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FIFTY REASONS

WHY THE

HON. HENRY CLAY

SHOULD BE

ELECTED PRESIDENT

OF THE

United



States.

BY AN

IRISH ADOPTED CITIZEN.

Baltimore:

PRINTED FOR THE AUTHOR.

1844.

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George C. ...

"THE honest, patient, and industrious German readily unites with our people, establishes himself on one of our fat lands, fills a capacious barn, and enjoys in tranquillity the abundant fruits which his diligence has gathered around him, always ready to fly to the standard of his adopted country, or of its wars, when called by the duties of patriotism. The gay, the versatile, the philosophical Frenchman, commodating himself cheerfully to all the vicissitudes of life, incorporates himself without difficulty into our society. *But, of all foreigners, none amalgamate 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 originally part and parcel of this continent, and that by some extraordinary avulsion of nature it was torn from America, and, drifting across the ocean, it was placed in the fortunate vicinity of Great Britain. The same open-heartedness, the same careless and uncalculating indifference about human life, characterizes the inhabitants of both countries. Kentucky has been sometimes called the Ireland of America. And I have no doubt that, if the emigration were reversed, and set from America upon the shores of Europe, every American emigrant to Ireland would there find, every Irish emigrant here finds, a hearty welcome and a happy home."

Extract from Mr. CLAY'S Speech in the Senate, Feb. 1832.



BALTIMORE:

PRINTED FOR THE AUTHOR.

1844.

MURPHY, PRINTER.

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GEORGE C. COLLINS,

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FIFTY REASONS

WHY THE

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SHOULD BE

ELECTED PRESIDENT.

FELLOW CITIZENS:

Were I possessed of the loftiest attainments in literary acquirements, or adorned with all the accomplishments necessary to constitute the statesman and the scholar, the subject would still be of too great importance, to treat without the greatest circumspection, and the most profound deliberation. Years of study are indispensable to the formation of the sound politician in mixed governments; in the most simple forms, more time is necessary than can be generally appropriated. With a mind but ill prepared for so novel an undertaking, and therefore inadequate for its proper consideration; I shall nevertheless, confiding in your generous indulgence, attempt to advocate the claims of a luminary as bright, a patriot as pure, and a statesman as eloquent as ever graced the annals of any country, to become the recipient of those laurels which he so frequently won, and which have hitherto been so unjustly denied him. The reasons about to be adduced are altogether mine; if faulty in any respect, I *alone* am responsible. If there is any thing worthy of approbation, it is original. With this brief exordium, I approach the subject.

I. THE REASON WHY I HAVE BEEN A WHIG.

When I first arrived in this Republic, I was led to believe that the "Whig party" was the Tory party of England—the descendants of those who opposed the Revolution—that they were still in alliance with England—in favor of a monarchical form of government—opposed to the naturalization of foreigners—alien and sedition law men—Native American party, &c. &c. All these things were received by me as facts. It was an auspicious moment to prejudice my mind, particularly as I arrived here soon after the Hero of New Orleans was first elected. No arguments were necessary. The Victor of Pakenham was opposed by the Whigs, consequently his opponents were adverse to the success of their own arms. I became an ardent

Democrat. When the question of rechartering the United States Bank agitated the country, I took a decided stand against that institution, though I must acknowledge, that I was as ignorant of the merits of the principles involved in the discussion, as I was of the most secret governmental policy of the Chinese. I was not naturalized in that campaign. I was first astonished in seeing the Deveureux, from Wexford, the most patriotic county in Ireland, sustaining the Whigs. I was not, however, much impressed from this circumstance, as one of these gentlemen was President and the other a Director of the Branch Bank in Utica, it however was the origin of exciting my suspicion, on other matters. Is it possible, said I, that these gentlemen have been intrusted by this British Tory, Alien and Sedition Law, Native American Party, with such high and responsible stations? If the right of citizenship is denied to foreigners by this party, said I, why are these men in office? Many others were enjoying the respect and confidence of their Whig fellow-citizens. My prejudices against Mr. CLAY were intense. He was always represented as the Arch-Enemy of every thing Republican—the inveterate foe of all foreigners, but more especially of the Irish. During my residence in Oneida County, I found the Americans (as they usually are) kind, attentive, and hospitable, without distinction, to foreigners. From various incidents which then occurred, I was led to examine the organization and constituent elements of society. I found them nearly equal in both the political parties; but if Aristocracy might be said to exist at all, it was to be found in the *pure unsophisticated Democracy*. Their stately edifices excluded from the bustle of the city, were any thing but emblematic of the sincerity of their professions of Republican simplicity. It is true these enthusiastic supporters of the people might be seen on the eve of an important election quite affable,—familiar almost to a fault; and in an exceedingly plain and unassuming dress, taking pains to throw themselves in the way of the bone and sinew—the hard-fisted

yeomanry of the country. When these few days would have passed by, and the shouts of Democratic triumph had already died away on the breeze, all these social reminiscences were forgotten; and a cold salutation, if any, would be returned to the warm "how do you," of the humbler, but not less worthy citizen. Another matter then occurred, which had quite an influence on my mind, as to my future political conduct. As soon as the United States Bank had been overthrown, a new bank was chartered by the Legislature, called the "Oncida Bank." The stock was ardently sought after. Many good Democrats, to my own personal knowledge, who opposed the old *Monster* for its corruption, &c. obtained large quantities of stock through *dummies*, who received a per centage from the gentlemen in whose favor they were obtained. The amount of stock to be subscribed for was limited, hence this abuse. Each stockholder would have an influence finally in proportion to the capital invested, hence the avidity with which they grasped at every means to gain this influence. This also vastly contributed to raising additional doubts in my mind. What, said I, a few days ago, these men were loudest in denouncing the corruption of one institution, and they are now foremost in introducing it into another. What an anomaly! I had advanced sufficiently far in the science of politics to lay aside prejudice, and judge the parties by their principles. The result of my deliberations will form the subsequent reasons.

II. THE WHIG PARTY OF THIS COUNTRY ARE NOT THE TORY PARTY OF ENGLAND.

In all governments of ancient or modern times, men have existed, who devote their whole lives, to the acquisition of a certain knowledge, usually styled *demagogueism*, which of course, means the leading of the people. In Republics they have flourished more than under the iron rule of despotism. The aspirations which emanate from an untrammelled soul, should be suffered to ascend aloft to its native elements free and unrestrained, without any guidance, save its own spontaneous action, without any barriers save the Constitution and the Laws.

In the study of politics, in the the school of observation, I discovered in no particular branch of the American family a leaning towards England. I heard the Whigs speak in the highest terms of praise of their immortal WASHINGTON. I observed them participate in all the anniversaries of their country's redemption. They were not inferior to the other party in talents, in devotion to their country, or in any of those accomplishments which make men useful as well as ornamental to society. It is absurd then, to poison the minds of citizens who arrive in this country, by having recourse to

those vile and unjust expedients to promote party and acquire the spoils. There is, in the generality of European emigrants, a deep and well founded hatred to every thing which has the least tendency to monarchy. It can be easily seen then, how effectual an influence can be used in this manner, to gain them over to the party who profess themselves to be the most Democratic, and of consequence, the most opposed to monarchy. It is also a fact, susceptible of demonstration, that all undue measures used by one portion of American citizens to bring another portion into bad repute, has a most pernicious tendency and must eventually result in the most deplorable consequences. It is now high time that every philanthropist should condemn all irrelevant subjects and false issues, and unite in the discussion of matters which appertain to the happiness of the people, as well as the prosperity of the Republic. I am convinced that Americans are all equally attached to freedom, and equally ready to defend their altars and their homes. There can be no doubt on this point.

III. THE WHIGS ARE NOT OPPOSED TO THE NATURALIZATION OF FOREIGNERS.

An adopted citizen, who joins the Whig party, upon due reflection, is frequently accused of sinister motives, and of arraying himself on the side of the sworn enemies of foreigners. Accusations of every character are heaped upon his devoted head. If this respectable body of men, who are confessedly the larger half of the native citizens, be that compound of pride, tyranny, and selfishness, which they are represented to be, it would most unquestionably be disgraceful to add to their strength in any manner. It would be criminal to whet the sword, which would, in their hands, cut the thread on which the rights and liberties of millions of our Trans-atlantic brethren hang. It is however wrong, and more criminal to charge the Whigs of being desirous to do that, which they never intended to do.

Such conduct as this will have a direct tendency to bring into their minds political errors, to which they are utter strangers. Upon mature reflection, this charge will be found equally groundless as the first. An occasional petition has been forwarded to Congress on this subject, sustained by men of both political parties. It would be well, however, to review this matter very briefly, and call to our minds the causes which have led to such organizations in this country. In the City of New Orleans, the Democratic party is nearly divided numerically between the Americans native and adopted. Some years since a political triumph was achieved by them. In the distribution of the spoils, the adopted citizens received too large a quota; this enraged the American Democracy, and led them gradually

into this heresy which now drags its slow length along through many other cities in the United States. It was not an original measure of the Whig party, the contrary is the fact. The natives in New Orleans went so far as to organize themselves into one or more military companies, and nine-tenths of this valiant and formidable armament were of the old *Simon Pure, dyed in the wool Democratic party*. I have known such societies in the Republic, and invariably found, that the causes which led to their formation were not of a party character, but were totally distinct from it, with two exceptions, the one which has been alluded to, and the one which lately started into existence in the City of New York; and we all know that the Democrats formed that, and it is the most numerous, as well as formidable, that ever arose in this country. I would not be understood as laying the censure of this odious, proscriptive policy, notwithstanding, to the Van Buren party. They become entirely separate and distinct from either, morally and politically, and constitute a third party. In this view of the case I am correct, so far as human knowledge can be, and hence the impropriety of laying the charge at the doors of the "Great Whig party" of this Confederacy. It is to all intents and purposes, morally wrong to make an issue of it at the approaching election. I shall then pass to the next negative reason.

IV. THE WHIGS ARE NOT THE BANK PARTY.

This charge has been very confidently made against the Whigs during the last eight years; in many instances successfully, but in almost all wrongfully. The fact of the supporting the United States Bank, gave this accusation a very fair exterior, and from that circumstance, and under that cloak, the most important impositions have been practised, even long after the Bank had ceased to be. The Administration is always responsible for the political errors, introduced, as well as for the political abuses unredressed. If it can be shown that the amount of evil counterbalances that of good in any great alterations made, during its existence, the weight of evidence is against the constituted authorities. It is admitted, that to the Van Buren Party, belongs the honor of destroying the United States Bank, the entire glory is theirs. That Institution was denominated as dangerous to the liberties of the people, as exceedingly corrupt. It was also attacked on the ground of unconstitutionality. Various arguments were at that time introduced as to the expediency of the entire Banking system. These were however confined to a portion of the Party.—The President himself promised a Substitute, and it was called by him a *Bank*. This promise has been disregarded. In referring to the past history of the country, for the last twenty years, it will be

ascertained that this charge is entirely and unequivocally false. The increase of Banks from 1820 to 1830 was 22, of Bank capital \$8,000,000. In the next ten years the increase was 392 with nearly 200 Branches; the increase of Banking capital for the same time, were \$213,000,000. This ruinous system took its rise from the downfall of the United States Bank. These things are conclusive evidence of the truth of the inconsistency of that party, as well in this, as in other matters of *public policy*. It is readily seen by the most careless observer, that the Whigs could not possibly be the authors of the Banking system. The administration of the General Government and four-fifths of the States' Governments was in the hands of the opposite party; and they become justly chargeable with the faults observable during their term of service. These errors seem to be intentional in many of the *leaders*, and therefore the more criminal. If they destroyed one Institution on the ground of unconstitutionality, why create four or five hundred? If the former was objectionable, emanating as it did from the *supreme power* of the whole confederacy, certainly the latter must be infinitely more so proceeding from inferior, and in this particular case, perhaps dependent powers, as the Constitution vests the jurisdiction in Congress. If the whole confederacy possesses not the power, how can it be possible that even a co-ordinate or concurrent part should possess it? It seems these *Monster* hating Democrats can bestow on a State, not only a concurrent, but a superior jurisdiction to each division of the "Federal Union" when it suits their purposes, and perhaps sometimes their pockets. I would not be understood, as *insinuating* now in the least. I thought, however, that State Constitutions cannot conflict with the Constitution of the United States. The National Bank was not expedient, but small, petty, two-penny, good-for-nothing, but swindling Institutions were expedient. I grant it, they were, but for whom? I answer for those who made them, and a few other hangers-on; but they were destructive to the great mass of the people. The National Bank was corrupt. It never failed to fulfil its obligations, until it had been crippled by the Nation. But these incorruptible patriots, introduced a remedy far worse than the grievance. If the United States Bank was corrupt, its corrupting influence was not felt so much by the producing classes in sixteen years, as the influence of Shin Plaster shops was in the same number of days. It is then a mischievous as well as bare-faced way to get out of a scrape to accuse men of those errors, into which we have ourselves ran through cupidity or blindness. Let us rather repent, and change our course. This would be manly and prudent. I have not asserted that the Whigs are or have been entirely innocent in this matter, many of them erred in the Pet Bank mania, but they cannot in any

manner, or with any propriety be charged with the system; they were then in a large minority, and allowing the Van Buren party all they can possibly ask in the argument, the Whigs cannot be called the Bank party. Bear your own burdens, gentlemen, sufficient for the day is the evil thereof. Having disposed of these few negative propositions, I shall approach the main question. Would to God, that my pen possessed ability commensurate with the importance of the principles involved, my mind would rest at ease. The subject is almost too profound, and the personage too exalted. I hope you will overlook the imperfections.

V. HENRY CLAY IS AN AMERICAN.

He has been educated beneath the influence of Democratic Institutions; he has been imbued with the purest principles of Republicanism, in the consecrated land of the "Old Dominion." He had as examples men of the highest order of talents, and the most inflexible attachment to freedom. From his birth in 1777 to the present day, he was witness to events of unparalleled magnitude; never before were questions of such vast moment at issue between nations. His gigantic intellect was invigorated by the continued success of the patriotic efforts of the citizens of this hemisphere, in shaking off the servile bonds of European tyranny; it was enlightened by the disastrous causes which led to its final overthrow in France. In his own country, he has reason to rejoice that the progress of freedom is onward, and wherever its influence is felt, it is to improve and ameliorate the condition of man, and that it has already carried the blessings of civilization to distant climes. It has not risen like the dazzling meteor to blaze for a moment, but like the beneficent sun to last for ever. He is an American—not because he first drew breath in the land of WASHINGTON, or is a citizen of the happiest form of Government in the world. It is because he is the inflexible advocate of the *rights of man*,—those everlasting and immutable principles which tend to the equalization of the human race, the subjugation of every species of tyranny and the grandest of all human theories—self-government. The air of this Republic is to him as sacred as his existence—to preserve it uncontaminated his every effort has been indefatigably devoted. *An American*, not because he moves on the soil, and eats and drinks of its fruits—not because he loves to roam over the land of his fathers, or visit the enchanting spot of his childhood,—not because his COLUMBIA possesses many commercial and agricultural advantages; or is bountifully supplied with the most beautiful scenery, extensive sea-coasts, innumerable internal water communications, lofty mountains, fertile vales, boundless forests and transparent lakes in an equal or superior degree to any country on the globe. All these, it is true, have to

him their peculiar fascinations. No! His patriotic bosom, his free soul loves his fatherland for higher and nobler considerations. It is because, WHERE LIBERTY DWELLS THERE IS HIS COUNTRY.—Every great measure in this country's glorious epoch, bears the impress of his gigantic intellect and devoted patriotism. No American has contributed more to national honor and individual prosperity than he. His actions are not like the ripple of a minute which bursts upon the shore, but as the long swell of the mighty ocean, wafted from remote regions, and heaved on the bosom of remote antiquity. In all his efforts to promote the glory and high destinies of his country, he has never neglected to excite in the breasts of his countrymen similar feelings, and establish amongst them the basis of durable happiness, by affording them means of employment, in the best manner his judgment could devise. During the forty years of his public life, the energies of his whole soul have been directed in exciting industry, encouraging manufactures, extending commerce, and in defending our flag from foreign insult. Amid the expiring embers of Republican Institutions, one has risen here Phoenix-like from the ashes, which if properly managed is destined to exert a most potent influence hereafter on the condition of men, all that is necessary is a good Captain, and an honest, faithful, moral and sober crew, to guide this youthful vessel into the most distant climes, with healing on her wings, and freedom as her cargo. Such a Captain, we will have, if we elect our late Hon. Senator from Kentucky—the *Mill Boy of the Slashes*.

VI. HENRY CLAY IS A REPUBLICAN.

When interest has ceased to blind, panegyric to mislead, and political rivalry to exist, this assertion will be unanimously sustained.—When his noble heart shall cease to throb, and his body be shrouded in the awful habiliments of death, it will be gratefully acknowledged by his countrymen, when the National records themselves shall moulder away; monuments of enduring marble will still perpetuate his memory. It is true, our American Statesman cannot publicly exhibit scars and other heroic demonstrations of patriotic warfare before the enraptured gaze of an admiring country: yet these enviable marks of gallantry, are the fruits of the seed, which he planted in the councils of the Nation. It was his matchless eloquence which in an eminent degree contributed to arouse the nation to arms in the last war, and bury all conflicting interests and sectional collisions in the gulf of everlasting oblivion. Glorious event! The eloquent HENRY was not more successful in the Revolutionary war in infusing ardor into the nation, than our CLAY has been in the second struggle for the existence of the Republic. It was he who voted the means to sustain the war, and it was he who nerved the arm

and whetted the sword to carry it on. The genius and brilliant talents of Mirabeau in the Revolutionary councils of France, are as nothing, when compared to the glowing ardor and patriotic eloquence of the Kentucky Orator, in that momentous crisis of the American Republic. It is an honor to the country, that such a man then existed to guide her councils. Carnot never drew a sword, yet under his sagacious and wise administration France flourished. Great warriors have immortalized themselves by their valorous deeds and heroic exploits. Yet the warrior yields to the prudent dictates of wise legislation. The glory of the warrior is brilliant, but transitory; the glory of the statesman is bright, but permanent. Patriotism exists in both, but its action is different. The one executes a part, the other plans all which appertain to the State. As to the fact, of *Republicanism*, every man in this country possesses it; some in a greater, others in a less degree. Our government is Republican, consequently, we are all citizens of the same country, and known universally by the same appellation. None are so worthy of the title, however, as those who have been the longest in the councils of the people, and whilst there never betrayed their trusts. No stronger evidence of this fact, than the approbation of their fellow-citizens, and more particularly of those who are the more immediately represented. When individuals continue to be honored for nearly half a century in the same career of pursuits, of whatever kind they may be, their conduct must be sanctioned, as well as their fidelity established. This is the best rule, and one which receives the stamp of the silent operation of time. Experience teaches us, that professions are frequently deceptive, unless they are supported by acts, and that political wisdom is not of a mushroom growth, but that it depends entirely on the industry and constant perseverance of years to acquire it. It has lately become a habit in young men for the first time intrusted with the guardianship of public affairs, to assume to themselves the importance of censuring those who have grown grey in the service of their country. It would be better for them and us, if instead of culling a few thorns from a field of roses, they were consulting for the common good. Mr. CLAY has forty years experience in public matters. He has faithfully and ably discharged every duty imposed and every trust confided in him. No State has shed its blood more profusely in the last war than Kentucky; and it would be an insult to her noble sons, to accuse them of honoring any other than the purest and best Republican. She is proud of her adopted son. She has taken him as her own, and has elevated him from the humble position of the *Orphan Boy* to the dignified and time hallowed rank of Senator.

VII. MR. CLAY IS A DEMOCRAT.

It is not however, the case, because all the citizens of a Republic are Republicans, that they are all possessed of the same views, in relation to the measures which may tend to preserve their institutions from charge, or their liberties from ruin. The minds of men are operated on differently. In this respect they assimilate nations; what would benefit one individual might injure many. Various causes may contribute to the promotion of political errors. Luxury and pride are powerful auxiliaries in destroying the moral principles of communities. Wealth and bigotry are also instruments which eventually weaken the golden links of the fraternal and social compact of citizens of the same country. These and all other causes however, are impotent when brought into contact with the virtue and intelligence of enlightened freemen, in whose hands the destinies of Republics are. Regardless of all minor considerations, the citizens of this country are justly styled *Democrats* throughout the world; they must also be called such here, until strong and irresistible proofs are adduced to the contrary. It is impossible successfully to charge an American citizen, with not being a Democrat, so long as he maintains the *Constitution* and *Laws*, which are admitted to be *Democratic*. There may be isolated instances of individuals who are opposed to this form of government, though born under its benign and happy influences. Here we are, where freedom has triumphed over bondage, and the effort of laborious industry has emancipated itself from the servile yoke of monarchical power. Until interest shall cease to be a bond of union, and no reciprocity of mutual affection exist, the American people will pride themselves in handing down their glorious liberties to posterity, as the richest legacy they can bestow. And their will shall be signed, sealed and delivered under the broad seal of the "*Democrats of the United States of America.*"

If tyranny has always succeeded by arming one portion of the people against another, freemen should learn a profitable lesson from it, and never make false issues, when great questions of State policy are kept entirely out of view. Why has one moiety of the citizens of this Confederacy exclusively appropriated to themselves the appellation of *Democrats*? Every school-boy who has studied Greek only a few months, will look upon this as utterly presumptuous. No man but understands the ordinary acceptation of the term *Democracy*. It means particularly, a form of government in which the sovereignty rests entirely in the people—or that they are the source of all power. No American statesman dare deny this. None have denied it. It is however true, that we must give to this proper source, the free and unrestricted privilege of exercising this power, with no abridge-

ment of action, save the Constitution and Laws, which they themselves make by their delegates. There is no citizen however, more eminently entitled to this soul-cheering appellation, than he who has always stood on the citadel, a faithful sentinel, an able defender of the inestimable charter of rights, on which not the name but the principles themselves are based. Mr. CLAY's efforts from his first appearance on the stage of political action, to the day of his leaving the Senate, have been constantly devoted to the preservation of his country's liberties, as well as to the extension of them over the surface of the habitable globe. If it were possible he has imparted to freedom an additional lustre, by his eloquence, and adorned the sacred cause of liberty by impressing on it the dazzling brilliancy of his own heaven-born genius. No Democrat loves freedom, and hates tyranny, more than he.

VIII. MR. CLAY IS AN UNRIVALLED ORATOR.

In all nations of ancient or modern times, the people look with pride on their eminent men, and though there may be an occasional spot discerned on the escutcheon of their fame, the memory of their distinguished services towards adding to the national dignity causes them to wipe it off rather than magnify it. It is highly characteristic of true greatness, to stand first, as an orator in a country which can justly boast of as bright an array of public speakers as ever graced the annals of any nation. It redounds to a statesman's honor to be capable of enchaining the attention of the most enlightened audiences, and intellectual popular assemblies, and draw forth their most enthusiastic applause. This faculty when well applied is a blessing to the entire nation, and has a most potent tendency to stamp the traits of our national character on the people of other countries. What Demosthenes has been to Greece, and Cicero to Rome, CLAY has been to America! The eloquence of the two former has survived the Republics themselves, and though the countries in which they lived have become enslaved, the monuments which have been transmitted by them to posterity will always shed a glorious effulgence on their native land. If the English language possessed the beauties of the Greek or Latin, the speeches of CLAY would be equally worthy of admiration, and might be hereafter consulted as text-books of unrivalled beauty and consummate skill. It is a lamentable fact, that we have hitherto not sufficiently well appreciated the importance of imparting to American oratory the respect it so justly merits. It is by this powerful weapon that the elements of tyranny will be crushed, and all the hereditary appendages of obsolete royalty be utterly annihilated. By this the irresistible growth of freedom will

be accelerated, and every barrier between citizen, kings and liberty, will be eradicated from the earth.

History is replete with the glowing eloquence of ancient orators. Nations refer to the number of their statesmen as the best evidence of their greatness; their libraries abound in splendidly executed and methodically arranged piles of speeches, as living witnesses of their illustrious dead. In no country is it so necessary as in this. In monarchies and despotic governments, men are born to distinction, children are dubbed princes ere they have laid aside their swaddling clothes, and misses are crowned queens before they have entered their 'teens; no limits, it would seem, are prescribed to their political absurdities. Upon men, born under such systems, oratory can have no effect, unless to arouse them from their passive obedience to active resistance. Here, the gifts of nature are destined to bless mankind; and the splendor of genius and powers of thought to add a lustre on all indiscriminately. No man has embellished the legislative halls of this happy country, more than the celebrated CLAY. None has so eminently contributed to give his nation a character at home and respect abroad. Were all the speeches of this distinguished man compiled, they would not only compete with, but excel those of any other orator of ancient or modern times, both in quantity and quality. He is an example for young and helpless men, who may be deprived of the right arm of support, either in a father or mother, to stimulate them to untiring action to cultivate their talents. By elevating him yet higher, we will cause the example to be still more powerful and efficacious. Oratory has effected the independence of this country. When our rights were trampled on, and our homes and fire-sides were about to be rendered dreary by foreign oppression, the eloquence of our orators awoke the citizens to resistance. The loud bursts of patriotic indignation might then be heard through this entire country.

How dear to the patriot's heart is every word connected with the glorious days of '76. Nearly all the agents of that memorable struggle have passed away, many of them died martyrs. Others were collected to their fathers in honorable old age, encircled with the proudest wreaths of freemen's gratitude, all with their deepest reverence and affection. We have yet amongst us, one of more recent origin, who in like manner raised his voice against the same tyranny—a similar oppression. The orator of 1812, the able supporter of the *embargo* and war, he has in the second struggle for American independence proved to the world that he was the noble son of noble sires. We have honored the framers of our Constitution, the authors of our liberties, we will also honor the advocates and defenders of them. *Esto perpetua.*

IX. HIS LOVE OF FREEDOM IS NOT CONFINED BY SPACE.

Endowed, as he is, with a superior intellect, and a mind well cultivated in the school of experience; trained up in the nursery of human liberty, we need not be astonished at this fact; were it otherwise he would be unworthy of the name of an American. His principles, always of a pure and elevated character, have entitled him to an enviable distinction. Intrusted in early life with responsible duties, he never proved inadequate to their performance. Without family pretensions or private wealth, he gradually arose from the orphan boy to the rank of Senator. He always preferred to be than to appear deserving. "Esse quam videri bonus malebat, ita quo minus gloriam petebat eo magis adsequebatur." In the various gradations through which he has passed, he had ample opportunity to become familiar with all the requisites necessary to promote true liberty. It would be an insult to the free institutions of this country to assert, that any man could rise from the ranks of humble citizenship to senatorial eminence, in any other manner than that which true wisdom and a great mind would direct. Whilst at home, he views liberty, not as a boon to be gained, but as a right to be vindicated,—but when he looks abroad, he maintains the proposition, that every nation is entitled to the blessings of freedom, not by the violation of present law, but by the restitution of ancient right. Alike capable to act, either in regard to the past and the future. He traces all things to their first causes, and then the necessary information is acquired. No American is held in as high estimation as Mr. CLAY, by the reading community of foreign countries. None can forget his stirring appeals to his countrymen in behalf of struggling Greece, and down-trodden Poland. When his luminous views of their situation were publicly announced, they bore down with resistless force every impediment in the way of suffering humanity. His active support of the patriots of the South American revolution is still alive in the recollection of every man. His name is still enshrined in the grateful hearts of the citizens of these sister Republics. And his speeches already translated into their language, are preserved as memorials of his generous efforts in aiding their cause. His allusions to unhappy Ireland are the most beautiful specimens of modern eloquence. He has always been the zealous supporter of universal liberty, and the undisguised enemy of every species of despotic rule. He possesses the indomitable resolution, the generous impulse and unquenchable ardor of the sincere *Democrat*, without the wavering timidity, the selfish reserve, and truckling cunning of the sycophantic demagogue. True to the polar star of rectitude, he battles against every thing which he views as pernicious in its

tendency, or deleterious in its results; he counts not upon personal consequences, he looks away into futurity. It is in vain to search for any man in this Republic, who has given such conclusive evidence of his love of universal liberty, as Mr. CLAY. In all cases, without exception, he has been among the foremost in defending the many from the oppression of the few. Never have the groans of the enslaved sunk deeper into human hearts than into his. Never have the shrill clashing of their swords, when drawn in freedom's sacred cause, sounded more agreeably to human ears than to his. Never is his voice as clear, his sentiments as pure, his ardor as enthusiastic, his eloquence as impassioned, or his language as sublime, as when advocating the eternal truth, the freeman's motto—"All men are born free and equal."

X. HIS UNWAVERING ADHESION TO PRINCIPLE.

In this cardinal doctrine of political science, his genius, his intellect, and his consistency are conspicuous. He who said, he would not be once wrong to become President, has verified the assertion by his uniform adherence to principle. When his eagle eye has once discovered a measure to be practicable, and that its adoption would be productive of public good, he brings all his talents to his aid, to carry it into effect. It frequently happened, that the bill he was about to propose, would, to every appearance, endanger his personal popularity, and his friends would remonstrate with him as to the immediate expediency of the measure. Not regardless of the present, he always desired to legislate for the future. All great events have had an origin. His intuitive mind has invariably formed correct conclusions, as to the results of all the legislative enactments of nearly the last half century. Firmness is so prominent a characteristic of this statesman, that it has been called obstinacy by some. It would be well, if these critics understood, that were it not for this quality, he could never have waded from Virginia to Kentucky, unaided and unknown, and by degrees taken a position amongst the most distinguished men of that chivalrous State, and eventually be clothed with the highest honors they could confer.

Those opposed to the political views of Mr. CLAY, with great exultation refer to his action on the Bank question in 1811. This was a question of currency, and for the first time introduced during his political career. At that time, we were on the eve of a war with Great Britain, and great national interests were at stake. All other questions were of minor consequence to the youthful patriot; however, the bill then proposed contained many odious features, and one in particular, which he abhorred. The capital about to be invested was chiefly British, and the whole control would be almost in

their hands. At this juncture, he justly considered that the chartering an Institution of that character, might hereafter prove highly detrimental to the very liberties of the Republic. His opposition to that Bank bill, of all other things should be considered as the strongest proof of his patriotism, and an everlasting stigma on those who charge him with a leaning towards English interests. Oh! shame, where is thy blush. He also had some doubts as to its constitutionality. Mr. MADISON once and again expressed similar doubts, and notwithstanding afterwards, recommended and sanctioned it under the Constitution which he was sworn to protect. Was President MADISON inconsistent? There are many men in the opposite party who are lauded to the skies, because they will not now do that which they would do then, and actually did do in a few years subsequently.— On this question, the greatest lights of American politics have burned blue, white and red, to suit circumstances. When peace was restored, and a less objectionable bill proposed, it received his warmest support, and never since has he deviated from his integrity. The public freedom, general intelligence and permanent prosperity of the Republic, have always constituted the basis of Mr. CLAY's conduct, these were consulted in every emergency, and never neglected for any consideration. He has not forgotten the local interests of his constituents, or the national interests of the whole community, while at the same time the vigour of his thought and the energy of his soul have been unalterably fixed on the high destinies of man, and the great ends of creation. The great addition which has been made to the public benefits we possess and the untrammelled freedom we enjoy, is in a great measure owing to his firmness of resolve and disinterestedness of purpose, which he never failed to manifest, when dangerous experiments and selfish innovations were being interwoven with the time hallowed customs of the country.

XI. HIS EXPERIENCE IN THE PUBLIC SERVICE.

A brilliant career of nearly forty years in the various departments of public life has familiarized him to all the complicated, yet beautiful machinery of this Government, and added to his other accomplishments a perfect understanding of matters of State policy—a profound knowledge in those affairs which appertain to our foreign, and an intimate acquaintance with our domestic relations. His intuitive knowledge of the intricate, and yet almost unintelligible as well as unsettled question of currency, which has so long unprofitably agitated this vast country during many administrations, is well known to every impartial observer of affairs. All men are

forced to admit that every presentiment uttered by him in the discussion of the Bank question has been verified. Not a sentence of his lucid views on the effects of the Specie Circular, but has been fulfilled. Senator BENTON has thus spoken of Mr. CLAY in 1824: "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 close commercial alliances with Mexico and South America. If 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 safest friend to interior commerce would be the statesman who has proclaimed the Mississippi to be the sea of the West; the most zealous promoter of Internal Improvements would be the President who has triumphed over the President who opposed the National Roads and Canals; the most successful applicant for treaties with Mexico and South America would be the eloquent advocate of their own independence." The men who looked upon Mr. CLAY then as the ablest man of his day, have since that time veered their course, under the auspices of, as they thought, a more popular gale, but he steadily and uniformly keeps the same landmarks in view, and never has rashly launched his bark into hitherto untried seas. His country has for a while forgot him, but she is returning to the early object of her love. In all matters with which she trusted him, he has never deceived her. In those which she deposited in other hands, she has been betrayed. When she has forsaken his prudent counsel, she has invariably struck upon shoals. She cannot do better than make him now, what BENTON advised her in 1824. No man better deserves it. When the minds of men have been once set afloat by the success of one experiment, subsequent innovations are made from mere trifling causes: the restlessness consequent upon an unsettled state of public affairs, is highly pernicious to the stability of free Institutions, and imperceptibly weaken the influence, which they are destined to exert on the human family. Mr. CLAY has denounced every thing which could not stand the touchstone of sound reason,—his whole life has been devoted in establishing those principles which would constitute the chief spring of prosperity, elevate still higher the ascending spirit and increasing energy of the poor, and lay a permanent foundation for national wealth

and national glory. For this purpose he has advocated the following measures.

XII. A REGULATOR OF THE NATIONAL CURRENCY.

Mr. CLAY on his return from Ghent, was received with every testimonial of public approbation. Previous to his arrival, he had been elected to Congress. How devotedly attached to her adopted son, was Kentucky. The additional honor of being almost unanimously elected Speaker of the House bespoke the gratitude of an admiring country. During his Congressional career, matters of the gravest import were coolly and deliberately discussed, and satisfactorily determined. The apparent embarrassments of the Government in the commencement of this session (1815) were almost insurmountable. The circulating medium was depreciated, a heavy debt contracted, public credit impaired and the energies of the nation nearly paralyzed. To remedy these difficulties, President MADISON recommended the establishment of a National Bank. Mr. CALHOUN, chairman of an appointed committee, reported in favor of it. Many gentlemen were then its warmest supporters, who are now its bitterest enemies. This bill as reported, differed essentially from that of 1811. In the first, seven-eighths of the stock would be owned by European capitalists, whereby they might be capable of exercising a controlling influence—the last was measurably exempt from this highly objectionable feature. Mr. CLAY's action on the question of 1811 is by no means censurable, if we take into consideration the fact of the instructions which he received from his own State, directing him to oppose the bill, also the state of the country at that period. It must be borne in mind, that we were then on the eve of a war with the Mistress of the Ocean—our ancient foe Great Britain. With this question Mr. CLAY grappled, and to this he devoted his untiring zeal and ceaseless efforts. Let it be admitted, however, that he was inconsistent, that he did oppose a Bank of the United States in 1811, and support one in 1815—how many of our public men have not committed a similar error? Mr. CALHOUN at that day reported the bill which Mr. CLAY supported, yet Mr. CALHOUN is not inconsistent! Mr. MADISON always opposed a National Bank up to the year 1815, and then he recommended one, and sanctioned it upon its passage. Was Mr. MADISON inconsistent? The illustrious JEFFERSON always retained scruples on the Constitutionality of the same question, yet he suffered branches to go into operation which he could have prevented. Was Mr. JEFFERSON inconsistent? The immortal WASHINGTON and others of our blood-stained revolutionary patriots differed on the merits of the Bank question; were they all inconsistent? The war-worn veteran of the Hermitage

destroyed one, but at the same time promised another, which he deemed to be Constitutional. Was he also on this point inconsistent? I answer, none of these patriots were inconsistent, they all acted for the good of their common country. It is idle to say that Mr. CLAY is so strongly in favor of a Bank, as to recommend its passage, *volens volens*. No; such conduct on his part would be a direct contradiction to his whole life. He would consider himself as an instrument in the hands of his countrymen, the whole people, to carry out and execute their *will*, and nothing beyond this would he go; this has been his chief study, whilst discharging his high and responsible Senatorial functions; this it will be, when in the Executive chair. It is well known that during the extra session there were various Bank bills proposed, and that different opinions existed in relation to them; Mr. CLAY amongst others submitted one, which in its original form, notwithstanding his great popularity amongst his fellow Senators, was not sustained in all its parts. Did he get angry on this occasion? No, in his usual spirit of compromise, he gave way to the predilections and opinions as well as prejudices of others: he desired not the position of dictator, he felt proud of being styled and known as associate Senator. He even relinquished the name of Bank, and substituted the term "*Fiscal Agent*." In view of this matter, nothing is so clear, or evident to our reason and judgment as this: viz—that Mr. CLAY will consider himself in no other light, than the faithful Executor of the people's will in all things, when freely and Constitutionally expressed. If the people of this glorious and thrice happy country, are of opinion that a Bank is not necessary, that a Regulator of the National Currency is not necessary, it is their privilege to declare, and it shall be the President's duty to obey. There is yet wisdom and intelligence enough, and there ever will be by the help of God amongst the free and independent citizens of America, to establish salutary measures for the common good. Lay aside prejudices, sacrifice them on the altar of patriotism, and you will see as clear as day the most worthy of the rival candidates. As for me, give me CLAY, and then the Republic will be prosperous.

XIII. A REGULATOR IS CONSTITUTIONAL.

Gold and silver constitute the standard by which all international monetary relations are controlled, as well as regulated. If the supreme power can authorize the issuing of Treasury Notes, it certainly must possess the power of establishing an institution, within the limits of law, of also issuing bills, which are the representatives of the precious metals, and otherwise to regulate the Currency. In this country, paper has always been the chief currency; to it we owe our unparalleled advancement

in national improvements, without it we could not have sustained ourselves. If a doubt exists in the minds of any on this question, it should be at once removed when they refer to its origin and authors. If the patriots who just returned from the battle fields, with their swords yet crimsoned over with the sanguine fluid, thought it not unconstitutional to establish a National Bank, even within the limits of the Constitution, which was the work of their own hands; if the immortal WASHINGTON could put his name to such an instrument—if the illustrious JEFFERSON could suffer additional branches to be extended through the Union, which he could prevent—if the meek and honored MADISON could, also, contrary even to all his early scruples, when President of the United States, see sufficient grounds to change his opinions for his country's good—if the revered MONROE could also sanction such an institution as a Bank,—why, I ask, should such opposition be made to Mr. CLAY for his opinions? As I formerly mentioned, General JACKSON himself said, he could give a plan for a Bank, which would be constitutional. It has been considered constitutional by five Congresses, four Presidents, by repeated decisions of the Supreme Court, by the people, who are the highest of all authority, and by its forty years' salutary operations on the interests of the country. It is also deemed constitutional by Legislatures to charter Banks in their respective States; they legalize their notes as a currency, yet their circulation is dependent and fluctuating. One State may issue notes, and another may prohibit their circulation within its limits. Indiana might create an institution, which would be for the interest of Illinois and Ohio to destroy. Now, if the individual States possess banking powers for State purposes, why not the United States for National purposes? In the case before stated, is not the indispensable necessity observable for a Regulator of the whole currency? Suppose the sister States, to disagree on these and many other points, so seriously as to cause a rupture—where would rest the healing power? It is evident that a paramount authority must exist somewhere. A National Regulator would possess permanency, stability and uniformity, and operate equally on all throughout the whole Union, whereas the currency of each State possesses none of those requisites. Why the very name of the United States in the currency matter is, by many esteemed as ridiculous—instead of an union in the most important of all things, there is disunion! Exchanges vary nearly as much between sister and friendly States, as between the most distant and hostile countries. It is said that a National Institution would possess political power and subserve party purposes. What has Mr. CLAY said on this point? “The next consideration which induced me to oppose the renewal of the old charter, was,

that I believed the corporation had, during a portion of the period of its existence, abused its powers, AND HAD SOUGHT TO SUBSERVE THE VIEWS OF A POLITICAL PARTY.—I answer, the fate of the old Bank warning all similar institutions TO SHUN POLITICS, WITH WHICH THEY OUGHT NOT TO HAVE ANY CONCERN.” It is manifest to every reasonable man, that the coining of money is altogether in the hands of Congress, and it has power to make all laws which are necessary and proper to execute its prerogative. When the last *Fiscal Agent* was vetoed, it was thought by many that something would be proposed to meet the wants of the country. Mr. CLAY then said, “God speed you in any measure which will serve the country, and preserve or restore harmony and concert between the departments of government.”

The people's good is his only aim, and he would never act against their will.

XIV. IT IS EXPEDIENT.

It is universally acknowledged, that many of the States are indebted in the sum of millions of dollars. We are notwithstanding told, that we are in a flourishing condition, and prayers of thanksgiving are offered up to the Supreme Arbiter of Nations for our numerous blessings. If a retrograde progression is admissible, these things are so. If repudiation and insolvency form component parts of national blessings, then indeed are we truly blessed. I should, however, prefer my prayers to be offered up to preserve our States from any further disgrace, and ask God to throw over them the mantle of his protection, in this the time of their trial. We are represented as eminently prosperous, when at the same time, we were never so low in credit or ability.

In those days when the States were nearly all solvent, our credit was good, and our currency uniform and real. When the shouts of *Democracy* were not so loudly proclaimed, but its spirit and effects more generally felt, we had reason to be thankful for our happiness. In those days every thing which formed a basis for the welfare of the Republic and the prosperity of the citizens, was interwoven with the then existing institutions of the country. Honesty was the pass-word to credit, and industry to wealth. A foreigner who landed here thirteen years ago, would scarcely believe, that it was now the same country. The system of legislation has so much changed, and not for the better. In times of peace, a nation is expected to prosper, and add greatly to her resources. When affairs remain stationary it is an evidence of the declining state of a country. It must be worse, when a nation cannot even remain stationary, but sinks in a few years some hundred millions of dollars. If our government were wisely administered, the wealth of the country must necessarily increase

in proportion to the healthy increase of its population. This is certainly the case in a country like this, when the producers exceed the consumers, almost in a ratio of two to one. In order to effect a remedy for those mad steps of innovation, let us retrace our footsteps to first principles.

If we examine the history of this youthful Republic, we will observe, that after the last war, when a great debt was contracted, the wisdom of the country settled down upon the expediency of establishing a National Bank as a means of relief. It was also thought expedient in the early days of the Republic. The patriots then, I suppose, knew nothing about their Constitution. It is presumed that they left it for the wise-acres of this day to settle that question. They talked less then, but did more than is now done. If the country required any relief, it was granted. The nation was then represented, not factation. If it was expedient formerly to establish a Bank, when the exigencies of the country required it, it is likewise now. If a new and vigorous impulse be again given to the enterprise and industry of the people, the resources of the country will be more speedily developed, and now, as formerly, all debts will be washed away from the escutcheon of our national honor, and the integrity of the Union will again be proclaimed by the sister States, and through them to the most remote regions of the earth. The amount of capital now invested in the Public Works of the various States of the Confederacy, and producing nothing, would, if a little more could be obtained, shortly be finished, and thenceforward form a source of revenue to the States. Illinois has several millions invested in her Internal Improvements, which for the most part are useless, and even falling into ruin. One-fourth of what has already been spent, would complete her magnificent Canal,—as it is, the dilapidation gradually taking place, will require ere long double the amount to finish it. "A stitch in time saves nine." It will also save the accumulation of interest. This may be said of other States.

If the people think that a Bank is unconstitutional, it is their high privilege to instruct their Delegates to furnish them with such an institution, as will suit them. Mr. CLAY would never veto their request, when so expressed. His whole life is distinguished for his opposition to Executive power, and particularly to the veto power. Elect him and he will obey you.

XV. THE UNSETTLED STATE OF THE CURRENCY.

A healthy and well regulated Currency is indispensable to the well-being of a nation. Great injuries have been inflicted on many countries by tampering with this branch of political ethics. France was brought to the brink of destruction by

her *assignats*, and England was nearly reduced to bankruptcy by the same means. Reference was had to this subject in the last Presidential election.

The Administration of Mr. VAN BUREN was accused of sanctioning the destruction of the National Bank, and establishing the Sub-Treasury as a substitute. Issue was taken on the merits of both, and the latter was almost universally condemned. The question was not agitated in all the States, I admit, as a great national measure, by the Whig party. However, the Van Buren party insisted on it, in all the States as the chief matter in controversy. The result was, notwithstanding the objections made by some of the southern States' Right party, particularly in the State of Virginia, that all entered the lists as Bank or Anti-Bank men. The result of the contest is well known. The issue will not vary in the approaching contest. It is now time, that innovation and experiments should cease, and a more settled state of affairs be established. Never was a country so trammelled as this has been for the last fourteen years by the ruinous experiments made on the Currency of the people. Nothing would seem to have permanency, save our glorious Constitution, which yet remains inviolate as a future guide. From the date of the multiplication of "PER BANKS," may be traced the mad ambition which prompted men to embark on those wild and visionary speculations, which terminated in many instances so unhappily. When these institutions began to brood over the face of the land, they bore every resemblance to the revival of the "Golden Age." Their partizans increased in proportion to their numbers and the accommodations they conferred. It would seem as if, at certain periods, from causes unknown to human wisdom, a universal frenzy seizes mankind, reason and experience are alike forgotten, and the very men who are to perish in the storm are the first to raise its fury. From individual corporations, the contagion spread into State Legislatures. In the first onset, all the plans proposed were effected. Large cities arose, as if by magic. Canals and Rail-Roads were made to pass by the doors of the good Democrats, who were the chief agents in getting up such a prosperous state of things. An occasional murmur might be heard from the unrewarded partizans—but no sooner heard, than mill-sites would be furnished and large quantities of pictures lent them, to erect spacious mills thereon. Some received one *bonus*, others *another*—and for a while every thing seemed to be index of the most unheard of prosperity. But alas! the bubbles soon burst, and left nothing but empty barrels of sand and round stone for the specie, with which the pictures were to be redeemed, and which they were said to represent. Their fictitious wealth had taken to itself wings and fled, but not without leaving behind the

traces of its desolating influence. Napoleon rewarded his generals with splendid titles; in many instances he placed crowns on their heads. He caused the countries he vanquished to support his armies. Wherever his troops passed they left behind them poverty and starvation. The spoils which the victors received were not French, but became French by conquest. In this country, when the war had ceased between the President and the Bank, the generals received high commissions in the new order of things. The old marshals were reduced to the rank and file, and the clamorous partizans of the victor were unexpectedly raised to their dignities. Had Mr. CLAY's warning voice then been heard, and his advice taken, these disasters would not have befallen the States. He is yet living to restore the Currency, and recommend the necessary measures of relief.

XVI. HIS PROTECTION OF AMERICAN LABOR.

It is now thirty-four years since this vital question was introduced in Congress. The discussion arose in reference to the purchasing of various munitions of war. At that time, the duties of import were exclusively for revenue. The country was under the necessity of depending upon and receiving from foreign nations all the manufactured articles which were absolutely necessary. It was certainly disgraceful, and the great men of 1809 must have sensibly felt it, that this Republic had to depend on the ingenuity and industry of Europe to be furnished with even the necessary articles of domestic comfort. A bill was introduced in that year, with the following clause: "That preference should be given to articles of American growth and manufacture." Mr. CLAY gave this national measure his ardent support—and from that act, may be traced the source of our American manufactures. In giving the preference to articles of American growth, it excited a general spirit of rivalry among all classes, to approximate the imported goods. The energies of the artizans were aroused to action; factories were erected throughout the country, and a ready market was immediately procured for every thing. The same spirit which actuated freemen to deny themselves tea, now prompted them to reject from their abodes every species of import which came in competition with their own. Mr. CLAY in all his public acts, evinces a patriotic inflexibility of purpose, with an extraordinary zeal in the successful termination of their intended effects. He stamps his own identity on his measures, and never shrinks from any responsibility incurred. To show his interest in the protective policy, while a member of the Kentucky Legislature, he moved that each member should clothe himself from head to foot in domestic fabrics. He remarked on the failure of another bill of a

similar kind in 1820—"Our complete independence will only be consummated after the policy of this bill shall be recognized and adopted." It is impossible to deny the paternity of the *American system*, to this eminent statesman; already one enduring monument does announce to the world the successful author. On the Cumberland Road it stands. But this, though a proud trophy, the spontaneous gift of freemen, speaks too feebly; a louder, a clearer, a more general approbation is now to be bestowed by a grateful nation in electing him to assume a more exalted position, in the chair of State, in the White House in Washington. All mechanics will contribute toward this happy event. Were it not for the American system, what would be the use of European artizans emigrating hither. The markets here would be all filled with the manufactured goods of the countries which they left. Without a patriotic sacrifice on the part of Americans, the same state of things would exist here now, that does there, but infinitely worse. A suit of clothes can be purchased in London or Paris for the price of making here. Cabinet ware is two hundred per cent. cheaper. All the mechanical work can be purchased at from one to four hundred per cent. less in Europe than in America. Wages are in the same proportion. A labouring man here receives \$1.00 per day, there less than 25 cents—on an average about 12½ cts.—mechanics at the same rate; consequently a laborer can purchase as much in Europe for his daily wages, at a small rate, as he can here for a large rate. By removing the protective policy, our markets here will be flooded with their goods, the Americans cannot sell as low as they, hence the British are preferred. They return to their country and enrich it at our expense; we assist them to elevate the standard of wages there, at the same time we drive our own mechanics from the country.

But it does not end here; one of the great avenues which lead to national ruin and degradation is open, and the thousands of artizans who now are busily engaged in bringing this system to perfection, will be hurried into ruin. None will feel this blow heavier than the adopted citizens. The wages which are now received will not be given when the manufacturing interests become paralyzed, and hence arises the necessity of another measure.

XVII. THE TARIFF.

The statesman who removes all restrictions upon personal liberty, industry or property, compatible with the true interests of the people, is justly styled a national benefactor. All efforts which tend to the emancipation of a country from *foreign* influence, are praiseworthy. True liberty cannot exist without salutary restrictions; a certain degree of warmth is requisite to vivify and cherish animal

life. The first duty of a law-giver is to legislate for his own citizens, to protect his own commerce, incite his own industry, and increase his own resources. Free trade necessarily implies fair trade. Should this country admit foreign goods here, free from duty, and other nations deny us the same privilege, it would not be fair trade. If we meet them half-way, we have done our duty. England exports broadcloth, and imports bread-stuffs. She desires light duties. We likewise desire the same. It is said in England that the farming interests will be materially injured by allowing these *Republican fellows* to make this country a market for their beef and pork; to prevent this, let us raise an additional tax on their imports. It is immediately done, the duty levied on them is so high, that they become dearer than the English products; whereas had they not done this, our friends across the waters could eat and drink at a much less expense than they now do. On the other hand, we import many of their goods, which it would be much better for us never to see, and we lay on them a light tax, merely sufficient for revenue. John Bull laughs at the *Yankee Simpletons*. These fellows, says he, can fight well; this I can vouch for by experience, but they cannot come within a ten-foot pole of us in legislation. They allow us the balance of trade, though they decidedly should and ought to have it. Now, we, the plain *Democrats* of America, can do much better without their supra, superfine broadcloth, than their starving millions can do without the staff of life, our grain and pork. We ought to resent the tyranny of that relentless power, which furnishes the laboring classes of our old acquaintances, by protecting their landed agricultural interests. A nation should always be prepared to maintain itself in the greatest emergency, from its own resources; in order to this, it should be taught and encouraged to develop them before the danger approaches. The least dependence on foreign intercourse, unless on the broad basis of international reciprocity, is the best. All advancements made in the arts, are a present and lasting benefit to a country. If we can manufacture enough for our own wants, in wearing apparel, it is so much clear gain. If we then look to the various branches of Society, which are employed and indirectly benefitted therefrom, the most intelligent will be astounded. Our furniture, in like manner. In fact, every thing, French wines, Italian Puppets, German clocks, English hardware, carpets, &c., could nearly all be dispensed with. Harper's Ferry would not now be the great depot for small arms, or New England almost rival Old England in all things, and excel her in many modern improvements in the arts, were it not for the Tariff. Let sectional feeling be buried. All America should be of one voice and one mind on this subject, and ere long the South itself would benefit therefrom. This can be demonstrated.

In the first place, the Northern States through a sense of national brotherhood would afford the people of the South all the means in their power to relieve themselves from any grievances introduced by their patriotic sacrifice; in the next place, they would be thrown on their own resources, and I am sure the chivalrous South possesses many. A commercial spirit would of necessity be revived, and the enterprize of their own sons, in their own ships, would not only bring affairs to a proper equilibrium, but would ere long give them also, a preponderating influence. When the entire nation is unanimous, then will a new vigour re-animate the citizens, and our extensive prairies will soon be covered with snowy flocks, our rivulets will smile with the innumerable factories which will ornament their banks.

The Tariff is not oppressive, but remedial; it is not vindictive, but merciful. Mr. CLAY is its supporter and defender. This, however great a measure, has received his cordial approbation, but when the South revolted at what they called its obnoxious features, we find him again sacrificing his predilections on the platform of the Constitution and integrity of the Union. We behold him at that crisis in our affairs becoming the effectual mediator by introducing the following measure.

XVIII. THE COMPROMISE ACT.

The most stable institutions can be overturned with rapidity, and therefore the necessity of sacrificing much, lest they might be endangered. None are so rash as those who are least qualified to govern. None so worthy to govern as those who are least desirous to assume authority. The man whose talents are generally known, and integrity always above suspicion, never fails to excite attention and command respect in matters of great national moment. Never was this Republic in such danger of civil commotion, as in that period of her past history, when it became necessary to have this measure adopted. One rash step, one rash blow, might then precipitate this glorious Confederacy into a civil war. True it is, South Carolina could not make an effectual or successful resistance, but she was a sovereign State, and her interests would eventually be espoused by others, and the flame would be gradually extended, until it had involved the whole people in national strife. The sincere patriot, at every juncture in his country's history, will always be found ready, not only to come half-way to settle disputes, but will, Roman-like, if necessary, sacrifice his life, to save his father-land from the horrors of a civil war. Mr. CLAY, with his usual sagacity, perceived the crisis to be twofold, financial and social, the first caused by embarrassments from trade, the second and most dangerous from sectional causes. He accordingly with the skill of an experienced commander, sug-

gested a measure of accommodation commensurate with the exigencies of the case. He well understood that the Tariff, as then existing, could not be maintained, and also, that it could not be entirely suspended. Conciliation and harmony were restored by a compromising act, which enabled all to look on each other as citizens of the same Republic, and mutually interested in, and dependent on each other's prosperity. By making concessions then, the confidence of all was restored. It would be fortunate for the people, if a compromise in other matters, could have been made at a later day, between their Delegates and Executive. Much of our present State indebtedness might have been prevented, and much ruinous innovation avoided, and we would be now enjoying a good, uniform currency; a sound, healthy credit system, and a growing national prosperity. Mr. CLAY, on this question, said,—“If there be any who want civil war—who want to see the blood of any portion of our countrymen spilled, I am not one of them. I wish to see war of no kind; but above all, I do not desire to see a civil war. When war begins, whether civil or foreign, no human sight is competent to foresee when, or how, or where it is to terminate. But when a civil war shall be lighted up in the bosom of our own happy land, and armies are marching, and commanders are winning their victories, and fleets are in motion on our coast—tell me, if you can, tell me, if any human being can tell its duration. God alone knows, when such a war would end. In what a state will be left our institutions. In what state our liberties. I want no war; above all, no war at home. Sir, I repeat, that I think South Carolina has been rash, intemperate, and greatly in the wrong, but I do not want to disgrace her, nor any other member of the Union. No; I do not desire to see the lustre of one single star dimmed, of that glorious Confederacy which constitutes our political system, still less do I wish to see it blotted out, and its light obliterated for ever. Has not the State of South Carolina been one of the members of this Union in the ‘days that tried men’s souls?’ Have not her ancestors fought along-side our ancestors? Have we not conjointly won together many a glorious battle? If we had to go into a civil war with such a State, how would it terminate? Whenever it should have terminated, what would be her condition? If she should ever return to the Union, what would be the condition of her feelings and affections? what the state of the heart of her people? She has been with us before, when her ancestors mingled in the throng of battle, and as I hope our posterity will mingle with hers, for ages and centuries to come, in the united defence of liberty, and for the honor and glory of the Union, I do not wish to see her degraded or defaced as a member of this Confederacy. In conclusion, allow

me to entreat and implore each individual member of this body, to bring into the consideration of this measure, which I have had the honor of proposing, the same love of country which, if I know myself, has actuated me, and the same desire of restoring harmony to the Union, which has prompted this effort. If we can forget for a moment—but that would be asking too much of human nature—if we could suffer, for one moment, party feelings and party causes—and, as I stand here before my God, I declare I have looked beyond those considerations, and regarded only the vast interests of this united people—I should hope that, under such feelings, and with such dispositions, we may advantageously proceed to the consideration of this bill, and heal, before they are yet bleeding, the wounds of our distracted country.” Such language, such sentiments could not fail in restoring mutual harmony. The Tariff was modified, and the Union—the sacred Union—still remains inviolate.

XIX. IT WOULD BE GOOD NATIONAL POLICY.

It is the duty, as well as the privilege, of the people to investigate the conduct of their public servants. When they find it uniformly on the side of those principles which promote their happiness, and secure their prosperity, they should rest content. That system of national policy which operates unjustly, ought to be instantly abolished. All useless expenses should be curtailed, and every thing which is irrelevant to the reasonable and just demands of the country, should not be allowed to exist. In the examination of the national expenditures, no regard whatsoever should be had to party. Every man is equally interested. There is an erroneous abuse at this moment existing in the administration of the affairs of the Post Office department. Members of Congress, and other privileged persons, are in the constant and criminal habit of cheating the government out of large sums of money, by reason of their abuse of the franking privilege. The Report of the Postmaster General, at a late Session of Congress, has stated “that *ninety-five per cent.* goes free of all duty, and letters of business and private correspondence have to defray the expenses of the whole.” The present postage of letters is too high, and should be immediately reduced.

The following Resolution was proposed by Mr. CLAY, in March, 1842: “*Resolved*, that the franking privilege ought to be further restricted, the abusive uses of it restrained and punished, the postage on letters reduced, the mode of estimating distances more clearly defined and prescribed, and a small addition to postage made on books, pamphlets, and packages, transmitted by mail, to be graduated and increased, according to their respective weights.” Now the great mass of the people

would be directly benefited by this, and very few would be affected by any portion of the same. It is exceedingly difficult, owing to the present rate of postage, to have correspondences held between the most intimate friends to any extent; twenty-five cents, frequently spent in this manner, would be very perceptibly felt amongst all the other requisitions of a family. It is unjust—it is cruel—that in a Republican government such an unequal mode of legislation should any longer be continued. This order of things should be reversed. I have seen large quantities of blank envelopes, ready franked, to be shared out to friends in common, in the taverns and hotels in Washington. They are sent by hundreds, yea, by thousands, through the country, by mail. The sovereign people must remedy this.

We have ambassadors in some foreign courts, where they are not necessary. Neither are these diplomatic relations reciprocated by them. The honor of this Republic should insist upon reciprocity of international courtesies, and not force themselves into any position which might be attributed to causes of doubtful motives. In opening new relations, this would be justifiable; it is dishonorable to continue them in countries where they are not accredited. Mr. CLAY'S Resolution on this point: "*Resolved*, that the diplomatic relations of the United States with foreign powers have been unnecessarily extended, during the last twelve years, and ought to be reduced." Since Mr. ADAM'S Administration, he says, that foreign ministers of the first grade have nearly doubled, and that of ministers of the second grade have nearly tripled. It would seem that the increase of diplomats has been made through a desire of rewarding the partizans of party. We ought to dispense with those ministers who represent us in courts which do not reciprocate our representation. The mileage of members of Congress should be rendered uniform, and its rates materially reduced. As it now is, it forms additional inducements for gentlemen to feed out of the public crib. Those who live at a distance can each save enough out of their mileage, to support a family of eight or ten persons comfortably for a year. I remark here, that every penny saved to the government, is two pence saved to the people, for out of the people's pockets all additional expenses must come. It is not just to cut down the wages of poor messengers and laborers, in Washington and elsewhere, and, at the same time, leave the high functionaries untouched. Mr. CLAY has positively declared, "that we should begin with ourselves,"—if it has not been done, it is not his fault,—and I am certain, that he will contribute to restore the poor watchmen and others to the old standard of wages, and establish a new and beneficial system of equalizing salaries, according to their relative merits. This is too

much neglected; every thing is now tending to make the rich richer, and the poor poorer.

XX. OUR NATIONAL HONOR.

There is not an individual living, who does not feel desirous to support his character; those who unfortunately may have lost it, endeavor to reclaim it. Men who render themselves odious to their neighbours, can emigrate to other regions and learn to avoid rendering themselves such in their new associations. Nations suffer infinitely more under dishonor than individuals; they being made up of many, will proportionably suffer, all indiscriminately, the innocent with the guilty.

Nations are deprived of the power of loco-motion, hence their suffering becomes the more intense. It is not intimated now, that the Federal Government is directly laboring under any imputations of national degradation. No, it never has; may God grant it never will. Foreign powers, so far as the people at large are concerned, view this Republic in a light different to what it really is. They in the main consider that each State is not individually capable of separate sovereignty. It is evident, they are correct to a limited degree; it, however, most unluckily happens that they are mistaken in their general view of the case; and particularly so in the matter in which they are more immediately concerned, viz: the power of contracting debts, &c. If the State of Illinois borrows money of England on the strength of her State bonds, of course it is a distinct and separate contract made between an individual State, and a Supreme power, or citizens of another Government. The other States who were not parties to the contract could not become responsible more than the several members of a family would become by the acts of an individual member, who was originally capable to act. However, the same interest which a family feels in the welfare of each individual in it, should be felt by the Federal Union in each State. If one member commits a fault through indiscretion or otherwise, all endeavour to relieve him of the odium attached thereto. Let us extend the figure. A family consists of twenty-six persons, fourteen of them have contracted debts of large amounts in money, goods, &c. One of them absolutely refuses to pay, others are half inclined to legalize the violation of their contract, and all are unable. It is evident that the remaining twelve, suffer in their credit, and must ultimately share in the dishonor. The whole family are ranked as one, and judged as one. In the same manner, England, France and Holland, will view this Republic, and the innocent States will be associated with the guilty. It however, is not quite an analogous case. The States may have measurably lost their credit abroad, but it has never entered into their serious thoughts one moment, to repudiate their lawful and

honorable debts. And the Federal Government knowing this, should immediately recommend to their consideration every feasible plan to expedite them to discharge the uttermost farthing. It would not be advisable to have the nation assume the debts of the States, it would be a ruinous precedent to establish, where such various rival interests would be reached. Many States have no debts hanging over them, they should not be included. It would be impossible to bring this supposition to a favourable issue. But infuse into the members of the Confederacy a healthy fluid, which will wash away all the old leaven, and create a new circulation in the political arteries, and ere long the whole matter will be set to right. Remedial measures are now necessary; let them be used. In the first place let the national pruning knife be applied to all excrescences, and immediate aid afforded to those States which now have works lying unfinished, and becoming irrecoverably dilapidated. Millions will be saved to the country, by the prudent counsels of a benevolent Government. Our national honor has suffered abroad, but at home it remains inviolate. Every dollar will be paid, without reference to the opinion of others, through a high sense of moral obligation. Rally round the standard of CLAY, who has maintained at all times, and on every occasion an undying love for the honor of his country; he is the father of the Internal Improvement system. You have not heard his fatherly advice; he warned you of both Scylla and Charybdis. Return like the prodigal child, to your father's house, and in the true spirit of contrition, say, father we have sinned, and are no more worthy to be called thy children. You will be received, and I have no doubt, that, laying aside all party feelings you and all of us will rejoice at the happy results.

Read his last speech but one in the Senate—"The true policy of the nation," and you cannot but be convinced of his wisdom and ability to adopt it.

XXI. OUR CHARACTER ABROAD.

It would be a matter unworthy of consideration to bring this reason before the public eye, particularly as our national honor has just been alluded to, were it not of all others the most momentous, and pre-eminently important. We live in a country of recent origin, one which has but just burst asunder the manacles of antiquated servility, and launched forth from the contest, free, regenerate and disenthralled. It would be in vain for us to examine the pages of history, to find any nation in ancient or modern times placed in corresponding relative position with this. Ancient Greece once was the ornament of the world, yet her example was to this as a cipher to infinity. Rome spread her conquests far and wide, and her victories were marked with beneficent traces, and attended with vivifying

and soul-cheering results. The conquests of Rome in no case begot subjugation, their object was fraternization. Her antagonists, for the most part, were feeble, ignorant and barbarous. The Grecians now are the subjects of a foreign King, and Italy is dismembered and partitioned off between other powers. France attempted to start into a new existence. She commenced in blood; she terminated her ineffectual attempts in monarchy. Anarchy and the Reign of Terror, butchered in cold blood tens of thousands of their own citizens. In the short space of twenty-six years, she passed through every form of Government, and every shade of crime known to humanity. Switzerland is but a feint echo of freedom. San Marino alone in the Old World, stands erect in the freedom of Nature's God. It may be said that this country is the only consistent Republic that ever existed. It possesses all the beauties of the ancient Commonwealths, with none of their deformities,—all their strength, with none of their weakness.

Is it nothing then for the oppressed, the down-trodden cause of humanity, that this country should present to the world the glorious example of its superior form of Government; millions of millions of living souls like ourselves, look up to this Republic as the great lever by which their civil burdens are to be removed. Already the European press—the hireling of base tyranny is pouring out its venom upon us, in relation to our cheating propensities; the tourists who visit our Republic and are treated as Angels, return home, and calumniate us most unmercifully; some of them say we eat too fast, others say we are filthy, all say we are dishonest. It would be much more to the credit of these base revilers—these babbling strollers, that they first looked at home, and then travel. The immorality, dishonesty, lewdness, tyranny, poverty, squalidness, filth, &c. of England are as much beyond those of this country as Chimberazo is above the mountains of Derbyshire. American journalists when they return from Europe, write and speak like gentlemen, of the countries which they visited. We can learn from Allison and their other modern historians that this Republic has wofully failed, and they have the impudence even now to state that we are utterly and irretrievably lost. They had better be cautious; they might perhaps have a chance ere long, to *smell of the fumes* of the Democracy of this country, in a manner which might give their olfactories a more serious cause of offence. All these things show that coming events cast their shadows before; that they utter the sentiments of their minds, the promptings of their prejudices; that they desire our ruin. Our mole-hills are magnified into mountains. Their mountains are levelled down to mole-hills. Our credit is on the wane abroad, this is abundantly susceptible of proof; and we have reason to lament the

truth of the accusation to some extent. The mariner who describes an approaching storm, may with certainty predict that its violence will be ultimately stilled, but he knows not whether his own vessel will survive its fury. It would be madness to entrust the management of bringing back lost credit, to those who have been the cause of it; by continuing the same mode of legislation, we can never recover it; on the contrary, by analysis we shall become worse. The destructive policy which disables the energies of a people and empoverishes a country, should be condemned. By entrusting the affairs into the hands of those who opposed the unwarranted and headlong course of the men who introduced these suicidal measures, we act as judicious and sensible citizens. Mr. CLAY proposes a plain, tangible proposition, by means of which the government will sustain itself without the aid of any taxation on the citizens of his country, and at the same time save two millions towards paying off the debt of the Federal Union, and two millions more for contingent expenses. He will also introduce a policy which will enable the States to pay off their debts, and preserve their credit abroad. No man ever lived in this or any other country, more desirous than he to see his honored—his loved—his idolized father-land out of the reach of foreign Capitalists and domestic Shin-Plaster, Red Dog, Wild Cat, Sand Stone, Canal Scrip influence. Would to God, that every act of his life, and every motive of his heart were properly understood by his generous countrymen; they would then nem. con. place him where his talents would adorn, and his wisdom guide—they would make him President—they will do so—he has been a calumniated, an abused patriot. Our country needs him. We shall—we must have him.

XXII. OUR DOMESTIC RELATIONS REQUIRE IT.

It is a fact worthy of admiration, that our happy Constitution has fulfilled the expectations of its most sanguine friends, and hitherto entirely frustrated the hopes of its most deadly foes. It cannot, however, be denied that there are some ardent, needy, profligate and ambitious individuals prowling abroad amongst us, in the various capacities of journalists, lecturers, tract-mongers, abolitionists, natives, anti-popery men, &c., &c., who are generally British Agents in disguise, commissioned by the deluded fanatics or wily diplomatists of that jealous power to promote sedition amongst us, or sow the seeds of discord in the ranks of the most united and happiest citizens the world ever saw. The Alien and Sedition law was passed in 1798, when no greater cause existed than now. It is true that odious measure was repealed, and the gallant Kentuckians were the first to set their faces against it, and none opposed it more manfully than *Henry Clay*. Let

this be remembered, it was one of his first acts, and it is one which should immortalize him in the estimation of all adopted citizens. It would be well if the naturalized citizens would organize themselves openly and constitutionally in all our large cities, for the purpose of watching those prowling English saints—those emissaries of anarchy and blood, and report their treacherous machinations to the proper authorities. The Abolition question is fraught with evil consequences to the perpetuity of our institutions, the peace and harmony of our citizens, and should as such be discountenanced by every sincere patriot. Prudence, however, is necessary on the part of the South—the 21st rule should be repealed. It increases the number of these misguided men, and constitutes an issue which is entirely foreign from the Abolition question. The proscribing the sacred right of petition appears to the world an extraordinary enactment in the freest government on the globe. Slavery is certainly incompatible with liberty, but liberty could not be enjoyed here without slavery. This is strange, but it is true. Mr. O'Connell, my much respected and talented countryman, through his excessive fondness for freedom, has run into an error of great magnitude, on this question; and with his opinion we have nothing to do. Mr. CLAY has endeavored to effect the emancipation of the slaves in Kentucky after the manner of Pennsylvania. He is not in favor of rejecting petitions on this or any other question. He understands the true policy.

Every thing for the Union and the Union for us. It was said in the campaign of 1840, that if the Whigs came into power, the naturalization laws would be repealed. They did come into power, and what is strange, I understand that not a single petition was presented for their repeal. If we are to judge the future by the past, the Native American party will not receive any countenance from him, or his party. The uncompromising foe of the Alien and Sedition law, the unwavering friend of Greece, Poland and South America, will not shut out the sons of bondage, who will emigrate to his shores, or abridge their privileges. He who was the first to encourage the nation to Internal Improvements, whereby we received employment; who urged a war with Great Britain, almost exclusively because she claimed us as her citizens, and forcibly impressed us into her service. He, to proscribe the foreigners, in defence of whom his whole life has been devoted! He, abridge the rights and liberties of citizens on his own soil, who has so generously battled for them for those of other soils, would be a contradiction of his whole life. We need not be alarmed on this ground. None desire this, but a few discontented residents of large cities, who are disappointed in some of their fond expectations. We should not be seduced

from the path of duty, by the professions of interested partizans and designing demagogues. There are not three; I know not, that there is one eminent or distinguished citizen in either party, known as a politician, who would countenance such an obnoxious measure. Certainly, Mr. CLAY never would. In view then of this statesman, hitherto distinguishing himself on all occasions of public excitement, by compromising difficulties, and as some very important ones now begin to embroil our domestic relations, it would be wise to call him in, and get a little of his old panacea to cure every thing which afflicts the nation.

XXIII. GRATITUDE FOR HIS ABLE SUPPORT OF THE WAR.

Mr. CLAY was elected a member of the House of Representatives in 1811, his Senatorial term having then expired. He was honored with the Speaker's Chair by an almost unanimous vote. Our foreign relations were then in a very critical condition. The conduct of Great Britain in particular towards us was overbearing and insulting; she was then Mistress of the Seas,—her flag was decorated with the trophies of Camperdown, the Nile and Trafalgar,—on that element her dominion was nearly complete. Her armies, flushed with the victories of Portugal, and the conquest of Hindostan, again excited in Briton's breasts, the latent revenge for their inglorious Surrender at Yorktown. She first attacked our commerce, then she impressed our seamen. In 1812, she had seven thousand of our gallant tars enrolled under her flying Jack, and was still increasing in her arrogant pretensions. An Embargo was first recommended; to this, Mr. CLAY gave his cordial support. War was soon after declared. In his speech for arming for the war, he says:—"I do not stand on this floor as the advocate of standing armies in time of peace; but when war becomes essential, I am the advocate of raising able and vigorous armies, to ensure its success. The danger of armies in peace arises from their idleness and dissipation; their corrupted habits, which mould them to the will of ambitious chieftains. We have been the subject of abuse for years by tourists through this country, whether on horseback or on foot, in prose or in poetry; but, although we may not have exhibited as many great instances of discoveries and improvements in science, as the long established nations of Europe, the mass of our people possess more general political information than any people on earth; such information is universally diffused among us. This circumstance is one security against the ambition of military leaders. Another barrier is derived from the extent of the country, and the millions of people spread over its face. Paris was taken, and

all France consequently subjugated. London might be subdued, and England would fall before the conqueror. But the population and strength of this country are concentrated in no one place. Philadelphia may be invaded; New York or Boston may fall; every seaport may be taken; but the country will remain free. The whole of our territory on this side of the Allegany may be invaded, still liberty will not be subdued.—Can we let our brave countrymen, a DAVIES and his associates in arms, perish in manfully fighting our battles, while we meanly cling to our places.—But my ideas of duty are such, that when my rights are invaded, I must advance to their defence, let what may be the consequence; even if death itself were to be my fate."

In the concluding part of his speech in favor of the Navy Bill, in January, 1813, he says:—"And whilst I thus discharge what I conceive to be my duty, I derive great pleasure from the reflection, that I am supporting a measure calculated to impart additional strength to our happy Union. Diversified as are the interests of its various parts, how admirably do they harmonize and blend together! We have only to make a proper use of the bounties spread before us, to render us prosperous and powerful. Such a Navy as I have contended for, will form a new bond of connexion between the States, concentrating their hopes, their interests, and their affections."

Thus stood this youthful statesman, in the midst of a talented and powerful opposition, battling with his irresistible eloquence in the cause of justice and of his country: he was not alone in this crisis of American history, but he was the master-spirit. An additional force of twenty-five thousand troops was authorized, and the Navy bill also passed. The most vigorous measures were adopted. It is impossible to refuse the highest tribute of admiration to this intrepid and fearless man, for the decision and resolution which he then evinced for his country—for liberty. What would avail the heroic achievements of the glorious and successful Revolution, if we had not then taken this stand? We would again become a conquered and enslaved people. Nothing can be done to render Mr. CLAY a sufficient compensation for this one act of his life. Were it not for the war of 1812, this country, instead of being the asylum of the oppressed of all nations, as it now is, would be the most cruelly oppressed of all the British colonies. Let us now lay aside ill-founded prejudice, and the spirit of party, and act for the interests of the Republic. A financial war is to be waged. A new order of things is to be established—and none will be found more adequate for the task than the able advocate of the war, the second apostle of American liberty, and the friend of universal freedom.

XXIV. THE TREATY OF GHENT.

What a joyful theme for congratulation to us, that amidst the general convulsion of empires, and shaking of thrones, our Republic alone was capable of standing the shock, and, single-handed, achieve the most signal victories on record over a haughty and triumphant foe. What a moral is contained in the second American war,—an example for future generations. Defeat would then be ruinous, but the God of battles ordained youthful liberty a higher destiny. The patriots of this country were not the mercenary soldiery of tyrants, they were the voluntary agents of their own patriotism; each soldier in himself stood forth a citizen king. Victory perched on their standards, and an honorable peace ensued. Congress, in token of their marked respect for Mr. CLAY's signal services to his country, from the commencement to the end of the contest, appointed him one of the Commissioners to negotiate the Treaty of Peace. The duties devolving on the gentlemen appointed were highly responsible; but they were equal to the undertaking. Unanimity prevailed throughout the whole proceedings, with but one exception, which was in relation to the navigation of the Mississippi; a majority of the Commissioners were in favor of exchanging the right of navigating the "father of waters," in lieu of the privilege of the fisheries on the coast of Labrador and Newfoundland. They thought the British were entitled to it, on the ground of its source being in their acknowledged territory. It cannot be asserted with truth however, that the majority of the Commissioners were actuated with unpatriotic motives.—No, all were equally interested in treating to the best advantage for their common country. Mr. CLAY peremptorily refused his assent to any Treaty which would surrender to the British any right to the free navigation of the Mississippi, under any pretext whatsoever. He succeeded, and the whole matter was satisfactorily arranged. On his return, he was greeted with the thanks of the Republic,—and found, on his arrival in Kentucky, that he was so signally honored, as to have been elected to Congress in his absence. However, he had to encounter the animadversions of a few envious spirits, who charged the Commissioners with ratifying a Treaty, which left the matter in controversy, as to impressment, in *statu quo*, as it was before the war. They could not have acted otherwise, having been instructed "to omit any stipulations thereon," with the express understanding, "that the United States did not intend to admit the British claim, or relinquish theirs." The British answered the American interrogatories thus:—"With respect to the forcible seizure of mariners from on board merchant vessels on the high seas, and the right of the King of Great Britain to the allegiance of all his subjects, and with respect to the rights of the British empire, the un-

designed conceive, that, after the pretensions asserted by the government of the United States, a more satisfactory proof of the conciliatory spirit of His Majesty's government cannot be given, than not requiring any stipulation on those subjects, which, though most important in themselves, no longer, in consequence of the maritime pacification of Europe, produce the same practical results." The British had always previously not only claimed, but actually exercised this right. Since that Treaty they have never attempted to exercise this prerogative. They went to war on account of it. They have virtually abandoned it, by ceasing to enforce it. Four years subsequently, the questions relating to the fisheries were satisfactorily settled. Those malignant spirits who are always lying in wait, watching an opportunity to elevate themselves at all hazards, occasionally show themselves, to the utter astonishment of the unsuspecting masses, arrayed in opposition to the wisest and best of the land. Such characters hold constant secret interviews, in deliberating on the best means to destroy the rising greatness of their more fortunate, because more worthy fellow-citizens. Mr. CLAY has been the victim of such designing demagogues. He has been accused of much, and found guilty of nothing. We are told that he has a leaning towards royalty, an attachment towards England. His whole life is a contradiction to these charges. Would to God, (and it would be well for the interests of this country,) that those men, who originated these vile calumnies to poison the public mind, were weighed in the balance and found as little wanting. Every act of his life, every aspiration of his soul, and all the energies of his mind, have been diametrically opposed to every thing royal—every thing British; yes, the history of his country will convince the world, that when he leaned towards England, it was by bringing Republican steel in contact with English blood. There is a season for every thing under heaven—a season for the slanderers, and a season for the slandered; they had theirs—Mr. CLAY will soon have his! His democracy was so well known in England, that whilst in London, on his return home from Ghent, he was asked by Lord Liverpool, a few days after the battle of Waterloo, "If Napoleon—who, it was thought, might have fled to America—would not give his countrymen much trouble." "None, whatever," said Mr. CLAY, "we shall be glad to receive him, and will soon make a good Democrat of him."

XXV. THE INFAMOUS CHARGE OF CORRUPTION, IN THE ELECTION OF ADAMS.

When the chimeras of every enthusiast, the dreams of every visionary, seem equally deserving of attention with the sober conclusions of reason and observation; when the minds of men are sha-

ken, as by the yawning of the ground during the fury of an earthquake, and reason is for ever dethroned—when truth has taken its final flight from the earth and falsehood reigns supreme, then, and not till then, will this base calumny—this unpardonable fiction of human depravity, be believed. I beg leave to say, that this was the chief reason why Mr. CLAY was odious to me, and I am confident, that this matter has, in a great measure, injured this distinguished citizen. I have examined both sides of the question impartially, and the conclusion I came to was, that he was not only innocent, but that he was an injured, an abused, and a calumniated man. It is a well known, but lamentable fact, that many of the highest, as well as the lowest offices of this Republic, have been bought and sold by political demagogues—that they have had regular offices where their private intrigues have been carried on—runners employed to report progress—hands hired to pull wires, and various other such systems of political legerdemain. The Presidential election took place in 1825: General JACKSON received 99 votes, Mr. ADAMS 84, and Mr. CRAWFORD 41. Neither having a majority of the whole votes, it was thrown into the House. Mr. CLAY being then a member of the House, exercised his undoubted right to vote for him whom he preferred. He accordingly did so, and Mr. ADAMS was elected. A letter appeared soon after in a Philadelphia paper, purporting to be from a member of Congress, stating unqualifiedly, that Mr. CLAY was offered the Secretaryship of State, if he would aid in electing Mr. ADAMS, which was instantly accepted. Mr. CLAY instantly denied the charge, pronounced it false, in whole and in part. Mr. KREMER, a member of the House, from Pennsylvania, avowed himself the author of the allegation, and said he stood ready to prove it. Mr. CLAY then asked for a Committee of Inquiry—it was granted, and a day appointed. The accuser backed out. The accusation was not established; and why? because it could not be established. Their inglorious and scurrilous attacks upon Mr. CLAY did not end there: Mr. BEVERLY wrote a letter, which was published, that overtures were made to General JACKSON also, by the friends of Mr. CLAY—offering him their support, if he would give the Secretaryship to Mr. CLAY, and not continue Mr. ADAMS. It would seem that a deep and premeditated plan had been contrived for Mr. CLAY's ruin. To give additional weight to this libel, they prevailed on the General to confirm the accusation over his own name. He replied, with a direct charge, that the alleged overtures were made by a distinguished member of Congress to him. Mr. CLAY immediately demanded the name of the member of Congress, through whom these overtures had been made, and he received the name of Mr. BUCHANAN, of Pennsylvania. This gentleman

(and he certainly deserves the title,) flatly denied the statement, and said, that in the only conversation he ever had with General JACKSON about retaining Mr. ADAMS as Secretary of State, "he had not the most distant idea that the General believed, or suspected, he came on behalf of Mr. CLAY or his friends." To place this charge for ever in the shade, no further proof is necessary than to read a letter, written by Mr. BEVERLY himself, in 1841, which says, that there was not the slightest foundation for it, and that it was utterly false. In the height of the excitement arising out of these ingenious fabrications, Mr. CLAY visited Kentucky, in 1827, whilst Secretary of State. He was invited to a public dinner, when the following toast was given:—"Our distinguished guest, HENRY CLAY.—The furnace of persecution may be heated seven times hotter, and seventy times more he will come out unscathed by the fire of malignity, brighter to all, and dearer to his friends; while his enemies shall sink with the dross of their own vile materials." Mr. CLAY, in the concluding part of a most brilliant speech in reply to this, thus alludes to the vile charge of corruption: "Pronouncing the charges, as I again do, destitute of all foundation, and gross aspersions, whether clandestinely or openly issued from the Halls of the Capitol, the saloons of the Hermitage, or by press, by pen, or by tongue, and safely resting on my conscious integrity, I demand the witness and await the event with fearless confidence." How can men who destroy the character of others expect mercy for their own, when the sanctuary of truth is violated, they may themselves be sacrificed at the altar which they have erected, victims to their own villainy and crime. The fruits of injustice contain within them the seeds of their own destruction. The sword which has been taken from the scabbard, to murder the character of Mr. CLAY, will yet rust in the gall of their bitterness. Thus, those who secretly hatched these slanders, had to sustain them in public,—the usual consequence of all crime is to compel men to plunge deeper into the stream of wickedness, and commit the greater crimes to save themselves from the odium of the lesser, which they have already perpetrated.

XXVI. THE MISSOURI QUESTION.

Whenever any great national calamity is about to happen, it is then that true patriotism is more particularly brought into action. In public men we always expect not only good intentions, but prudent conduct. When great political changes arise, it is not only the immediate, but the most remote consequences, which ought to be taken into consideration. As society is constituted; men will always be found, who, even in the greatest emergency of the State, are indifferent as to the consequences of their actions, having nothing them-

selves to lose; always ready to accommodate themselves, having no settled principles, to the interests of those most likely to succeed. The ablest Generals endeavour to promote dissensions in the armies of their enemies; the wisest, in uniting their own. The greatest benefactor is he who has done the most good, at the greatest sacrifice to himself. When questions arise in a government, having a tendency to excite intestine broils, and create sectional prejudices, the able statesman will throw himself into the breach, with the flag of his country in his hand, beseeching his countrymen to look at Scylla on the one side and Charybdis on the other; keep a central course, he says, all hands aloft—pilots to the helm, &c. While the danger threatens, he is always ready, with the scales of conciliation to weigh the claims of the contending parties. There is no topic in the politics of this country which is fraught with such intense interest as the slave question. A bill was introduced into Congress in the sessions of 1818 and 1819, providing for the admission of Missouri into the Union, on condition that all the children of Slaves, born after the passage of the act, should be free when twenty-five years, and slavery forever after prohibited. The bill passed the House, the Senate struck out the conditions; the House adhered to them, and thus the bill was lost. The North and the South took issue on this question, an intense excitement pervaded all classes of citizens; the public press teemed with violent and inflammatory appeals to sectional prejudices. The subject came up for discussion in the next Congress. Mr. CLAY urged the admission in the manner which the Missourians themselves desired it; at the same time declaring his detestation of the system, and had he been a citizen of the State of Missouri, it should never receive his sanction. Above all things he urged concession and forbearance to all. The safety of the Union was his grand object, and this was to him of the most incalculable importance. A compromise was effected through his exertions, and an act was passed, giving to Missouri the right of forming a Constitution and State Government, "not repugnant to the Constitution of the United States." The people of the State in pursuance of this act, formed a constitution in which a section was inserted, provided for the "exclusion of free Negroes from the State." The former animosities were again enkindled, the controversy broke out anew, and with increased violence. When things were at the highest pitch of popular excitement, Mr. CLAY again interposed by referring the whole subject to a select committee of thirteen. The Chairman soon after reported that Missouri be admitted, provided she does not pass any laws preventing any description of persons, *who were citizens* of any other State from coming into her territory. This resolution left the power of determin-

ing who were or who were not citizens to the proper tribunals. It was lost by a majority of three. The next day it was re-considered, and Mr. CLAY sustained the report of the committee with the greatest zeal, most profound argument, and sublime eloquence, in order that the peace of the country might be preserved by the settlement of this vexed question; the resolution was again lost. Upon the rejection of the bill the third time, the greatest anxiety prevailed for the fate of the Union itself; all were filled with apprehension and alarm. The minds of men were in violent commotion; already many symptoms of dissolution became apparent. Congress now became really alarmed, and they looked to the great *Pacificator* for counsel. Mr. CLAY was at his post, he introduced a resolution *instanter* for the appointment of a joint committee to consult with a like committee from the Senate, as to admitting Missouri into the Union. This resolution was adopted in both Houses; the joint committee met, and the next day Mr. CLAY reported a resolution precisely like the one before rejected. It passed by a majority of six in the House, and the Senate concurred. Thus was settled the famous Missouri question, the most momentous which ever agitated this Republic. For this act, Mr. CLAY is eminently entitled to the country's gratitude. And he ought, independently of any other cause whatever, receive from her the highest meed of praise.

XXVII. OUR MEXICAN RELATIONS.

It would be useless and unprofitable to urge the necessity of a sound currency, or stability of domestic legislation, whilst we neglect the impartial administration of justice towards foreign nations, according to the well known and time sanctioned principles of international law. When our institutions are already noticed by European journalists and historians as a complete failure,—our glorious liberties as the *fumes of Democratic frenzy*, we ought to learn to cultivate the friendliest relations with our sister institutions on this Continent. Never were a people so insulted, or their hospitalities so grossly abused as we have lately been by those Trans-atlantic strolling scribblers. It is high time that these shameless itinerants were stopped in their unthankful course, by closing against them for ever the hospitalities of this Republic. They come here as vipers, they are honored as Gods. None more despicable in this regard than the hired satellites which revolved around the throne of British despotism. Every Republican has a deep interest in the progress of free institutions, he cares not beneath what clime liberty finds a refuge. The descendants of the besieged of Saragossa are as worthy and as capable of enjoying freedom as any people on the face of the earth. The Peninsular war is a conclusive evidence of the patriotism of the Spaniards. There is not on record, save the

war of American Independence, a more heroic example of indefatigable patriotism—of determined hostility to foreign usurpation, than that which Spain has exhibited. Oft defeated by superior numbers, the Spaniards were nevertheless unconquered; they became stronger by disaster and braver after defeat. The Cortes of Cadiz declared for a Republic, and they sowed the seed from which germinated the liberties of their colonies; had it not been for the interference of the allied sovereigns, their declaration would have been consummated. The Mexicans have waded through seas of kindred blood, for the achievement of their independence; they love their altars and their homes. What monster is there whom the love of fatherland does not excite to deeds of daring and of fame. "*Dulce et decorum est pro patria mori.*" It is to many a subject of regret and serious alarm, that civil discord abounds to such an alarming extent, in our sister Republics. It is not within the scope of my knowledge to elucidate the causes which lead to this unhappy state of public feeling, or within the range of my subject to deal in matters which do not immediately interest ourselves; though I am free to admit that when I see the cause of freedom sinking in the scale of nations, Republics becoming not only stationary, but retrograde; the energies of their citizens exhausted, their glowing ardor diminishing, and discord, degeneracy and decline rapidly advancing, I tremble for the effects of such an example, the influence of such a state of things on the destinies of mankind. Shall time, which brought on this continent the most glorious changes on man's political condition, again witness the restoration of the ancient dynasties on any portion of this hemisphere? Shall British gold and British diplomacy triumph over the liberties of an additional inch of American territory? No, never! As long as twenty-six States continue to form one united Confederacy, so long shall the operations of that wily power be kept within its prescribed limits. There are certain general principles contained in the infinite diversity of human affairs, which always operate alike, and are productive of similar consequences. It is certain, however, that without wisdom and general information no government can guarantee security to national or individual welfare. We are now surrounded with a pressure of events, to rise superior to which requires the highest effort of philosophical power, and the most perfect knowledge of political science. Whilst we are discussing matters of finance, and questions of domestic policy without arriving at any definite conclusions, there may be seen in the distant, though not very remote back-ground, subjects which ere long will engross the attention of statesmen, and excite the passions of the people. The annexation of Texas to this Union is amongst them. The career of freedom on this continent is

to be unstained with blood; the fabric of American liberty is to be sustained by the intelligence, morality and religion of the people; our forests, our lovely valleys shall not be crimsoned o'er with freemen's blood, each drop of which will tell in Europe the sad tale of the dying struggles of freedom in her last, her only resting place. In relation to this important topic, it behooves me to be silent; every American understands well the object of this reason. It is the necessity of the country being prepared to act, and to have a man at the head of affairs who will understand how to conciliate and compromise with Republics—and resist unto death the farther encroachments of monarchy in our neighborhood. HENRY CLAY is that man. Every act of his life has been for America, for liberty.

XXVIII. OUR CANADA RELATIONS.

To every impartial observer of affairs, all inroads made on a free government by violence or innovation diminishes the efficacy of law and order, and increases anarchy and libertinism. When a government concedes to the demands of a revolutionary portion of its citizens, for an increase of political power, it almost invariably excites the insurgents to further encroachments; this would be nothing less than the subversion of the government itself. Where every man has a right to the exercise of his free suffrage, it is his prerogative to redress his grievances in a peaceable and constitutional manner. In a country of freedom, where the greatest possible liberty is enjoyed, there can never exist a reasonable ground for a revolution. The danger lies in extending our territory too far, in local or sectional jealousies, interfering with the relations of others, &c. The immortal WASHINGTON recommended to his countrymen strict neutrality on matters of foreign policy, where we were not directly or immediately interested. There is a limit to men's passions when they act from reason, resentment or interest; but none when they are spurred on by imagination or ambition. For our domestic grievances we can demand those concessions and reforms which are best calculated to remove them; with those of others we can sympathize, but we cannot remedy them. In our relation with affiliated institutions, we evidently should be on more friendly terms, than with those which are diametrically opposite to us. "*Pares cum paribus simil congregantur,*"—birds of one feather flock together. An example of this is now fresh in our memory, the late billing and cooing of Philip and Victoria, the rulers of two powers, the very antipodes of each other. The King of Prussia has honored Victoria also with his presence at the christening of the young prince. Negotiations are already on foot for many pleasant interviews, to take place ere long between these confederated

enemies of freedom, all of which no doubt are intended to stop the progress of free principles, and give additional security to their respective diadems. They are conscious that the dark infatuation which bound men to monarchy is gradually diminishing before the brilliant lustre of human freedom.—Awake, the earth!—To arms, the world!! Would to God, that these insignia of the degradation of our race were utterly annihilated—extirpated from the earth!!! England yet retains a large portion of the American Continent in vassalage. The influence and example of this Republic have operated favorably for many years on the people of Canada. Not long since they asserted their rights. As the stag eagerly longs for the cool shade or limpid brook, when exposed to the scorching sun—so the Canadians anxiously desired their liberty. They arose in an inauspicious moment, when their plans were not at maturity,—the result was disastrous. They had the sympathies of thousands in this country. Many actuated by the motives which led volunteers to Texas, enrolled themselves under the flying pennant of freedom. Associations were formed, and the work had already gloriously commenced—yes, and would have more gloriously terminated, had it not been for MARTIN 1st, who issued his Proclamation, and caused the civil and military authorities to interfere. The frontier lines were filled with armed soldiery, the patriots on this free soil were denominated brigands and bandit. The rising genius of Canada's liberty was crushed by that man, who sat silently in his chair, dealing out an occasional gentle rebuke towards those who had acted more numerous and more openly against Mexico, a sister Republic. I lay this matter before the public, to prove that Mr. VAN BUREN is leaning towards monarchy; or why did he not use his prerogative similarly towards the two governments? Why, Mexico was a Republic and weak; England a monarchy and powerful. If the gentleman could be blind towards his relations with Mexico, why so keen-sighted towards Canada? He loves hereditary honors. Eight years of the history of this Republic will bear witness to his desire of strengthening the Executive, and weakening the popular power. Not a daily mail arrives from beyond the St. Lawrence, that does not bring us an account of the hatred of the Canadian Tories towards us. Since the commencement of this Session of Congress, we are told by them, we dare not take any action upon the occupation of Oregon; that the Hudson Bay Company will be able to sustain their rights, and *will sustain* them—that the Indians laugh at our vain attempts in settling their country. They wind up as usual, with their Tory bombast, by saying, if the Hudson Bay Company and the Indians cannot prevent the d—d Yankees, they will do it themselves. Be aisy, Johnny, don't be quite so forgetful of Lake Erie and Champlain. Look at Mon-

mouth, Saratoga, and Yorktown! And I assure you, that if MARTIN had not liked you so well, there were *Hunters* enough here to hunt Toryism and Monarchy out of Canada. They are yet alive, and only wait a favorable moment to give you a decent dressing. If Canada should rise to join the Hudson Bay Company, it would be dangerous to the liberties of this country, to have Mr. VAN BUREN in the chair, if we are to judge from his past Administration. I have, in this Reason, endeavored to show the inconsistency of the conduct of the party in power, on grave matters of State policy—lenient to Monarchy, oppressive to Republicanism. Then, if they had erred in more weighty matters, they certainly must have erred in lesser. I have not that interest in the subject now discussed, that the principles involved would indicate, it is done for the sake of justice and truth; and to bring the two gentlemen, Mr. VAN BUREN and Mr. CLAY, to be estimated by the Adopted Citizens according to their relative merits—this is my object, and no other.

XXIX. OUR SOUTH AMERICAN RELATIONS.

The evils of despotism had been bitterly experienced by the South American Colonies. The United States had set them a glorious example; from this country the most important lessons were learned, not only by them, but by the whole civilized world. Mr. CLAY, the ardent supporter of the unalienable rights of man, gave the infant Republics all the aid he possibly could. He had, at that time, as he always has, an eye to the interests of his own country, which was then disputing as to a portion of the Territory of Florida, with Spain. When a bill was introduced in Congress to "prevent our citizens from selling vessels of war to a foreign power," it was opposed by Mr. CLAY, as it would be understood as having a direct reference to the preventing aid to the Southern patriots. He made the most elequent speech in the House that has ever been delivered on the South American Independence. He says,—“Wherever in America her sway extends, every thing seems to pine and wither beneath its baneful influence. The richest nations of the earth; man, his happiness and his education, all the fine faculties of his soul, are regulated, and modified, and moulded to suit the execrable purposes of an inexorable despotism. But I take a broader and a bolder position. ¶ I MAINTAIN, THAT AN OPPRESSED PEOPLE ARE AUTHORIZED, WHENEVER THEY CAN, TO RISE AND BREAK THEIR FETTERS. ¶ This was the great principle of the English revolution. It was the great principle of our own. Vattel, if authority were wanting, expressly supports this right. We must pass sentence of condemnation on the founders of our liberty—say that they were rebels—traitors—

and that we are at this moment legislating without competent powers, before we can condemn the cause of Spanish America. Our Revolution was mainly directed against the mere theory of tyranny. We had suffered comparatively but little; we had, in some respects, been kindly treated; but our intrepid and intelligent fathers, saw in the usurpation of the power to levy an inconsiderable tax, the long train of oppressive acts that were to follow. They rose—they breasted the storm—they achieved our freedom. Spanish America, for centuries has been doomed to the practical effects of an odious tyranny. If we were justified, she is more than justified. I am no propagandist, I would not seek to force upon other nations, our principles and our liberty, if they do not want them. I would not disturb the repose even of a detestable despotism. ¶ But, if an abused and oppressed people will their freedom; if any seek to establish it; if, in truth, they have established it, we have a right, as a sovereign power, to notice the fact, and to act as circumstances and our interests require. ¶ I will say, in the language of the venerated Father of my country:—'BORN IN A LAND OF LIBERTY, MY ANXIOUS RECOLLECTIONS, MY SYMPATHETIC FEELINGS, AND MY BEST WISHES, ARE IRRESISTIBLY EXCITED, WHENSOEVER, IN ANY COUNTRY, I SEE AN OPPRESSED NATION UNFURL THE BANNERS OF FREEDOM.' Whenever I think of Spanish America, the image irresistibly forces itself upon my mind, of an elder brother, whose education has been neglected, whose person has been abused and maltreated, and who has been disinherited by the unkindness of an unnatural parent. And, when I contemplate the glorious struggle which that country is now making, I think I behold that brother rising, by the power and energy of his fine native genius, to the manly rank which nature, and nature's God, intended him. In the establishment of the Independence of Spanish America, the United States have the deepest interest. I have no hesitation in asserting my firm belief, that there is no question in the foreign policy of this country, which has ever arisen, or which I can conceive as even occurring, in the decision of which we have had or can have so much at stake. This interest concerns our politics, our commerce, our navigation. There cannot be a doubt that Spanish America, once independent, whatever may be the form of the governments established in its several parts; these governments will be animated by an *American feeling*, and guided by an *American policy*. They will obey the laws of the system of the New World, of which they will compose a part, in contradistinction to that of Europe.—We are their great example. Of us they constantly speak as of brothers, having a similar origin. They adopt our principles, copy our institutions, and in many instances, employ

the very language and sentiments of our Revolutionary papers."

This speech, from which the preceding extracts have been taken, was published in the Spanish language, and read by the generals and other officers to the armies, and is still, with his many other eloquent appeals in their behalf, preserved in all the sister Republics. General BOLIVAR wrote Mr. CLAY letters, declaratory of the high esteem and regard in which he was held by the freemen of the South, at the same time returning him their sincere gratitude. I defy the world to produce a man, whose life has been more devoted to the extension of liberal principles, or one more capable of sustaining them by solid argument, or better calculated to throw around them that lustre which imparts to them an additional beauty. Were he President in days that are past, the whole American Continent would now be *Americanized*—and not a vestige of royalty would disgrace its virgin soil. It would seem that Mr. CLAY has always desired to have this hemisphere be entirely separate and distinct in its political relations from the Old World. It has been a favorite object of his, whenever an opportunity offered to make it public. The speech on the Emancipation of South America needs no comment, to establish this fact. Hide your diminished heads, and secrete yourselves, ye *Vulpine race* of politicians. What a contrast—MARTIN on Canada, and CLAY on South American Independence.

XXX. THE FAVORABLE IMPRESSION MR. CLAY'S ELECTION WOULD MAKE ON SOUTH AMERICA.

Never were objects of such magnitude offered to the enterprise of any people, as the South American States offer to those of this country. We are seventeen millions of freemen, enjoying innumerable advantages from our commanding position, on the American Continent, destined undoubtedly to give a character, at no distant day, to the most remote regions, and liberty perhaps to the world. The closer the links which bind these Cis-Atlantic Republics together are drawn, the stronger will be the influence towards ameliorating the condition of the down-trodden and oppressed of other nations. The air of liberty is sweet, though beneath the lurid rays of the equinoctial skies. The various States of this Union form one grand integral, associated together by the closest ties of kindred—all speaking the same language—all free to worship the same God—all not Anglo-Saxons, none the worse for that, but all I hope true Republicans. The people of the South American and Mexican Republics, are all allied by kindred, by language, and by religion, in these respects, more so than we are. An insult offered to a portion of this great family, is indirectly received by all. A favor conferred, is in like manner reciprocated. A constant

rivalry exists between the European powers in establishing commercial relations, on the most advantageous terms possible, with our sister States. They have already contracted matrimonial alliances. Monarchical influence would seem to be gradually increasing; it is established in its worst form in Brazil. Guiana is still divided into three dependencies—each one under the power of a foreign monarch. England has also, by its seductive policy, obtained the Balize, and has an eye upon more important acquisitions. It is clear to every diplomatist, that these affiliated Republics have little respect for Mr. VAN BUREN, during whose term of office, inroads were made with impunity, upon a portion of the Mexican territory, by citizens of Texas, aided by the sanction of this government. I know not what course Mr. CLAY would pursue towards Texas, neither can I determine; suffice it to say, he has not been an auxiliary in bringing about the present juncture in which our affairs are. It is however, clear, that he would be the best calculated to restore good feelings all around. Mr. CLAY always has been, and ever will be, on the side of his own country, and will say and do nothing which would, in the least, dishonor her flag, or degrade her character.

However, a difficulty now exists, and it has taken a deeper root in the Spanish American breast, than we have any idea of; yes, it has sunk deep into that race, from Monterey to Concepcion. If any American in our Republic can restore the most perfect unanimity, it is Mr. CLAY. There is not a man in these States who does not idolize this statesman, and who would not be willing to sacrifice much at his request. His influence would be potent in the cultivation of our commercial relations. The Colonies which enriched Spain, and now possess more of the precious metals than the world besides, have not been sufficiently well attended to, by our late Administrations. It is astonishing to behold what immense quantities of bullion are transported across the Atlantic annually, a great deal of which might have had a stopping place here, were the manufacturing interests in a more flourishing condition. It would appear, that a desire to conform to European customs and fashions is taking a foothold on American soil. The latest London and Paris fashions are eagerly sought for; the fact of an article being European enhances its value, whereas the contrary should be the case. Our travellers, instead of visiting the palaces of the Incas, and the smiling valleys of the Amazon and Paraguay, prefer the tents of royalty, and the luxuriant fields of the Thames and Seine. If WASHINGTON could but address his countrymen, from the tomb, he would tell them, to keep more on their own Continent, and visit Europe less. Mr. CLAY, in this particular, is a Republican; he desires the citizens to use their own manufactures,

and cultivate friendship on their own Continent; he knows that tyrants pamper themselves on the ruins of freedom.

XXXI. MR. CLAY IS NOT AN ALIEN AND SEDITION LAW MAN.

The famous Alien and Sedition Law was passed in the Session of 1798, under the Administration of the elder ADAMS. The *Alien* law gave to the President power, whenever he should deem it necessary to the safety of the Republic, to order from her territory any Alien, whose presence he might judge hostile to the public peace. The *Sedition* law subjected to an action at law, such persons as should "indite, or publish any writings, with intent to defame the Government of the United States, the President, or either House of Congress, to bring them into disrepute, or to excite the hatred of the people against them;" upon conviction before a United States' Court, such persons were to pay a fine of not more than two thousand dollars, and to suffer imprisonment for not more than two years: upon trial the accused had the right to give in evidence, in their defence, the truth of the matter charged as libellous, and the jury were to determine both the law and the fact. There can be no doubt, but the Americans had just grounds for entertaining strong suspicions against many foreigners as well as natives in that day. French emissaries were sent from Paris to almost every part of the world, to enlist the people in behalf of their Revolution; in order to effect this, it was necessary that they should establish clubs, through which they might the more successfully operate. The public press went so far as to denounce the immortal WASHINGTON, then on the verge of the grave, and ripening fast for a glorious immortality; they accused him of acts, which, if proved, would have consigned him to the penitentiary or the scaffold, and even proclaimed of President ADAMS, that "the hoary traitor had only completed the scene of ignominy which Mr. WASHINGTON had begun." Such proceedings as these on the part of the Jacobin interests in this youthful Republic, were certainly highly indecorous and insulting. This coercion, however, on the part of the Administration, was not effected without exciting the most violent local discontents. The manner in which they were viewed by the great body of the people, may be judged from what Mr. JEFFERSON said of them, at their passage. "For my own part," said he, "I consider these laws as merely an experiment on the American mind, to see how far it will bear an avowed violation of the Constitution. If this goes down, we shall immediately see attempted another Act of Congress, declaring the President shall continue in office during life, reserving to another occasion the transfer of the succession to his heirs,

and the establishment of the Senate for life. That these things are in contemplation, I have no doubt, nor can I be confident of their failure, after the dupery of which our countrymen have shown themselves susceptible." It certainly appears from the language of this great apostle of Democracy, that these acts were direct inroads on the Constitution, and would eventually lead to results any thing but favorable to Democracy: yea, were even the precursor to Monarchy. When the news of the passage of this abominable measure had reached Kentucky, public meetings were called all over the commonwealth; the laws were denounced in angry and decided terms. The Legislature also passed a Resolution unqualifiedly condemning them, and demanding their immediate repeal. None amongst these gallant Republicans acted a more conspicuous part, than Mr. CLAY, in opposing them; he pronounced them unjust, tyrannical, inexpedient, and unconstitutional. His opposition was so manifest, that he received the title of the "GREAT COMMONER," by which name he is still known in his adopted State; from this circumstance he also became the leader of the Democratic party in the State. In the election of 1800, between the elder ADAMS and THOMAS JEFFERSON, the canvass in Kentucky was exceedingly animated. The "GREAT COMMONER," as usual, was on the side of the people, and took a bold and effective part in the struggle; it is admitted by all, that Mr. JEFFERSON was deeply indebted to him for his election. Yes, believe it, it is true, he voted for JEFFERSON twice, and spoke for him on almost every stump in Kentucky.

XXXII. MR. CLAY IS A PRACTICAL FARMER.

In all countries the ardent will follow objects not the most reasonable, but the most captivating; the selfish or indifferent, the most accommodating; and the wise and the good, the most practically useful. Individuals who are about to build will select the best architects—farmers who require stewards, will inquire after good agriculturalists. Every man wishes to be suited in his several relations of life. Those who live by the support of the public, will generally know how to conform to their inclinations; it might be rightly said, on all occasions, that the most "proper study of mankind is man." Political wisdom is a science which, in the possessor, is scarcely known but by very few,—its salutary effects are not experienced until after the lapse of time. When a man shines as an orator, he creates a temporary effulgence—as a lawyer, a transient celebrity—as a statesman, he is a public benefactor—but as a farmer, the noblest work of God. How is it then, when all these qualities are blended in one individual, and that too in an eminent degree? Mr. CLAY possesses them all. No man

has contributed more towards bringing the agricultural interests of his State, and of the Union, to perfection. His farm is the index of his mind. His stock is unsurpassed for beauty and utility. His orchards abound with every variety of the most exquisite fruit,—in a word, nothing can beat his farm for beauty and taste, and I should like to find a match for the farmer himself. It was to encourage the farming interests that he first launched his almost solitary bark on the ocean of the Protective Policy. His great love for England, which his opponents say he possesses, may be found in the following language, used by him in 1810, in Congress. "For many years after the war," said he, "such was the partiality for her productions, in this country, that a gentleman's head could not withstand the influence of the solar heat, unless covered with a London hat; his feet could not bear the pebbles or the frost, unless protected by London shoes; and the comfort or ornament of his person was consulted only, when his coat was cut out by the shears of a tailor, *just from London*. At length, however, the wonderful discovery has been made, that it is not absolutely beyond the reach of American skill and ingenuity, to provide these articles, combining with equal elegance, greater durability. And I entertain no doubt, that in a short time, the no less important fact will be developed, that the domestic manufactures of the United States, fostered by government, and aided by household exertions, are fully competent to supply us with at least every necessary article of clothing. I therefore, *for one*, (to use the fashionable cant of the day,) am in favor of encouraging them; not to the extent to which they are carried in England, but to such an extent as will redeem us entirely from all dependence on foreign countries." Mr. CLAY was opposed in his arguments, by many distinguished statesmen, who asserted that the encouragement of domestic manufactures would reduce those who engaged in them, in the capacity of operatives, to the wretchedness and degradation of the poor in the manufacturing towns and districts in Great Britain. Mr. CLAY very justly maintained the doctrine of producing for ourselves, all those articles necessary for home consumption, and thereby render ourselves, in case of a war, or any other emergency, able to close our ports against their trade, and depend altogether on our resources. "A judicious American farmer," said he, "in the household way, manufactures whatever is requisite in his family. He squanders but little in the gewgaws of Europe. He presents in *epitome*, what the nation ought to be in *extenso*. Their manufactures ought to be in the same proportion, and effect the same object in relation to the whole community, which the part of his household employed in domestic manufacturing, bears to the whole family." It is the part of a wise legislator

to attend to the wants of his own people, and encourage nationality at every risk. Irishmen have reason to admire Mr. CLAY in this particular, as Mr. O'CONNELL is adopting at this moment a similar course in Ireland—that illustrious statesman is doing for his native land, in encouraging the native agriculturalists and artizans, exactly what Mr. CLAY has done and will do for his country. To encourage the arts and sciences in Ireland, has now become a *sine qua non*, to attain political distinction. Have Americans any national pride? I reckon they have. Why do they not use national pen-knives in their legislative halls, or national carpets on the floor of their Capitol. Look to this, farmers. Remember the Farmer of Ashland, who is emphatically the true American and the devoted Republican.

XXXIII. MR. CLAY IS OPPOSED TO DIRECT TAXATION.

The State is not the proprietor of private property either for use or dominion, but only the guardian and regulator. This doctrine should be as stable as the earth on which it stands, and never capable of fluctuation. Every encroachment made on the fruits of honest industry, constitutes a species of spoliation, far worse than private pillage, especially inasmuch as the spoliator is beyond the reach of accountability. Mr. CLAY'S opposition to a direct tax was manifestly declared by him, subsequently to the negotiations of the treaty of Ghent. It was proposed in Congress that this direct tax upon the United States should be reduced. Mr. CLAY supported the bill, and at the same time remarked that the land tax, even then, was too high for the ordinary season of peace. He laid down this important general principle, that in time of peace we should look to foreign importations as the chief source of revenue; and in war, when they are cut off, "that it was time enough to draw deeply on our internal resources. His plan was to make up for a still farther decrease of the land tax by an increase of the duties on import." In the foregoing paragraph there is much useful information, and unanswerable political truths: the principles involved therein will, if carried out to their full extent, give a degree of durability to our institutions unknown to any other country on the globe. Whatever might be said in opposition to the salutary maxims contained in that system of political ethics which sustains itself by a protective policy, it cannot have the least influence in forming the opinions of an intelligent people. They look abroad, and they behold every nation on earth, not only protecting their own interests by their several Tariffs, but actually creating a fund for contingencies, out of the balance of trade in their favor: and even pay-

ing off their debts with the advantages of their diplomatic financiering. It would be good policy in this Government, to have a contingent fund always on hand to enable it to uphold the fabric of society, through every change which it may be destined to undergo, as well as resist the progress of despotic rule. Public policy would dictate the propriety of strengthening our weak points, and adding to our national arm of defence, when no other matters of a more pressing nature engross our attention. "In peace prepare for war," "in life prepare for death," "in health prepare for sickness." These things should be well digested. Peace has crowned our shores with its benign influence for the last twenty-six years, and we have made but little preparation for war; it is true the former years of this number witnessed the payment of a heavy national debt, which had been contracted in the last American war. We have been exceedingly healthy, yet there seems to be disease in the body politic—instead of having treasures hoarded up, we are reduced to borrowing and penury. There is something rotten in Denmark, or else why a national debt of some seventeen millions, and State debts to the amount of several hundred millions—and this too, in time of life, health and peace. It has been done. Americans ask—imperatively demand the names of the authors, the cognomen of the party which have inflicted your lovely land with such dreadful calamities; have they shown themselves to be the guardians, the regulators of your estates—of your liberties? You require a change of policy, an entire subversion of those dangerous experiments which have reduced you to the odious, the execrable system of direct taxation. Who ought to have your confidence now? those who created these disasters or those who manfully opposed them through every stage of their destructive progress? During the last fourteen years, all these grievances under which you now labor have been introduced. And by whom? By the party in power, most unquestionably. Who resisted these innovations—these political paradoxes? Mr. CLAY!! When they were laboring on the public rostrum to infuse their poison into the minds of the innocent and unwary, on questions of no reference to the public good, they then said that the men we are contending against, are the black cockade Federalists and the Tories of England; at the same time they were holding caucusses, wherein your rights and privileges were jeopardized. Yes, direct taxation—it would not have been known to this country, where the people enjoy more privileges than in any other country on the globe, had it not been for the mad innovation of political demagogues. No man ever opposed it more, or offered sounder principles for its prevention than Mr. CLAY. Citizens, remember this—it is true.

XXXIV. MR. CLAY'S POLICY HAS BEEN AND WILL BE PROFITABLE TO ADOPTED CITIZENS AND FOREIGNERS.

We are constrained to estimate the merits of political parties in proportion to the amount of good conferred on their country whilst in power. During President JACKSON'S administration (however much we may admire the man) we in vain look for any permanent utility or even immediate benefit conferred on any, unless the leaders and partizans of his political party. This gallant military *Hero* received the almost unanimous vote of the adopted citizens, particularly the Irish and Germans. The friends of freedom every where were rejoiced at the blow which this martial veteran gave to the inveterate foe of human liberty. It was useless to stem the current of public opinion. All matters of State policy were merged in the grateful recollection of New Orleans. For his gallant defence of that city, as well as all his military exploits, the Republic owed him a debt of gratitude, which she has nobly paid. However valiant were his acts or heroic his achievements, a majority of his own countrymen were notwithstanding arrayed against him, on the ground of the general incapacity of military men to preside over the destinies or guide the reins of a Republican government. In the election of General JACKSON, the adopted citizens showed their regard for the conqueror of Pakenham, and their enmity to England. The Internal Improvement system of which Mr. CLAY is the acknowledged author, has given to the emigrants constant employment; in 1824 this system was in successful operation; and by means of the wages received on the numerous Rail Roads and Canals from that year to the year 1836, thousands have been enabled to purchase large tracts of land and build themselves houses; they also remitted large sums of money to their friends in Europe. When the currency was good and wages high, Europeans had some inducements to leave the homes of their fathers, to better their condition. In late days, how has it been? Why thousands have received in the Western States Canal scrip, instead of good National Bank notes, and instead of the gold and silver promised them, provided they helped to kill the *Monster*; they received fictitious notes on broken Banks. Tens of thousands of honest laborers were ruined by fraudulent contractors and odious shin-plasters. I ask the laboring class of men who worked on the Illinois and Michigan Canal, how they have been treated—the same of those of Michigan, Indiana and Ohio? You have been shamefully treated, you have received money on the newly improved patent Banks, not worth a cent on the dollar in many instances. You have not been able to pay for your supper and lodgings, though you have had hundreds of their spurious

notes in your pocket. Every mail which arrived in Chicago in 1838, brought ruin and bankruptcy, as the harbinger of every successive *Democratic* triumph. Well might you now say, by your fruits ye shall know them. Let us lay money matters aside, and look at another question of greater importance. The adopted citizens, for the most part, desired a change in the School law of the State of New York, in order that certain charitable institutions, and other schools for public instruction might receive a portion of the public fund towards enabling them to have their children instructed without being influenced by Sectarian prejudices. They asked only an equivalent for what they paid into the public treasury for educational purposes. To this they thought there could be no just or reasonable objection, particularly as their good old *Democratic* friends were in power, and they had always assisted them towards getting there. But mark well, they were refused. A change took place; the Whigs came into power—and the generous and high-minded Seward, the Whig Governor, not only recommended in his message the passage of a law, in unison with the feelings of the Old Countrymen, but actually discussed it at length, and threw additional light on the whole subject. After much opposition, it was finally passed, and became a law. In the city of New York, the *Democracy* were in power, and the Board of Education, though *Democratic*, still refused to give the relief proposed to the petitioners. After several months, triding concessions were made. In view of this and other things, the Loco Foco party have not the interests of foreigners either naturalized or otherwise at heart. All their professions are hollow and insincere; in a word they are "all talk and no cider." In the State of New Hampshire, A CATHOLIC CANNOT HOLD AN OFFICE UNTIL THIS DAY, and it is necessary for all to be freeholders. Yes, the good old *Democratic* New Hampshire, which they say is as true to principle as their everlasting granite hills, which was never contaminated by black cockade Federalism. I should be pleased to know what species of *Federalism* was ever so black as that which proscribes the conscience. Contrast this with North Carolina; a similar restriction was supposed to exist in that State, until the good and patriotic GASTON effected its repeal. *Peace to his ashes*. Oh! is it possible, Judge GASTON was a Whig; it is really astonishing; how will this comport with *their* account of the Whigs.

XXXV. MR. CLAY'S ELECTION WILL BENEFIT IRISHMEN.

It is well understood that the founders of liberty should be the last to invade the rights of others; he who has always supported national glory and public prosperity, will be desirous to extend their influence to all. In all nations the early promoters

of liberty are uniformly neglected, and more audacious demagogues have succeeded. The highly gifted statesman invariably excites jealousy in the breasts of the envious, who well know that as long as he remains at the head of affairs, it checks the elevation of inferior ambition, and promotes none to eminence who are not well deserving. The European emigrants (with few dishonorable exceptions) have always proved their attachment to "the land of the free and the home of the brave." However, none have contributed more than Irishmen to achieve American Independence; none have been treated worse. The Poles received under a solemn act of Government several townships of land, as a token of American respect and regard, though not one ounce of Polish blood was spilt in the Revolution for every ton of Irish. I am not opposed to this act of a Democratic Congress and President, only inasmuch as it forms a system of exclusive legislation, which is always a dangerous precedent. It must be universally admitted, that no native or adopted citizens have contributed more to the advancement of the internal prosperity of the Republic and none more ready to defend it than the Irish. The course of political demagogues towards my countrymen has been highly exceptionable: in public meetings and great gatherings they represent themselves as their best friends and the Whigs as their worst enemies. By this means they have succeeded in estranging the affections of the Irish citizens politically, and in many instances socially, from the larger half of the Americans. This has of consequence drawn forth an occasional bitter invective from a portion of the Whig press against them. I could never read the least indecorous attack on my countrymen, let it come from what source it may, without feelings of resentment. I am however, constrained to say that the Whigs do not abuse the Irish half as much as the Irish would abuse them, were they to emigrate to Ireland and associate themselves politically with one portion of the Irish citizens to annoy another portion. Might it not be said with truth that it is the undue influence which demagogues exercise over us in the large cities, which first led to the formation of *Native Associations*. I am bold to say it was, and I will further say, that if it were not for the effect which these things have produced on the American mind, no class of citizens would be more respected than we.

Taking every thing into consideration, we cannot but admire the forbearance which the Whigs have shown; it is conclusive evidence of their high Republican feelings, and their regard for the principles of true liberty. Let us again imagine ourselves in Ireland, and two men are up for members of Parliament, who are nearly equal in ability—party feelings run high. An hour before the polls are closed, the friends of one of the candidates

pronounce him elected; however, a few minutes before the time elapses, twenty or thirty Englishmen step up and change the aspect of the matter. What do you think must have been the disappointment of those who just now were elated with success, to have their rival candidate elected by a majority of one or two votes? You may judge the rest yourselves. The case is somewhat analogous. The right in adopted citizens is unquestionable, but this right should be cautiously exercised, not only by us, but by all other citizens. GEN. WASHINGTON is dead; JEFFERSON is no more. MADISON, MONROE, ADAMS and HARRISON, also sleep in honored graves, mingling their ashes with their kindred and illustrious dead. JACKSON yet lives, and will ere long be also gathered to his fathers. The flag of freedom yet waves over this happy land, and the man who would not desire to see it wave every where, has no claim on freemen's suffrages. We desire to see the Harp and Eagle joined together. Ireland, unhappy land, may my eyes never become dim in death, or my body slumber in the silent tomb, until I see thee free and untrammelled. Canada is not to be attacked if MARTIN is on the throne; that selfish non-committal letter which he sent to the Repeal Association, is not half the index of his mind; he possesses not that generous impulse which urges patriots on to freedom. He is cold and indifferent to every thing, save that which will promote his own interests. Let Mr. CLAY's conduct be contrasted with his. The generous, noble, ardent, patriotic Mill-Boy has always sustained the rising freedom of every country, and will never call men, devoted to liberty, "Brigands."

XXXVI. THE CAUSE OF IRISH LIBERTY WILL BE PROMOTED.

One false step in the progressive state of a nation towards freedom is frequently ruinous. A victory is sometimes followed by more disastrous consequences than a defeat. The victory on the field of Borodino, was followed by the capture of Moscow; this triumph was the cause of Napoleon's fall. Circumstances occasionally occur, which if properly managed in the hands of able men, would lead to the most important results. We have lately witnessed events of sufficient moment, which, if properly directed, might have resulted favorably to liberty in Canada, in Ireland, and perhaps throughout the world. As large rivers diminish in proportion as their streams cease to discharge their waters into them, so the strength of an enemy is weakened by cutting off his resources. Menacing and inflammatory speeches unsupported by power, serve to strengthen those against whom they are directed. In proportion to the threats, the enemy considers the danger, and makes corresponding preparations. Bonaparte's unusual and unprecedented success was in a measure owing to short

speeches, brief diplomatic correspondences—but quick and decisive action. The best principles in impotent hands, are utterly ineffectual to the attainment of any great national measure. It is a losing game to preach too much and fast too long. Political aspirants and orators should consider well their words, on questions of such vital importance as those upon which the lives and liberties of millions are suspended. Our action here influences the two parties in Ireland—the one to prepare, the other to strike. Unhappy Ireland! my lovely, native land, I fear you will ere long need more than classic speeches or distant sympathy. I admire the oratory which whets the sword, and I would still more admire to see the swords to whet. One tangible proposition brought before the public relative to the liberties of Ireland, would be preferable to one thousand eulogies on her daughters, or bushels of crocodile tears over her wrongs. The cause of liberty is worth a struggle, and to have it successful, calm deliberation, and then determined action, is necessary. The whole energies should be directed upon certain data, which would have a given object in view. We have talked loud and long in this country on the subject of Repeal, and what has been effected? It has caused England to prepare; her garrisons are now manned and fortified, &c. The blow, to weaken the enemy of our father-land, must be given here. Every matter in controversy between this country and England, should be watched with an anxious eye. Canada is on the eve of another revolution, and if we should in the most remote degree contribute towards electing MARTIN VAN BUREN, we commit an act with our eyes open, which will in that event prove suicidal. It is not forgotten, by the lovers of universal liberty, that he, when seated in authority, aided Great Britain indirectly in the last struggle.

It would be in vain for patriotic citizens to pour out their private wealth towards crushing tyranny, if the Man of Kinderhook should be elected. An army would be stationed on the St. Lawrence, and the whole line, to prevent any assistance that might be rendered. On the other hand, when has freedom beckoned, and Mr. CLAY refused to follow? Never! Always firm, intrepid and sagacious, he stood on the side of suffering humanity and popular rights. By the natural ascendant of an irresistible passion for liberty, he is allied to the masses. Endowed with splendid talents—gifted with a clear intellect—sagacious in the perception of truth, and with great information, derived from study and experience, he cannot be otherwise than an ardent devotee to the rights of man. His greatest talent consists in a strong and ardent imagination, a powerful elocution, and an incomparable power of seizing at once, the spirit of the assembly which he addresses, and applying the whole force of his mind to the object under immediate consid-

eration. Honor blushes for those who forget their reverence for a patriot, whose whole life has been devoted to the cause of human emancipation. History does not furnish a more striking example of self-denial on the altar of universal liberty. Ask Poland, Greece, Mexico, and all the South American Republics, whom of all others they most admire?—They will answer, CLAY!! The warmest friend of freedom, if he has a spark of humanity in his bosom; the most ardent Republican, if not steeled against every sentiment of honor, must acknowledge this statesman to be the ablest advocate and firmest supporter of her institutions, now living. A word from him would be important on the fate of Ireland—his past history will show what that word would be.

XXXVII. THE UNPRECEDENTED STATE OF AFFAIRS.

From the origin of the Republic until now, there never were so many intricate problems for political solution. The Constitution, the most perfect Bill of Rights that ever adorned any nation of ancient or modern times, (it could not be otherwise, emanating as it did, from the wisest heads and purest hearts of the country,) has been, for the first time, tested. This glorious instrument contains a provision, authorizing and empowering the Vice President, in case of the demise, &c. of the President, to act in his capacity. Mr. TYLER, upon the death of the lamented HARRISON, was called to his present high destiny, and entrusted with the most responsible, as well as the highest duties which can be bestowed upon man. How he has accomplished the task, is now ascertained by experience. Time, the great vindicator of truth, will unfold his errors and illustrate his virtues. It is a matter of great and inexpressible delight to every true patriot, that though the triumphant party have been refused the sanction of the President, to their leading and cardinal measures, yet the great machinery of the Confederacy has not the less ceased to operate harmoniously, in all its wide-spread and various ramifications, and answer all the ends which the immortal JEFFERSON and his associates had so wisely contemplated. It cannot be denied, that though dissatisfaction pervades the public mind as to the course which the Executive has pursued, in reference to his administrative policy, that yet, he has always expressed an anxious desire to administer the affairs of State, with as much impartiality as the exigencies of the case demanded, or his critical position warranted him. It would be highly censorious in the writer, to attribute the course which his Excellency has pursued towards the great Whig party, to any sinister motives. It is certainly clear, that sound judgment, as well as gratitude should dictate to the President a different mode of proceeding towards those who elevated

him to his exalted dignity—an honor, *per se*, which will add a lustre to his posterity unto the most remote generations. Nothing would be a greater source of pleasure to all men, and satisfaction to the country likewise, than to have the will of the people gratified by the constitutional Chief Magistrate. Had he not listened to the seductive songs of the Van Buren party, it would be well for him! Did he but possess the firmness and consistency of TALMADGE and RIVES, when they were at swords' points with the confederated *princes* of Loco Focism, he would stand high to-day! It is well known to the country, and this impression will be everlasting, that Mr. TYLER is the victim of Loco Foco intolerance. When they succeeded in gaining him over, step by step, from his friendly relations with his cabinet and his party, and had irrecoverably entangled him in their treacherous snares, they then opened their batteries upon their unsuspecting victim. He is now denied the right of a private citizen; that proscriptive cry, which has chased away many bright stars from the political horizon of America, for their *non-conformity to established usages*, has been raised against him—he is denied admission into their Convention—his claims are refused to be canvassed. This is all done towards the Chief Magistrate of our common country, in defiance of every rule of propriety. It does not add much to the dignity of that portion of the American press, called *Democratic*, to treat Mr. TYLER in so shameful a manner. This treachery towards a man, who vetoed the Bank Bill, amidst their most unbounded applause—who threw himself entirely, and without reason, into their ranks, will be properly appreciated by an intelligent people, and will aid effectually in establishing a *fact* of the greatest importance to the American community, viz. that there exists in this Government a faction, so well organized, as to be united on all questions relating to national policy—that the Government is virtually in their hands for future years—that they know who will be President and Cabinet officers, a fourth of a century ahead—and this organization is more powerful than our Constitution. No politician can but observe, that Mr. VAN BUREN was nominated by a caucus of this organization, before General HARRISON was inaugurated—the people of these United States to the contrary notwithstanding. It is time that freemen should put down this influence, behind the throne, which is greater than the throne itself. Up—to the contest—the time is now at hand. Such an organization is dangerous to our liberties. I care not what you call it—Democratic, Demagogueic, Whig, or Tory. Establish your sovereignty.—Down with dictation. I feel for Mr. TYLER, though I cannot sustain him. A difference has lately arisen between Mr. CLAY and him. Every thinking man knows which has the greatest cause

of being offended. Mr. TYLER regretted to tears, that Mr. CLAY did not receive the nomination at Harrisburg. He well knew his views at that time. Since his elevation to the Presidency, he has looked on Mr. CLAY with a cool indifference.—Ah! there must have been a motive in this change of sentiment.—Mr. CLAY has not changed—he is the same now that he was before that Convention. But look at the course of Mr. CLAY.—He says, on his return to Kentucky: “I hope they (the Whigs) will do their duty towards the country, and render all good and proper support to Government; but they ought not to be held accountable for his conduct.” Contrast this with the Globe articles on HENSHAW, PORTER, &c. Comment is unnecessary

XXXVIII. OUR SELF-RESPECT REQUIRES IT.

Whenever an expression of the popular *will* takes place, it should be respected. This *will*, when freely expressed, constitutes the Democracy of the Republic, without regard to the merits or demerits of the question. It is not necessary that every man should think and act essentially alike, to be entitled to the much abused appellation, *Democrat*—if this were the case, there could be no government, as there would not be governors and governed. The will of the majority is the law of the land—yet the minority is not to be utterly disregarded. When the majority is large, on any measure, it denotes its popularity; when small, it is more questionable. It is well known that the party which held the reins of government for the last fifteen years, styled themselves *Democrats*. They were so, in the strictest sense of the term; yet their measures might have been bad. When it becomes manifest, that the ruling powers are incompetent, and their measures inexpedient, the people demand the removal of the former, and the suppression of the latter. This is the most beautiful feature of a free government, and is productive of no greater evil than placing *outs* in, and *ins* out. Democracy in fact, then, entirely depends on the action of the people. As has been before remarked, the government established on their will, is Democratic, and the form is called a Democracy. It is now apparent, that a man who is for a Bank, is a Democrat, as well as a man who opposes the same. The man who denies that the people are the source of all power, is not a *Democrat*. This great splutter about names is perfect nonsense. It is nevertheless astonishing to behold, what a charm is sometimes in a name, and what arrant hypocrites have not every age and every nation witnessed under assumed names and false titles? Admitting that the Van Buren, alias Loco Foco party, was Democratic formerly, they ceased to be so in 1840. And the Whigs became Democratic then; their

ascendancy was short-lived,—it lasted but one month. The present Administration, which now is (O), of course, is not Democratic, though it professes to be—it acts contrary to the will of the people, and the instructions of their Delegates. The question now resolves itself into this,—Shall the Democrats, who elected HARRISON, cease to be such, by the death of their President? Why, this would be virtually admitting that we had no principles, or if we had, that they were all vested in our lamented Executive. The people who achieved that triumph, are not yet prepared to be charged with corruption, venality, and all kinds of debauchery. Decisive action is necessary to teach those sycophants of the people when in power, and their slanderers when out, that their will is sovereign and supreme. A majority of one hundred and forty-five thousand freemen is not to be trifled with. Nineteen of these sovereign States have been accused of being duped, and *Hard Ciderified* out of their senses. Not only so; they say, that a little sprinkling of British gold, wrapped up in *Coon Skins*, has also assisted towards the overthrow of the good old Democratic party. Self-respect and Democratic consistency, require of us to teach those men, that we are not to be dictated to—and though the election of Mr. CLAY might not be very agreeable to them, our will shall so declare, AND WE, THE PEOPLE, SHALL BE SUPREME.

XXXIX. THE TRIUMPH OF 1840.

This glorious triumph has been alluded to, but being in itself the personification of every thing which should be dear to Republicans, and on the merits of which will, in a great measure, depend the issue of the approaching election—allow the decisive and unexampled results of that victory to be buried in the tomb of the lamented HARRISON, and what a picture would not be presented! Why the ashes of that honest and illustrious personage would rise from the tomb, and upbraid us with cowardice, with dishonor, and with shame. I well know, that if the spirits of the illustrious dead are ever allowed to visit the earth, our HARRISON'S will hover over his countrymen in the approaching contest, and smile with approbation at the success of those principles which he would have carried out, had he been spared amongst us.

During that eventful struggle, who can forget the intense anxiety which occupied every heart, as to its result. The party in power, flushed with many victories, and sustained with the patronage of the government, defied resistance. They had all their strongholds and fortresses well manned. Their desire to retain their authority knew no bounds. The people, on the other hand, the descendants of the Whigs of '76, rallied to the contest, relying on the Great Jehovah and the justice of their cause. Well disposed and good humored,

instead of cries and lamentations, they sang the songs of patriots, congratulating each other upon surviving the shock and convulsion through which they had passed, and that, even like the children of Israel, they were about to be delivered from their twelve years' thralldom. We had no sentinel save the sleepless *Coon*, which held its unwearied watch over the circuitous and wily movements of the *Fox*. Secured by the watchfulness of the COON, and refreshed with the draughts of our CIDER, we met the myrmidons, and *they were ours*. It is asserted that the virtue and intelligence of the nation had suffered from the "Coon Skin and Hard Cider Campaign." It is not so.—Humility being the greatest virtue, was then represented by a Log Cabin—and intelligence, the greatest earthly blessing, by music and song. The selection of a Log Cabin for our motto, was emblematic of the simplicity of Republican institutions, and the wearing them on our buttons, showed that their inmates had resolved on settling the affairs of government in their own way. Never was music like that of '40. Search the Tyrolese Alps, or the gorgeous aisles of St. Peter's—and there it will not be found. That was the music of the heart, the spontaneous burst of patriotic indignation, rushing forth from its pent up caves—bearing with it, comfort to the oppressed, and anguish to the oppressors. It was a nation's voice ascending aloft for a redress of grievances. I cannot forget the silent tears which trickled down the furrowed cheeks of the aged yeomanry, as the youthful choirs chanted their thrilling melodies, concerning the nation's woes. This is called a disgrace. If it be a disgrace to accomplish a peaceful revolution in so extensive a country as this, without a life being lost, then indeed so it is. It would be well for those who slander the agents of that day, to look back, and see whether our little sprinkling of Hard Cider would compare with the *Rum* and *Brandy* used by the old Hickory Clubs, either in quantity or quality. The sovereign people will occasionally feel inclined to act in conformity with their inclinations, and they are the judges of the matter, and therefore I do not censure the people—it would be treason to censure the sovereign power. Alas! our victory has been for nought, and ere long the people will again come forth to assert their supremacy. The flag of 1840 will again be unfurled to the breeze, with our principles nailed to the staff. If we desire to sing songs, we shall sing them. "Vox populi, vox Dei."

XL. ONE PRESIDENTIAL TERM.

It is almost useless to bring this matter before the American people. Every citizen is so deeply interested, that it would be almost an insult to their judgment to discuss it. Yet, in a great array of truths, this, though a self-evident proposition,

may form a link to the unbroken chain. The more frequently the people are heard through the ballot boxes, the more secure their liberties; the less frequently, the nearer the approach to monarchy.

It is said, that it would be injurious to the interests of the country, to stop the career of a faithful and well tried servant, after the lapse of so short a time, and bestow the honor on a citizen yet untried. It is honor enough for the most distinguished citizen to be once at the head of a free people. When he knows that his Administrative office is limited, he redoubles his zeal to administer the affairs of the nation with fidelity, in order that he might hand down to posterity an unsullied reputation. It does not prevent him from bestowing favors on those whom he may prefer; it encourages him to select the most meritorious, not for partizan purposes, but for official duty. Nothing is more dangerous to a free government, than to allow any avenues to remain open, through which corruption may pass without detection. A mere supposition, that it could possibly pass, should be sufficient ground for determined action, when the *salus populi, suprema lex est*—the safety of the people is the supreme law. We have created our Chief Magistrate, for the very reason that he has endeared himself to his country, and to us, by a long and faithful public life.

We should, however, always bear in mind, that the love of power is a most insidious foe, and that men become slaves to it, before they are aware of it. The disgrace of our honored citizen is not desired. He has sailed in the Ship of State one voyage, and his old friends eagerly desire his return to their associations. It is understood, that during his voyage, he has officially associated with the Ministers, Charges des Affaires, Embassadors, Envoys, and Plenipotentiaries, of Kings and Emperors. He witnesses that pomp and pageantry, to which his country is yet almost a stranger, (save and except in the large cities, where there is a right smart sprinkling of them already.) He beholds men in livery, and gazes at the fascinating trappings of royalty. He looks with admiration on their fine coaches—sprigs of royalty, with their mustachios and coats of arms.—“Evil communications corrupt good manners.” Four years’ connexion with such humbuggery is, in all conscience, sufficient for every useful purpose. Men’s better judgment will dictate, that the quicker their honored friend cuts such acquaintance, the better will it be for him and his country. A successor from the plain walks of Republican life, will be better proof against these seductive appearances, than one already initiated in them. Our national gallery would be benefitted by the One Term policy. The laudable ambition of the people would be excited to a more vigorous action. True greatness would receive a quicker and more certain reward. All

servile partizanship would be eradicated, and undue influence removed. Every man would then rise or fall on his own merits, and a more unrestrained expression of public opinion could be had. The curtains behind which the old well trained and systematic wire-workers pull their mysterious strings, would then be torn off. What a spectacle of electioneering and forestalling machinery would then present itself to the public eye. The press, untrammelled by Executive patronage, would assume a higher and more independent tone, and the sovereignty of the people would be the better established. So thought the people in 1840; they have had no reason to change their opinion, but every cause to confirm them in this salutary doctrine. The Mill-Boy of the Slashes has nobly maintained this reform, and merits well enough of his country, to be the first Chief Magistrate under its auspices.

XLI. THE LAND DISTRIBUTION BILL.

The bill proposed in December, 1835, directed “that ten per cent. of the nett proceeds of the public lands, sold within the limits of the seven new States, should be set apart for them in addition to the five per cent. reserved by their several compacts with the United States; and that the residue of the proceeds, whether from sales made in the States or Territories, shall be divided among the twenty-four States in proportion to their respective Federal population.” In the event of a war breaking out with any foreign power, the bill was to cease, and the fund which it distributed was to be applied to the prosecution of the war. The object of the bill was to enable the several States, the more effectually, to carry on and complete the Internal Improvements: experience has shown that in this as well as in all other projects, which Mr. CLAY originated, the successful issue of State enterprise was the basis of his political action. He said “if the bill had passed, about twenty millions of dollars would have been, during the last three years, in the hands of the several States, applicable by them to the beneficent purposes of Internal Improvement, Education or Colonization. What immense benefits might not have been diffused throughout the land by the active employment of that large sum! What new channels of commerce and communication might not have been opened! *What industry stimulated! What labor rewarded!* How many youthful minds might have received the blessings of education and knowledge, and been rescued from ignorance, vice and ruin! How MANY DESCENDANTS OF AFRICA MIGHT HAVE BEEN TRANSPORTED FROM A COUNTRY WHERE THEY CAN NEVER ENJOY POLITICAL OR SOCIAL EQUALITY, TO THE NATIVE LAND OF THEIR FATHERS, WHERE NO IMPEDIMENT EXISTS TO THEIR ATTAINMENT OF THE HIGHEST DEGREE OF ELEVATION, INTELLECTUAL, SOCIAL AND

POLITICAL! And, sir, when we institute a comparison between what might have been effected, and what has in fact been done, with that large amount of national treasure, our sensations of regret, on account of the failure of the bill of 1833, are still keener. Instead of its being dedicated to the beneficent uses of the whole people, and our entire country, it has been an object of scrambling among local corporations, and locked up in the vaults, or loaned out by the directors of a few of them, who are not under the slightest responsibility to the Government or people of the United States. Instead of liberal, enlightened and national purposes, it has been partially applied to local, limited and selfish uses. Applied to increase the semi-annual dividends of favorite stockholders in favorite Banks! Twenty millions of the national treasure are scattered in parcels among petty corporations; and while they are growling over the fragments and greedy for more, the Secretaries are brooding in schemes for squandering the whole. The General Government, by an extraordinary exercise of executive power, no longer affords aid to any new works of Internal Improvement. Although it sprung from the Union, and cannot survive the Union, it no longer engages in any public improvement to perpetuate the existence of the Union. But the spirit of improvement pervades the land, in every variety of form, active, vigorous and enterprising, wanting pecuniary aid as well as intelligent direction. The States have undertaken what the General Government is prevented from accomplishing."

What voluminous truths are contained in the foregoing prophetic language! What evidence of the highest patriotism is not here evinced! The States would not present such a frightful picture of indebtedness as they do now, if the principles involved in this bill had been realized by them. If it were good then, in 1835, it certainly is much better now. The more a man examines this doctrine, the better he will like it. Mr. CLAY is its able advocate and friend.

XLII. THE VETO POWER.

Had this power, vested by the Constitution in the Chief Magistrate, been wisely exercised, it would not now be necessary to discuss its merits. There is nothing more to be dreaded in a free Government than the increasing power of the Executive. In a Republican state of society, the superior intelligence and moral energy of the people, should prompt them effectually to resist its dangerous tendency. Ambition and love of power first arise in those who claim pretensions to a superior rank, they then descend to the less favored, and finally infuse a withering influence throughout the whole body politic. The producing classes would be infinitely better circumstanced, had this power never

been exercised. In the case of the veto of the Land Distribution bill in 1833, they were the sufferers; if the States had received their respective quota, under the act, they could have paid a large portion of their liabilities in good money, and would thereby have prevented the laborers being desperately cheated as they have been. In that case the power was exercised by the President retaining the bill in his possession beyond the limited time. It had passed by a majority of two-thirds in the House, and it was thought that it would have passed with a like majority in the Senate, after the Compromise Act had been settled. It is strange, that every veto yet issued, has been in direct contradiction to the will of the people. When matters occur which are novel in their nature, it is well that they should be duly considered before they receive the sanction of the President. It was for this end, that the *Power* was originally vested. In protracted Sessions of Congress, measures might arise for action, upon which the people had not expressed their opinion; the Executive cannot be too cautious in overlooking the progress of such things.

When the people have, however, acted deliberately on a question, and in pursuance of such action it becomes a law, by a respectable majority, it then should receive the Executive sanction, and this should be imperative. It is the greatest characteristic, and the most censurable attribute of royalty, that the will of the King is so often exercised in opposition to the will of the people. Men who have experienced the tyranny and oppression of kingly *despots* should be first in discountenancing the undue exercise of the veto power. It is more criminal in a Republic, than in an Empire or a monarchy. It almost amounts to an absurdity, to have a President elected for the express purpose of carrying out and perfecting the *popular will*, to veto that *WILL* according to his pleasure or caprice. Such conduct has frequently brought Kings themselves to the block. A measure which might be expedient for the people this season, might be inexpedient in three or four years hence—hence arises the necessity of limiting the veto power, in order that the people might enjoy the immediate benefits arising from the enactment of laws to suit their expressed necessities. The people speak out their wants through their delegated authorities fresh from among them, and their Chief Magistrate lends a deaf ear to their requisition. What an usurpation of power is here presented! This great prerogative has been too freely exercised lately, it would be much better to have it not exist at all, if its existence of itself constitutes an abuse. Let it be at least modified, so that it will be more congenial to our institutions, and less capable of trampling on the rights, and annulling the will of a whole people. This is a favorite measure of the

people's candidate—the nation's friend—the Hon. HENRY CLAY!!!

XLIII. THE MEMORY OF HARRISON.

It cannot be denied that the most devoted patriots of the Republic convened in Harrisburg for the purpose of bringing Mr. CLAY's name before the Convention, which nominated the illustrious HARRISON. None contributed more than he to the preference given to that distinguished individual, none labored more arduously towards his election. Napoleon never achieved a more signal triumph over the enemies of France, by his brave warriors, than did the statesman of Kentucky over the well drilled and hitherto almost unconquerable veterans of the dominant party. When the tocsin of victory was sounded, and the peals of triumph rang through the mountains tops and lowly glens—when the shouts of an exulting nation had reached his ears, and bore with them an invitation to become a member of the new Cabinet; he remained unmoved, and followed the directions of his conscience, which dictated to him another course. The *Senate Chamber* was his field; it was there that his services were required. He well understood that it was necessary that strength and stability should be imparted to the Administration by every department of it: that great changes in the policy of State affairs were to be effected; that it was for this purpose, the voice of freemen had been raised, and the victory achieved! Who does not remember the warm friendship, the devoted attachment and the sincere affection which existed between Mr. CLAY and the deceased? During the awful struggle which existed between this and the future world, the one desirous of retaining the object of its regard, the other of bearing aloft so glorious a trophy. Anxiety was deeply seated on the heart of CLAY! When the struggle had ceased, and the earth so recently triumphant, had been utterly discomfited, and the spirit of HARRISON had for ever left us, it was then that *Atlas like*, he put his shoulder under the Constitution and laws—it was then that his soul yearned for his country, and eagerly desired to gratify the waiting hearts of an afflicted people!! How nobly did he struggle! How indefatigable were his efforts,—how many sleepless nights did he not spend in preparing those measures of relief which the public weal so imperatively demanded! What a manifest inconsistency would not the citizens be justly charged with if they should sanction those very principles which they so recently condemned! What an insult to their sovereign will, to continue the greater part and re-establish all the measures which were the subjects upon which they were more directly called on to act! Mr. CLAY well knew that the majesty of the people was violated, that their cries for a change were unheeded! For some time he stemmed the

torrent. History will record his efforts as the noblest acts of the noblest son of the Republic, and award to him the credit of *disinterested patriotism*. The honor, the dignity and the consistency of our institutions loudly demand that the victory of 1840 should be followed up, and the obnoxious measures against which the people protested, be consigned to everlasting oblivion! Why was a majority of one hundred and forty-five thousand given to the honest HARRISON? Why did nineteen States of this glorious Confederacy insist on a change of Administration? It was not to repeal the Sub-Treasury, and then not grant a Substitute. The country desired a *fundamental change*; there was never before a more decided expression of its will given. *The people possess wisdom, virtue and intelligence enough to elect a President who will carry out this change, and in all things execute their will.* He who disdained a seat in the greatest earthly assemblage, where he could not be useful to his countrymen—he who scorned to eat the bread of idleness, or pamper himself on the public patronage, whilst the vetoes of the Executive were once and again laid on their fondest hopes. Glorious resignation! Important event!! Yet how affecting, how thrilling a scene! An everlasting separation from his brother Senators—a final adieu from those walls, which if they could but speak, would be the strongest evidence of the patriotism—the greatness of the man. Nations will fall—principles will survive! CINCINNATUS retired for the salvation of Rome—CLAY sacrificed himself to his country when he had nearly filled the measure of her glory, but it will be an additional lustre to his name. Posterity will view it as the most disinterested act of his existence. Official station had no charm for him, when the Executive had refused to co-operate in the cause dearest his heart—the welfare of the people.

XLIV. THE RIGHT OF PETITION.

In a Republic, composed of many States, there must of necessity be many conflicting interests: in a government of this kind, it is the duty of those who are entrusted with its destinies, to conciliate and harmonize all its different antagonistical principles. In all matters the Constitution should be scrupulously maintained, and the rights of every citizen, however humble, religiously protected. The supreme power of this country is the reflection of the will of the whole people, without the exclusion of any. Of all rights, that of Petition, is dearest to freemen: a denial of this is in fact, by many, supposed to be a violation of the Constitution, and must eventually if persisted in, be productive of much evil. The Southern States feel alarmed at the course of the Northern Abolitionists, but this is not a sufficient ground for them to refuse the prayers of even that portion of American citi-

zens. If Abolitionists are citizens, they are evidently entitled to all their immunities, if they are guilty of treason or any other misdemeanors, they are subject to the laws of their country. Inasmuch as they have never been arraigned before the civil bar for the crime of Abolition, and still enjoy in their respective States all the rights and privileges of other men, it is unreasonable that they should be denied this, the most sacred of all rights, by the General Government. The Congress of the United States would, in the judgment of many, have acted more prudently in even attempting to disfranchise this class of men altogether, than to exclude their petitions without reference or report. Mr. CLAY on this question says: "It is well known to the Senate, that I have thought that the most judicious course with Abolition petitions has not been of late pursued by Congress. I have believed that it would have been wisest to have received and referred them, without opposition, and to have reported against their object in a calm and dispassionate and argumentative appeal to the good sense of the whole community. I am, Mr. President, no friend of slavery. **THE SEARCHER OF ALL HEARTS KNOWS THAT EVERY PULSATION OF MINE BEATS HIGH AND STRONG IN THE CAUSE OF CIVIL LIBERTY. WHEREVER IT IS SAFE AND PRACTICABLE I DESIRE TO SEE EVERY PORTION OF THE HUMAN FAMILY IN THE ENJOYMENT OF IT.** But I prefer the Liberty of my own country to that of any other people; and the liberty of my own race, to that of any other race. The liberty of the descendants of Africa in the United States is incompatible with the safety and liberty of the European descendants. Their slavery forms an exception—an exception resulting from a stern and inexorable necessity—to the general liberty in the United States. We did not originate, nor are we responsible for, this necessity. Their liberty, if it were possible, could only be established by violating the incontestible powers of the States, and subverting the Union. And beneath the ruins of the Union would be buried, sooner or later, the liberty of both races." This is in accordance with Mr. CLAY's whole life. He is in favor of the Right of Petition in all cases, though opposed to their contents. In a late controversy I had with an Irish gentleman, he said he could not vote for Mr. CLAY, because he presented a petition from Sullivan county in the State of New York for the Repeal of the Naturalization law. But it can be seen that he holds this right as inalienable to every citizen, and as such he felt himself bound to present it. That matter was, or at least ought to be for ever settled, by the able exposition which he gave Mr. GALLITZIN in relation thereto. He is a devoted friend to all the rights of men, and more particularly to the Right of Petition. Adopted citizens read this statesman's life, and you will vote for him to become your Chief Magistrate.

XLV. THE CREDIT SYSTEM.

In no department of American politics can we find a topic of such intense importance as the Credit System. Many have attributed the almost innumerable bankruptcies of individuals to this cause. It is, nevertheless, a mistaken idea, to charge it with what its abuse has effected. When a desire of novelty, an ambition for power, and a restless anxiety for change, seize the minds of the unfortunate and disappointed; they are, whilst in this state, utterly incapable of properly estimating the advantages accruing from those sources, which they have abused. No men in this Republic were louder in their approval, or more earnest in extending the influence of *credit*, from 1828 to 1833, than those who have recently been heard to denounce it, whilst standing on the smouldering ruins of the altars which they erected—the last remains of their unskilful workmanship.

It may here be remarked, that when the cause is corrupt, the effect will also be corrupt. So long as the Currency was good, Credit was healthy; in the same proportion that it became spurious, Credit became affected. Small Banks, conscious of their own rottenness, were not particular to whom they made their loans, they rather boasted of the amount of their issues, as well as the extent of their speculations. As the money, so called, increased in circulation, so did the desire of borrowing delusively attract the producing and industrious classes. All were eager to become rich—none were willing to be called poor. All the citizens flattered themselves that they still had the Republican virtue of their fathers, because they were neither addicted to the frivolities, the expenses or the vices of the palace, they however forgot that the zeal of party, the love of power, the thirst of popularity, were gradually exciting amongst them a love for pleasure, a longing for gold, and an inclination for Aristocratic distinction, which would inevitably, if persisted in, cast a sombre cloud over the simplicity and innocence of their rising greatness and increasing glory. The most distinguished actors in this bloated and corrupt Credit System, were the most violent and the least respected demagogues. Men who possessed the power of obtaining, at pleasure, large sums of money, would soon imperceptibly acquire a preponderating influence, in giving to whole communities the impress of their destructive operations. How was it possible, that a credit based on rottenness and bad faith could exist? Five hundred Pet Banks, engaged in their respective traffic, with their agents and emissaries, buying up the public demesne, and otherwise imposing on the public credulity, could not but result in irretrievable ruin to all persons who were interested in their more remote operations? Millions of dollars of credit were received, without the means of paying one cent

of it. Swamps were sold for cities, and frog-ponds for the most delightful mill sites. The intelligent and virtuous could not look at such a state of things without deep concern. In the city of Chicago, some three or four gentlemen destroyed, in the Lake House, in one night, in 1836, some twelve hundred dollars worth of bar utensils, &c. This bill, and many others of a similar character, were paid in the spurious currency of the shin-plaster shops, and everything was again in *status quo*. It is astonishing, from what unjust causes, men will frequently draw their conclusions. Is the Credit System to be denounced, because these bubbles burst? Why, the most healthy man can become unhealthy by the abuse of his faculties,—the blood which flows through our veins, pure and wholesome, can become, by the infusion of poison, impure and unhealthy. In the political, as well as in the animal world, a due regard must be had to uniformity, regularity and consistency. A close adhesion must be also had to correct and honest principles, every deviation from which will always be attended with pernicious consequences. When the Banks failed, of course the credit which they sustained fell with them, then it seems it was the creating power which was incapable of sustaining its own offspring, and consequently the cause of so much individual bankruptcy, must be attributed to the creation of so many Banks, and the issue of so much spurious money.

The ruinous policy of the Administration was not only seen in this instance, but also in the remedy—which, instead of drawing a little blood from the arteries, and thus gradually endeavoring to restore things to a proper equilibrium—drew the sword against its own pets, and unnaturally beheaded them, by the issue of the Specie Circular. This was the finale of the dishonest and ruinous war on the Currency—then was perfected the odious doctrine of gold and silver for the office-holders, and rags for the people. This swallowed the remaining vitality of those cursed vipers, and in it we know not which the most to abhor, the grievance or the remedy. Mr. CLAY has always opposed one currency for the government, and another for the people. He desires a healthy Credit System, and high wages for the poor.

XLVI. THE WAGES OF LABOR WOULD BE INCREASED.

The policy of Mr. CLAY has always been salvation, not destruction. He has never opposed the introduction of any measure which he thought would be beneficial to his country. In those great national acts, which bear the impress of his undying patriotism, he has given way in many instances to the judgment of others. He has always evinced great hopes in the success of everything which he deemed constitutional. Sometimes he was not in-

sensible to the faults of others, and though he would suggest their modification in several particulars, yet he trusted to time, and their returning good sense, to effect the proposed changes, which they may on a fair trial deem expedient.

It is clear to all, that confidence is now nearly destroyed, our finances low, our credit impaired, and the whole machinery of government too much under Executive control, to expect things to become restored to their wonted channel. It would be worse than madness to continue in power the authors of such disorder and ruin. Affairs, if permitted to remain in the present retrograde state, will ere long produce in this happy country, all the misery and poverty which we have witnessed in Europe. Already an Aristocratic class has arisen out of the general failure of the enterprising and adventurous masses, who possess large quantities of ill-gotten wealth; whereby they can exercise an all-powerful influence. It is preposterous to suppose, that Specie can form the only and exclusive Currency of this extensive Republic. Yet there are men who openly proclaim such doctrines. The labouring classes especially, who have emigrated from Europe, know the destructive tendency of such a policy. It is said that money will become more valuable, as its circulation becomes less; grant it—but do our foreign wants proportionably decrease? Why this principle of an exclusive metallic currency, would not only compel us to have recourse to a high Tariff for protection, but even to an almost entire exclusion of everything foreign. In this state of things we would be reduced to the European standard of wages immediately, and of consequence, to more misery and poverty, owing to our extent of territory, distance from markets, &c.—we would be less able to sustain ourselves here on double the wages which we had in Europe. Add to this, the length of winter, and other inconveniences to which we are subject. It is indispensable to the successful performance of many manufacturing arts, that we still patronize the old country. The result of the pusillanimous system which certain good citizens now propose, would be a worse state of things, than exist in the most unfavored lands. It is readily perceived, that a dangerous monied Aristocracy would be immediately created, who could hold the labor and industry of our people at their nod. How could we ever be able to pay off our State and individual indebtedness under such a state of things? These debts were contracted when the country was inundated with shin-plasters, more worthless than the assignats of France. Why, to pay one hundred dollars, we would require as much labor as would, when the debt was contracted, pay five hundred dollars. It is evident then, that such a system as proposed, would for ever incapacitate the citizens and States for paying their debts, and eventually expel hon-

esty from the heritage which WASHINGTON bequeathed to his countrymen. How many men of brilliant talents, and generous souls, are now struggling for a bare subsistence in this fruitful and delightful country, who, if they had but a few hundred dollars, might receive a start into a prosperous and lucrative business. Several hundred Germans have lately returned home, owing to the want of that employment which this former El Dorado of the New World always previously afforded to the enterprising emigrant. Examine the whole policy of this government for the last fifteen years, and you will find its tendency has invariably been to make the rich richer, and the poor poorer. When in the employment of the Government in the West, I received specie for my pay. When the day arrived on which we were to be paid, numbers would call on the clerks for their specie, giving them twenty per cent for the gold and silver, in order to enter their lands. I have known as high as thirty. It is not necessary to say that one of the Secretaries of the present Administration sold his money, and paid an honest and industrious mechanic some three or more hundred dollars in one dollar notes—the good natured man, when he beheld the pile, coolly remarked: Sir, had I known that I should have such a burden to carry home, I would have hired a Negro. We are told that the Whigs promised two dollars a day and roast beef, if they got into power. Such a promise has not, I hope, had any effect on the incorruptible Democracy of the country. I have never heard such language used. But suppose it had been used, was it possible that a whole nation could be relieved in one short month, whilst the honored HARRISON lived. When he died we lost our HEAD, and instead thereof we received one which was ere long cooked and seasoned, with the essence of the old *leaven*. Why he declared he was a people's man, the Constitutional President—and finally a Jeffersonian Democrat—though such a thing as an Exchequer or a Bank veto cannot be discovered in the Administrative policy of that extraordinary statesman, THOMAS JEFFERSON. A good Regulator of the currency will render it uniform—the laboring man and the office holder will be paid in the same coin. Credit will be restored—Internal Improvements will revive—the resources of the country will be developed, and all nature will again be reinvigorated. Let us look to these matters—*Magna est veritas et prevalebit.*

XLVII. THE STATE OF KENTUCKY IS ENTITLED TO A PRESIDENT.

Whenever passions have been stirred up, pride excited or wounds inflicted, in any portion of the citizens, it is always good policy to apply soothing remedies, and by a sense of justice restore the love of country in all. Every signal of alarm sounded

by us, excites the jealousy of all the European powers. In the distribution of National honors, a due regard should always be had to all the conflicting interests of the Confederacy. It would be a wise plan not only to limit the Executive rule to one term, but also to restrict it still further, by not allowing a State to be represented in the Executive chair twice in succession. *Kentucky*—the chivalrous *Kentucky* can justly boast of the patriot, who relatively stands in the annals of his country as the Sun does amongst the lesser constellations. A Democrat lately observed to me—"Sir, I cannot deny that Mr. CLAY is not only the greatest man in this country, but the greatest now living." Why not vote for him, then, said I? "No, I shall not desert my party. I will vote for the nominee of the Democratic National Convention, be he whom he may. But as for Mr. CLAY, on the platform of his country, he stands a head and shoulders taller than any other man in it. I am proud of him, and if I heard him insulted, I would stand in his defence. He is an American and so am I." The gentleman alluded to, is too strongly attached to party to sustain the greatest man living. But is his language in consonance with that wisdom which it is necessary for citizens to possess? It would seem to be involved in this—my party first—my country next. Yes, the land which produced the most daring—the bravest—the noblest set of soldiers that ever lived should now be represented in the Chief Magistracy. Two-thirds of the citizens of Kentucky are descended from Irish ancestry, and three-fourths of the State are in favor of Mr. CLAY, politically, perhaps all socially; hence Mr. CLAY receives the votes of the Irish in that State, where he is best known. Kentucky is entitled to a President, and Pennsylvania ought to look at home, and not allow the Albany regency to dictate terms to her and the Union. Why, if New York cannot produce a stronger man than the Hon. MARTIN VAN BUREN—the Hero of Canada—the Knight of the Sub-Treasury, she ought at once resign the title of the Empire State! A man on whom the indignation of a majority of one hundred and forty-five thousand freemen fell—and the ponderous weight of *nineteen* States. Why really, so well merited a castigation ought to bring New York to her senses!! Go ahead gentlemen, you are resolved on your course, and so is the Union resolved on its course. Never was an individual so abused as Mr. CLAY has been by this same regency! Never has an individual merited it less! Every man well understands that the most skilful and intriguing politicians may be found in the Democratic caucusses of Albany. Aside from this influence the New Yorkers are an intelligent and hospitable people, who will act as it suits them, when they are convinced of any unknown or private intrigue being set on foot to influence their political action. The people of Ken-

tucky should issue a National Manifesto, without distinction of party, on their claims for the Presidency; the Union should and will respond to it. Colonel JOHNSON, who lately said, that Mr. CLAY was an honor to Kentucky, will give his honored Senator an impartial notice, when his foes pour upon him their venom and abuse. Yes, the defender of the abused, the slandered HARRISON, will now, true to himself and his country, say to the world: Gentlemen, here is HARRY—Kentucky's favorite—beat him, if you can, in an open field and fair fight; but I beg you not to abuse him! If they could not find a rifle in Old Kentuck to bring down this *Coon*, I reckon old Kinderhook can't come it.

XLVIII. THE SOVEREIGNTY OF THE PEOPLE.

He who would trifle with this great fundamental principle, upon which all governments should rest, is no friend to Republics. Every man is free to act according to the dictates of his own conscience; any restraint imposed on this action, provided it does not injure society, is tyranny. It is insulting to the sovereign people, to treat them with contempt, in any manner; when they speak through their constitutional organs, they should be heard. When they command, they should be obeyed. Every citizen desires the inviolability of the great principle—*Vox populi, vox Dei*. None can be found who are more worthy of popular favor, than they who invariably act in subservience to the popular will. None are less worthy than they who set that will at defiance. The Whig party have, during the last fifteen years, calmly submitted to the laws of their country, they have always endeavored to enlighten the people, through the press, and in every other rational mode within their power. *Whenever accusations have been made, they were applied to those who were the professional leaders, never to the people themselves.* Defeat followed defeat, still they insisted on the sovereignty of the people. Victory at length crowned their enduring perseverance, and the Democracy of the country redeemed themselves from the improper influence which was exercised over their political action. They established the truth of the doctrine, which of all others is the most sacred—that their will is supreme. No sooner, however, had they effected their deliverance from the demagogic meshes, in which they were for a long season entangled, and stood forth redeemed and disenthralled, than the party, who had brought upon themselves their indignation, instead of blaming themselves for their mal-administration, threw all the odium on the source of all power—the people. They then and now assert, that the change was effected by British gold, and the demoralization of the people. If the people are capable of being

bought with British gold, they are not the people they should be! If they have been demoralized, it was from the effect of the bad example of their demagogues, and the ruinous policy of the country. But these charges are not true, they are base libels on the people of the United States. There never was a more intelligent, or a more moral people, than the people of this country. They cannot be insensible to these gross attacks. When they act, they are determined that their motives shall not be condemned. However, it seems, from the present appearance of things, that the vanquished party are fully bent upon dictating to the sovereigns of the country—they are now taking measures to resuscitate the men and the measures, which have been so recently condemned. How will these matters appear before the world! Why, they will say, Republics are inconsistent—to-day they condemn, to-morrow they sanction. Now they elect men to pass certain laws—by-and-by the laws are vetoed. This year they say a Sub-Treasury is anti-Republican—next year it is Republican. In a word, nothing is stable in such governments. Why, this action taken upon General JACKSON's fine is, of itself, a cause for comment. His party is in power some twelve years, and the old veteran is, all this time, forgotten—but when they are out, they bring up this matter for political capital. There can be no doubt, but that this has been resolved on years ago, and the conclusion is irresistible, that the party, finding that the military fame of the General was sufficient political capital for his life-time, that the fine should be laid up for a *breeder*, when they had exhausted all their other electioneering clap-traps. Now that the bill is passed by a Whig Senate, therefore the capital is lost. Now, our sovereignty is to be established our political rights maintained, and VAN BUREN again defeated.

XLIX. MR. CLAY IS REMARKABLY FRIENDLY TO FOREIGNERS.

Whilst on my route to Washington from the far West, I had frequent opportunities of ascertaining the GREAT COMMONER's opinion, relative to the emigration of Europeans to this country as well as their naturalization when here. I invariably found that in the more remote regions, where he was but little known, much prejudice existed against him, but when in Louisville, and other cities and towns in his own State, where he was best known, these narrow-minded views were not only narrowed down to a small compass, but absolutely removed altogether, and in his own immediate neighborhood he is a great favorite amongst the adopted citizens. It would be well for us and the country, that we had never acted almost in concert against this eminent statesman. Facts are stubborn things; hear him in a Speech delivered in the Senate Chamber of his native land, before as large and as respecta-

ble an assemblage, as ever graced its galleries, on this subject. Mr. CLAY, on the 3d of February, 1832, said :—

“The honest, patient, and industrious German readily unites with our people, establishes himself on some of our fat lands, fills a capacious barn, and enjoys in tranquillity the abundant fruits, which his diligence has gathered around him, always ready to fly to the standard of his adopted country, or of its laws, when called by the duties of patriotism. The gay, the versatile, the philosophical Frenchman, accommodating himself cheerfully to all the vicissitudes of life, incorporates himself without difficulty in our society. BUT OF ALL FOREIGNERS, NONE AMALGAMATE 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 ORIGINALLY PART AND PARCEL OF THIS CONTINENT, AND THAT BY SOME EXTRAORDINARY CONVULSION OF NATURE, IT WAS TORN FROM AMERICA, AND, DRIFTING ACROSS THE OCEAN, IT WAS PLACED IN THE UNFORTUNATE VICINITY OF GREAT BRITAIN. THE SAME OPEN-HEARTEDNESS, THE SAME CARELESS AND UNCALCULATING INDIFFERENCE ABOUT HUMAN LIFE, CHARACTERIZES THE INHABITANTS OF BOTH COUNTRIES. KENTUCKY HAS BEEN SOMETIMES CALLED THE IRELAND OF AMERICA. AND I HAVE NO DOUBT, THAT, IF THE EMIGRATION WERE REVERSED, AND SET FROM AMERICA UPON THE SHORES OF EUROPE, EVERY AMERICAN EMIGRANT TO IRELAND WOULD THERE FIND, AS EVERY IRISH EMIGRANT HERE FINDS, A HEARTY WELCOME AND A HAPPY HOME.”

Such were the sentiments, and such are they now, and such will they ever be, of this *Great Commoner*, in respect to foreigners. This speaks for itself, and ought to be sufficient evidence of his great liberality to adopted citizens, and before all, to Irishmen. Mr. CLAY has never been known to record his vote in favor of the abridgment of popular rights!! What has Mr. VAN BUREN done? Why, he voted for the restriction of the right of suffrage in WHITE CITIZENS, and for its extension to the *Blacks!!!!* His name stands in bold relief, for a perpetual notoriety, in the organ of the New York Native American party, called the *New York Citizen*, as one of their greatest champions. He said, when in the full tide of State popularity, that “FOREIGNERS WILL RENDER OUR ELECTIONS A CURSE, INSTEAD OF A BLESSING.” What! Is such language as the foregoing nothing? Shall we overlook every thing in the *Hero of the Proclamations*, the *Knight of the Caroline*, because, forsooth, he is styled a Democrat!!! Shall this mantle envelop in obscurity all the sins

of the *Kinderhook* politician, because of a name? No; it will already take years to heal the wounds which he has so cruelly inflicted on the rising genius of American liberty. That party who set on foot the Native American party, in New York city, for political effect, ought to be ashamed! I deal in facts. When PORTER was executed in Pennsylvania some years since, for mail robbery, &c. his accomplice was pardoned by General JACKSON, though under sentence of death; this, however, was effected by means of a petition forwarded to the old veteran, which was numerously signed. General JACKSON, of course, supposed that there were some mitigating circumstances connected with the pardoned criminal's case, by reason of the petition; he therefore justly deserved no censure, as, without doubt, he would have acted in a similar manner towards PORTER, under similar circumstances. However, PORTER happened to be an Irishman, therefore his execution, and the pardon of his accomplice, operated rather unfavorably on the Irish citizens. The cunning demagogues of that day, observing that the adopted citizens were becoming daily more indignant, resolved on an experiment, which proved eminently successful towards allaying the growing prejudices, viz. a small delegation from Washington was speedily despatched to New York, in order to establish a Native American Association, this was done; when in full operation, the Administration press opened its volleys on the society, it was denounced by them, from Maine to Georgia—from one extremity of the Union to the other—it was called a Whig measure—a Federal project, &c. By this means they effected all that their secret and dangerous intrigues had first suggested—the Democrats were called upon to come out from among them, &c. Thus the PORTER prejudice was allayed, and the adopted citizens were gained over. Readers, the foregoing is, in the main, true. It is susceptible of proof, and can be proved. I now ask, as a man who, God knows, is honest in his political sentiments, what can you expect of men who would descend so low, to gain your influence?—Shame on such chicanery.—Down with such legerdemain.—Give truth a fair field, and she asks no favor.

L. THE ECONOMICAL ADMINISTRATION OF THE GOVERNMENT.

Every citizen is interested in the expenditures of each branch of the civil, military, and maritime departments of his country. It is not only the financial interest of this matter which should be examined, but also the profligacy which it encourages, the corruption which it promotes, and the avenues to fraud which it lays open. It would be well to examine this matter by comparison.

Our beloved WASHINGTON'S Administration, for 8 years, was - - - - \$15,892,188

JOHN ADAMS',	4 years,	-	\$21,450,351
THOMAS JEFFERSON'S,	4 years,	-	41,300,788
Mr. MADISON'S,	8 years, including		
the war expenses,	- - -	-	144,634,939
Mr. MONROE'S,	8 years,	-	104,463,400
J. Q. ADAMS',	4 "	-	50,501,914
General JACKSON'S,	8 "	-	145,792,735
M. VAN BUREN'S,	4 "	07-	140,585,321

From the above table, it is clearly seen, that the last Administration had swelled the current of national expenses, in the short term of four years, to nearly the amount of JAMES MADISON'S eight years, including the war with England. Much has been said by the Loco Foco party, concerning the Extra Session of Congress, and its ineffectual and abortive attempts to accomplish good for our common country. The Twenty-Seventh Congress has done much more than its most sanguine friends could expect, considering the position in which it was placed. It reduced the annual appropriations more than one-half, when compared with the average expenditure of each year of VAN BUREN'S Administration. Here are the facts :

VAN BUREN'S expenditure in 1837,	\$37,265,037.15
" " " 1838,	39,455,433.25
" " " 1839,	37,614,936.15
" " " 1840,	27,249,909.51

Total, - - - - \$140,585,321.16

The annual average on this amount
is - - - - - \$35,146,330.29

The last, or Twenty-Seventh Congress, which was Whig, reduced this enormous annual expenditure to - 16,332,837.00 Which is less by \$2,580,656.19, than half the annual average expenditure of VAN BUREN'S Administration. Mr. CLAY gave all measures which had reference to retrenchment and reform, his most sanguine support. On this subject, he says:—"The next thing recommended is retrenchment in the national expenditure, and greater economy in the administration of the government. And do we not owe it to this bleeding country, to ourselves, and the unparalleled condition of the times, to exhibit to the world a fixed, resolute and patriotic purpose to reduce the public expenditure to an economical standard. But a much more important advantage than either of those I have yet adverted to, is to be found in the check which the adoption of this plan will impose on the efflux of the precious metals from this country to foreign countries. I shall not now go into the causes by which the

country has been brought down from the elevated condition of prosperity it once enjoyed, to its present state of general embarrassment and distress. I think that those causes are as distinct in my understanding and memory, as any subjects were ever impressed there, but I have no desire to go into a discussion, which can only revive the remembrance of unpleasant topics. My purpose—my fixed purpose on this occasion has been, to appeal to all gentlemen, on all political sides, of this Chamber, to come out and make a sacrifice of all lesser differences, in a patriotic, generous and general effort for the relief of their country. I shall not open those bleeding wounds, which have, in too many instances, been inflicted by brothers' hands—especially will I not do so at this time, and on this occasion.—I have persuaded myself, the system now brought forward, will be met in the spirit of candor and of patriotism; and in the hope that, whatever may have been the differences in the Senate in days past, we have now reached a period in which we can forget our prejudices, and agree to bury our transient animosities deep at the foot of the altar of our common country, and come together as an assemblage of friends and brothers and compatriots, met in common consultation, to devise the best mode of relieving the public distress.—Let us lay aside prejudice; let us look at the distresses of the country and those alone." How admirable such sentiments! How patriotic such language!! Never did man evince so anxious a desire as he to elevate the high destinies of his country still higher, and transmit them to posterity, in all respects worthy of their authors. It is necessary that mildness and moderation should become more prevalent in the administration of public affairs. It is true, that peace now exhibits to our view, the enchanting prospect of rich fields, flourishing cities, spacious harbors, growing population, increased resources, and almost countless avenues to prosperity: it is for us to awaken the patriotic and generous affections, to rouse that noble ardor, which, spreading from breast to breast, obliterates for a time the selfishness of private interest, and leads to the admission of great and heroic feelings, in order that we may dignify that Chair, in which the most illustrious men of any age or any country sat, by placing in it the generous, the patriotic, the high-minded, the magnanimous, the eloquent, the able, the Republican Senator from Kentucky—HENRY CLAY.

Si historiam queritis, circumspicite.





FROM MR. CLAY'S SPEECH IN THE SENATE, FEBRUARY, 1832.

The honest, patient, and industrious German readily unites with our people, establishes himself on some of our fat lands, fills a capacious barn, and enjoys in tranquillity the abundant fruits which his diligence has gathered around him, always ready to fly to the standard of his adopted country, or of its laws, when called by the duties of patriotism. The gay, the versatile, the philosophical Frenchman, accommodating himself cheerfully to all the vicissitudes of life, incorporates himself without difficulty in our society. *But, of all foreigners, none amalgamate 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 originally part and parcel of this continent, and that by some extraordinary convulsion of nature it was torn from America, and, drifting across the ocean, it was placed in the unfortunate vicinity of Great Britain. The same open-heartedness, the same careless and uncalculating indifference about human life, characterizes the inhabitants of both countries. Kentucky has been sometimes called the Ireland of America. And I have no doubt that, if the emigration were reversed, and set from America upon the shores of Europe, every American emigrant to Ireland would there find, as every Irish emigrant here finds, a hearty welcome and a happy home.

SENATOR BENTON'S OPINION OF HENRY CLAY IN 1824.

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 close commercial alliances with Mexico and South America. If 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 safest friend to interior commerce would be the statesman who has proclaimed the Mississippi to be the sea of the west; the most zealous promoter 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 eloquent advocate of their own independence.

JOHN TYLER'S OPINION OF HENRY CLAY.

I do declare, in the presence of my heavenly Judge, that the nomination given to me was neither solicited nor expected: *I went to the Convention in honor of Henry Clay*; and, in the defeat of the wishes of his friends, I, as one of them, made a sacrifice of feeling, even though my own name was associated with that of Harrison. . . . I am a true and genuine Whig, and in the Capitol yonder I have shown my love of Whig principles.





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