham. He was old enough, too, to have heard and to have appreciated the eloquence of a Patrick Henry, and of George Keith Taylor. In short, sir, he lived in a society in which the examples of a Jefferson, and a Madison, and a Monroe, were living influences, and in which the setting sun of a Washington cast the mild obliquity of its departing rays.

"He was trained, too, as has been well said by the Senator from Michigan, (Mr. Cass,) at a period when the recent revolutionary struggle had given a more elevated tone to patriotism and imparted a higher cast to public feeling and to public character. Such lessons were worth, perhaps, more to him than the whole encyclopædia of scholastic learning. Not only were the circumstances of his early training favorable to the development of his genius, but the theatre upon which he was thrown was eminently propitious for its exercise. The circumstances of the early settlement of Kentucky, the generous, daring, and reckless character of the people—all fitted it to be the theatre for the display of those commanding qualities of heart and mind, which he so eminently possessed. There can be little doubt but that these people and their chosen leader exercised a natural influence upon each other; and no one can be surprised that, with his brave spirit and commanding eloquence, and fascinating address, he should have led not only these but elsewhere.

"I did not know him, Mr. President, as you did, in the freshness of his

* Robert M. T. Hunter (quote Rights Reserved) of Virginia.

prints, or in the full maturity of his manhood. I did not fear him, sir, as you have heard him, when his voice raised the spirit of his countrymen for war, when he looked on the shipping, when he rallied the abolitionists, through all the rich islands of cotton and slave-labor costs. I have never seen him, sir, when, from the height of the altar, he indelible thence at 15,000 units fired by the energy of his will, or when upon the level of the floor he exercised a control almost unexampled, by the mastery of his intellect. When I first knew him, he was but a little past the middle. The stirring hour of time had just begun to touch the instruments of his manhood. But yet, sir, I saw enough of him to be able to realize what he would have been in the prime of his strength, and in the full vigor of his maturity. I saw him, sir, as you did, when he led the "Opposition" during the administration of Mr. Van Buren. I had daily opportunities of witnessing the exhibition of his powers during the entire session under Mr. Tyler's administration. And I saw, as we all saw, in a recent contest, the exhibition of power on his part, which was no less marvelous in one of his years.

"Mr. President, he may not have looked much of an able staff, as some others, in discussing a subject. It may be, perhaps, that he did not seek to look quite so far ahead as some who have been most distinguished for political forecast. But it may be truly said of Mr. Clay, that he was never a great speaker. He looked at events through neither end of the telescope, but surveyed them with the natural and the natural eye. He had the capability of seeing things as the people saw them, and of telling things as the people felt them. He had, sir, beyond any other man whom I have ever seen, the little magnetic touch of the orator—the power of magnetizing his audience by others. Thoughts, feelings, emotions, came from the steady sound of his penite, radiant and glowing, and continuous, and then came warmly to every heart which received them. His tone was the power of walking the back-rod and interior frame of passion with a simplicity and an ease which none but the great masters of the human heart can ever employ. It was his rare good fortune to have been one of those who bring, as it were, a favorable look and a living tradition which connects one age with another, and through which one generation speaks its thought and feeling, and appeals to another. And, unfortunately, it is for a century, when it comes this passing such men, for it is to them that we chiefly owe the capacity to transmit the unity of the great Epic of human history, and preserve the consistency of political action.

"Sir, it may be said that the grave is still not made which covers the mortal remains of one of those great men who have been taken from our midst, and the earth is seen impure to receive another. I know not, sir, whether it can be said to be a matter of lamentation, so far as the dead are concerned, that the thread of this life has been clipped when none it has been fully spun. They escape the indignities and sorrows, and they leave an imperishable name behind them. The loss, sir, is not theirs, but ours; and a loss the more to be lamented that we are more to fill the places they made vacant on the stage of public affairs. But it may be well for us, when we have much more cause to mourn and to lament, and to do so, to pause consider the business of life for the purpose of contemplating the specter before us, and of drawing the moral from the passing event. It is a hard, cold, cruel, and its victims those who are, by a hard and deadly, rather than all the rest," that we do not more deeply the responsibility of human affairs, and that "the glories of our mortal state are shadows, not substantial things." It is, sir, in such instances as the present that we are best taught by the light of example the true object of life, and the true end of human pursuit."

Mr. Hale.* "Mr. President, I hope I shall not be considered intrusive, if on this occasion, for a brief moment, I mingle my humble voice with those that, with an ability that I shall neither attempt nor hope to equal, have sought to do justice to the worth and memory of the deceased, and at the same time appropriately to minister to the sympathies and sorrows of a stricken people. Sir, it is the breathing of inspiration that 'no man liveth and no man dieth into himself.'

"There is a lesson taught us here in the death than in the life of every man eminently so in the case of one who has filled a large space and occupied a distinguished position by the thoughts and record of his fellow-men. Particularly instructive at this time is the event which we most deplore, although the circumstances attending his decease are such as are calculated to assuage rather than aggravate the grief which it must inevitably cause. His time had fully come. The three score and ten marking the ordinary period of human life had for some years been passed, and full of years and of honors, he has gone to his rest. And now, when the nation is marshalling itself for the contest which is to decide 'who shall be president,' as if to chasten our ambition, to restrain and subside the violence of passion, to moderate our desires and elevate our hopes, we have the spectacle of one who, by the force of his intellect, and the energy of his own purpose, had achieved a reputation which the highest official honors of the Republic might have illustrated, but could not have surpassed, laid low in death—as if, at the very outset of this political contest, on which the nation is now entering, to teach the ambition and aspiring the end of human pursuits and earthly honors. But, sir, I do not intend to dwell on that moral which is taught by the silent lips and closed eye of the illustrious dead, with a force such as no man ever spoke with; but I shall leave the event, with its silent and noble eloquence, to impress its own appropriate teachings on the heart.

"In the long and eventful life of Mr. Clay, in the various positions which he occupied, in the many parts of public duty which he filled, in the many exhibitions which his victory affords of untiring energy, of unassuaged eloquence, and of devoted patriotism, it would be strange indeed if different minds, as they dwell upon the subject, were all to select the same incidents of his life as pre-eminently calculated to challenge admiration and respect.

"Sir, my admiration, my warm affection, for Mr. Clay was won and secured many years since, even in my school-boy days—when his voice of counsel, encouragement, and sympathy, was heard in the other Hall of this Capitol, in behalf of the struggling scholars of the southern portion of this continent, who, in pursuit of their inalienable rights, in imitation of our own forefathers, had suffered the banner of liberty, and, regardless of consequences, had gallantly rushed into that contest where 'life is lost, or freedom won.' And again, sir, when Gwynne, rich in the memories of the past, awoke from the slumber of ages of oppression and centuries of shame, and resolved

* To roll her clothes back, and resume time and life:—

there, over the plains of that classic land, above the din of battle and the clash of arms, mingling with the shouts of the victors and the groans of the vanquished, were heard the thrilling and stirring notes of that same eloquence, excited by a sympathy which knew no bounds, wide as the world, pleading the cause of African liberty before the American Congress, as if to pay back to Gwynne the debt which every patriot and orator felt was laid

and, Sir, is the later and honorable career of the deceased, there are many events and striking scenes upon which his friends and party will dwell with satisfaction and pride, but none which will prove harmonious with more satisfying to the future eye, than the course he pursued in the Spanish American and Greek revolutions.*

Mr. CHAMBERS.† "Mr. President: I should not have thought it necessary to read anything to what has already been read, but for a couple of paragraphs published by some of the friends of the deceased. I should have been content to mention him in silence, and leave it to other tongues to prosecute his eulogy. What I have now to say, had he heard, I am afraid

"Mr. President, it is more less than three short years since I first entered this body. At that period it is related, among other influences, many of the most illustrious statesmen this Republic has ever produced, on the world has ever known. Of the living of a most noble pedigree, but in that brief period death has been busy here, and, in it to mark the feebleness of human things, his arrows have been aimed at the backs of, the mightiest of us all. He called's affairs. And well, say, did I ponder on the deep feelings expressed on that occasion by those whose death has to us an historical here today, when he said, 'I am, Sir, content to come to rest to-day. In the course of nature I should have been preserved here. It has been deemed otherwise; but I know that I shall sleep here only a brief time, and shall soon follow him.' It was some, however, some of his countrymen, brother, and his country, probably, he was a popular man."

"He, Sir, is not gone from among us, and his name will live to him, that voice whose every tone was true, to be heard and said. That clear, bright eye, is dim and feeble, and that honest, sincere presence, and the calm every quality which would adorn and dignify our system, and in the end that even mind enter it. A few hours, have passed like a mighty change—a change for which a living still a look indeed, in some degree prepared us, but which, nevertheless, will still fall upon the system, with a living force. Many a sorrowing heart is now weeping, and still yesterday, when I heard the first sound of the funeral bell—

*And to be read by the poet of the period.

†The funeral eulogy of Henry Clay, in the report.

‡The same funeral eulogy, in the report.

But to be read by the poet of the period.

And to be read by the poet of the period.

"Mr. President, this is an occasion when a lofty sentiment of the performance of duty. The long life which is now ended is a history of strenuous labor and industry for the tongue of justice. It is on the hearts of his countrymen that his last epithet must be written. It is in the admiration of a world that his memory must be recorded. In that deep flow of energy, which he distinguished every period of his life, he was not, I have been overwhelmed. In the fullness of intellect he was not without his power. The shall with which he battled every cloud of the human heart may have been regarded. The man will, the undimmed firmness, the heart's courage, which marked his character, may have been shared by others. But a few shall be permitted all these qualities united, concentrated, blended into one, and whole, and shedding a lustre upon one single soul, which the rest of the world has only been to it attracts his eyes and demands his admiration."

"I earnestly trust, Sir, here for it may be allowable, upon an occasion like this, to refer to party struggles which have not happily not yet entirely

*From the *Life of Henry Clay*, by John C. Calhoun.

beheld. I will venture, however, to suggest, that it should be a source of consolation to his friends that he lived long enough to see the full accomplishment of the last great work of his life, and to witness the total discomposure of that national tempest which threatened to overwhelm the Republic in ruins. Both the great parties of the country have agreed to stand upon the platform which he created, and both of them have solemnly pledged themselves to maintain unimpaired the work of his hands. I should not the knowledge of this cheer his in his dying moments, and helped to steel away the pang of dissolution.

"Mr. President, if I knew anything more that I could say, I would gladly utter it. To me he was something more than kind, and I am called upon to mingle a private with a public grief. I wish that I could do something to add to his tomb. But he built for himself a monument of immortality, and left to his friends no task but that of watching their own sorrow for his loss. We pay to him the tribute of our tears. Alas we have no power to bestow. Patriotism, honor, genius, courage, have all come to strew their garlands about his tomb; and will they say, for he was the peer of them all?"

Mr. Cooper: "Mr. President, it is not always by words that the living pay to the dead the sincerest and most eloquent tribute. The tears of a nation, flowing spontaneously over the grave of a public benefactor, is a more eloquent testimonial of his worth and of the affection and veneration of his countrymen, than the most highly wrought oration of the most gifted tongue. The heart is not necessarily the fountain of words, but it is always the source of tears, whether they be of joy, gratitude, or grief. But sincere, truthful, and eloquent, as they are, they leave no permanent record of the virtues and gestures of him on whose tomb they wept. As the dew of heaven falling at night are absorbed by the earth, or dried up by the morning sun, so the tears of a people, shed for their benefactor, disappear without leaving a trace to tell the future generations of the virtues, merits, and virtues, of him to whose memory they were a grateful tribute. But as homage paid to virtue is an incentive to it, it is right that the memory of the good, the great, and noble of the earth should be preserved and honored.

"The ambition, Mr. President, of the truly good is more the hope of living in the memory and estimation of future ages than of possessing power in their own. It is this hope that stimulates them to perseverance; that enables them to encounter disappointment, ingratitude, and neglect, and to press on through toil, privations, and perils to the end. It was not the hope of discovering a world, one which he should himself exercise dominion, that sustained Columbus in all his trials. It was not for this he braved danger, disappointment, poverty, and reproach. It was not for this he subdued his native pride, wandered from kingdom to kingdom, kneeling at the feet of princes a suppliant for means to prosecute his audacious enterprise. It was not for this, after having at last secured the patronage of Isabella, that he put off in his own and disappointed fleet into unknown seas, to struggle with storms and tempests, and the rage of a malicious crew. It was neither and noble kind of ambition that stimulated him to contend with terror, expenditure, and despoils, and to press forward on his perilous career, when the needs of his voyage, being its priority seemed to unite with the fury of the elements and the insubordination of his crew in turning him back from his perilous but glorious enterprise. It was the hope which was

realized at last, when his ungrateful country was compelled to inherit, as an epitaph on his tomb.

*Calculus has given what would be the longitude of the globe and loss,

that enabled him at first to leave so many disappointments, and at last to conquer the multitude of perils that lay on his pathway on the deep. This, sir, is the mutation of the truly good, not to achieve present fame, but future immortality. This being the case it is fortunate here to add to the life of Henry Clay, the record of his death, considered as it is by a nation's gratitude and pride. It is right that posterity should learn from us, the contemporaries of the illustrious deceased, that his virtues and services were appreciated by his country, and acknowledged by the tears of his countrymen poured out upon his grave.

"The career of Henry Clay was a wonderful one. And what an illustration of the excellence of our institutions would a retrospect of his life afford! Born in an humble station, without any of the advantages which fortune by which the obstructions on the road to fame are smoothed, he rose not only to the most exalted eminence of position, but likewise to the highest place in the affections of his countrymen. And the advantages, the disadvantages of his early position, disadvantages almost which he had always to contend, his career is without a parallel in the history of our nation. We have seen him a youth, without favor or fortune, and with but a scanty education, who would have ventured to predict for him a course of brilliant and beneficent, and at times a well-deserved and enduring fame. Like the pine, however, which sometimes springs up amidst the rocks on the mountain side, with scarce a service in which to fix its roots or soil to nourish them, but which nevertheless overtop all the trees of the surrounding forest, Henry Clay, by his own industry, with a firmness, energy, and assiduity, rose to an altitude of fame almost unoccupied in the age in which he lived. As an orator, legislator, and statesman, he had no superior. All his faculties were remarkable, and in remarkable combination. The force of a brilliant genius and a fertile imagination, his judgment was sound, discriminating, and eminently practical. Of an ardent and impetuous temperament, he was nevertheless persevering and firm of purpose. Frank, bold, and intrepid, he was cautious in providing against the contingencies and obstacles which might possibly rise up in the road to success. Generous, liberal, and sustaining liberal and expanded views of national policy, in his legislative course he never transgressed the limits of a wise economy.

"But, Mr. President, of all his qualities, that of making friends and attaching them to him was the most remarkable and extraordinary. In this respect, he seemed to possess a sort of fascination, by which all who came into his presence were attracted toward and bound to him by ties which neither time nor circumstances had power to dissolve or weaken. In the estimation of his friends was the recognition of the dignity of intellect; in their attachment to him a recognition of his personal qualities and moral virtues.

"Of the public services of Mr. Clay, the present occasion affords no room for a sketch more extended than that which his respected colleagues [Mr. Webster] has presented. It is, however, sufficient to say, that for more than forty years he has been a prominent actor in the drama of American affairs. During the late war with England his voice was more potent than any other in awakening the spirit of the country, infusing confidence into the people, and rendering available their resources for carrying on the contest. In our domestic controversies, threatening the peace of the country and the

integrity of the Union, he has always been first to ride danger as well as to suppress the means of averting it. When the waters of the great political deep were agitated by the tempest of discord, and the ark of the Union, freighted with the hopes and destinies of freedom, tossing about on the raging billows, and drifting every moment nearer to the vortex which threatened to swallow it up, it was his clarion voice, rising above the storm, that announced the cause of impending peril, and indicated the way to safety.

"But, Mr. President, devotedly as he loved his country, his aspirations were not limited to its welfare alone. Whenever freedom had a votary, that votary had a friend in Henry Clay; and in the struggle of the Spanish colonies for independence, he uttered words of encouragement which have become the mottoes on the banners of freedom in every land. But neither the services which he has rendered his own country, nor his wishes for the welfare of others, nor his genius, nor the affection of friends, could turn aside the destroyer. No price could purchase exemption from the common lot of humanity. Henry Clay, the wise, the great, the gifted, had to die; and his history is summed up in the biography which the Russian poet has prepared for all kings and lords, viz:—

"Born, living, dying,
Slaking the still slaves for the troubled waves,
Struggling with ocean winds over shipwrecks lying,
And meeting death in the silent grave."

"But though time would not spare him, there is still this of consolation: He died peacefully and happy, ripe in renown, full of years and of honors, and rich in the affections of his country. He enjoyed, too, the respectable satisfaction of seeing his eyes while the country he had loved so much and served so well was still in the enjoyment of peace, happiness, union, and prosperity—still advancing in all the elements of wealth, greatness, and power.

"I know, Mr. President, how unequal I have been to the apparently self-imposed task of presenting, in an appropriate manner, the merits of the illustrious deceased. But if I had remained silent on an occasion like this, when the hearts of my constituents are swelling with grief, I would have been discarded by them. It is for this reason—that of giving utterance to their feelings as well as of my own—that I have trespassing on the time of the Senate. I would that I could have spoken finer words; but, such as they are, they were uttered by the tongue in response to the promptings of the heart."

MR. NEGAND. * "Mr. President, fifty years ago, Henry Clay, of Virginia, already adopted by Kentucky, then, as possible as himself, entered the service of his country, a Representative in the unpretending Legislature of that rising State; and having himself, pursued, with noble and constant, the gradual path of an aspiring champion through bills of Congress, foreign courts, and Executive councils, he has now, with the cheerfulness of a patriot, and the serenity of a Christian, fully closed his long and arduous career, here in the Senate, in the full presence of the Republic, backing down upon the same with society and alarm—not merely a Senator like one of us who yet remain in the Senate-House, but dying that character which, though it has no authority of law and was assigned without oblige, Augustus Cesar nevertheless declared was above the title of *Kingpinus*, *Princeps inter Illustres*—the Prince of the Senate.

* William H. Howard (Dove Tail White), of New York.

"Generals are tried, Mr. President, by examining the campaigns they have led or won, and Statesmen by reviewing the transactions in which they have been engaged. Hamilton would have been unknown to us had there been no Constitution to be created, as Britain would have died in obscurity had there been no Crown to be slain.

"Calvinism, Revolution, and Democracy—three great acts in the drama of our national progress—had already passed when the Western patriot appeared on the public stage. He witnessed the most glorious of the majestic scenes which were marked by an inevitable reaction of political forces, a wild state of intestine, and various subsequent events in our foreign relations. This transition stage is always more painful than any other in the career of nations, and especially in the career of Republics. It proved fatal to the Commonwealth of England. Greatly out of the Spirit of American States has yet emerged from it, and it has meant that state been easily dignified by the rule of the Republics since its failure.

"The continuous ethical-tuition of Washington and John Adams, had placed under a cloud which had thrown a hazy dark shadow over the fitting the nation was deeply indebted of honor and abroad, and its credit was prostrate. The revolutionary interests had given place to two successive parties, divided by a gulf which had been won by the conflict in which the Constitution was adopted, and made broader and deeper by a war of prejudices concerning the merits of the belligerents in the era of European struggle that they could not be resolved in mind. One entire national political system was little more than an unexamined theory, and yet practically established. The Union of the States was as yet neither an act nor a principle; for the political, social, and commercial systems to which it was so hastily adopted, and which obstructing the public spirit, so a teacher of such ability, had not then been broadly disclosed, nor had the habits of acquiescence, and the sentiments of loyalty, always due to a newly fully opened. The book that had come to us, from unimpaired and entire U. S. and quite certain to founder by reason of its own inherent faults, even if it should escape the hands in the great conflict of nature, which acknowledged no claims of justice, and tolerated no pretensions of necessity. Moreover, the harmony possessed by the nation was much greater to common bond and unity, and indispensible social expansion; and yet no pretensions had been made for independence, nor for extending the political system over distant regions, inhibited or obstructive, which must inevitably be required. Now could any such acquisition be made without disturbing the carefully adjusted balance of powers among the members of the Confederacy.

"These difficulties, Mr. President, although they arose in connection with them and by that degree, sustained throughout the whole life of the State some of our sleepless and ceaseless laboring. But having them, and I am sure that his very will contain the instructions that our nation was the future of the nation, and the responsibility of its rulers, during the period in which he flourished. He was prudent, bold, generous, and even self-sacrificing, and yet, such a profound conviction of the true interests of the country, like Alexander Hamilton, he disciplined himself, and trained a restless nation, that knew only well content, to the rigorous practical that also formalizing intervention which its welfare and security in that position could no longer be demanded.

"It could not have happened, I am, to any citizen to have acted alone, and yet to have acted always the most conspicuous part in a testing period so long protracted. Henry Clay, therefore, shared the responsibility of that Government with not only his proper contemporaries, but also the errors of the

legislature, as well as also many who will now surrender himself. I may forbear my naming those who retain their places here; but we may, almost inappropriately, recall among his co-workers a Senator of vast resources and flexible resources, who has recently withdrawn from this Chamber, but I think not altogether from public life (Mr. Benton); and another, who, on leaving all his contemporaries within his country, and even throughout the world, in the proper discharge of the former, rose, in retirement years, for a second time, dignified and adorned the highest seat in the Executive Council (Mr. Webster). Passing by these eminent and noble men, the shades of Calhoun, John Quincy Adams, Jackson, Monroe, Madison, and Jefferson, rise up before me. Statesmen whose living and loyal fame has ripened already into historical and world-wide renown.

"Among gentlemen as bold as these, Henry Clay bore a part in regulating the constitutional freedom of political debate; establishing that long-cherished and most important line which divides the sovereignty of the several States from that of the States confederated; asserting the right of neutrality, and vindicating it by a war against Great Britain, when that just but extreme measure became necessary; adjusting the terms on which that perilous, yet honorable contest, was brought to a peaceful close; perfecting the army, and the Navy, and national fortifications; settling the fiscal and financial policy of the Government in more than one crisis of apparently threatened revolution; asserting and calling into exercise the powers of the Government for making and improving internal communications between the States; asserting and encouraging the Spanish-American colonies on this continent to throw off the foreign yoke, and to organize governments on principles congenial to our own, and thus creating external bulwarks for our own national defence; establishing equal and impartial peace and unity with all existing maritime Powers; and extending the constitutional organization of Government over vast regions, all secured in his lifetime by purchase or by conquest, whereby the pillars of the Republic have been removed from the banks of the St. Mary's to the borders of the Rio Grande, and from the margin of the Mississippi to the Pacific coast. We may not yet discern the wisdom of the several measures which have thus passed in review before us, nor of the positions which the deceased Statesmen assumed in regard to them, but we may, without offence, dwell upon the comprehensive results of them all.

"The Union exists in absolute integrity, and the Republic is complete and triumphant development. Without having relinquished any part of their individuality, the States have more than doubled already, and are increasing in numbers and gaining in political strength and expansion more rapidly than ever before. Without having absorbed any State, or having even encroached on any State, the Confederation has opened itself so as to embrace all the new members who have come; and now, with capacity for further and indefinite enlargement, has become fixed, enduring, and perpetual. Although it was doubted, only half a century ago, whether our political system could be maintained at all, and whether, if maintained, it could promote the peace and happiness of society, it stands now confirmed by the world the best form of government not only most adapted to empire, but also most congenial with the constitution of human nature.

"When we consider that the nation has been conducted to this happy, not only through stormy seas, but along their also without a course and without a star; and when we consider, moreover, the sum of happiness that has already been enjoyed by the American people, and still more the influence which the great achievements is exerting on the advancement and welfare

tion of the condition of mankind, we are at once that it might have satisfied the highest ambition to have been, no matter how humbly, concerned in so great a transaction.

"Certainly, sir, no one will deny that Henry Clay in that transaction performed an obscure or even a common part. On the contrary, from the day on which he entered the public service, until that on which he passed the gates of death, he was never a follower, but always a leader; and he included either the party which sustained or that which resisted every great measure, equally in the Senate and in the popular councils. And he felt where duty seemed to him to indicate, reckless whether he encountered one President or twenty Presidents, whether he was opposed by millions or even by the whole people. Hence it has happened that, although that people are not yet agreed among themselves on the wisdom of all or perhaps of even any of his great measures, yet they are not without unanimous admiration, acknowledging that he was at once the greatest, the most brilliant, and the most reliable of their statesmen. Here the chief and discriminating praise of Henry Clay in regard to his public policy must stop, even on that sad occasion, which avails the noblest testimony of his generous services.

"But his personal qualities may be described without appreciation. What were the elements of the success of that extraordinary mind? You, sir, know him longer and better than I, and I would prefer to leave you speak of them. He was indeed eloquent, all the world knows that. He held the keys to the hearts of his countrymen, and he turned the words within them with a skill attained by no other orator.

"But eloquence was nevertheless only an instrument, and one of many that he used. His conversation, his conduct, his very look, was magnetic, persuasive, instructive, irresistible. And his speeches of all this was, calm, logical, patient, and indubitable. What words respect him with more admiration? He divided opinion by his ability of speaking, which he called and strengthened in our hands of supporters by the confidence of success which, feeling himself, he easily inspired among his followers. The attractions were high and pure, and generous, and the chief among them was that one which the great Italian poet designated as the charity of nature's hand. In him that charity was an enduring and ever-purifying influence, and it influenced all his sentiments and conduct, reaching him more impartial between conflicting interests and sections, than any other of our men who has lived since the Revolution. Thus with great versatility of talent, and the most catholic equality of favor, he identified every question, whether of domestic administration or foreign policy, with his own great name, and so became a perpetual witness of the people. He needed only to pronounce in favor of a measure or against it, here, and immediately popular enthusiasm, excited as by a magic wand, was felt, exulting and discharging all opposition in the Senate-Chamber.

"In this way he wrought a change in our political system, that I think cannot be over-estimated. He converted the branch of the Legislature from a mere deliberative, or almost-qualitative body, on the Executive and the House of Representatives, into the active ruling power of the Republic. Only time can disclose whether this great innovation shall be beneficial, or even permanent.

"Certainly, sir, the great lights of the Senate have set. The illumination that has palpably in the country thus far, has not left to people any uncertainty here, or in a hybridly approved with self-doubt. The time, too, prevents new enhancements. We are rising by another and more arduous stage of national progress that of expanding wealth and rapid territorial acquisition.

Our institutions throw a broad shadow across the St. Lawrence, and, stretching beyond the valley of Mexico, reach even to the plains of Central America, while the Sandwich Islands and the shores of China require their renovating influences. Wherever that influence is felt, a desire for perfection under those institutions is awakened. Expansion seems to be regulated not by any difficulties of resistance, but by the moderation which results from our own internal constitution. No one knows how rapidly that restraint may give way. Who can tell how far or how fast it ought to yield? Commerce has brought the various continents near to us, and created necessities for new productions—perhaps connections or relations there—and with the trade and friendship of the older nations their conflicts and collisions are brought in our faces and to our hearts. Our sympathy kindles, or indifference extinguishes, the fires of freedom in foreign lands. Before we shall be fully conscious that a change is going on in Europe, we may find ourselves more or less divided by that eternal line of separation that leaves on the one side those of our citizens who obey the impulses of sympathy, while on the other are found those who submit only to the commands of prudence. Even prudence will soon be required to decide whether distant regions, East and West, shall come under our own protection, or be left to aggression of a rapidly-spreading domain of hostile despotism.

"Mr. who among us is equal to these mighty questions? I fear there is no one. Nevertheless, the example of Henry Clay remains for our instruction. His genius has passed to the realm of light, but his virtues still live here for our emulation. With these there will remain also the protection and favor of the Most High, if by the practice of justice and the maintenance of freedom we shall deserve them. Yet, then, the labor passes. We will follow with sorrow, but not without hope, the wretched form that it bears to its final resting place; and then, when that grave opens at our feet to receive so estimable a treasure, we will invoke the God of our fathers to send us new guides, like him that is now withdrawn, and give us wisdom to obey their instructions."

Mr. G. W. Jones.* "Mr. President: Of the vast number who mourn the departure of the great man whose name has so often been heard in this Hall, I have peculiar cause to regret that dispensation which has removed him from among us. He was the guardian and director of my collegiate days; four of his sons were my college mates and warm friends. My intercourse with the father was that of a youth and a friendly adviser. I shall never cease to feel grateful to him—for his many heart-stricken and benighted wife and children, for their many kindnesses to me during five or six years of my life. I had the pleasure of renewing my acquaintance with him, first, as a delegate in Congress, while he was a member of this body from 1822 to 1829, and again in 1833, as a member of this branch of Congress; and during the whole of which period, some eight years, more but the most kindly feeling existed between us.

"As an honorable and important Member, it was my fortune to cooperate with him throughout the whole of the exciting session of 1832-'36—the labor and excitement of which is not to have pre-empted his success. That cooperation did not end with the annual vote on this floor, but, in consequence of the unyielding opposition to the series of measures known as the 'Compromise,' extended to many private meetings held by his friends, at all of which Mr. Clay was present. And whether in public or

* George W. Jones (Dissertor), of Iowa.

"It would be doing no injustice, sir, to the living or the dead to say that no better specimen of the true American character can be found in our history than that of Mr. Clay. With no extraordinary advantages of birth or fortune, he won his way by the efforts of his own genius to the highest distinction and honor. Ardently attached to the principles of civil and religious liberty, patriotism was with him both a passion and a sentiment—a passion that gave energy to his passions, and a sentiment that pervaded all his thoughts and actions, concentrating them upon his country as the idol of his heart. The bold and manly frankness in the expression of his opinions which always characterized him has often been the subject of remark; and in all his victories it may be truly said he never 'stepped to conquer.' In his long and brilliant political career, personal considerations never for a single instant crossed his mind from the strict line of duty, and none have ever dimmed his deep sincerity in that memorable expression to Mr. Prentiss, 'Sir, I had rather be right than be President.'

"This is not the time nor the occasion, sir, to enter into a detail of the public services of Mr. Clay, interwoven as they are with the history of the country for half a century; but I can not refrain from adverting to the last crowning act of his glorious life—his great effort in the Thirty-first Congress for the preservation of the peace and integrity of this great Republic—as it was this effort that shattered his health, strength and hastened the consummation of death. The Union of the States, as being essential to our prosperity and happiness, was the paramount proposition in his political creed, and the slightest symptom of danger to its perpetuity filled him with alarm, and called forth all the energies of his body and mind. In his earlier life he had met this danger and overcome it. In the midst of non-trading fastions it again appeared; and, coming forth from the recesses of private life, to which age and infirmity had carried him, with undimmed strength of intellect, he again entered upon the arena of political strife, and again success crowned his efforts, and peace and harmony were restored to a distracted people. But, unequal to the mighty struggle, his health strength sunk beneath it, and he retired from the field of his glory to yield up his life as a holy sacrifice to his beloved country. It has well been said that peace has its victories as well as war; and how bright upon the page of history will be the record of this great victory of intellect, of reason, and of moral suasion, over the spirit of discord and sectional animosities!

"We this day, Mr. President, cannot but treasure to the regard and affection of his remaining countrymen. It is a consolation to them and to us to know that he died in full possession of his glorious intellect, and what is better, in the enjoyment of that peace which the world can neither give nor take away. We wish to rest on the fall-orbed king of day, unknown of a single beam, or rather like the planet of morning, his brightness was but eclipsed by the opening to him of a more full and perfect day—

"No shadow of mine, no gleam of ray,
But shining still shines, he passing away,
Faint with, without, within, the earth he leaves behind—
That speed there he is gone, but star of our night!"

The resolutions were unanimously adopted, and, in pursuance thereof, the President pro tem. made the following appointment:—

Committee of Arrangements:

Mr. Hunter,
Mr. Dawson,

Mr. Jones, of Iowa,
Mr. Cooper,

Mr. Wright,
Mr. Smith.

Full Members:

Mr. Clay,	Mr. Budge, of Wis.,	Mr. Washburn,
Mr. Mangum,	Mr. Pratt,	Mr. Bell.
Committee to attend the remains of the deceased to Kentucky:		
Mr. Underwood,	Mr. Clay,	Mr. Hays, of Ky.,
Mr. Jones, of Tenn.,	Mr. Fish,	Mr. Stockton.

On motion by Mr. Underwood, it was

Resolved, That an additional committee be sent to the remains of the deceased, the number to be determined.

The House met at the usual hour, but was not called to order till ten minutes past two o'clock, in consequence of the death of Mr. Clay, the formal announcement of which was to be received from the Senate.

Rev. G. M. Butler (Chaplain), then addressed the Throne of Grace as follows:

"Almighty God, our Heavenly Father, we bow with thee to look upon us in love, to give us grace, and to bestow upon us Thy blessing. Take our nation into Thy holy keeping. Bless the President and Congress of these United States, and all who are in authority; enable them faithfully and fearlessly to accomplish Thy will, that they may enjoy Thy perpetual benediction.

"Heavenly Father, Thou hast in Thy wise Providence, permitted to take out of this world the soul of him of whose departure we mourn to-day. We bow in resignation to Thy blessed will, and acknowledge that Thou dost all things well. We thank Thee for the signal public service which the departed statesman, whose death we mourn to-day, was permitted to render to his country. We thank Thee for the circumstances of mercy and consolation connected with his sickness and his death. We thank Thee for the grace that sustained him in unrelenting pain, amidst his protracted suffering, and for the testimony which Thou didst enable him to give to the power and excellency of Thy gospel. We bless Thee that we are permitted to think of him, whose long suffering we mourn, as now resting in the peace and paradise of God.

"We commend to Thy fatherly care the bereaved wife, the children and the relatives of the departed. Remind us, O Lord, to weep sincerely Thy fatherly reprobation to them. Endue their souls with patience under their affliction, and with resignation to Thy blessed will. Comfort them with a review of Thy goodness, and enable them to prepare to follow him who has gone before them to that better world, where God wipes away all tears from those whom death has swallowed up in victory.

"We beseech Thee to bless this deputation of Thy faithful servants to the members of this Congress here and now assembled, and to all who are engaged in the public service. Teach them that the glory of man is in the favor of the power; that the riches of this world pass to us; Teach them the folly of ambition, the sin of strife, and the nothingness of a career. Make them to be lay to heart this lesson of mortality, as we live above the world, beneath Thy favor, to study Thy law, and in all their actions to aim at Thy glory, at the good of their own souls, and of the souls of their fellow men.

*And when we are called to go the way of all the earth, may we depart in the confidence of a certain faith—in the comfort of a reasonable, religious, and holy hope—in favor with *Thou, our God*, and perfect charity with the world, *All of which we seek in the name and for the sake of Jesus Christ, our Saviour. Amen.*"

The Journal of yesterday having been read,

A message was received from the Senate by the hands of Ashbury Dickins, Esq., its Secretary, announcing the death of Henry Clay, late Senator from Kentucky, and the adoption of the foregoing resolutions of that body.

Mr. BUCKINGHAM* rose and said:—

"Mr. Speaker: I rise to perform the melancholy duty of announcing to this body the death of Henry Clay, late a Senator in Congress from the Commonwealth of Kentucky.

"Mr. Clay expired at his lodgings in this city yesterday morning, at seven-and-thirty minutes past eleven o'clock, in the seventy-eighth year of his age. His noble intellect seems unclouded to the last. After protracted sufferings, he passed away without pain; and so gently did the spirit leave his frame, that the moment of departure was not observed by the friends who watched at his bedside. His last hours were cheered by the presence of an affectionate son, and he died surrounded by friends who, during his long illness, had done all that affection could suggest to soothe his sufferings.

"Although this sad event has been expected for many weeks, the shock it produced, and the innumerable tributes of respect to his memory exhibited on every side, and in every form, prove the depth of the public sorrow and the greatness of the public loss.

"Unhappily associated as his name has been for fifty years with every great event affecting the fortunes of our country, it is difficult to realize that he is indeed gone forever. It is difficult to feel that we shall see no more his noble form within these walls. That we shall hear no more his patriotic voice, now rousing his countrymen to vindicate their rights against a foreign foe, now imploring them to preserve sacred rights themselves. We shall see him no more. The memory and the fruits of his services alone remain to us. Amidst the general gloom, the Capitol itself looks desolate, as if the presence of the place had departed. Already the intelligence has reached almost every quarter of the Republic, and a great people mourn with us, to-day, the death of their most illustrious citizen. Sanctifying us we do, deeply, with his family and friends, yet private affliction is absorbed in the general sorrow. The spectacle of a whole community heaving the load of a great man, is far more touching than any individualization of private grief. In speaking of a loss which is national, I will not attempt to describe the universal lament of grief with which Kentucky will receive these tidings. The attempt would be vain to depict the gloom that will cover her people when they know that the pillar of fire has been removed which has guided their footsteps for the life of a generation.

"It is known to the country that, from the territorial session of 1820-'26, Mr. Clay's health gradually declined. Although several years of his Senatorial term remained, he did not propose to continue in the public service longer than the present session. The cause to Washington chiefly to defend,

* 24th C. Buckinghams (Democrat), of Kentucky.

to command. He faced with his own enthusiasm, and controlled by his growing will, individuals and masses. No reverse could crush his spirit, nor defeat reduce him to despair. Equally erect and dignified in prosperity and adversity, when successful, he moved to the accomplishment of his purposes with serene resolution; when defeated, he rallied his broken bands around him, and from his eagle-eye shot along their ranks the contagion of his own courage. Declared for a leader, he everywhere asserted his destiny. In his long and eventful life, he came in contact with men of all ranks and professions, but he never felt that he was in the presence of a man superior to himself. In the assembly of the people, at the bar, in the Senate—everywhere within the circle of his personal presence, he assumed and maintained a position of pre-eminence.

But the supremacy of Mr. Clay as a party leader, was not his only nor his highest title to renown. That title is to be found in the purely patriotic spirit which, on great occasions, always signified his conduct. We have had no statesman who, in periods of real and imminent public peril, has exhibited a more genuine and unalloyed patriotism than Henry Clay. Whenever a question presented itself actually threatening the existence of the Union, Mr. Clay, rising above the passions of the hour, always started his powers to solve it peacefully and honorably. Although more bold than most men, from his impetuosity and ardent nature, to feel strongly the passion common to us all, it was his rare faculty to be able to subdue them in a great crisis, and to hold toward all sections of the Confederacy the language of comradery and brotherhood.

Mr. Clay will be a proud pleasure to every true American heart to remember the great occasions when Mr. Clay has displayed a sublime patriotism—when the ill-temper engendered by the times, and the miserable jealousy of the day, seemed to have been driven from his bosom, by the regular power of nobler feelings—when every shard of his heart was given to his country, every effort of his intellect dedicated to her service. Who does not remember the three periods when the American system of Government was exposed to its severest trials; and who does not know that when History shall relate the struggles which preceded the charges which were evaded by the Missouri Compromise, the Tariff Compromise of 1820, and the Adjournment of 1820, the same pages will record the genius, the eloquence, and the patriotism of Henry Clay?

None was it in Mr. Clay's nature to lag behind, until measures of adjustment were matured, and then come forward to swell a majority. On the contrary, like a bold and real statesman, he was ever among the first to meet the peril, and brood his fame upon the remedy. It is fresh in the memory of us all that, when lately the fury of sectional discord threatened to sever the Confederacy, Mr. Clay, though withdrawn from public life, and oppressed by the burden of years, came back to the Senate, the theatre of his glory, and devoted the remnant of his strength to the sacred duty of preserving the union of the State.

With characteristic courage, he took the lead in proposing a scheme of settlement. But, while he was willing to assume the responsibility of proposing a plan, he did not, with party addition, insist upon its adoption to the exclusion of other modes; but, taking his own as a starting-point for discussion and practical action, he nobly labored with his competitors to change and improve it, in such form as to make it an acceptable adjustment. Throughout the long and arduous struggle, the love of country expelled from his bosom the spirit of selfishness, and Mr. Clay proved, for the third time, that though he was ambitious, and loved glory, he had no ambition to resist

in favor on the conditions of his country. And this conviction is indited by the hearts of the people; the party measures and the party passions of forty year three have not, for several years, interrupted between Mr. Clay and the masses of his countrymen. And that he seemed to feel that his mission was accomplished, and during the same period, the various public objections of the American people have been attracted to him in a general and deliberate way. For many months the warmest feelings—the deep convictions of all parties centered upon the dying statesman; the object of his great mission, such a noble heroism in his decline years, and he felt the warmness of his time, his countrymen, waiting for him the land steadily with common hands, did kind it about his venerable brow, and said King, and said, to be happy.

"The life of Mr. Clay, we, is a striking example of the noblest labors which surely awaits the direct and useful statesman. The entire of his career, opinion or dispute in all his life, was his master key to the popular heart, for while the people will forever the cause of a noble and open nation, he thus paid happiness who deliberately discuss them. Hence Mr. Clay, though often defeated in his measures and policy, always secured the respect of his opponents without losing the confidence of his friends. His power pertained in a double sense. The country never was undecided as to his opinions or his purposes. In all the contest of his time, his position on great public questions was as clear as the sun in the heavens. His high standing by the general, his great mind, and consistent the a thing, have contemporary. He does appear the more by elements of political. What is especially his life as that take policy which would truly with acts of and upon the people. If I were to write his epitaph, I would inscribe on the tomb-stone, on the stone which shall mark his resting place, 'Here lies a man who served the public service for fifty years, and never attempted to deceive his countrymen.'

"While the youth of America should imitate his noble qualities, the young take wings from his career, and into the high peak of affairs that under our equal institutions, the pleasure to honor are open to all. Mr. Clay rose by the force of his own power, unaided by party, position, or wealth. At an age when our young men are usually advanced by the high schools of learning, provided only with the rudiments of an English education, he turned his steps to the West, and made the rude collections of a hardy life, nurtured a character whose high exhibitions were the first to mark man in his country's history. Beginning in that contest of American society, the arduous day, supported only by the conviction of his own power, and by the confidence of the people, encountered all the hazards of adversity, fortune, and won a pharos name in the esteem of his country. Let the generous youth, filled with honorable ambition, remember that the American system of government offers an every hand assistance to merit. If, like Clay, exulting, adversity, poverty, shall appear to him, yet if, like Clay, he feels the Providence God within, let him remember that his country, like a generous mother, extends her arms to welcome, and to cherish every one of her children whose genuine worthiness promises her prosperity of her own lot receive.

"Mr. Speaker, the idea of a national day, and the general voice, announce that another great man has fallen. Our consolation is that he is now taken in the glow of his manhood, but sunk into the grave at the close of a long and illustrious career. The great statesman who has filled the hearts of our people in the public eye, one by one, are passing away. On the floor, great leaders of the Senate, one above remain, and he must follow soon. We shall yet see the noble men whose intellectual struggles in the American forum, but the

monuments of their perils will be cherished as the common property of the people, and their names will continue to confer dignity and renown upon their country.

"Not less illustrious than the greatest of these will be the name of Clay—a name prominent with perils by Americans in every quarter of the globe; a name to be remembered while history shall record the struggles of modern Greece for freedom, or the spirit of Liberty burn in the South American bosom; a living and immortal name—a name that would descend to posterity without the aid of letters, borne by tradition from generation to generation. Every memorial of such a man will possess a meaning and a value to his countrymen. His tomb will be a hallowed spot. Great monuments will cluster there, and his countrymen, as they visit it, may well exclaim:

"Such graves as his are pillars of stone,
The keys to our great destiny;
The Delphic oracle, the Vatican,
The Museum of the world!"

"Mr. Speaker, I offer the following resolutions:—

"Resolved, That the House of Representatives of the United States has resolved, with the deepest sympathy, intelligence of the death of Henry Clay.

"Resolved, That the officers and members of the House of Representatives will wear the usual badge of mourning for thirty days, as a testimony of the profound respect the House expresses for the memory of the deceased.

"Resolved, That the officers and members of the House of Representatives, in a body, will attend the funeral of Henry Clay, on the day appointed for that purpose by the Senate of the United States.

"Resolved, That the members of this House, in relation to the death of Henry Clay, be commended as usual to the family of the deceased by the Clerk.

"Resolved, That a resolution, such as respects for the memory of the deceased, this House do most solemnly."

Mr. King's voice and said: "A noble heart has ceased to beat for ever. A long life of faithful and self-devoted public service is finished at last, and we now stand at its conclusion, looking back through the changeful history of that life to its beginning, contemplating with the very birth of the Republic, and its varied events imprinted in our hearts and our consciences—with the triumph and calamities, the weakness and the power, the adversity and prosperity of a country we love so much. As we contemplate this and event in this place, the shadows of the past gather over us; the memories of events long gone crowd upon us, and the shades of departed patriots seem to hover about us, waiting to receive into their midst the spirit of one who was worthy to be a colleague, with them in a common cause, and to share in the rewards of their virtues. Alas!—he must have been one of them.

"They say he was ambitious. True, it was a vigorous faith, and vigorously has he answered it. He has found in it might but disappointment. It has but served to exaggerate the usefulness of his labors, and furnish an additional motive to the triumph of his law. Those who care after us may, as they will, inquire why his status stands not among the statues of those whom men thought able and worthy to govern.

"But his ambition was a high and holy feeling, selfish, ungenerous. His aspirations were for his country's good, and its triumph was his country's property. Whether in honor or reproach, in triumph or defeat, that heart of his never throbbled with one pulsation save for her honor and her welfare. Turn to him in that last, best deed, and crowning glory of a life so full of public service and of honor, when his career of personal ambition was

frustrated for ever. Rejected again and again by his constituents; just when denied by a party which would scarce have had an existence without his genius, his courage, and his labors; that great form, ever firm and defiant to the result of his exertions, but despondently resigning the great interests of his country, doubtless wrong; with the last great manifestation of his life, there it was, and under such circumstances as these, the pathos, the heroism, the grandeur, the glory. All eyes turned to him; all hearts called for those services which, in the hour of prosperity and security, they had so much neglected. With an unimpaired vigor, with no reserve, with a resolution, the result of his country and that country endangered. He returns to the scene of his labors and his fame, which he had thought he have left for ever. A scene that American Senate Chamber, selected in an extensive display, stimulated in our eyes, persons and in ancient eyes, power for legislative power, but to a following American mind more full of interest, of dignity, and of grandeur, than any spot on the land earth, not made holy by religious consecration and. There he is his entire life, his nobility, but hopefully, upon the last, most magnificent, perhaps most doubtful conflict of his life. His every ray treatment has been made clear to the eye of history, more vigorous and vigorous in the display of justice and ethical gold, in the sound of herald's trumpet, in the sound of drums, in the sound of royal pride. Many a battle field he has added to the others were a magnificent parade of human power, and its completion they have not found with honor, honored with triumph, and upon a triumph the display of the glory; but to the thoughtful, honest, plain-sighted, and of the words of his race, never was there a conflict in which he had done so well, that seemed, such hope imperiled, in the face of which he could a warrior, a martyr, a noble triumph, or a grandly movement.

"His, from that hour, anxiety, and exhaustion resulted his never seen again. In that last battle for his country's honor, and his country's safety, he received the mortal wound which had him for a seal, and we were witness the death of a martyr and patriot.

"But never, in all the grand drama which the story of his life unveils, never has he presented a nobler or a more touching spectacle than in those last days of his decline and death. Broken with the disease of life, wounded and crushed in many a fiery conflict, that aged, worn, and decayed body, in such exhausted contact with the intense and strength of his great spirit, he received a grand and sacred, though a crowding moment of past glory. Standing among the like some ancient rocks of ages with the desecrated and more dissimilar structures of modern times, its vast proportions magnified by the contrast, he remained so of those days when there were giants in the land, and we remembered that even then there was none whose power could withstand his arm. To watch him as that sturdy decline, yielding with dignity, and real and true to such, to that last energy, as a hero yield to a conqueror, for the glorious life of his soul, yet feeling still in all its wasted grandeur, and a sense of distance the clouds that vainly attempted to obscure it, he was not tall or fat, or thin in the day of his glory and his power. There are some moments a breath, not unthought expressions rise a little upon our lips, in the face of the mortal, that we are led faintly to doubt that crowded death of that noble immortality, which, even in its part, may prove to their despising hearts. But it is in the death of such a man as he that we are reminded by the solemn vision of a kindred though superior spirit, of a soul which, immortal like his form, knows no old age, no decay, no death.

"The grandeur light of his unmatched intellect may have dimmed,

kind and humble, but true and heartfelt, tribute is paid. But his eloquent voice is hushed, his high heart is still'd. "Take a shock of corn fully ripe, he has been gathered to his father." With more than three-score years and ten upon him, and hoarse eloquence that, about him, in the full possession of unshaken intellect, and all the conclusions of Christian charity, he has met the fate which is usually by some, lamented by all his countrymen, his name is bright on Fame's immortal roll. He has not lost his country, and he has his own. What more fraternal life than that which can give that Henry Clay has not earned!

"Then, Mr. Speaker, around his tomb should be heard not only the dirges that wail his loss, but the jubilate anthems which celebrate on the world's great battle-field another victory has been won, another moment of noble greatness achieved."

Mr. CHAMBERLAIN said: "Mr. Speaker, it would seem as if the solemn invocation of the honorable gentleman from Kentucky, [Mr. LIVING] was reverting to an early career, and that the heavens are being made black, and the warbling elements are among the funeral dirges of Henry Clay. And this elemental gloom and the dirges which pervade the nation at the death of Henry Clay, private grief should not obstruct its light upon justice, nor personal anguish seek for utterance. Silence is the best exponent of individual sorrow, and the heart that knows its own bitterness should turn from an exposition of its affliction.

"Could I have recalled my own feelings on the event which occupies the attention of the House at the present moment, I should, even here, my home attendance being such, in the solitude and silence of my chamber, have turned upon the terrible loss which has been incurred by the people and the nation. But I repeat a sentiment, which, really profits themselves upon the unswerving attachment they have ever felt and manifested to Henry Clay—a constant, persistent, hereditary love; they can but take up the father's affliction, and stand all the professions of political attachments to others, when the incidents of party have made prominent, and the career of party has made prominent, true to his own instincts, and true to the martir'd legacy of his father, he has placed the name of Henry Clay for good and permanent as the exponent of what constitutes the patriotism, and purity in patriotism. And even, oh, when party fealty caused other attachments to be required for party use, the patriotism was limited by the occupancy of office, and superseded admitted for Clay in all that is proclaimed about party estimation.

"Nor ought I to venture to add that, as the voice in order of the delegation which represents my Commonwealth, I was requested to utter the sentiments of the people of Pennsylvania at large, who wish to no partition of this great Union in their appreciation of the talents, the resources for the lofty patriotism, their estimation of the citizenship, and the other noble traits of the memory of Henry Clay.

"I can not, therefore, be silent on this occasion, without respect to the afflictions of my constituency, even though I painfully feel how inadequate to the reverence and honor my people have heard that they demand by all that I have to utter on this momentous occasion.

"I know not, Mr. Chairman, where now the nation is, so that the men she needs be in peril—other other still than those of politics and holding in disregard the talents which the nation may need, or else a generation is to pass undistinguished by the greatness of our stationers. On the noble mind

that have swayed the Senate, are yet survivors in the maturity of powerful intellect, carefully disciplined and nobly exercised. May the who has thus far blessed our nation, spare to her and the world, that of which the world must always envy our country the possession. But my business is with the dead.

"The biography of Henry Clay, from his childhood upward, is too familiar to every American, for me to trespass on the time of this House by a reference directly thereto; and the honorable gentlemen who have preceded me here, with affectionate hand and appropriate delicacy, swept away the dust which nearly fourscore years have scattered over a part of the record, and have made our pride greater in his life, and our grief more poignant at his death, by showing some of those passages which attract respect to our republican institutions, of which Mr. Clay's whole life was the able support and most successful illustration.

"It would, then, be a work of supererogation for me to retrace that effort, though inquiring into the life and conduct of Henry Clay would present new themes for private eulogy, new grounds for public gratitude.

"How true is it, Mr. Speaker, that the great man living, or, dying, think to awaken a sentiment of respect beyond that which includes the public loss or the disappointment of individual interest. Yet, sir, the message which yesterday went forth from this city, that Henry Clay was dead, brought sorrow, personal, private, special sorrow, to the hearts of thousands, each of whom felt that from his own love for his long attachment to his distinguished names in Henry Clay, he had a particular sorrow to cherish and express, which weighed upon his heart, separate from the sorrow of national loss.

"No man, Mr. Speaker, in our nation, had the art so to identify himself with public measures of the most numerous character, and to maintain, at the same time, almost universal affection, like that great statesman. His business, from his boyhood, was with national concerns, and he dealt with them as with familiar things. And yet his sympathies were with individual interests, enterprises, affections, joys, and sorrows; and while every patriot bowed in humble deference to his lofty attainments and heartless gratitude for his national services, almost every man in this vast Republic knew that the great statesman was, in feeling and experience, identified with his own position. Hence, the universal love of the people; hence, their enthusiasm in all times, for his fame. Hence, sir, their present grief.

"Many other public men of our country have distinguished themselves and brought honor to the nation, by superiority in some peculiar branch of the public service; but it seems to have been the gift of Mr. Clay he may required peculiar eminence in every path of duty he was called to tread. In the earnestness of debate, which great public interests and distinguished opposing talents excited in this House, he had no superior in energy, force, or effect. Yet as the presiding officer, by fluency of language, firmness of purpose, he method and order; and thus, by official dignity, he commanded the respect which energy had secured to him as the leader.

"Whenever official or social duties demanded an exercise of his power, there was a pre-eminence which seemed prescriptive his own. In the lofty debate of the Senate and the stirring harangues to popular assemblies, he was the master of the nation, and of the people; and the severity of purpose and the reality of design evinced in all he said or did, fixed in the public mind a confidence strong and expansive as the affections he had won.

"Four years ago, sir, saw Henry Clay less achieving the work of the

mission with which he was intrusted; and it was only when the warm wishes of his nearest friends were disappointed that he entered on the duties of a patriot's flock, a hope, and took to the full enjoyment of that admiration and confidence which nothing but the antipathy of party relations could have divided.

"They wish that enjoyment might have lasted, if it only for me to imagine, how eminently deserved it was, we find the world was affected."

"The keynote of the discussion of his political friends was his true and grateful to his heart, and were a knowledge of all his life—were recognized even to his death.

"The world in the greatest number of the forms were in relation with every—relieved, and the great system could enjoy the position which party friendship or the probability of the benefits prepared. But the triumph of his life was not party achievement. It consisted in the application of his self-sufficiency and detached independence to his own conduct, in a way that he found the reward of his labor and recognized the benefit of his mission.

"It was only when friends and admirers perceived their weakness, appealed at the public difficulties, and personal distress, which had been normalizing success and unimagined, and not only when the nation of all felt the danger, and not only by the methods of party relations, in a way, that Henry Clay calculated the full extent of his power, and enjoyed the reward of their saving services. "Then, on, you say, and Henry, party dependence dropped, and party allegiances dissolved, and we were, in fact, of all heights and names, firm toward the country's Constitution, as the way for the terrible exigencies of the hour, and the real character of Henry Clay became the display, whose name carried the masses that perceived the means and the means of our country's safety. "Henry, you, and not in the high places of the country, were the labor and sacrifice of his country to be recognized and shared. With his right foot on the high hills, which he had entered the service of, and his right till the effect, we could, he felt that his work was done, and the object of his life accomplished. Henry, which had had directed the nation's history had been disappointed, and the returning only, which came from the sight of the nation's affairs, and in Henry, will yet pour up the fountain a posthumous glow, that shall tell of the splendor and grandeur of the luminary that has passed away."

Mr. HARRIS.* "Mr. Speaker: Although I have been all my life a party opponent of Mr. Clay, yet from my earliest I have been a personal and personal friendship with him. More than twenty years ago, I was introduced to him by my father, who was his personal friend. I know that from that time there has existed between us an acquaintance of personal intimacy, in the diversity of our years and our political differences would justify. After I became a member of this House, and upon his return to the Senate, he applied to me for resignation in 1812, the name is paid upon his part for the. He is a devoted friend of forty years' standing, made him a constant visitor at my house, and frequently a guest at our table. There are numerous friends of proper that, upon this occasion, I should pay the debt of duty to his memory; I not only knew him well as a statesman, but I knew him better in the most intimate social intercourse. The next day after the death of Mr. Clay, I, of my political life has been, that I have then known such of our great Congressional luminaries.

* Hon. Thomas H. Bayly of the State of Virginia.

often dimmed by the mist which party recalls to-day around it. But the blast which strikes him does not paralyze the atmosphere which surrounded him in life, and it shines forth in bright examples and well-earned renown. It is then that we witness the more acknowledged of gratitude by a people who, having enjoyed the benefits, receive from the source of them one great advantage, visible in his name in their memory and hearts. We should cherish such recollections as well from patriotism as self-respect. They, sir, become the duty, in the noblest of orders, in the high places, in the fire of our Republic, and before the world, to pay the tribute by acknowledging the merits of our colleagues whose name has ornamented the Journal of Congress for near half a century. Now, very few, I have ever considered the high intellectual powers and distinguished part of the illustrious Senator. But in the time I should by nature, be more than fulfilled the participations which were included by the scholar looked to as a distinguished scholar, and the certain proof of that zealous pursuit of time and industry upon which he entered in early life. Of the incidents of that life it is unnecessary for me to speak. They are so familiar as less shall speak, and will be equally familiar to those who come after us. But it is not until he enters the history by recurrences to some of the events which marked his career. We know, sir, that there is much that is in common in the history of all distinguished men. The elements which constitute greatness are the same in all times; hence those who have been the substratum of their contemporaries present in their lives much which, although really great, seems to be remarkable, because illustrated by such numerous examples.

* But there are few who look to the past for an example,
And none that need not look to it.

"Of such does the life of Henry Clay afford many and bright examples. His own name, and those with whom he associated, shall live with a life that time can not impair, and close with a brightness which passing years can not dim. His advent into public life was unremarkable by the circumstances as it was brilliant in its effect. It was at a time in which parties and parties, state manly and otherwise, made the American Congress the most august body in the world. He was the contemporary of a generation of statesmen—some of whom then administered the Government, and others retiring and retired from office—presented an array of ability unsurpassed in our history. The elder Adams, De Witt, Madison, Clinton, Gallatin, and Monroe, stood before the Republic in the maturity of their fame, while Calhoun, John Quincy Adams, Lewis, Clay, Van Buren, Gordon, Randolph, and Cherokee, with a host of others, were a bright galaxy upon our horizon. He who won his spurs in such a field earned his lengthened. Distinction amid such competition was his reward."

* The name which comes into the lives of all men,
That he may see it, that he may see it.

"It was such a time that he made for himself in that most crowded era in our history. To me, sir, the recollection of that day, and of the events which distinguished it, is filled with an ever-present interest. I never can forget my enthusiastic admiration of the abilities, the eloquence, and the patriotism of Henry Clay during the year of 1817. In the bright array of talent which adorned the Congress of the United States, as the smallest growing out of the political events of that time, in the strength of party, and amid the gloom and darkness which depressed the spirits of most men, and well nigh paralyzed the energies of the Administration, his cheerful face, high bearing, commanding eloquence, and iron will, gave strength

and consistency to those elements which finally gave not only success but glory to the country. When dark clouds hovered over us, and there was little to arise from despair, the country looked with hope to Clay and Calhoun, to Lowndes, and Crawford, and Chase, and looked not in vain. The unshaking will, the unshaken nerve, and the burning eloquence of Henry Clay did us much to rekindle confidence and awaken hope as even the news of our first victory after a succession of defeats. These great names are now numbered in history; he, too, has passed to join them on its page. Associated in his long public life with the illustrious Calhoun, he excelled him but two years. Many of us heard his eloquent tributes to his memory in the Senate-chamber on the announcement of his death. And on this day unite in a similar manifestation of reverential regard to him whose voice shall never more disturb the ear, whose burning thoughts, burn on that medium, shall no more move the hearts of listening assemblies.

"In the midst of the highest specimens of our age, he was always an equal; he was a man among men. Bold, skillful, and determined, he gave character to the party which acknowledged him as a leader; impressed his opinions upon their minds, and an attachment to himself upon their hearts. No man, sir, can do this without being eminently great. Whoever attains this position, must first overcome the respirations of antagonistic ambition, quiet the clamors of rivalry, hold in check the incursions of jealousy, and overcome the instincts of vanity and self-love in the masses thus subdued to his control. But few men ever attain it. Very rare are the examples of those whose plastic touch forms the minds and directs the purposes of a great political party. This indelible inscription of superiority belonged to Mr. Clay. He has received that control during a long life; and now, through our loyal land the tidings of his death, borne with electric speed, have opened the fountains of sorrow. Every city, town, village, and hamlet, will be clothed with mourning; along our extended coast, the commercial and military marine, with flags drooping at half-mast, over the burthened; State-houses draped in black, proclaim the eulogium of awe of the great lights of Senates; and miniature guns sound his requiem!

"Sir, during the last five years, I have seen the venerable John Quincy Adams, John C. Calhoun, and Henry Clay, pass from among us, the legislators of our country. The name of giants who 'were on the earth in those days' is well-nigh gone. Despite their skill, their genius, their might, they have sunk under the stroke of time. They were our education and our glory; a few fingers with us, the monuments of former greatness, the luminous lights of a past age. The death of Henry Clay can not fail to suggest retrospective associations to each member of this House. Three walls have retained the abiding tones of his bewitching voice; listening assemblies have loved upon his lips. The chair which you fill has been graced by his presence, while his commanding person, and unimpeded parliamentary attainments, inspired all with deference and respect. Chosen by acclamation, because of his high qualifications, he sustained himself before the House and the country. In his supremacy with his party, and the uninterrupted confidence which he enjoyed to the day of his death, he seems to have almost disregarded the truth of those lines addressed to Cassius—

'None pass you, partial men, more fond in company,
 More than of golden ears, or radiant eyes,
 Or delicate legs, or other, quite unworldly, wares.'"

* All can not be at all times lost.
 To reach the highest step of glory, to stand there
 Marched, Kearsaliter then, we must on led."

"If not at all times dead, he stood equal with the foremost, and a brilliant, rapid rise knew no decline in the confidence of those whose just appreciation of his merits had confirmed his title to eminence.

The citizens of other countries will deplore his death; the struggling patriots who on our own continent were cheered by his sympathies, and who had have pursued his influence in the recognition of their independence by this Government, have taught their children to venerate his name. He won the sixties' glory, and the demonstrations of that hour on the north of civil service.

"It was with great satisfaction that I heard my friend from Kentucky [Mr. Bushnell's] the magnificent representative of Mr. Clay, detail a conversation which developed the feelings of that eminent man in relation to his Christian hope. There, Mr. Speaker, as a rich and eminently pious man, remains serene. A Christian states man is the glory of his age, and his measure will be plucked in other times; it is better to be cut from a source which does not cut than to be cut from a source. It was my privilege, in a short time since, to converse with this distinguished states man on the subject of his hopes in a future state. Feeling a deep interest, I asked him kindly what were his hopes in the world to which he was evidently hastening. 'I am pleased,' said he, 'only to find that you have interest in the subject. Concerns that I must discuss, next, I have to me to be upon the most important of all interests. I have to discuss a great and noble conversation about them. The variety of the world, and its an utterance to study the soul of man, has been long a method construction of my mind. What a multitude he comes by his own merit the approbation of God, I feel to be true. I trust in the attainment of the vision of man, as the ground of my acceptance and my hope of salvation. My faith is noble, but I hope in the most and trust in His promise.' To such declarations I listened with the deep interest, and did on another occasion, when he said, 'I am willing to abide the will of Heaven, and ready to die when that will shall determine it.'

"The future, my, greatly vary the humble hope of a Christian. That hope, mine, thy, can contain you, or any of us. There is one lonely and lonely hope that has been a blessing that affects us all. The source, at A Island, a widowed wife, presented by noble health from attending her husband and soothing his painful hours, she has that fit on the relative speed of the intelligence daily transmitted of his condition, how days for her, when, anxious reason. She will find consolation in her Christian's calmness, and all have all of content that such a wife abate from the joyousness that nothing was neglected by the friends of friends which could supply her place. May the popular hope of the widow's God be her protection, and Her own station her support!"

Mr. Hays¹ said: "Mr. Speaker, upon visiting a certain State, I received by the courtesy of its delegation the political principles of Mr. Clay, and for its increasing attachment to his virtues, and for its ever increasing sympathy with those who have an intimate personal intercourse with him have made them feel most profoundly that personal benevolence. I desire to say a few words of him, since he has fallen among the, and has a title to his rest.

"After the full and whole which have been so imperceptibly proclaimed by the honorable gentlemen in their previous lives, I will speak of certain of those which will do to be his by his own by his reputation, and even to the bearing of some of the acts of the deceased upon the interests and the times of

¹ Schenck H. Hays, (1817), of the glory of Mr. Bushnell's House, New York.

my own State. The influence of his public life, and of his *private* American character, the results of his wise forecast, and the results of his efforts for whole-some and national progress, are nowhere more strongly exhibited than in the State of New York.

"Our appreciation of his anxiety for the general diffusion of knowledge and education, is manifested in our twelve thousand public libraries, our equal number of common schools, and a large number of higher institutions of learning—all of which draw portions of their support from the share of the proceeds of the public lands, which his wise policy gave to our State. Our whole people are thus constantly reminded of their great obligations to the statesman whose death now afflicts the nation with sorrow. Our extensive public works attest our conviction of the utility and importance of the system of internal improvements he so ably introduced; and their value and productive-ness afford a most striking evidence of the soundness and wisdom of his policy. Now his influence has less visibly felt in our agriculture, commerce, and manufactures. Every department of human industry acknowledges his fostering care, and the people of New York are, in no small measure, indebted to his statesmanship for the wealth, comfort, contentment, and happiness so widely and generally diffused throughout the State.

"Well may New York cherish his memory and acknowledge with gratitude the benefits that his life has conferred. That memory will be cherished throughout the Republic.

"When internal discord and sectional strife have threatened the integrity of the Union, his just weight of character, his long experience, his fervent of conciliation and acknowledged patriotism, have enabled him to pacify the angry passions of his countrymen, and to raise the bay of gravitas and of hope upon the clouds which have darkened the political horizon.

"He has passed from among us, ripe in wisdom and pure in character—full of years and full of honors. He has breathed his last amidst the blessings of a united and a grateful nation.

"He was, in my judgment, particularly fortunate in the time of his death.

"He died to see his country, guided by his wisdom, come once again unburdened of trying sectional difficulties and domestic strife; and he has closed his eyes in death upon that country while it is in the enjoyment of peaceful peace, busy with industry, and blessed with unimpeded prosperity.

It can fall to the lot of but few to die amidst so warm a gratitude flowing from the hearts of their countrymen; and none can leave a brighter example or a more enduring fame.

"Mr. Brooks," Mr. Speaker, I rise to add my humble tribute to the memory of a great and good man now to be gathered to his fathers. I speak for and from a community, in whose hearts is enshrined the name of him whom we mourn; who, however much Virginia, the land of his birth, or Kentucky, the land of his adoption, may love him, is, if possible, loved where I live yet more. If history had been Christian, or otherwise even, he would have been our idol. But, as it is, for a quarter of a century now, his bust, his portrait, or some medal, has been one of our household gods, gracing not alone the saloon and the halls of wealth, but the incident room or workshop of almost every mechanic or laborer. Prudent monuments of his policy as a statesman, as my colleague has justly said, are all about us, and we owe to him, in a good degree, our growth, our greatness, our present life and happiness, as a people.

* James Brooks (States-Wright of New York etc.

"Another of the keys, Mr. Speaker, of his universal reputation, was his intense nationality. When invited last week, almost within our hearing as it were, on the floor of the Senate, by a Southern Senator, as being a Southern man unfaithful to the South, his indignant but patriotic exclamation was: 'I know no South—no North, no East, no West.' The country, the whole country, loved, honored, venerated such a man. The soil of Virginia may be his birthplace; the soil of Kentucky will cover his grave—but was mortal they claim—but the spirit, the soul, the genius of the mighty man, the immortal path, these belong to his country and to his God."

Mr. FADLENER.* "After the many able and eloquent addresses to which we have listened this morning, I fear, sir, that it will not be in my power to add anything to the interest of this occasion. And yet, representing as I do, in part, that State which gave birth to the distinguished man whose death has this day been announced on this floor, and having for many years held toward him the most cordial relations of friendship, personal and political, I feel that I should fail to discharge an appropriate duty, if I permitted this occasion to pass by without some expression of the feeling which such an event is so well calculated to elicit. It is true, sir, that this intelligence does not fall upon our ears unexpectedly; for months the public mind has been prepared for the great national loss which we now deplore; and yet, as familiar as the daily and hourly reports have made us with his hapless condition and gradual decline, and although

* Like a lightning stroke,
Swift and surely from a passing cloud,
Death fell upon him;

It is impossible that a light of such surpassing splendor should be, as it is now, forever extinguished from our view, without producing a shock, deeply and painfully felt by the utmost limits of this great Republic. Sir, we all feel that a mighty intellect has passed from among us; but, happily for this country, happily for mankind, not until it had accomplished its noblest and the exalted mission for which it had been sent upon this earth—and not until it had reached the full maturity of its usefulness and power—and until it had shed a bright and radiant lustre upon our national renown—and until time had enabled it to bequeath the rich treasures of its thought and experience for the guidance and instruction of the present and of succeeding generations.

"Sir, it is difficult—it is impossible—within the limit allotted for remarks upon occasions of this kind, to do justice to a great historical character like Henry Clay. He was one of that class of men whom Shadler designates as *homines cœlestes*—men that appear upon the earth but once in a century. His time is the growth of years, and it would require time to unfold his elements which have contributed to impart to it so much of stability and grandeur. Volumes have already been written, and volumes will continue to be written, to record these incidents and distinguished public services which have placed him in the front rank of American statesmen and patriots. The highest talent, fired by a fervid and patriotic enthusiasm, has already and will continue to exhaust his powers, to purvey those striking and generous impulses of his life, those shining and enviable qualities of his career, which have made him one of the most beloved, as he was one of the most admired, of men; and yet the subject itself will remain so fresh and exuberant as if hundreds of the best intellects of the land had not

* Charles James Fadlemer (Dubuque, Iowa Wing) 1 Virginia.

„puffed the inspiration of their genius from the ever bubbling and overflowing fountains of his fame. It is impossible that a man possessing a regard and respect as that which attaches to the name of Henry Clay, could rest for its base upon any single virtue, however brilliant, or upon any single act, no matter how meritorious or distinguished. Such a reputation as he has left behind him, could only be the result of a long life of distinguished public service. And such it truly was. For nearly half a century, he has been a prominent actor in all the stirring and essential scenes of American history; fashioning and moulding many of the most important measures of public policy by his bold and vigorous mind, and commanding others by his immense quotable energy and resistless force of eloquence. And, however much the merits of this body may differ in opinion as to the wisdom of many of his views of national claims—the policy, there is not one upon this floor, say, sir, not one in this nation—who will deny its high rank and its distinction as a public man—a man in the estimation of the highest order—a man of extraordinary capacities for public usefulness, and an robust and elevated patriotism, without stain and without reproach.

„In referring to a career of public service so varied and so extended as that of Mr. Clay, and to a character so noble in every one of its noble virtues, it is only possible to pause at a few of the most prominent of those points of his personal history which have given to him so distinguished a place in the affections of his countrymen.

„In the whole character of Mr. Clay, in all that attached or belonged to it, you find nothing that is not essentially American. From the darkest period of our revolutionary struggle, to our more intimate and unbroken union, among those great truths which gave the first impulse to that noble movement—he early included and deliberately declared those great principles of civil and political liberty, which he so faithfully defended in his subsequent public career, and which he so nobly has since so nobly defended of hope and consolation to the oppressed of all the earth. In his own personal training, he was the pupil and follower of our own republicans only. But of any allusions are to be seen in his speeches or writings to be seen in his own life, first, or to the thoughts and ideas of other men. His country, its institutions, its policy, its interests, its duties, form the exclusive topics of these eloquent harmonious speech, while they was distinctive of the elaborate finish, force all the apt and elegant of thought, the suggestive of purpose, the vigour of presentation, the volucrant style, and the burning patriotism, which mark the productions of the great Athenian orator.

„One of the most distinguished characteristics of Mr. Clay as a public man, was his loyalty to truth and to the honor and consistency of his own mind. He decided as man—he would not permit his name to be soiled by the yield to any of those seductive influences, which too often among the judgment of men in public life. He never permitted his own character to take any step which he was about to take would lead to his own personal embarrassment, his never calculated what he might lose, or what he might gain by his aid, thereby or his opposition to any political measure. His single impulse was, 'Is it right?' But in accordance with the true intention of the Fugate Will it yielded to the permanent wisdom and interest of the country. When satisfied upon these points, his determination was fixed. His purpose was immovable. 'I had rather be right than President,' was the expression of his constant feeling; and the principle by which he was controlled in his public career concerning words of immortality, and proper to be inscribed upon the front of every young man in this Republic. And yet, sir, with all of that prudence and moral integrity with he so constantly marked

the character of Mr. Clay—with his well-known inflexibility of purpose and unyielding determination—such was the genuine sincerity of his patriotism, and such his thorough comprehension of those principles of compromise, upon which the whole structure of our Government was founded, that no one was more prompt to relay the rigor of his policy the moment he perceived that it was calculated to disturb the harmony of the States, or endanger, in any degree, the stability of the Government. With him, the love of this Union was a passion—our glowing sentiment which gave color to every act of his public life. It triumphed over party; it triumphed over policy; it subdued the natural fierceness and haughtiness of his temper, and brought him into the most kindly and cordial relations with all those who, upon all other questions, were deeply and bitterly opposed to him. It has been asserted, viz, upon high medical authority, and doubtless with truth, that his life was, in all probability, shortened ten years by the arduous and extraordinary labors which he assumed at the memorable session of 1820. If so, he has added the crowning glory of the Martyr to the spotless fame of the Patriot; and we may well hope that a great national pacification, purchased at such a sacrifice, will long continue to cement the bonds of this great and glorious Union.

Mr. Clay possessed, in an eminent degree, the qualities of a great popular leader, and history, I will assume to say, affords no example, in any language, ancient or modern, of any individual that so fearlessly carried out the convictions of his own judgment, and so sparingly flattered the prejudices of popular feeling, who for so long a period exercised the same controlling influence over the public mind. Earnest in all former measures he continued fearless in attack—determined in defence—abounding in intellectual resources—eloquent in debate—of inflexible purpose, and with a courage never to submit or yield, no man ever lived with higher qualifications to rally a disorganizing party, or to lead an embattled host to victory. That he never attained the highest post of honorable ambition in this country, is not to be ascribed to any want of capacity as a popular leader; nor the absence of those qualities which attract the fidelity and devotion of "crowds" of admiring friends. It was the fortune of Napoleon, at a critical period of his destiny, to be brought into collision with the star of Wellington, and it was the fortune of Henry Clay to have encountered, in his political orbit, another great and original mind, gifted with equal power for commanding respect, and blessed with more fortunate elements concerning at the time, of securing popular favor. The struggle was such as might have been anticipated, from the collision of two such forces and powerful minds.

For nearly a quarter of a century, this great Republic has been convulsed in its centre by the divisions which have sprung from their respective opinions, policy, and personal destinies; and even now, when they have both been removed to a higher and better sphere of existence, and every national feeling has been quenched in the triumph of the grave, the country still feels, and for years will continue to feel, the influence of those agitators to which their powerful and impressive characters gave impulse.

"But I must pause. If I were to attempt to present all the aspects in which the character of this illustrious man will challenge the applause of history, I should fatigue the blazer and violate the just limit allowed for such remarks.

"I can not conclude, however, without making some more special allusion to Mr. Clay, as a native of that State which I have the honor in part to represent upon this floor. We are all proud, and very properly proud, of the distinguished man to whom our respective States have given birth

But the memory of his virtues and of his services will be gratefully embraced in the hearts of his countrymen, and generations yet unborn will be taught to lip with reverence and enthusiasm the name of Henry Clay."

Mr. Pomeroy said: "Mr. Speaker, this is a solemn—a consecrated hour. And I would not detain the members of the House from indulging in the silent eloquence of their own feelings, so grateful to hearts clustered as ours."

"But I can not restrain an expression from a lesson gained with its fullness."

"When my young thoughts first took cognizance of the fact that I have a country, my eye was attracted by the magnificent proportions of Henry Clay."

"The idea absorbed me then, that he was above all other men, the embodiment of my country's genius."

"I have watched him; I have studied him; I have admired him—and, that forgive me! for he was but a man, 'of like passions with us'—I fear I have idolized him, until this hour."

"But he has gone from among men; and it is for us now to awake and apply ourselves, with renewed fervor and increased fidelity, to the welfare of the country, to be loved so well and served so truly and so long—the glorious country yet saved to us!"

"Yes, Henry Clay has fallen at last!—as the elm oak falls, in the stillness of the forest. But the verdant and vigorous richness of his glories will only fade and wither from the earth, when his country's history shall have been forgotten."

"'Time passeth away and another generation cometh.' Thus it hath been from the beginning; and thus it will be, until time shall be no longer."

"Yesterday morning, at eleven o'clock, the spirit of Henry Clay—so long the pride and glory of his own country, and the admiration of all the world—was yet with us, though struggling to be free. Ere 'high noon' came, it had passed over 'the dark river,' through the gate, into the celestial city, inhabited by all the 'just made perfect.'"

"May not our rapid vision contemplate him there, this day, in sweet communion with the dear friends that have gone before him—with Madison, and Jefferson, and Washington, and Henry, and Franklin—with the eloquent Tully, with the 'divine Plato,' with Anson, the Levite, who could 'speak well'—with all the great and good, since and before the flood!"

"His princely soul has grazed these skies for the last time. These halls will make no home to the tongue inside of his voice."

"Did that tall spirit, in its ethereal form, enter the portals of the upper sanctuary, bearing itself comparably with the spirits there, as was his walk among men?"

"Did the ineffable tones of his greeting there outstrip the hosts of Heaven, comparably with his strains 'to stir men's blood on earth'?"

"Then, may we not fancy, when it was presented to the inhabitants of that better country: 'He cometh—the cometh'—there was a rustling of angel-wings;—a thrilling joy—up there, only to be witnessed once in an earthly year?"

"Amen!—a last adieu to thee, Henry Clay!"

"The hearts of all thy countrymen are melted, on this day, because of the thought that thou art gone."

"Should we have held the hand of the 'immature nation,' that could not die; but that would have tarried with us, in the full splendour of thy presence, until we had no longer need of a country."

"But we thank our Heavenly Father that their feet given to us; and that their dust we give to them."

"We would cherish thy memory while we live, as our country's treasure; that which none is richer. And we will teach our children the lessons of stability, patriotism, their best taught us; with the total hope that our arms and our Foes may only expire with 'the best of earth.'"

Mr. Dixon² said: "Mr. Speaker, I do not rise to pronounce a eulogy on the life and character and public services of the illustrious senator and statesman whose death this nation deplores. Doubtless to praise that life, a higher eloquence than I possess might be brought to bear. The suffering from the nation, the deep grief which appears on the hearts of more than twenty millions of people, constitute a more eloquent eulogium upon the life and character, and public services of Henry Clay, than the power of language can express. In no part of our country is that character more admired, or those public services more appreciated, than in the State which I have the honor, in part, to represent. Welcome to the people of that State, a full participation in the general sorrow which the sad announcement of to-day will everywhere inspire."

Mr. Dixon³: "I rise not to utter the usual phrases of a eulogiated way, but to speak as would my constituents speak, if they stood around the grave now opened to receive the mortal remains; not of a statesman only, but of a beloved friend. If there is a State in this Union, sadder than Kentucky, which sends up a wail of more bitter and more continuous woe, than that State be Maryland. In her midst, this departed, but young man a frequent and a welcome guest. At many a board, and many a fire-side, his noble form was the light of the eyes and the joy of the heart. Through-out her barbers, in cottage, hamlet, and city, his name is a household word, his thoughts are familiar utterance. Though not permitted to be first at his meals, Maryland would be last at his table. Through all the phases of political fortune, amid all the storms which darkened his career, Maryland shielded him in her honest heart, as the most gifted, patriotic, and disinterested man; and for him daily, by his hour, prayer, weeping, night and morning, for his temporal and eternal welfare. Maryland would, in the language of inspiration, exclaim: 'Thou thy father's grace and a father better no fear!' Daughters of America, weep for him who both 'loved thy country and his kind!'

"The husbandman at his plough, the artisan at the anvil, the seaman on the mast, will pause and drop a tear when he hears that Clay is no more."

"The advocate for freedom in both hemispheres, he will be lamented alike on the shores of the Hellespont and the banks of the Mississippi and Orinoco. The loyal men of Illinois, Louisiana and Georgia, the men of self-government, and civilizing Africa, have had a patron and protector, a father and friend. America mourns the departure of a heroism, which enlightened and illustrated the continent; the United States, a country that of deepest and abundant part of progress; mankind, the advocate of freedom by its aid and its unshaken liberty."⁴

² *Memorial P. States* (Edging of M. Dixon).
³ *Richard A. Foster* (Biog.), of Maryland.

Mr. WALSH* said: "Mr. Speaker, the illustrious man whose death we this day mourn, was so long my political leader—so long almost the object of my personal industry, that I can not allow that he shall go down to the grave, without a word at least of affectionate remembrance—without a tribute to a memory, which will exact tributes as long as a heart shall be found to beat within the bosom of civilized man, and human agency shall be requisite to any form to give them an expression. And even, sir, if I had no heart-felt sigh to pour out here—if I had no tear for that noble's fall, I should do in justice to those whose representative in part I am, if I did not in this presence, and at this time, raise my voice to swell the accents of the profoundest public eulogy.

"The State of Maryland has always vied with Kentucky in love and veneration of his name. Her people have gathered around him, with all the fervor of a first affection, and with more than its duration. Troops of friends have ever clustered about his pathway with a personal devotion, which such men of their regarded as the highest individual honor—friends, sir, to whose friends the tidings of his death will go with all the withering influences which are felt when household fires are severed.

"I wish, sir, I could offer now a proper memorial for such a subject, and such an affection. Had, as I strive to utter it, I had the disheartening influence of the well known truth, that in view of death all minds sink into indolence. It would seem, indeed, sir, that the great leader of our race would vindicate his title to be so considered, by making all men think alike in regard to his visitation—"The thousand thoughts that begin and end in me,"—the *desiderata* here—the eternal huge *desiderata*—are influences felt alike by the lowest intellect and the loftiest genius.

"Mr. Chairman, a statesman for more than fifty years in the councils of his country, whose peaceful charge it was to see that the Republic suffered no detriment—a patriot for all times, all circumstances, and all contingents—has passed away from the trials and triumphs of the world, and gone to his reward. And in the situations which such an event would uniformly excite, their intensity is deeply heightened by the warriors so fresh within the memory of us all—

"Oh! think how to his last day,
When Death, his hovering, chained his prey,
With Palmer's* wondrous wail,
From a thousand post he stood,
Each call for would not be repel'd,
With dying hand the rudder held,
There, while on Freedom's thousand glides
The unquarrel'd church resided,
Whose powerful bolts were sent around
The bloody ocean's maddening sound;
But still, upon the hallo'd day,
Utter'd the words to guide and pray,
With faith and still peace serene,
Heav'd his cold marble with a tear
He who preserved them—They be here!"

"In a character, Mr. Speaker, so illustrious and beautiful, it is difficult to select any point for particular notice from those which go to make up its noble proportions; but we may now, around his honored grave, call to grateful recollection that invincible spirit, which no personal sorrow could rally, and no disaster could overcome. He assured, sir, that he has in this regard, left a legacy to the young men of the Republic almost as sacred and as dear as that liberty of which his life was a blessed illustration.

* Thomas Tava Walsh (Widg.) of Maryland.

"We run all remember, sir, whose adverse political parties disheartened his friends, and made them look on a man without hope, his own shining voice was still heard in the assembly and the parliament of truth, as bold and as eloquent as when it first proclaimed the freedom of the sea, and its victorious tones struck all the locks of bondage from the breast of the Inan and the plains of Marathon.

"Mr. Speaker, in the recitation of this statement, he did not forget the duties of the man. He was an affectionate adviser on all points wherein inexperienced youth might require counsel. He was a disinterested sympathizer in personal sorrows that called for consolation. He was ever upright and honorable in all the duties incident to his relation in life.

"In an extensive society, it is not difficult to find a fitting and appropriate cheer. It was the passion, Mr. Speaker, of such distinguished citizens, who died some years since in that metropolis, even while he spent was fluttering, for its final death, that he would depart peacefully. It may not be presumptuous to say, that what was in their minds the expression of a Christian gentleman, was in this, the recitation of the dying Christian, in which was blended all that human charity could inspire, with all that Divine Grace had conferred; in which the human part of the message only transcended by the power of the promise.

"A short period before his death, he remarked to me, by his bedside, that he was thankful he was less than a child, as his thoughts unconsciously withdrew from the world, and centered upon eternity. His eye was lost the profusion of his noble spirit from all the discord with a happy anticipation of what the religious man has necessarily long."

"The subject has not been
The only subject of the spirit,
The only subject of the spirit,
The only subject of the spirit."

"Mr. Speaker, the admission of this home may seem to forgotten. We may come back from the sea much graver, only still to claim that we can only "utterly deny the habit, his and from the exclusive substance." We may not pass long enough by the bank, to ask which of us is the day shall next be at rest. But let us stand on that upon the record of mortality will never be recorded a name more illustrious than that of the statesman, patriot, and hero, whose the nation mourns."

The Speaker: "The Chair asks leave to give notice to the House, that members of the Senate and House will form a procession at the National Hotel tomorrow, at twenty minutes past eleven, to accompany the remains of Mr. Clay to the Capitol for burial and interment. The procession will pass thence to the cars, and depart for Kentucky."

The question was then put, on the adoption of the resolutions proposed by Mr. Brockmidge, and they were unanimously adopted.

And the House adjourned.

THE FUNERAL AT THE CAPITOL.

IN SENATE, THURSDAY, JULY 1, 1882.

Pursuant to the arrangements prescribed by the committee of the Senate, the members of the Senate and of the House of Representatives, together with public bodies and associations, military companies, and civil authorities, assembled at the National Hotel, where the body had lain since its departure; and thence the majestic funeral cortege passed to the Senate-chamber, no longer the theater of his glories.

As the body was borne to the center of the Chamber, the Rev. Dr. Estlin, Chaplain to the Senate, in full canonicals, read part of the Episcopal ritual—"I am the resurrection and the life, with the Lord." In resonance with the solemn service near the dead was the scene there presented—sombre and sad.

The President of the United States and the Speaker of the House of Representatives were seated with the President of the Senate. The body of the Senate, the representatives of State sovereignty, were grouped, on the two innermost semi-circular rows of chairs, nearest the lifeless form of their late colleague. The committee of arrangements, and the committee to convey the body to Kentucky, and the pall-bearers, with the Kentucky delegation in the House of Representatives, as chief mourners, and a few personal devoted friends, were also in close proximity to the inanimate form of the deceased.

The members of the House of Representatives filled the outer aisles, except such parts as were devoted to the large diplomatic corps, the Cabinet of the President of the United States, the officers of the Army and Navy, among whom were Major-General Scott, commander-in-chief, and Commodore Morris. With the Municipal Councils of the city of Washington, were the officers of neighboring cities, and others, official and unofficial.

Mr. James Moore, the public gardener, placed a fragrant field of sweetly-scented flowers upon the sarcophagus, as a memorial of affection for the deceased statesman within. The pure white and brightly-variegated flowers contrasted sadly with the rich folding drapery of black cloth, relieved though it was by silver ornaments. The sarcophagus in which the remains were interred, resembles the outline of the human body. The handles, the feet-plate, the plate for inscribing the name, and other plates, are of massive silver, beautifully wrought and chased, having appropriate emblems, among which appear wreaths of laurel and oak, with a full-blown rose, and a sprig of oak with its acorns detached from their parent stem, showing the work of the fall destroyer. Amidst the contemplations to which this scene gave being, the Chaplain's voice broke on the listening ear—"Not man man will say, How are the dead raised up, and with what body do they come?" The answer was furnished by the verses of the 11th chapter of 1st Corinthians, which the Chaplain impressively read for the consolation of the bereaved living.

fields, the farms, the commercial mart, and the quiet homes of all the land, where his name was with the departed father, and is with the living children, and will be with successive generations, an honored household word.

"I feel, as a man, the grandeur of this career. But as an immortal, with this broken wreck of mortality before me, with this scene as the 'end-of' of human glory, I feel that no career is truly great but that of him who, whether he be illustrious or obscure, lives to the future in the present, and, looking himself to the spiritual world, draws from that the life, the rule, the motive, and the reward of all his labor. So would that great spirit which has departed say to us, could he address us now. So did he realize in the calm and meditative close of life. I feel that I had other the lessons which, when living, were his best and best instructions, and which, dead, could he speak to us, his solemn admonitions, when I say that statesmanship is then only glorious when it is Christian, and that man is then only safe and true to his duty and his soul, when the life which he lives in the flesh is the life of faith in the Son of God.

"Great, indeed, is the privilege, and most honorable and useful in the career of a Christian American statesman.

"He perceives that civil liberty came from the freedom wherewith Christ made its earliest martyr and defender free. He recognizes it as one of the twelve manner of fruits on the tree of life which, while its lower branches furnish the best nutriment of earth, hangs on its topmost boughs, which wave in heaven, fruits that exaltate the immortal. Recognizing the state as God's institution, he will perceive that his own ministry is divine. Living constantly under the eye and in the love and fear of God, released by the blood of Jesus, sanctified by his spirit, loving his law, he will give himself, in private and in public, to the service of his Saviour. He will not admit that he may act on less lofty principles in public than in private life, and that he must be careful of his moral influence in the small sphere of home and neighborhood, but need take no heed of it when it stretches over continents and crosses seas. He will know that his moral responsibility can not be divided and distributed among others. When he is told that, because in the strictest moral and religious principle is incompatible with a successful and eminent career, he will denounce the assertion as a libel on the venerated father of the Republic—a libel on the honored living and the illustrious dead—a libel against a great and Christian nation—a libel against God himself, who has declared and made "profane profitable for the life that is." He will strive to make true transcripts of the character and institutions, illustrations of the providence of God. He will wear with admiration and awe the purposes of God in the future history of the world, in throwing open this wide continent, from sea to sea, to the shade of freedom, intelligence, plenty, prosperity, and peace, and feel that, in giving his energies with a patriotic love to the welfare of his country, he is consecrating himself with a Christian's zeal to the extension and establishment of the Redeemer's kingdom. Compared with a career like this, which is equally open to those whose public sphere is large or small, how paltry are the trials of patriotism, the tricks of statesmanship, the rewards of successful business! The hour, the scene, the venerated dead, the country, the world, the present, the future, God, duty, heaven, hell, speak trumpet-tongued to all in the service of their country, to denote how they lay polluted or unpolished hands

"Upon the ark
Of her magnificent and awful doom!"

"Such is the character of that state of mind which alone would have met the full approval of the reconverted slave. For the religion which at last had a place in the convictions of his mind has always, within a recent period, entered into his experience and created itself in his heart. Twenty years since, he writes: 'I am a member of no religious sect, and I am not a professor of religion. I regret that I am not. I wish that I was, and trust that I shall be. I have, and always have had, a personal regard for Christianity, the religion of my father, and for its articles, its creeds, and observances.' That feeling proved that the soul never by proscriptions was not dead, though stilled. A few years since, its dormant life was reawakened. He was baptized in the communion of the Presbyterian Episcopal Church, and during his sojourn in this city he grew in full communion with Trinity parish.

"It is true his withdrawal from the affairs of the Senate, that I have been made particularly acquainted with his extensive reading, character, and feelings. From his first illness, he expected to see the perfection that it would be fatal. From that period until his death, it has been my privilege to hold with him frequent religious converse, and conversational with him in his rooms. He seemed to me to feel such in the most feeling doctrines of the Gospel—the full and complete atonement, the deity of Christ, the reality and necessity of the atonement, the need of being regenerated by the Spirit, and salvation through faith in the merits of His blood. His own personal history of salvation, his ever and distinctly loved sin, the provision and the grace of Christ—particularly propitiation, his natural impotence and impotent character, was the influence of his own productive redemption, and "patience waiting for Christ," and his death. On one occasion, he spoke to me of the picture which our yearning and desire to be, as that which led him deeply to feel and earnestly to seek, for himself, the reality and blessedness of religion. On one occasion, he told me that he had been striving to form a conception of Heaven, and he indulged upon the mercy of that provision by which our heaven became a partaker of our humanity, that our hearts and hopes would be thereby exalted. On another occasion, when he was supposed to be very near his end, I expressed to him the hope that his mind and heart were at peace, and that he was able to rest with cheerful confidence on the promise and merits of the Redeemer. He said, with much feeling, that he understood me, and trusted that he did receive his salvation upon Christ; that it was too late for him to look at Christianity in the light of speculation; that he had never doubted of its truth; and that he now wished to throw himself upon it as upon a firm and solid rock. Very soon after this, I had the privilege to have the sacrament of the Lord's Supper. Being extremely feeble, and the illness of heaven having not yet divided, no persons were present but his own and myself. It was a scene long to be remembered. There, in that still chamber, at a week day noon, the table of life all blazing around me, three disciples of the cross—the minister of God, the dying sinner, and his servant, a partaker of the life problem with commemorated their sacred dying love. He bowed in the blessed sacrament with most feeling and solemnity—soon placing his hands together, and now spreading the palms, as the words of the service expressed the feelings, desires, supplications, and thanksgiving of his heart. After this he called, and again I was permitted to converse with him in religious matters, consolation, and prayer. He professed grace, and in the knowledge of our Lord and Savior Jesus Christ. Among the books which he read most, were Joy's Manning and Everett's Exercises, the Life of Dr. Chubbuck, and the Christian Philosopher's Treatise on Death. His

hope undimmed to the end, though true and real, to be frankness with humility rather than reserve with assurance. When he felt most the acuteness of his protracted sufferings, it sufficed to suggest to him that his Heavenly Father doubtless knew that, after a life so long, stirring, and tempted, such a discipline of chastening and suffering was needed to make him meet for the inheritance of the saints; and at times the words of meek and patient resignation occupied his lips.

"Exhausted nature at length gave way. On the last occasion when I was permitted to offer a brief prayer at his bedside, his last words to me were that he had hope only in Christ, and that the prayer which I had offered for his pardoning love and his sanctifying grace, included everything which the dying need. On the morning previous to his departure, sitting on a chair in obscurity by his side, I could not but realize, when I heard him in the slight wanderings of his mind to other days, and other scenes, comparing the words, 'My mother I neither I neither?' and saying, 'My dear wife,' as if she were present, I could not but realize these, and rejoice to think how near was the blessed position of his heart with the loved dead and with her—our dear Lord gently smoothed her passage to the land—who must soon follow him to his rest, whose spirits even then seemed to visit and to cheer his memory and his hope. Gladly he breathed his soul away into the spirit world.

"Here lie the righteous when they die,
When holy souls retire to rest,
Here softly leaves the closing eye,
Here gently leaves the expiring breast!

"He takes a vapour cloud away;
He takes the gate when spirits enter;
He gently shuts the eyes of day;
He does the stars upon their sphere!"

"Be it ours to follow him in the same humble and submissive faith to Heaven. Could he speak to us the counsel of his latest human and of his present heavenly experience, were I am that he would not only admonish us to cling to the Savior in sickness and in death, but assure us not to delay to set upon our first resolutions, that we might give our best power and fullest influence for God, and go to the grave with a hope undimmed by the long worldliness of the past, and darkened by no fumes of fear and doubt resting over the future!

"The strong staff is broken, and the beautiful rod despoiled of its grace and bloom; but, in the light of the eternal promises, and by the power of Christ's resurrection, we joyfully anticipate the prospect of seeing that broken staff erect, and that beautiful rod, clothed with celestial grace, and blossoming with unyielding life and blessedness, in the paradise of God."

The ritual of the Episcopal Church, at the burial of the dead, closed the solemn service, and the body was removed to the Hamble, that his sorrowing countrymen might gaze upon the face in death which has cheered them so much while living.

The funeral cortege, with the mortal remains of the departed statesman, left Wincington by rail-road soon after the conclusion of the above services, taking for the night at Bakington, where

the whole people came out to attend by fit circumstances their affection and sorrow. Thence it proceeded next day, halting briefly at Wilmington, to Philadelphia, where the most impressive honors were paid to the unhappy dead by countless thousands. The body rested for the night in Independence Hall, under imposing military guardships. The next day (Saturday) it moved on to New-York, halting briefly at the principal villages of New-Jersey, where Mr. Clay had ever been most deeply beloved and warmly supported. Again at New-York, where the great Kentuckian had "troops of friends" as devoted as men ever had in the world, the people had gathered at one o'clock in countless thousands to share in the solemnities of the occasion; and, after waiting its arrival till five, followed the bier in long and sad procession to the City Hall, where the coffin rested through the Sabbath in the Governor's Room, guarded by the Washington Greys, who afterward formed its escort to Albany. While it remained in New-York, more than thirty thousand persons passed in procession through the Governor's Room to gaze at the closed coffin which shrouded from view the devoted remnant of Genius and Patriotism. On Monday morning the procession departed by steamboat for Albany, where the most imposing testimonials of public grief were rendered by nearly the whole people. The bier rested for the night in the State capitol, and thence took its way next morning, with its long train of attendants, by railroad through Ithaca, Syracuse, Rochester, to Buffalo, thence by steamboat to Cleveland, by railroad to Cincinnati, and so by Louisville to Lexington, everywhere evoking from the entire community unanimous manifestations of a fond and tender regard for the great and good Statesman so ripely called to everlasting rest. Party differences were utterly forgotten, the miserable calamities which for a season had clouded the fame of the noblest living American were remembered, if at all, only as deeply regretted to their inventors; and the whole American People wept their tears of fond and grateful sorrow down the sun that enshined the dust which once was Henry Clay. And thus, long wishes were laid to rest, on Saturday, July 10th, at the city he had early chosen for his home, and among the people who had admired, supported, and loved him with unvarying fidelity through

all the honors and values of more than half a century of eventful public life. Surrounded by the whole circle of his stricken relatives, including the faithful and devoted partner of his joys and sorrows, and attended to the grave by the entire community of which he was so consistently beloved a member, his body was buried in the spot of his choice, there to mingle with the soil of that gallant State which he had so loved and honored, and which had equally loved and revered him in turn. There let the marble rise proudly and gracefully above his silent dust; but that will not be his only nor his saddest memorial. Wherever our vessels shall ride out a tempest in safety, protected by the pierce and breakwaters of our Atlantic or inland harbors—wherever inland trade shall find a highway opened for it over mountains or through narrows by the engineer's science and the laborer's sturdy arm—wherever industry shall see its pursuits diversified and its processes perfected through the naturalization among us of new Arts or the diffusion of Manufacturing efficiency—there shall henceforth arise in the hearts of grateful Freemen enduring monuments to his genius, the patriotism, the statesmanship, the benevolence, of our beloved HENRY CLAY.

POETIC TRIBUTES.

The Crossin, as he feeds his flocks
 In Young's vale, on Moore's rocks,
 Or where the gleam of bright blue waters
 Is caught by Scio's white-armed daughters,
 While dwelling on the dubious strife
 Which entered in his nation's life,
 Shall mingle, in his grateful lay,
 Boccass with the name of CLAY!

Where blush the warm sides of the North
 O'er Caspian's fiery mouth,
 And round the hills broad green
 The Paros rolls its breezy waves,
 The patriot in his council hall—
 The soldier at his fortress wall—
 The brave—the lovely—and the free—
 Shall offer up their prayers for thee!

And where our own rude villets smile,
 And temple spire, and holy pile,
 Crown, like the fashion of a dream,
 The slope of every mountain stream—
 Where Industry and Plenty meet,
 Peasants brothers in the crowded street—
 Each spire and mansion upward sent,
 Shall be thy living monument!

Hill stand evel! our hope and trust,
 When Law is trampled in the dust,
 When o'er our fathers' graves green
 The ussery of Dishonor roves—
 And men of those who side by side,
 Fists down the Lion-temper's pride,
 Are jangling for fraternal strife—
 For blow for blow, and life for life!

Let others risk the public store,
 To buy their ill-used power once more—
 Shrink back from truth—and open wide
 The flood-gates of Corruption's tide—
 Thou standest in thy country's eye
 Unbinking from its scrutiny,
 And, asking nothing but to show
 How far a Patriot's soul can go!

And those whose trust is fixed on thee—
 Unought—unpledged—and truly free,
 They bow not to an hid shewn;
 They seem alike the helm and brow;
 And, asking no reward of gold,
 For hallowed faith—for honor sold,
 Stead, faithful to their hearts and home,
 No Crossin's weed, nor mist or Rhodé!

HESBY CLAY,

AS HIS MOUNTAIN HORSE ON THE CLAY

Went for the glorious Highland
 Went for the noble adventure that
 Whose costly name was led
 The spheres in their high home still
 True bound words and noble phrase
 What in the funeral song of a
 State as should over the land and
 In nature's freedom to rest
 All Freedom's kindling sun took
 Struck strike with a triumphant
 They kept, and at its swelling
 Speak, through the leaders of
 The nation, the beauty of that
 Whose name is on every
 Through many, ray or shining
 A new-shaped there in the
 Future we hold its words
 To guide the soul of the
 Safe through the joy of the

Time on the World whose
 Thrilled grandly through his
 And walked by bounding
 Where darkness only
 How millions found
 Beholding there a
 Caught on the golden
 From its map the

From our own
 Had were the
 When, during
 Death came
 And men
 Reached by
 What then did
 And flitted
 Until the
 Like
 Where
 In triumph
 But only

From our own
 Eternal
 Where
 For glory

POETIC THIRTEEN.

Where Charybdis stalks and Sibilina
 A landmark by the sea of Time—²
 They wince still, as a blessing given
 For Man, did never to depart,
 Real from our glorified Earth to Heaven—
 The waves, wild music of the heart.

Darer of you Jew! what, though shriek Hail
 Her frenzied storm around thee rolls—
 Has it not ever been the fate
 Of all this Earth's truth-speaking world
 Lightnings may play upon the rock
 Whose starlikest forehead scans the gale,
 While they escape the thunder-shock
 Who dwell within the lonely vale—
 Lying smother'd!—not as thou
 Chief of the fearless and the brave!
 Yet let the lightning and the storm
 Beat on the long-devoted form!
 The silver day-dreams burst; and let
 Around thee circle the Promise-Word!

Look! on your right Columbia stands—
 Immortal laurels in her hands!
 And look her robes—³ Real Frances, now
 Unharm the chain from every breast;
 See! see the splendor in your skies
 Flashed from the banner of the West!
 Roused at the sound, his willows leap
 Like plants from hysterical sleep
 What voices are heard! What sounds prevail!
 Whose name is thundering on the gale!—
 (Far in the mountains of the North—
 Far in the sunny South away—
 A wing'd host's hurrying forth—)
 The deathless name of HENRY CLAY

III.

“HE IS NOT FALLEN!”

BY A. A. WATSON.

Not Fallen! No, no well the fall
 Arch-pillared Allegheny fell—
 As well Ohio's giant life
 Roll backward on its mighty track
 As he, Columbus's hope and pride,
 The shattered and the nearly tried,
 In his triumphant course turn back.

² Who can forget Henry Clay's heroic eloquence in opposing of America and South America
 here, Independence!
³ Inspired by a captured article from written by George B. Francis in the *Commonwealth Journal*.

LIFE OF HENRY CLAY.

He is not Farnes! Seek to find
The shrikeless and unbidden wind;
Oppose the torrent's headlong course,
And turn aside the whirlwind's force
But deem not that the mighty wind
Will never before the blast of hate,
Or quail at dark and warlike ill—
For though all else be desolate,
It sweeps not from its high estate,
A Marion's trail the winds still.

He is not Farnes! Every breeze
That wafts the air Columbia's coast,
From wild Florida's forest trees,
From ocean shore, from inland coast,
Or where the rich Magnolia's blossom
Flows, snow-like, on the sultry west,
Is blowing onward on his way,
A message to his late and
A word the falling notes bear,
A praise which Farnes' only hear.

Fast on me! We'd a million eyes
Are turning; gladly unto him;
The shame of old idolatry
Before his kneeling light grows dim,
And men awake as from a dream,
Or mutters shouting to let go;
And bow before his power beam,
The current of a better day.

As Hark! the horn is hasting on
When, vainly tried for Slender's name,
Columbia shall behold her son
Unfettered, without a laurel zone,
As near the shores of Babylon
The unregarded trial passed
The Standard shall be silent then,
His spell shall leave the winds of men,
And higher glory wait upon
The Western President's future name.

THE END.

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