R. D. French

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Sept 20 06

JUST PUBLISHED,

THE THIRD EDITION

OF THE

BEAUTIES OF WEBSTER.

Opinions of the Press.

Beauties of Daniel Webster.—"A handsome little volume of 216 pages, bearing this title, containing judiciously selected extracts from the speeches, addresses, &c., of that distinguished gentleman. The work is edited by James Rees, who has added a Critical Essay on the genius and writings of Mr. Webster. Mr. Rees has discharged both duties well and ably, and we wish the book might go into the hands of every person capable of reading, from New Brunswick to Texas."—*New York Gazette.*

"This is the title of a neat little work, prepared with much care by Mr. James Rees. The selections are judiciously made and admirably arranged. Mr. Webster is one of the great men of the country, never at a loss for words, powerful in argument, fascinating and beautiful as an orator. The critical essay is enthusiastic, eloquent, and truthful. The work will meet with an extensive sale."—*N. Y. Whig.*

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"We rejoice, therefore, that selections, so tastefully made as those in this volume, have been put forth in a shape and form to give them wide circulation among all classes; for

the extracts are such as no American, of whatever party, can fail to admire.

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JUST PUBLISHED,

THE THIRD AMERICAN EDITION OF

MY NIECE;

OR,

THE STRANGER'S GRAVE.

Opinions of the Press.

"A deeply afflicting story of guilt, and sorrow, and death—well written, and impressing strongly the salutary admonition to beware of the first beginnings of sin. It is published in a very handsome style, and is a book to be commended for its literary merit, and still more for its moral tendency."—*New York Review.*

"A thrilling story, with an awful catastrophe—well told, and original."—*Ladies' Companion.*

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"This beautiful and instructive tale, which has been out of print for some years, comes before the public in a

style worthy of all praise. Beautifully printed and beautifully bound, externally it resembles our best annuals, and internally a great superiority is evinced over the most of them. The instructive moral of the tale may be gathered from the author's concluding paragraph, which we extract:

"'Reader, I have told thee a tale of no ordinary wo; but it has a moral in it. Whatever thou mayst be, or however situated, guard well the first avenues which lead to sin; for if one false step be taken, thou canst not tell of how many evils it may be the prelude.'"—*N. Y. Literary Gazette.*

"This is the title of an interesting work, re-printed in a very elegant form, by Edward Walker, of Fulton street, New York. The tale is one of deep interest, and presents a faithful picture of the progress and consequences of vice, and will, if rightly understood, exert an important and beneficial influence upon the youthful mind, in proving how near to the indulgence of innocent enjoyments, is the barrier that separates it from the first steps of vice. The tale is told with an unpretending and delicate beauty. Even in those passages where it is necessary to portray the state of feeling and the power of temptation, the author has preserved a purity of style and description, very admirable. None, but the fastidious — whose opinion is usually worth nothing at all — can find any fault with either the contents or the way in which it is got up. There are some passages of extraordinary power, and of a highly dramatic character. Witness the interview between Margaret and her repentant and unhappy brother. In a very judicious and brief introduction — the pulisher sets forth his opinion—one, by the bye, which we wish he could disseminate through the New York community, viz.: that good editions at reasonable prices are always cheaper than common ones. We have seen few neater works, as regards typography and binding, turned out from New York. We have not yet seen the work advertized in this city. We wish it may have an extended circulation, for the interest it excites and the moral it enforces. If our opportunity would allow, our readers should have an extract.—*Boston Atlas.*

BEAUTIES OF CLAY.

THE

BEAUTIES

OF THE

HON. HENRY CLAY.

TO WHICH IS ADDED,

A BIOGRAPHICAL AND CRITICAL

ESSAY.

——————QUID FACUNDIA POSSET
RE PATUIT——————

NEW YORK:

EDWARD WALKER,

No. 112 Fulton-street.

.....

1839.

CRAIGHEAD & ALLEN, PRINTERS,
112 Fulton-street, New York.

TO THE

CITIZENS OF THE UNITED STATES,

THE FOLLOWING

SELECTIONS FROM THE WORKS

OF THEIR

PATRIOTIC AND DISTINGUISHED

COUNTRYMAN,

ARE RESPECTFULLY DEDICATED, BY

THE PUBLISHER.

New York, 1839.

ADVERTISEMENT.

In presenting this work to the public, the publisher cannot refrain from making some few remarks, in relation to its appearance. He, some time since, published the "Beauties of Webster," but could not regard that work as complete without an accompanying volume of selections from Clay—two of the greatest names of which America can boast, in her political world. The following selections have been made without reference to any party feelings. Knowing well that Mr. Clay entertained some views on certain subjects, from which many enlightened Americans con-

scientiously differed, it has been his object to omit from these pages any extract which might tend to offend any party whatever. They are presented simply as specimens of eloquence, and as such, the publisher believes they will meet with that success they so well deserve. He has been careful, in the production of this work, to present the rarest gems from the eloquence of Mr. Clay; such specimens as cannot fail to be interesting to every citizen of America. At this time, too, it is believed that such a work is a desideratum. Neither time nor opportunity will frequently allow a general reader to undertake the perusal of long and intricate arguments, and from this cause it is believed that Mr. Clay's writings are not sufficiently or extensively known; the present work has been undertaken with a view to re-

move this difficulty. At this precise period, too, Mr. Clay is naturally exciting much attention, by the prominent station which he occupies ; nor can the publisher doubt that this work will be received with pleasure by the public.

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A

BIOGRAPHICAL AND CRITICAL

ESSAY.

The History of Henry Clay is to a certain extent the history of his country. Incorporated as he is with her most important decisions; exercising, as he did, a vigilance unsurpassed over her interest, when danger hovered around; when one false step might have ruined the cause of liberty throughout the world, and re-established the miseries of a legal despotism. Uniting stern justice in principle with eloquence in debate, his voice has been more than once heard as the notes of salvation, through the American Continent. With his name is associated many of its proudest recollections, many of the loftiest triumphs of genius, many

of the purest outbursts of patriotism, when in the exercise of that mighty power,

"Which awed and shook a monarch and his throne."

To trace the dawnings of a mind so richly stored with intellect, so profound in its reasoning powers, so ready in its invention, cannot fail to be interesting. It must be remembered, that he has flourished at times of signal disaster, and temporary defeat, when the darkest clouds were hovering over the destinies of the new republic, when one false step might ruin the cause of liberty throughout the world. The page of common history had been blotted with one signal failure of an attempt to establish republicanism in England, and looking back the dim vista of ages, we remember with sorrow the causes which led to that result — the wild contention of excited ambition, the grasping avarice and selfishness of the leaders, and the dark spirit of bigotry and fanaticism which clouded the struggling rays of a purer light, and quenched the incipient struggles of a better system of government. What might have been the effects of a second

failure in a more enlightened age — it is fearful to contemplate. Many a wishful eye had been turned, from the darkness of despotism, to the struggles for liberty on our Western shores; the cause was one in which all were alike interested, a common brotherhood existed. The first great battles which expelled the invader, and drove the spoiler from our coast, were past; they had taken their place among the immortal records of glory, unsurpassed by the loftiest exploits of Roman or Grecian bravery. The attention of all Europe was directed to this side of the Atlantic, anxious to watch for the result of a new experiment in government. They had been watching the great experiment from the commencement of its action. They had heard the predictions which the dying voice of tyranny bequeathed, as it fled forever from the shores of our country, and while gazing at the storm that hovered o'er the horizon, they beheld the clouds give way, retiring before the growing brightness of the sun of freedom. The whole world felt an interest in our success—they felt that with us, as a great na-

tion, alone was entrusted the task of proclaiming the triumph of freedom. The new government had worked well, and its fond supporters found no object for fear or terror. But it could not be concealed from their eyes, that the mother country was searching for an opportunity again to pounce upon its prey. The progress of manufactures, and the increasing resources of the country—above all, the conflicting interests of the northern and southern states, speedily verging to a point—presented objects of the first importance to the statesman and the patriot. Internal convulsion and discontent, a powerful enemy without, called for the exercise of untiring energy, and increasing vigilance. It was at this era, that Henry Clay appears on the scene of his country's history. From that time down to the present, he has occupied a prominent position; and some account of his progress we feel will be acceptable to his countrymen.

In Hanover County, Virginia, Henry Clay was born on the 12th of April, 1777. While yet young he was called to sustain the loss of

an affectionate father, a most respectable clergyman in that place. At an early age he was placed in the office of the late Mr. Tensley, clerk of the high court of chancery, at Richmond, Virginia. Placed in a situation which would naturally draw on the resources of his mind, the thirst for knowledge, ever craving to be gratified, and the ready perception he evinced, soon distinguished him, not only in the notice of his employer, but also of two eminent men of that day, Chancellor Wythe, and subsequently, Governor Brooke. Under their advice, it seems that Henry Clay first entertained an intention of studying the law. A noble field for the exercise of those gifts which were peculiarly his own, was opened before him. It may well be doubted, whether a more judicious step could possibly have been taken. The imagination, always exuberant in youth, would thus be somewhat tamed to a more sober exercise, and the judgment increased and corrected by constant care and study. We find him, then, devoting himself to that profession, which, in this country,

has presented more mighty minds than almost any other, and in which he himself was destined to become one of the brightest ornaments.

With a view to the acquisition of both confidence and fluency, he at this time became associated with a number of young men in a debating society. The anecdote told by a gentleman who was present at his first attempt to address this body, reminds us forcibly of many similar instances of temporary failure; and although many might at that time feel disposed to attach some importance to the occurrence, Mr. Clay must share their censure in common with Addison and Sheridan, of whom similar stories are told. When rising to address this body, Mr. Clay exhibited the utmost possible confusion; he appeared to have lost all command over himself, and at length commenced with, "Gentlemen of the Jury." The persons present exhibited sufficient philosophy to hide their consciousness of his error; and the orator, gaining strength from his subject, and confidence as he proceeded, delivered a speech, wonderful at any time, but most extraordinary

in so young a man. A person who was present has described the speech as abounding with bursts of thrilling eloquence; the fire of the speaker's eye—the bitterness of his invective—the whole animation of his manner, as much as any thing which he said, won for him at that time expressions of the strongest admiration. His efforts in this society were frequent, and always successful, betraying the intensity with which he thirsted, and the delight with which he drank, at the waters of knowledge. So vigilant, indeed, was he in his attention to his studies—so determined were his efforts to succeed—and, above all, so vast and capacious were the resources of his mind—that at the age of twenty he obtained his license to practise. Little was it then supposed, though exhibiting gifts of the highest order, that the youthful orator was destined to become the leader of his country's council—the foremost in eloquence and debate.

He soon after commenced the practice of law, and although at that time he had to contend with many formidable rivals, he soon became the most distinguished pleader. It is

said that at this time, his legal knowledge was not so distinguished as his powerful eloquence, and it is not to be doubted that he frequently won the jury more by the richness and vigor of his language, than any profundity of argument which he displayed. It was at this time that the fulness of his intellect was displayed, and here he first won the prophecies of his future renown. Mr. Clay exhibited at this time a knowledge of character and experience of mind, not to be looked for in so young a man. This experience was the result as much probably of the conformation of his mind as of any other cause. The clearness of his judgment has been, and still is, one of his proudest qualifications. Deeply versed in the human heart, exerting a magic power over its feelings and passions, he knew when to lash them into indignation, or calm them back to pity. With such requisites for a pleader, it does not seem surprising that his success should have been complete. At this time he appears to have been intrusted with several cases of great importance, in which he acquitted himself to the satisfaction and admiration of all. His

appeals to the jury were distinguished by their deep earnestness and touching pathos, while he not unfrequently exhibited a tasteful and deep knowledge of classic lore. About this time he rendered himself conspicuous by his conduct in a case which, from its peculiar circumstances, he had undertaken to defend. This was the trial of a Mr. Willis, of Fayette County, who was supposed to have committed a murder under circumstances of peculiar atrocity. On the first trial of the case, Mr. Clay had succeeded in dividing the jury as to the nature of the prisoner's offence. At the next session, the public prosecutor moved for a *venire facias de novo.* In his argument before the jury, Mr. Clay contended that the prisoner had been once tried, and the law required that no man's life should be placed in second jeopardy for the same act. The court interfered to prevent his proceeding with the argument, when Mr. Clay, indignant at the interruption, took his papers, and declaring that unless he argued the cause in his own way, he would not argue it all, left the court with his associate counsel. The event was as he pre-

mised. He had scarcely arrived at his chambers, before a messenger requested his return to the court, assuring him that he should pursue the line of argument which he pleased. He did return, and in one of the most masterly efforts on record, succeeded in inducing the jury to acquit the prisoner. As a proof of the wonderful power possessed by Mr. Clay over the minds of a jury, may be mentioned a circumstance with which he was connected at this time. He had accepted the office of public prosecutor, and, in the discharge of his duty, he was called upon to appear against a slave, who irritated by brutal conduct, and struck by his overseer, felled him to the earth. The slave was tried for murder, although the circumstances were calculated only to substantiate a charge of manslaughter. It was for Mr. Clay however to sustain the charge, and in an elaborate speech he contended, that although the case presented only the charge of manslaughter had the prisoner been a white man, yet it being by law the duty of slaves to submit, a charge of murder could be substantiated. By the power of his argument, and the force of

his eloquence, he prevailed on the jury to return a verdict of guilty. The man was executed, but Mr. Clay has been frequently heard to say, that he repented his part in this case more than any professional act of his life.

But we have seen as yet only the glimmerings of his future greatness. We have yet to see him in other characters, those too of more importance to the interests and destinies of the people. Fancy alone could as yet portray his renown as the champion of freedom, and the defender of the insulted honor of his country. His political career may be said to have commenced when the people of Kentucky formed their convention, to debate on a new constitution for the state. One of the most important features of the plan was the gradual extermination of slavery. At this time, the voice of Mr. Clay was employed on every occasion on behalf of natural justice, nor was his pen idle. He used every influence within his power, to produce the election of men favorable to the cause, but, it is to be regretted, without effect. The part he took in this matter, drew on him a temporary unpopularity, which

was however but of short duration. Not long after the famous sedition law was passed, and Mr. Clay came boldly forward as the avowed defender of the people's rights—the effect of his eloquence was to raise a cry of indignation throughout the whole assembly. While descanting on the nature of this oppression, the torrent of bitter invective which he poured out, the animation of his manner, and the bitter indignation of his soul, produced an effect of the most interesting description. In the year 1803, several of Mr. Clay's friends, without his knowledge or consent, opened a poll for him at Fayette. His success seemed by no means sure, and although for the first and second day, his support was respectable, it seemed exceedingly doubtful whether so young a man could succeed at that time. On the third day, however, Mr. Clay arrived on the ground, and disgusted with the tricks and artifices resorted to by his opponents, broke through his previous resolution, and addressed the people. The result was that he was elected almost by acclamation. At this time Mr. Clay distinguished himself by his efforts in the legislature,

more particularly by his remarks on the removal of the seat of government, and his difficulties with Mr. Daviess. Soon after this period, Mr. Clay appeared as the counsel of the celebrated Aaron Burr. Burr had been accused of treason, but the general opinion at that time ran certainly in his favor. So strongly was Mr. Clay persuaded of his innocence, that when Mr. Burr, anxious to procure his professional assistance, forwarded him a large sum of money, he returned it, joining with his associate counsel in expressing his unwillingness to receive a fee for the defence of a persecuted stranger, and a man of no mean standing in the profession. Mr. Burr was brought before the federal court at Frankfort, and discharged, the attorney-general being unprepared with evidence. He was soon after arrested on the same charge; but in the interval, Mr. Clay had been elected by the Kentucky legislature a Senator of the United States. Not considering his station warranted his appearance as the advocate of one accused of treason, he at first declined to act, but persuaded by the re-

presentations of Burr of his innocence, he made another attempt equally successful. When, however, subsequent events convinced him of his delusion, he resented the deceit practised upon him; and when in the court in New York, Mr. Burr afterwards tendered him his hand, he declined it, though offered in the presence of the whole court.

Mr. Clay took his seat for the second time in the Senate of the United States, in the winter of 1809, and distinguished himself once more, by his speech in support of domestic manufactures, from which we have taken numerous extracts in our work. Soon, however, opened the prospect of a war with England, and it was at this time that Mr. Clay particularly distinguished himself by the part he took in public affairs.

In the summer of 1811, he returned to Kentucky, and was elected a member of the national house of representatives, and on the first day of his appearance was elected speaker, by a vote of nearly two to one. This period was one fraught with import to American in-

terests. The breach was widening between our country and England, and gradually assumed an appearance which threatened immediate rupture. Insult was heaped on injury, and every attempt was made to cramp our resources, and cripple our commerce. The British cruisers, in violation of law and justice, boarding our vessels, seized and detained our seamen, treating them as the subjects of the king. In 1812, seven thousand had been captured. In addition to this, attempts were every where made by the British power to check our commerce, by blockading the ports. Every vessel supposed to be destined for France was seized under this mock prohibition. Congress had taken every means to prevent the recurrence of these outrages, and, in order to maintain our peaceful relations, had submitted a series of propositions, which were rejected with contempt. The proceedings of congress were, at this juncture, looked up to with great and absorbing interest. England at this time was engaged in a fearful struggle with France, and mighty interests

were involved in the struggle. There existed then a strong party in favor of the former, and distinguished by an unmitigated detestation of the latter. It was against this party that Mr. Clay exerted himself with an eloquence and ability which has been powerfully described by a native writer. He says, "The occasion was great beyond any that had ever roused his energies, and his soul swelled at the contemplation of it. From the electric home of his mind, a flash went forth, and it was seen blazing and corruscating through every city and hamlet of the union. Like the eastern magician, he invoked the storm with a voice of power, and the shouts of answering spirits, like the murmurs of subterranean waters, went up from every hill, and plain, and valley of his country." At this period he had to encounter the weapons of one of the mightiest minds of the time, in the person of John Randolph; no other man but Mr. Clay would have dared to meet his hostile frown, the lightnings of his mind, or the withering sarcasm of his manner. Mr. Clay,

however, mingled in the fray, and met the onset of the great orator with a corresponding force and energy. The act of declaration was passed in the house on the 18th of June, and the President's proclamation bears date of the 19th. The efforts of Mr. Clay during this period were distinguished by a lofty tone of patriotism, by an unflinching vindication of the honor of his country, and a success which stamped him the peculiar favorite of the people.

Mr. Clay continued to exercise his powers in congress until January, 1814, when he was appointed one of the commissioners to negotiate a treaty of peace. He, therefore, resigned the speaker's chair. He resigned on the 16th of January in an affecting speech, and left the halls where he had so distinguished himself, and where he was then the most powerful and influential member. In this commission he was associated with John Quincy Adams, James A. Bayard, Albert Gallatin, and Jonathan Russell; they were directed to proceed to Gottenburgh, from whence the negotiation was

transferred to Ghent, the British Commissioners being Lord Gambier, Henry Goulborn, and William Adams. On his return to America, he was everywhere received with testimonials of respect and gratitude. In Kentucky, his influence was unbounded. Before his arrival, he was unanimously elected a member of congress from the district he had formerly represented. In the next session, he was elected speaker of the house by an almost unanimous vote. He now distinguished himself by his efforts in favor of the bank, in relation to which he soon after changed his opinion.

The question of the South American Republics was now agitated. The feelings of Mr. Clay was enlisted in their favor, and his defence of their rights was noble and eloquent.

From this period his history is too well known to need recapitulation. He has been associated with events still fresh in the recollection of his countrymen. His most brilliant efforts from this time were his speeches on internal improvement, the Seminole war, and the Greek revolution. In 1822, Mr. Clay, amongst others, was nominated to the presidency. In

March, 1825, he commenced the duties of Secretary of State under the Presidency of Mr. Adams, and during this time he concluded more negotiations than had ever been previously concluded from the first adoption of the constitution. From this situation he soon after retired. His history from this time is familiar to all.

We have thus traced the rise and progress of one of the greatest men of which America can boast. With the recommendation of a long experience, of honest independence, and unflinching firmness, in the defence of his country, he yet lives in the hearts and affections of the people, and his efforts stand as masterpieces of genius on the broad page of American glory. Deeply attached to the principles of the constitution, well versed in the history of governments throughout the world, the past history of the country in moments of affliction give earnest of future hopes. His eloquence has stopped the mad ambition of executive governments—his genius has pierced the flimsy veil which covered the injurious measures which have been introduced—his

mind saw clearly the danger present and the danger that was remote, and his whole soul has been thrown into the task of stripping off the borrowed robes, and presenting itself in its naked weakness. The man who has preserved American interest, will not be backward at his country's call. The offsprings of his genius, following in the track of liberty, claim kindred with its loftiest aspirations; and there can be but one sympathetic feeling of admiration, wherever the American Constitution is admired or known.

A few remarks on the general characteristics of Mr. Clay as an orator, and our task will be completed.

The distinguishing characteristic of Mr. Clay's oratory is brilliancy. His words seem to flash with the spirit he imparts, and his language attracts the mind, and fascinates it with beauty. He seems to possess the singular and desirable faculty, of throwing a charm over the most dry and abstract argument. From sentence to sentence, from argument to argument, we glide, wondering only at the varied pleasures which attract us as we pass.

Like some noble river, the eloquence of Clay glides, swelling in majesty and grandeur as it rolls. It is singular, too, that when he leaves the direct line of argument, to pour the thunder on some despot foe, or flash the lightnings of indignation on the betrayers of his country, he has always previously prepared the mind for it. There is not the slightest evidence of labor; every thing seems the natural fruit of his mighty mind.

Though not always as powerful as Webster, he is frequently more brilliant. The majestic eloquence of Webster falls like the avalanche, accompanied with clouds and gloom; the other, like the cascade, sparkling with a thousand gems of beauty. Mr. Clay frequently intersperses his political and forensic efforts, with appropriate allusions to classic times. His mind seems to love to dwell amid the memory of their glory; his imagination, vivid and active, brings them back again to being. He revels and sports in their existence, and is ever drawing from their exhaustless fountain the elements of knowledge. He loves to re-

gard America as the modern land of freedom, and would seek for examples for the imitation of the one, from the renown, the glory, and the arts of the other.

In argument, Mr. Clay yields to no man at present in the American senate. His speeches, generally long, on important subjects, are never tedious. He presents, in a clear and concise manner, the leading points of his subject, nor does he ever shrink from the accomplishment of a duty, if required. He is not afraid to grapple with the intricacies which present themselves. He takes no superficial view of his theme, detects the fallacies, and strikes at them with a sure and unerring aim. His speeches, too, evince a profound knowledge, and extensive acquaintance with political science. He loves to point out the errors of despotic and monarchical misrule, and visits the instances afforded with no sparing hand.

Frequently, too, his speeches are embellished with passages of deep pathos, so stirring and touching, that they flash to every heart; alternately, he can excite the soul into exultation for past victories, or determination for

future defence. He stands, like Prospero, with his magic wand, to call the spirits of power around him.

Mr. Clay evinces a high order of genius. His sarcasm is always deep and bitter; he spares no part of the subject demanding its exercise. He laughs at the puny attempts to subvert or overthrow him; he seems conscious of playing for a high stake—his country's happiness, and perhaps existence—and he exhibits in their defence the unshrinking courage and desperate firmness of the patriot.

It cannot be doubted that Mr. Clay has exerted a great influence upon the destinies of his country. His fellow citizens owe him a great debt of gratitude. At the present moment, though age is stealing on him, he has not deserted his post; and should it be the pleasure of the people to call him to a more exalted sphere of action, who shall calculate the benefit which will accrue from the efforts of his enlightened and patriotic mind.

BEAUTIES OF CLAY.

INFLUENCE OF NATIONAL GLORY.

We are asked, what have we gained by the war? I have shown that we have lost nothing in rights, territory, or honor; nothing for which we ought to have contended, according to the principles of the gentlemen on the other side, or according to our own. Have we gained nothing by the war? Let any man look at the degraded condition of this country before the war, the scorn of the universe, the contempt of ourselves and tell me if we have gained nothing by the war. What is our present situation? Respectability and character abroad, security and confidence at home. If we have not obtained, in the opinion of some, the full measure of retribution, our character and constitution are placed on a solid basis, never to be shaken.

The glory acquired by our gallant tars, by our Jacksons and our Browns on the land—is that nothing? True, we had our viscissitudes:

there were humiliating events which the patriot cannot review without deep regret—but the great account, when it comes to be balanced, will be found vastly in our favor. Is there a man who would obliterate from the proud pages of our history the brilliant achievements of Jackson, Brown, and Scott, and the host of heroes on land and sea, whom I cannot enumerate? Is there a man who could not desire a participation in the national glory acquired by the war? Yes, national glory, which, however the expression may be condemned by some, must be cherished by every genuine patriot.

What do I mean by national glory? Glory such as Hull, Jackson, and Perry, have acquired. And are gentlemen insensible to their deeds—to the value of them in animating the country in the hour of peril hereafter? Did the battle of Thermopylæ preserve Greece but once? Whilst the Mississippi continues to bear the tributes of the Iron Mountains and the Alleghanies to her Delta and to the Gulf of Mexico, the eighth of January shall be remembered, and the glory of that day shall stimulate future patriots, and nerve the arms of unborn freemen, in driving the presumptuous invader from our country's soil.

Gentlemen may boast of their insensibility to feelings inspired by the contemplation of such events. But I would ask, does the recollection of Bunker's Hill, Saratoga, and Yorktown, afford them no pleasure? Every act of noble sacrifice to the country, every instance of patriotic devotion to her cause, has its beneficial influence. A nation's character is the sum of its splendid deeds; they constitute one common patrimony, the nation's inheritance. They awe foreign powers—they arouse and animate our own people. I love true glory. It is this sentiment which ought to be cherished; and, in spite of cavils and sneers, and attempts to put it down, it will finally conduct this nation to that height to which God and nature have destined it.

THE DANGER IN EXCESS OF MILITARY HONOR.

Mr. Chairman,—I trust that I shall be indulged with some few reflections, upon the danger of permitting the conduct on which it has been my painful duty to animadvert, to pass without a solemn expression of the disapprobation of this house. Recall to your recollection, sir, the free nations which have gone before us. Where are they now?

"Gone glimmering through the dream of things that were,
A schoolboy's tale, the wonder of an hour."

And how have they lost their liberties? If we could transport ourselves back, sir, to the ages when Greece and Rome flourished in their greatest prosperity, and, mingling in the throng, should ask a Grecian if he did not fear that some daring military chieftain, covered with glory, some Philip or Alexander, would one day overthrow the liberties of his country,—the confident and indignant Grecian would exclaim, No! no! we have nothing to fear from our heroes; our liberties will be eternal. If a Roman citizen had been asked, if he did not fear that the conqueror of Gaul might establish a throne upon the ruins of public liberty, he would have instantly repelled the unjust insinuation. Yet Greece has fallen; Cesar has passed the Rubicon; and the patriotic arm even of Brutus could not preserve the liberties of his devoted country.

Sir, we are fighting a great moral battle for the benefit, not only of our country, but of all mankind. The eyes of the whole world are in fixed attention upon us. One, and the largest portion of it, is gazing with jealousy and with envy; the other portion with hope, with confidence, and with affection. Every where the

black cloud of legitimacy is suspended over the world, save only one bright spot, which breaks out from the political hemisphere of the west, to enlighten, and animate, and gladden the human heart. Obscure that, by the downfall of liberty here, and all mankind are enshrouded in a pall of universal darkness. Beware, then, sir, how you give a fatal sanction, in this infant period of our republic, to military insubordination. Remember, that Greece had her Alexander, Rome her Cesar, England her Cromwell, France her Bonaparte, and, that if we would escape the rock on which they split, we must avoid their errors.

I hope, sir, that gentlemen will deliberately survey the awful isthmus on which we stand. They may bear down all opposition. They may even vote the general* the public thanks. They may carry him triumphantly through this house. But if they do, sir, in my humble judgment, it will be a triumph of the principle of insubordination—a triumph of the military over the civil authority—a triumph over the powers of this house — a triumph over the constitution of the land—and I pray, sir, most devoutly, that

* General Jackson.

it may not prove, in its ultimate effects and consequences, a triumph over the liberties of the people.

THE CLAIMS OF GREECE.

Mr. Chairman,—There is reason to apprehend that a tremendous storm is ready to burst upon our happy country — one which may call into action all our vigor, courage, and resources. Is it wise or prudent, then, sir, in preparing to breast the storm, if it must come, to talk to this nation of its incompetency to repel European aggression, to lower its spirit, to weaken its moral energy, and to qualify it for easy conquest and base submission! If there be any reality in the dangers which are supposed to encompass us, should we not animate the people, and adjure them to believe, as I do, that our resources are ample; and that we can bring into the field a million of freemen ready to exhaust their last drop of blood, and to spend their last cent, in the defence of the country, its liberty, and its institutions? Sir, are we, if united, to be conquered by all Europe combined? No, sir, no united nation, that resolves to be free, can be conquered. And has it come to this? Are we so humble, so low, so debased, that we

dare not express our sympathy for suffering Greece; that we dare not articulate our detestation of the brutal excesses of which she has been the bleeding victim, lest we might offend one or more of their imperial and royal majesties? Are we so mean, so base, so despicable, that we may not attempt to express our horror, utter our indignation, at the most brutal and atrocious war that ever stained earth or shocked high heaven; at the ferocious deeds of a savage and infuriated soldiery, stimulated and urged on by the clergy of a fanatical and inimical religion, and rioting in all the excesses of blood and butchery, at the mere details of which the heart sickens and recoils?

But, sir, it is not for Greece alone that I desire to see the measure adopted. It will give her but little support, and that purely of a moral kind. It is principally for America, for the credit and character of our common country, for our own unsullied name, that I hope to see it pass. What appearance, Mr. Chairman, on the page of history, would a record like this exhibit? "In the month of January, in the year of our Lord and Saviour 1824, while all European Christendom beheld, with cold and unfeeling indifference, the unexampled wrongs and inex-

pressible misery of Christian Greece, a proposition was made in the congress of the United States, almost the sole, the last, the greatest depository of human hope and freedom, the representatives of a gallant nation, containing a million of freemen ready to fly to arms, while the people of that nation were spontaneously expressing its deep toned feeling, and the whole continent, by one simultaneous emotion, was rising, and solemnly and anxiously supplicating and invoking high heaven to spare and succor Greece, and to invigorate her arms, in her glorious cause, while temples and senate-houses were alike resounding with one burst of generous and holy sympathy, — in the year of our Lord and Saviour, that Saviour of Greece and of us—a proposition was offered in the American congress to send a messenger to Greece, to inquire into her state and condition, with a kind expression of our good wishes and our sympathies—and it was rejected!" Go home, if you can; go home, if you dare, to your constituents, and tell them that you voted it down. Meet, if you can, the appalling countenance of those who sent you here, and tell them that you shrunk from the declaration of your own sentiments:—that you cannot tell how, but that some

unknown dread, some indescribable apprehension, some indefinable danger, drove you from your purpose:—that the spectres of scimitars, and crowns, and crescents, gleamed before you, and alarmed you:—and that you suppressed all the noble feelings prompted by religion, by liberty, by national independence, and by humanity. I cannot, sir, bring myself to believe that such will be the feelings of a majority of this committee. But, for myself, though every friend of the cause should desert it, and I be left to stand alone with the gentleman from Massachusetts, I will give to his resolution the poor sanction of my unqualified approbation.

THE RISE OF PARTIES.

Considering the situation in which this country is now placed—a state of actual war with one of the most powerful nations on the earth—it may not be useless to take a view of the past, and of the various parties which have at different times appeared in this country, and to attend to the manner by which we have been driven from a peaceful posture to our present warlike attitude. Such an inquiry may assist in guiding us to that result, an honorable peace, which must be the sincere desire of every friend to America.

The course of that opposition, by which the administration of the government has been unremittingly impeded for the last twelve years, is singular, and, I believe, unexampled in the history of any country. It has been alike the duty and the interest of the administration to preserve peace. It was their duty, because it is necessary to the growth of an infant people, to their genius, and to their habits. It was their interest, because a change of the condition of the nation, brings along with it a danger of the loss of the affections of the people. The administration has not been forgetful of these solemn obligations. No art has been left unessayed; no experiment, promising a favorable result, left untried, to maintain the peaceful relations of the country. When, some six or seven years ago, the affairs of the nation assumed a threatening aspect, a partial non-importation was adopted. As they grew more alarming, an embargo was imposed. It would have accomplished its purpose, but it was sacrificed upon the altar of conciliation. Vain and fruitless attempt to propitiate! Then came a law of non-intercourse; and a general non-importation followed in the train. In the meantime, any indications of a return to the public law and the path of justice, on the part of either belligerent, are seized upon with avidity by

the administration. The arrangement with Mr. Erskine is concluded. It is first applauded and then censured by the opposition. No matter with what unfeigned sincerity, with what real effort, administration cultivates peace, the opposition insist that it alone is culpable for every breach that is made between the two countries. Because the President thought proper, in accepting the proffered reparation for the attack on a national vessel, to intimate that it would have better comported with the justice of the king, (and who does not think so ?) to punish the offending officer, the opposition, entering into the royal feelings, sees in that imaginary insult, abundant cause for rejecting Mr. Erskine's arrangement. On another occasion, you cannot have forgotten the hypercritical ingenuity which they displayed, to divest Mr. Jackson's correspondence of a premeditated insult to this country. If gentlemen would only reserve for their own government half the sensibility which is indulged for that of Great Britain, they would find much less to condemn. Restriction after restriction has been tried: negotiation has been resorted to, until farther negotiation would have been disgraceful. Whilst these peaceful experiments are undergoing a trial, what is the con-

duct of the opposition? They are the champions of war; the proud, the spirited, the sole repository of the nation's honor; the men of exclusive vigor and energy. The administration, on the contrary, is weak, feeble, and pusillanimous — "incapable of being kicked into a war." The maxim, "not a cent for tribute, millions for defence," is loudly proclaimed. Is the administration for negotiation? The opposition is tired, sick, disgusted with negotiation. They want to draw the sword and avenge the nation's wrongs. When, however, foreign nations, perhaps emboldened by the very opposition here made, refuse to listen to the amicable appeals, which have been repeated and reiterated by the administration, to their justice and to their interests; when, in fact, war with one of them has become identified with our independence and our sovereignty, and to abstain from it was no longer possible, behold the opposition veering round, and becoming the friends of peace and commerce. They tell you of the calamities of war, its tragical events, the squandering away of your resources, the waste of the public treasure, and the spilling of innocent blood. "Gorgons, hydras, and chimeras dire." They tell you that honor is an illusion! Now

we see them exhibiting the terrific forms of the roaring king of the forest: now, the meekness and humility of the lamb! They are for war and no restrictions, when the administration is for peace. They are for peace and restrictions, when the administration is for war. You find them, sir, tacking with every gale, displaying the colors of every party and of all nations, steady only in one unalterable purpose, to steer, if possible, into the haven of power.

DEFENCE OF THE ADMINISTRATION.

During all this time, the parasites of opposition do not fail, by cunning sarcasm or sly innuendo, to throw out the idea of French influence, which is known to be false, which ought to be met in one manner only, and that is by the lie direct. The administration of this country devoted to foreign influence! The administration of this country subservient to France! Great God! what a change! how is it so influenced? By what ligament, on what basis, on what possible foundation, does it rest? Is it similarity of language? No! we speak different tongues, we speak the English language. On the resemblance of our laws? No! the sources of our

jurisprudence spring from another and a different country. On commercial intercourse? No! we have comparatively none with France. Is it from the correspondence in the genius of the two governments? No! here alone is the liberty of man secure from the inexorable despotism, which every where else tramples it under foot. Where then is the ground of such an influence? But, sir, I am insulting you by arguing on such a subject. Yet, preposterous and ridiculous as the insinuation is, it is propagated with so much industry, that there are persons found foolish and credulous enough to believe it.

THE TRANSACTIONS OF EUROPE CONSIDERED.

Throughout the period I have been speaking of, the opposition has been distinguished, amidst all its veerings and changes, by another inflexible feature, the application to Bonaparte of every vile and opprobrious epithet, our language, copious as it is in terms of vituperation, affords. He has been compared to every hideous monster and beast, from that mentioned in the revelations down to the most insignificant quadruped. He has been called the scourge of mankind, the destroyer of Europe, the great robber, the infidel, the modern Attila, and heaven knows by what

other names. Really, gentlemen remind me of an obscure lady, in a city not very far off, who also took it into her head, in conversation with an accomplished French gentleman, to talk of the affairs of Europe. She too spoke of the destruction of the balance of power; stormed and raged about the insatiable ambition of the emperor; called him the curse of mankind, the destroyer of Europe. The Frenchman listened to her with perfect patience, and when she had ceased, said to her, with ineffable politeness, "Madam, it would give my master, the emperor, infinite pain, if he knew how hardly you thought of him." Sir, gentlemen appear to me to forget that they stand on American soil; that they are not in the British house of commons, but in the chamber of the House of Representatives of the United States; that we have nothing to do with the affairs of Europe, the partition of territory and sovereignty there, except so far as these things affect the interests of our own country. Gentlemen transform themselves into the Burkes, Chathams, and Pitts, of another country; and forgetting from honest zeal the interests of America, engage with European sensibility in the discussion of European interests. If gentlemen ask me, whether I do not view with regret and

horror the concentration of such vast power in the hands of Bonaparte—I reply, that I do. I regret to see the Emperor of China holding such immense sway over the fortunes of millions of our species. I regret to see Great Britain possessing so uncontrolled a command over all the waters of our globe. If I had the ability to distribute among the nations of Europe their several portions of power and of sovereignty, I would say, that Holland should be resuscitated, and given the weight she enjoyed in the days of her De Witts. I would confine France within her natural boundaries, the Alps, Pyrenees, and the Rhine, and make her a secondary naval power only. I would abridge the British maritime power, raise Prussia and Austria to their original condition, and preserve the integrity of the empire of Russia. But these are speculations. I look at the political transactions of Europe, with the single exception of their possible bearing upon us, as I do at the history of other countries, or other times. I do not survey them with half the interest that I do the movements in South America. Our political relation with them is much less important than it is supposed to be. I have no fears of French or English subjugation. If we are united, we are too powerful for the

mightiest nation in Europe, or all Europe combined. If we are separated and torn asunder, we shall become an easy prey to the weakest of them. In the latter dreadful contingency, our country will not be worth preserving.

THE CAUSE OF WAR WITH ENGLAND.

I am far from acknowledging, that, had the orders in council been repealed, as they have been, before the war was declared, the declaration of hostilities would of course have been prevented. In a body so numerous as this is, from which the declaration emanated, it is impossible to say, with any degree of certainty, what would have been the effect of such a repeal. Each member must answer for himself. As to myself, I have no hesitation in saying, that I have always considered the impressment of American seamen, as much the most serious aggression. But, sir, how have those orders at last been repealed? Great Britain, it is true, has intimated a willingness to suspend their practical operation, but she still arrogates to herself the right to revive them upon certain contingencies, of which she constitutes herself the sole judge. She waives the temporary use of the rod, but she suspends it *in terrorem* over

our heads. Supposing it to be conceded to gentlemen, that such a repeal of the orders in council as took place on the twenty-third of June last, exceptionable as it is, being known before the war was proclaimed, would have prevented it: does it follow, that it ought to induce us to lay down our arms, without the redress of any other injury of which we complain? Does it follow, in all cases, that that which would in the first instance have prevented, would also terminate the war? By no means. It requires a strong and powerful effort in a nation, prone to peace as this is, to burst through its habits, and encounter the difficulties and privations of war. Such a nation ought but seldom to embark in a belligerent contest; but when it does, it should be for obvious and essential rights alone, and should firmly resolve to extort, at all hazards, their recognition. The war of the revolution is an example of a war begun for one object, and prosecuted for another. It was waged, in its commencement, against the right asserted by the parent country to tax the colonies. Then no one thought of absolute independence. The idea of independence was repelled. But the British government would have relinquished the principle of taxation. The founders of our

liberties saw, however, that there was no security short of independence, and they achieved that independence. When nations are engaged in war, those rights in controversy, which are not acknowledged by the treaty of peace, are abandoned.

THE CLAIMS OF ENGLAND ON AMERICAN SEAMEN.

And who is prepared to say, that American seamen shall be surrendered, as victims, to the British principle of impressment? And, sir, what is this principle? She contends, that she has a right to the services of her own subjects; and that, in the exercise of this right, she may lawfully impress them, even although she finds them in American vessels, upon the high seas, without her jurisdiction. Now I deny that she has any right, beyond her jurisdiction, to come on board our vessels, upon the high seas, for any other purpose than in the pursuit of enemies, or their goods, or goods contraband of war. But she farther contends, that her subjects cannot renounce their allegiance to her, and contract a new obligation to other sovereigns. I do not mean to go into the general question of the right of expatriation. If, as is contended, all nations deny it, all nations, at the same time,

admit and practice the right of naturalization. Great Britain herself does this. Great Britain, in the very case of foreign seamen, imposes, perhaps, fewer restraints upon naturalization than any other nation. Then, if subjects cannot break their original allegiance, they may, according to universal usage, contract a new allegiance. What is the effect of this double obligation? Undoubtedly, that the sovereign having the possession of the subject, would have the right to the services of the subject. If he return within the jurisdiction of his primitive sovereign, he may resume his right to his services, of which the subject, by his own act, could not divest himself. But his primitive sovereign can have no right to go in quest of him, out of his own jurisdiction, into the jurisdiction of another sovereign, or upon the high seas where there exists either no jurisdiction, or it is possessed by the nation owning the ship navigating them. But, sir, this discussion is altogether useless. It is not to the British principle, objectionable as it is, that we are alone to look; it is to her practice, no matter what guise she puts on. It is in vain to assert the inviolability of the obligation of allegiance. It is in vain to set up the plea of necessity, and to allege that

she cannot exist without the impressment of her seamen. The naked truth is, she comes, by her press gangs, on board of our vessels, seizes our native as well as naturalized seamen, and drags them into her service. It is the case, then, of the assertion of an erroneous principle, and of a practice not conformable to the asserted principle—a principle which, if it were theoretically right, must be forever practically wrong—a practice which can obtain countenance from no principle whatever, and to submit to which, on our part, would betray the most abject degradation. We are told, by gentlemen in the opposition, that government has not done all that was incumbent on it to do, to avoid just cause of complaint on the part of Great Britain; that, in particular, the certificates of protection, authorized by the act of 1796, are fraudulently used. Sir, government has done too much in granting those paper protections. I can never think of them without being shocked. They resemble the passes which the master grants to his negro slave—"let the bearer, Mungo, pass and repass without molestation." What do they imply? That Great Britain has a right to seize all who are not provided with them. From their very nature they must be liable to abuse

on both sides. If Great Britain desires a mark, by which she can know her own subjects, let her give them an ear-mark. The colors that float from the mast head should be the credentials of our seamen. There is no safety to us, and the gentlemen have shown it, but in the rule that all who sail under the flag, (not being enemies,) are protected by the flag,

EULOGIUM ON JEFFERSON.

Neither his retirement from public office, his eminent services, nor his advanced age, can exempt this patriot from the coarse assaults of party malevolence. No, sir, in 1801, he snatched from the rude hand of usurpation the violated constitution of his country, and that is his crime. He preserved that instrument in form, and substance, and spirit, a precious inheritance for generations to come, and for this he can never be forgiven. How vain and impotent is party rage, directed against such a man! He is not more elevated by his lofty residence upon the summit of his own favorite mountain, than he is lifted by the serenity of his mind and the consciousness of a well spent life, above the malignant passions and bitter feelings of the day. No! his own beloved Monticello is not more

moved by the storms that beat against its sides, than is this illustrious man, by the howlings of the whole British pack set loose from the Essex kennel! When the gentleman, to whom I have been compelled to allude, shall have mingled his dust with that of his abused ancestors; when he shall have been consigned to oblivion, or if he lives at all, shall live only in the treasonable annals of a certain junto; the name of Jefferson will be hailed with gratitude, his memory honored and cherished as the second founder of the liberties of the people, and the period of his administration will be looked back to, as one of the happiest and brightest epochs of American history—an Oasis in the midst of a sandy desert.

CLAIMS OF SEAMEN.

It is impossible that this country should ever abandon the gallant tars, who have won for us such splendid trophies. Let me suppose that the genius of Columbia should visit one of them in his oppressor's prison, and attempt to reconcile him to his forlorn and wretched condition. She would say to him, in the language of gentlemen on the other side: "Great Britain intends you no harm; she did not mean to impress you, but one of her own subjects; having

taken you by mistake, I will remonstrate, and try to prevail upon her, by peaceable means, to release you, but I cannot, my son, fight for you." If he did not consider this mere mockery, the poor tar would address her judgment, and say, "you owe me, my country, protection; I owe you, in return, obedience. I am no British subject; I am a native of old Massachusetts, where live my aged father, my wife, my children. I have faithfully discharged my duty. Will you refuse to do yours?" Appealing to her passions, he would continue: "I lost this eye in fighting under Truxton, with the Insurgente; I got this scar before Tripoli; I broke this leg on board the Constitution, when the Guerriere struck." If she remained still unmoved, he would break out, in the accents of mingled distress and despair:

Hard, hard is my fate! once I freedom enjoyed,
Was as happy as happy could be!
Oh! how hard is my fate, how galling these chains!

I will not imagine the dreadful catastrophe to which he would be driven by an abandonment of him to his oppressor. It will not be, it cannot be, that his country will refuse him protection.

THE BRAVERY OF THE ARMY.

The disasters of the war admonish us, we are told, of the necessity of terminating the contest. If our achievements by land have been less splendid than those of our intrepid seamen by water, it is not because the American soldier is less brave. On the one element, organization, discipline, and a thorough knowledge of their duties, exist, on the part of the officers and their men. On the other, almost every thing is yet to be acquired. We have, however, the consolation, that our country abounds with the richest materials, and that in no instance, when engaged in action, have our arms been tarnished. At Brownstown and at Queenstown, the valor of veterans was displayed, and acts of the noblest heroism were performed. It is true, that the disgrace of Detroit remains to be wiped off. That is a subject on which I cannot trust my feelings; it is not fitting I should speak. But this much I will say, it was an event which no human foresight could have anticipated, and for which the administration cannot be justly censured. It was the parent of all the misfortunes we have experienced on land. But for it, the Indian war would have been in a great measure prevented or terminated; the ascendency on

lake Erie acquired, and the war pushed on perhaps to Montreal. With the exception of that event, the war, even upon the land, has been attended by a series of the most brilliant exploits, which, whatever interest they may inspire on this side of the mountains, have given the greatest pleasure on the other. The expedition, under the command of Governor Edwards and Colonel Russell, to lake Pioria, on the Illinois, was completely successful. So was that of Captain Craig, who, it is said, ascended that river still higher. General Hopkins destroyed the prophet's town. We have just received intelligence of the gallant enterprise of Colonel Campbell. In short, sir, the Indian towns have been swept from the mouth to the source of the Wabash, and a hostile country has been penetrated far beyond the most daring incursions of any campaign during the former Indian war. Never was more cool, deliberate bravery displayed, than that by Newman's party from Georgia: and the capture of the Detroit, and the destruction of the Caledonia, (whether placed to a maritime or land account,) for judgment, skill, and courage, on the part of Lieutenant Elliot, have never been surpassed.

DUTY OF THE COUNTRY IN RELATION TO ENGLAND.

The honorable gentleman from North Carolina, (Mr. Pearson,) supposes, that if Congress would pass a law, prohibiting the employment of British seamen in our service, upon condition of a like prohibition on their part, and repeal the act of non-importation, peace would immediately follow. Sir, I have no doubt, if such a law were to pass, with all the requisite solemnities, and the repeal to take place, Lord Castlereagh would laugh at our simplicity. No, sir, administration has erred in the steps which it has taken to restore peace, but its error has been, not in doing too little, but in betraying too great a solicitude for that event. An honorable peace is attainable only by an efficient war. My plan would be to call out the ample resources of the country, give them a judicious direction, prosecute the war with the utmost vigor, strike wherever we can reach the enemy, at sea or on land, and negotiate the terms of a peace at Quebec or at Halifax. We are told that England is a proud and lofty nation, which, disdaining to wait for danger, meets it half way. Haughty as she is, we once triumphed over her; and, if we do not listen to the counsels of timidity and despair, we shall again prevail. In such a

cause, with the aid of Providence, we must come out crowned with success; but if we fail, let us fail like men, lash ourselves to our gallant tars, and expire together in one common struggle, fighting for *free trade and seamen's rights.*

ORIGIN OF THE SEMINOLE WAR.

In noticing the painful incidents of this war, it is impossible not to inquire into its origin. I fear that it will be found to be the famous treaty of Fort Jackson, concluded in August, 1814; and I ask the indulgence of the chairman, that the clerk may read certain parts of that treaty. (The clerk having read as requested, Mr. Clay proceeded.) I never perused this instrument until within a few days past, and I read it with the deepest mortification and regret. A more dictatorial spirit I have never seen displayed in any instrument. I will challenge an examination of all the records of diplomacy, not excepting even those in the most haughty period of imperial Rome, when she was carrying her arms into the barbarian nations that surrounded her; and I do not believe a solitary instance can be found of such an inexorable spirit of domination pervading a compact purporting to be a treaty of peace. It consists of the most severe and

humiliating demands—of the surrender of large territory—of the privilege of making roads through the remnant which was retained — of the right of establishing trading houses—of the obligation of delivering into our hands their prophets. And all this, of a wretched people, reduced to the last extremity of distress, whose miserable existence we had to preserve by a voluntary stipulation, to furnish them with bread! When did the all-conquering and desolating Rome ever fail to respect the altars and the gods of those whom she subjugated! Let me not be told, that these prophets were impostors who deceived the Indians. They were their prophets—the Indians believed and venerated them, and it is not for us to dictate a religious belief to them. It does not belong to the holy character of the religion which we profess, to carry its precepts, by the force of the bayonet, into the bosoms of other people. Mild and gentle persusion was the great instrument employed by the meek Founder of our religion. We leave to the humane and benevolent efforts of the reverend professors of Christianity to convert from barbarism those unhappy nations yet immersed in its gloom. But, sir, spare them their prophets! spare their delusions! spare

their prejudices and superstitions! spare even their religion, such as it is, from open and cruel violence. When, sir, was that treaty concluded? On the very day, after the protocol was signed, of the first conference between the American and British commissioners, treating of peace, at Ghent. In the course of that negotiation, pretensions so enormous were set up, by the other party, that, when they were promulgated in this country, there was one general burst of indignation throughout the continent. Faction itself was silenced, and the firm and unanimous determination of all parties was, to fight until the last man fell in the ditch, rather than submit to such ignominious terms. What a contrast is exhibited between the cotemporaneous scenes of Ghent and of Fort Jackson; what a powerful voucher would the British commissioners have been furnished with, if they could have got hold of that treaty! The United States demand, The United States demand—is repeated five or six times. And what did the preamble itself disclose? That two thirds of the Creek nation had been hostile, and one third only friendly to us. Now, I have heard, (I cannot vouch for the truth of the statement,) that not one hostile chief signed the treaty. I have also heard, that

perhaps one or two of them had. If the treaty were really made by a minority of the nation, it was not obligatory upon the whole nation. It was void, considered in the light of a national compact. And if void, the Indians were entitled to the benefit of the provision of the ninth article of the treaty of Ghent, by which we bound ourselves to make peace with any tribes with whom we might be at war, on the ratification of the treaty, and to restore to them their lands as they held them in 1811. I do not know how the honorable Senate, that body for which I entertain so high a respect, could have given their sanction to the treaty of Fort Jackson, so utterly irreconcilable as it is with those noble principles of generosity and magnanimity which I hope to see my country always exhibit, and particularly toward the miserable remnant of the aborigines. It would have comported better with those principles, to have imitated the benevolent policy of the founder of Pennsylvania, and to have given to the Creeks, conquered as they were, even if they had made an unjust war upon us, the trifling consideration, to them an adequate compensation, which he paid for their lands. That treaty, I fear, has been the main cause of the recent war. And if it has

been, it only adds another melancholy proof to those with which history abounds, that hard and unconscionable terms, extorted by the power of the sword and the right of conquest, serves but to whet and stimulate revenge, and to give to old hostilities, smothered, not extinguished by the pretended peace, greater exasperation and more ferocity. A truce thus patched up with an unfortunate people, without the means of existence, without bread, is no real peace. The instant there is the slighest prospect of relief from such harsh and severe conditions, the conquered party will fly to arms, and spend the last drop of blood rather than live in such degraded bondage. Even if you again reduce him to submission, the expenses incurred by this second war, to say nothing of the human lives that are sacrificed, will be greater than what it would have cost you to have granted him liberal conditions in the first instance. This treaty, I repeat it, was, I apprehend, the cause of the war. It led to those excesses on our southern borders which began it.

CONDUCT OF GOVERNMENT TOWARDS THE INDIANS.

The first circumstance, which, in the course of his performing that duty, fixes our attention,

fills me with regret. It is the execution of the Indian chiefs. How, I ask, did they come into our possession? Was it in the course of fair, and open, and honorable war? No, but by means of deception—by hoisting foreign colors on the staff from which the stars and stripes should alone have floated. Thus ensnared, the Indians were taken on shore, and without ceremony, and without delay, were hung. Hang an Indian! We, sir, who are civilized, and can comprehend and feel the effect of moral causes and considerations, attach ignominy to that mode of death. And the gallant, and refined, and high-minded man, seeks by all possible means to avoid it. But what cares an Indian whether you hang or shoot him? The moment he is captured, he is considered by his tribe as disgraced, if not lost. They, too, are indifferent about the manner in which he is despatched. But, I regard the occurrence with grief for other and higher considerations. It is the first instance that I know of, in the annals of our country, in which retaliation, by executing Indian captives, has ever been deliberately practised. There may have been exceptions, but if there were, they met with contemporaneous condemnation, and have been reprehended by

the just pen of impartial history. The gentleman from Massachusetts may tell me, if he chooses, what he pleases about the tomahawk and scalping-knife — about Indian enormities, and foreign miscreants and incendiaries. I, too, hate them; from my very soul I abominate them. But I love my country, and its constitution; I love liberty and safety, and fear military despotism more even than I hate these monsters. The gentleman, in the course of his remarks, alluded to the state from which I have the honor to come. Little, sir, does he know of the high and magnanimous sentiments of the people of that state, if he supposes they will approve of the transaction to which he referred. Brave and generous, humanity and clemency towards a fallen foe constitute one of their noblest characteristics. Amidst all the struggles for that fair land between the natives and the present inhabitants, I defy the gentleman to point out one instance in which a Kentuckian has stained his hand by—nothing but my high sense of the distinguished services and exalted merits of General Jackson prevents my using a different term—the execution of an unarmed and prostrate captive. Yes, there is one solitary exception, in which a man, enraged at be-

holding an Indian prisoner, who had been celebrated for his enormities, and who had destroyed some of his kindred, plunged his sword into his bosom. The wicked deed was considered as an abominable outrage when it occurred, and the name of the man has been handed down to the execration of posterity.

BONAPARTE.

What has been the conduct even of England towards the greatest instigator of all the wars of the present age? The condemnation of that illustrious man to the rock of St. Helena, is a great blot on the English name. And I repeat what I have before said, that if Chatham or Fox, or even William Pitt himself, had been prime minister in England, Bonaparte had never been so condemned. On that transaction history will one day pass its severe but just censure. Yes, although Napoleon had desolated half Europe; although there was scarcely a power, however humble, that escaped the mighty grasp of his ambition; although in the course of his splendid career he is charged with having committed the greatest atrocities, disgraceful to himself and to human nature, yet even his life has been spared. The allies would not, Eng-

land would not, execute him, upon the ground of his being an instigator of wars.

INFLUENCE OF BAD EXAMPLE.

I will not dwell, at this time, on the effect of these precedents in foreign countries, but I will not pass unnoticed their dangerous influence in our own country. Bad examples are generally set in the cases of bad men, and often remote from the central government. It was in the provinces that were laid the abuses and the seeds of the ambitious projects which overturned the liberties of Rome. I beseech the committee not to be so captivated by the charms of eloquence, and the appeals made to our passions and our sympathies, as to forget the fundamental principles of our government. The influence of a bad example will often be felt, when its authors, and all the circumstances connected with it, are no longer remembered. I know of but one analogous instance of the execution of a prisoner, and that has brought more odium, than almost any other incident, on the unhappy emperor of France. I allude to the instance of the execution of the unfortunate member of the Bourbon house. He sought an asylum in the territories of Baden. Bonaparte despatched a

corps of *gens d'armes* to the place of his retreat, seized him and brought him to the dungeons of Vincennes. He was there tried by a court martial; condemned, and shot. There, as here, was a violation of neutral territory; there the neutral ground was not stained with the blood of him whom it should have protected. And there was another most unfortunate difference for the American example. The duke D'Enghein was executed according to his sentence. It is said by the defenders of Napoleon, that the duke had been machinating not merely to overturn the French government, but against the life of its chief. If that were true, he might, if taken in France, have been legally executed. Such was the odium brought upon the instruments of this transaction, that those persons, who have been even suspected of participation in it, have sought to vindicate themselves, from what they appear to have considered as an aspersion, before foreign courts. In conclusion of this part of the subject, I most cheerfully and entirely acquit General Jackson of any intention to violate the laws of the country, or the obligations of humanity. I am persuaded, from all that I ave heard, that he considered himself as equally respecting and observing both. With respect

to the purity of his intentions, therefore, I am disposed to allow it in the most extensive degree. Of his acts, it is my duty to speak with the freedom which belongs to my station. And I shall now proceed to consider some of them, of the most momentous character, as it regards the distribution of the powers of government.

POWERS OF THE CONSTITUTION.

Of all the powers conferred by the constitution of the United States, not one is more expressly and exclusively granted, than that which gives to Congress the power to declare war. The immortal convention who formed that instrument, had abundant reason, drawn from every page of history, for confiding this tremendous power to the deliberate judgment of the representatives of the people. It was there seen that nations are often precipitated into ruinous war from folly, from pride, from ambition, and from the desire of military fame. It was believed, no doubt, in committing this great subject to the legislature of the union, we should be safe from the mad wars that have afflicted and desolated and ruined other countries. It was supposed that before any war was declared, the nature of the injury complained of would

be carefully examined, the power and resources of the enemy estimated, and the power and resources of our own country, as well as the probable issue and consequences of the war. It was to guard our country against precisely that species of rashness, which has been manifested in Florida, that the constitution was so framed. If then this power, thus cautiously and clearly bestowed upon Congress, has been assumed and exercised by any other functionary of the government, it is cause of serious alarm, and it becomes this body to vindicate and maintain its authority by all the means in its power; and yet there are some gentlemen, who would have us not merely yield a tame and silen acquiescence in the encroachment, but even pass a vote of thanks to the author.

AGRICULTURAL CLAIMS.

Our agricultural is our greatest interest. It ought ever to be predominant. All others should bend to it. And in considering what is for its advantage, we should contemplate it in all its varieties, of planting, farming, and grazing. Can we do nothing to invigorate it; nothing to correct the errors of the past, and to brighten the still more unpromising prospects which lie

before us? We have seen, I think, the causes of the distresses of the country. We have seen, that an exclusive dependence upon the foreign market must lead to still severer distress, to impoverishment, to ruin. We must then change somewhat our course. We must give a new direction to some portion of our industry. We must speedily adopt a genuine American policy. Still cherishing the foreign market, let us create also a home market, to give farther scope to the consumption of the produce of American industry. Let us counteract the policy of foreigners, and withdraw the support which we now give to their industry, and stimulate that of our own country. It should be a prominent object with wise legislators, to multiply the vocations and extend the business of society, as far as it can be done, by the protection of our interests at home, against the injurious effects of foreign legislation. Suppose we were a nation of fishermen, or of skippers, to the exclusion of every other occupation, and the legislature had the power to introduce the pursuits of agriculture and manufactures, would not our happiness be promoted by an exertion of its authority? All the existing employments of society—the learn-

ed professions — commerce — agriculture, are now overflowing.

LABOR THE SOURCE OF WEALTH.

The great desideratum in political economy, is the same as in private pursuits ; that is, what is the best application of the aggregate industry of a nation, that can be made honestly to produce the largest sum of national wealth ? Labor is the source of all wealth ; but it is not natural labor only. And the fundamental error of the gentleman from Virginia, and of the school to which he belongs, in deducing, from our sparse population, our unfitness for the introduction of the arts, consists in their not sufficiently weighing the importance of the power of machinery. In former times, when but little comparative use was made of machinery, manual labor, and the price of wages, were circumstances of the greatest consideration. But it is far otherwise in these latter times. Such are the improvements and the perfection of machinery, that, in analyzing the compound value of many fabrics, the element of natural labor is so inconsiderable as almost to escape detection. This truth is demonstrated by many facts. Formerly, Asia, in consequence of the density of her popu-

lation, and the consequent lowness of wages, laid Europe under tribute for many of her fabrics. Now, Europe reacts upon Asia, and Great Britain, in particular, throws back upon her countless millions of people, the rich treasures produced by artificial labor, to a vast amount, infinitely cheaper than they can be manufactured by the natural exertions of that portion of the globe. But Britain is herself the most striking illustration of the immense power of machinery. Upon what other principle can you account for the enormous wealth which she has accumulated, and which she annually produces? A statistical writer of that country, several years ago, estimated the total amount of the artificial or machine labor, of the nation, to be equal to that of one hundred millions of able-bodied laborers. Subsequent estimates of her artificial labor, at the present day, carry it to the enormous height of two hundred millions. But the population of the three kingdoms is twenty-one million, five hundred thousand. Supposing that, to furnish able-bodied labor to the amount of four millions, the natural labor will be but two *per cent.* of the artificial labor. In the production of wealth she operates, therefore, by a power (including the whole population) of two hun-

dred and twenty-one million, five hundred thousand; or, in other words, by a power eleven times greater than the total of her natural power. If we suppose the machine labor of the United States to be equal to that of ten millions of able-bodied men, the United States will operate, in the creation of wealth, by a power (including all their population) of twenty millions.

THE RESOURCES OF ENGLAND.

In the creation of wealth, therefore, the power of Great Britain, compared to that of the United States, is as eleven to one. That these views are not imaginary, will be, I think, evinced, by contrasting the wealth, the revenue, the power of the two countries. Upon what other hypothesis can we explain those almost incredible exertions which Britain made during the late wars of Europe? Look at her immense subsidies! Behold her standing, unaided and alone, and breasting the storm of Napoleon's colossal power, when all continental Europe owned and yielded to its irresistible sway; and finally contemplate her vigorous prosecution of the war, with and without allies, to its splendid termination, on the ever-memorable field of Waterloo! The British works, which the gen-

tleman from Virginia has quoted, portray a state of the most wonderful prosperity, in regard to wealth and resources, that ever was before contemplated. Let us look a little into the semi-official pamphlet, written with great force, clearness, and ability, and the valuable work of Lowe, to both of which that gentleman has referred. The revenue of the United Kingdom amounted, during the latter years of the war, to seventy millions of pounds sterling; and one year it rose to the astonishing height of ninety millions sterling, equal to four hundred millions of dollars. This was actual revenue, made up of real contributions from the purses of the people. After the close of the war, ministers slowly and reluctantly reduced the military and naval establishments, and accommodated them to a state of peace. The pride of power, everywhere the same, always unwillingly surrenders any of those circumstances, which display its pomp and exhibit its greatness. Cotemporaneous with this reduction, Britain was enabled to lighten some of the heaviest burdens of taxation, and particularly that most onerous of all, the income tax. In this lowered state, the revenue of peace gradually rising from the momentary depression incident to a transition from war, attained, in

1822, the vast amount of fifty-five millions sterling, upwards of two hundred and forty millions of dollars, and more than eleven times that of the United States for the same year ; thus indicating the difference, which I have suggested, in the respective productive powers of the two countries. The excise alone (collected under twenty-five different heads) amounted to twenty-eight millions, more than one half of the total revenue of the kingdom. This great revenue allows Great Britain to constitute an efficient sinking fund of five millions sterling, being an excess of actual income beyond expenditure, and amounting to more than the entire revenue of the United States.

TAXATION.

The amount of the contributions which she draws from the pockets of her subjects, is not referred to for imitation, but as indicative of their wealth. The burden of taxation is always relative to the ability of the subjects of it. A poor nation can pay but little. And the heavier taxes of British subjects, for example, in consequence of their greater wealth, may be easier borne than the much lighter taxes of Spanish subjects, in consequence of their extreme pover-

ty. The object of wise governments should be, by sound legislation, so to protect the industry of their own citizens against the policy of foreign powers, as to give to it the most expansive force in the production of wealth. Great Britain has ever acted, and still acts, on this policy. She has pushed her protection of British interest farther than any other nation has fostered its industry. The result is, greater wealth among her subjects, and consequently greater ability to pay their public burdens. If their taxation is estimated by their natural labor alone, nominally it is greater than the taxation of the subjects of any other power. But if on a scale of their national and artificial labor compounded, it is less than the taxation of any other people. Estimating it on that scale, and assuming the aggregate of the natural and artificial labor of the United Kingdom to be what I have already stated, two hundred and twenty-one million, five hundred thousand, the actual taxes paid by a British subject are only about three and seven pence sterling. Estimating our own taxes, on a similar scale,—that is, supposing both descriptions of labor to be equal to that of twenty millions of able-bodied persons,—the amount of tax paid

by each soul in the United States is four and six pence sterling.

THE NECESSITY OF PROTECTING INDUSTRY.

The committee will observe, from that table, that the measure of the wealth of a nation is indicated by the measure of its protection of its industry; and that the measure of the poverty of a nation is marked by that of the degree in which it neglects and abandons the care of its own industry, leaving it exposed to the action of foreign powers. Great Britain protects most her industry, and the wealth of Great Britain is consequently the greatest. France is next in the degree of protection, and France is next in the order of wealth. Spain most neglects the duty of protecting the industry of her subjects, and Spain is one of the poorest of European nations. Unfortunate Ireland, disinherited, or rendered in her industry subservient to England, is exactly in the same state of poverty with Spain, measured by the rule of taxation. And the United States are still poorer than either.

The views of British prosperity, which I have endeavored to present, show that her protecting policy is adapted alike to a state of war and of peace. Self-poised, resting upon her own inter-

nal resources, possessing a home market, carefully cherished and guarded, she is ever prepared for any emergency. We have seen her coming out of a war of incalculable exertion, and of great duration, with her power unbroken, her means undiminished. We have seen, that almost every revolving year of peace has brought along with it an increase of her manufactures, of her commerce, and, consequently, of her navigation. We have seen that, constructing her prosperity upon the solid foundation of her own protecting policy, it is unaffected by the vicissitudes of other states. What is our own condition? Depending upon the state of foreign powers—confiding exclusively in a foreign, to the culpable neglect of a domestic policy—our interests are affected by all their movements. Their wars, their misfortunes, are the only source of our prosperity. In their peace, and our peace, we behold our condition the reverse of that of Great Britain—and all our interests, stationary or declining. Peace brings to us none of the blessings of peace. Our system is anomalous; alike unfitted to general tranquillity, and to a state of war or peace, on the part of our own country. It can succeed

only in the rare occurrence of a general state of war throughout Europe.

I am no eulogist of England. I am far from recommending her systems of taxation. I have adverted to them only as manifesting her extraordinary ability. The political and foreign interests of that nation may have been, as I believe them to have been, often badly managed. Had she abstained from the wars into which she has been plunged by her ambition, or the mistaken policy of her ministers, the prosperity of England would, unquestionably, have been much greater. But it may happen that the public liberty, and the foreign relations of a nation, have been badly provided for, and yet that its political economy has been wisely managed. The alacrity or sullenness with which a people pay taxes, depends upon their wealth or poverty. If the system of their rulers leads to their impoverishment, they can contribute but little to the necessities of the state ; if to their wealth, they cheerfully and promptly pay the burdens imposed on them. Enormous as British taxation appears to be, in comparison with that of other nations, but really lighter, as it in fact is, when we consider its great wealth, and its pow-

ers of production, that vast amount is collected with the most astonishing regularity.

THE TARIFF.

And what is this tariff? It seems to have been regarded as a sort of monster, huge and deformed—a wild beast, endowed with tremendous powers of destruction, about to be let loose among our people—if not to devour them, at least to consume their substance. But let us calm our passions, and deliberately survey this alarming, this terrific being. The sole object of the tariff is to tax the produce of foreign industry, with the view of promoting American industry. The tax is exclusively levelled at foreign industry That is the avowed and the direct purpose of the tariff. If it subjects any part of American industry to burdens, that is an effect not intended, but is altogether incidental, and perfectly voluntary.

THE ADVANTAGES OF A PRODUCTIVE SYSTEM.

But, according to the opponents of the domestic policy, the proposed system will force capital and labor into new and reluctant employments; we are not prepared, in consequence of the high price of wages, for the successful establishment of manufactures, and we must fail in

the experiment. We have seen, that the existing occupations of our society, those of agriculture, commerce, navigation, and the learned professions, are overflowing with competitors, and that the want of employment is severely felt. Now what does this bill propose? To open a new and extensive field of business, in which all that choose may enter. There is no compulsion upon any one to engage in it. An option only is given to industry, to continue in the present unprofitable pursuits, or to embark in a new and promising one. The effect will be to lessen the competition in the old branches of business, and to multiply our resources for increasing our comforts, and augmenting the national wealth. The alleged fact of the high price of wages is not admitted. The truth is, that no class of society suffers more, in the present stagnation of business, than the laboring class. That is a necessary effect of the depression of agriculture, the principal business of the community. The wages of able-bodied men vary from five to eight dollars per month; and such has been the want of employment, in some parts of the union, that instances have not been unfrequent, of men working merely for the means of present subsistence. If the wages for

labor here and in England are compared, they will be found not to be essentially different. I agree with the honorable gentleman from Virginia, that high wages are a proof of national prosperity; we differ only in the means by which that desirable end should be attained. But, if the fact were true, that the wages of labor are high, I deny the correctness of the argument founded upon it. The argument assumes that natural labor is the principal element in the business of manufacture. That was the ancient theory. But the valuable inventions and vast improvements in machinery, which have been made within a few past years, have produced a new era in the arts. The effect of this change, in the powers of production, may be estimated from what I have already stated, in relation to England, and to the triumphs of European artificial labor over the natural labor of Asia. In considering the fitness of a nation for the establishment of manufactures, we must no longer limit our views to the state of its population, and the price of wages. All circumstances must be regarded, of which that is, perhaps, the least important. Capital, ingenuity in the construction, and adroitness in the use of machinery, and the pos-

session of the raw materials, are those which deserve the greatest consideration. All these circumstances, (except that of capital, of which there is no deficiency,) exist in our country in an eminent degree, and more than counterbalance the disadvantage, if it really existed, of the lower wages of labor in Great Britain. The dependence upon foreign nations for the raw material of any great manufacture, has been ever considered as a discouraging fact. The state of our population is peculiarly favorable to the most extensive introduction of machinery. We have no prejudices to combat, no persons to drive out of employment. The pamphlet, to which we have had occasion so often to refer, in enumerating the causes which have brought in England their manufactures to such a state of perfection, and which now enable them, in the opinion of the writer, to defy all competition, does not specify, as one of them, low wages. It assigns three—first, capital; secondly, extent and costliness of machinery; and, thirdly, steady and persevering industry. Notwithstanding the concurrence of so many favorable causes, in our country, for the introduction of the arts, we are earnestly dissuaded from making the experiment, and our

ultimate failure is confidently predicted. Why should we fail? Nations, like men, fail in nothing which they boldly attempt, when sustained by virtuous purpose, and firm resolution. I am not willing to admit this depreciation of American skill and enterprise. I am not willing to strike before an effort is made. All our past history exhorts us to proceed, and inspires us with animating hopes of success. Past predictions of our incapacity have failed, and present predictions will not be realized. At the commencement of this government, we were told that the attempt would be idle to construct a marine adequate to the commerce of the country, or even to the business of its coasting trade. The founders of our government did not listen to these discouraging councils; and, behold the fruits of their just comprehension of our resources! Our restrictive policy was denounced, and it was foretold that it would utterly disappoint all our expectations. But our restrictive policy has been eminently successful; and the share, which our navigation now enjoys in the trade with France, and with the British West India islands, attest its victory. What were not the disheartening predictions of the opponents of the late war? Defeat, discomfi-

ture, and disgrace, were to be the certain, but not the worst, effect of it. Here, again, did prophesy prove false ; and the energies of our country, and the valor and the patriotism of our people, carried us gloriously through the war. We are now, and ever will be, essentially, an agricultural people. Without a material change in the fixed habits of the country, the friends of this measure desire to draw to it, as a powerful auxiliary to its industry, the manufacturing arts. The difference between a nation with and without the arts, may be conceived, by the difference between a keel-boat and a steam-boat, combating the rapid torrent of the Mississippi. How slow does the former ascend, hugging the sinuosities of the shore, pushed on by her hardy and exposed crew, now throwing themselves in vigorous concert on their oars, and then seizing the pendent boughs of overhanging trees : she seems hardly to move ; and her scanty cargo is scarcely worth the transportation ! With what ease is she not passed by the steam-boat, laden with the riches from all quarters of the world, with a crowd of gay, cheerful, and protected passengers, now dashing into the midst of the current, or gliding through the eddies near the shore ! Nature herself

seems to survey, with astonishment, the passing wonder, and in silent submission, reluctantly to own the magnificent triumphs, in her own vast dominion, of Fulton's immortal genius!

THE ADVANCE OF INTERNAL IMPROVEMENT.

The gentleman from Virginia sought to alarm us by the awful emphasis with which he set before us the total extent of post roads in the union. Eighty thousand miles of post roads! exclaimed the gentleman: and will you assert for the general government jurisdiction, and erect turnpikes, on such an immense distance? Not to-day, nor to-morrow; but this government is to last, I trust, forever: we may at least hope it will endure until the wave of population, cultivation, and intelligence, shall have washed the Rocky Mountains and mingled with the Pacific. And may we not also hope that the day will arrive when the improvements and the comforts of social life shall spread over the wide surface of this vast continent? All this is not to be suddenly done. Society must not be burdened or oppressed. Things must be gradual and progressive. The same species of formidable array which the gentleman makes, might be exhibited in reference to the construction of a navy, or any

other of the great purposes of government. We might be told of the fleets and vessels of great maritime powers, which whiten the ocean; and triumphantly asked if we should vainly attempt to cope with or rival that tremendous power? And we should shrink from the effort, if we were to listen to his counsels, in hopeless despair. Yes, sir, it is a subject of peculiar delight to me to look forward to the proud and happy period, distant as it may be, when circulation and association between the Atlantic and Pacific and the Mexican gulf, shall be as free and as perfect as they are at this moment in England, or in any other the most highly improved country on the globe. In the meantime, without bearing heavily upon any of our important interests, let us apply ourselves to the accomplishment of what is most practicable and immediately necessary.

THE POWERS OF GOVERNMENT.

Of all the powers bestowed on this government, I think none are more clearly vested, than that to regulate the distribution of the intelligence, private and official, of the country; to regulate the distribution of its commerce; and to regulate the distribution of the physical force of the union. In the execution of the high and solemn trust which these beneficial powers im-

ply, we must look to the great ends which the framers of our admirable constitution had in view. We must reject, as wholly incompatible with their enlightened and beneficent intentions, that construction of these powers which would resuscitate all the debility and inefficiency of the ancient confederacy. In the vicissitudes of human affairs, who can foresee all the possible cases, in which it may be necessary to apply the public force, within or without the union? This government is charged with the use of it, to repel invasions, to suppress insurrections, to enforce the laws of the union; in short, for all the unknown and undefinable purposes of war, foreign or intestine, wherever and however it may rage. During its existence, may not government, for its effectual prosecution, order a road to be made, or a canal to be cut, to relieve, for example, an exposed point of the union? If, when the emergency comes, there is a power to provide for it, that power must exist in the constitution, and not in the emergency. A wise, precautionary, and parental policy, anticipating danger, will beforehand provide for the hour of need. Roads and canals are in the nature of fortifications, since, if not the deposites of military resources, they enable you to bring to rapid action, the military resources of the

country, whatever they may be. They are better than any fortifications, because they serve the double purposes of peace and of war. They dispense, in a great degree, with fortifications, since they have all the effect of that concentration, at which fortifications aim. I appeal from the precepts of the President to the practice of the President. While he denies to Congress the power in question, he does not scruple, upon his sole authority, as numerons instances in the statute book will testify, to order, at pleasure, the opening of roads by the military, and then come here to ask us to pay for them. Nay, more, sir; a subordinate, but highly respectable officer of the executive government, I believe, would not hesitate to provide a boat or cause a bridge to be erected over an inconsiderable stream, to ensure the regular transportation of the mail. And it happens to be within my personal knowledge, that the head of the post office department, as a prompt and vigilant officer should do, has recently dispatched an agent to ascertain the causes of the late frequent vexatious failures of the great northern mail, and to inquire if a provision of a boat or bridge over certain small streams in Maryland, which have produced them, would not prevent their recurrence.

CLAIMS OF THE WEST.

If, by one of those awful and terrible dispensations of Providence, which sometimes occur, this government should be unhappily annihilated, every where on the seaboard traces of its former existence would be found; whilst we should not have, in the west, a single monument remaining on which to pour out our affections and our regrets. Yet, sir, we do not complain. No portion of your population is more loyal to the union, than the hardy freemen of the west. Nothing can weaken or eradicate their ardent desire for its lasting preservation. None are more prompt to vindicate the interests and rights of the nation from all foreign aggression. Need I remind you of the glorious scenes in which they participated, during the late war—a war in which they had no peculiar or direct interest, waged for no commerce, no seamen of theirs. But it was enough for them that it was a war demanded by the character and the honor of the nation. They did not stop to calculate its cost of blood, or of treasure. They flew to arms; they rushed down the valley of the Mississipi, with all the impetuosity of that noble river. They sought the enemy. They found him at the beach. They fought;

they bled; they covered themselves and their country with immortal glory. They enthusiastically shared in all the transports occasioned by our victories, whether won on the ocean or on the land. They felt, with the keenest distress, whatever disaster befel us. No, sir, I repeat it, reglect, injury itself, cannot alienate the affections of the west from this government. They cling to it, as to their best, their greatest, their last hope. You may impoverish them, reduce them to ruin, by the mistakes of your policy, and you cannot drive them from you. They do not complain of the expenditure of the public money where the public exigencies require its disbursement. But, I put it to your candor, if you ought not, by a generous and national policy, to mitigate, if not prevent, the evils resulting from the perpetual transfer of the circulating medium from the west to the east. One million and a half of dollars, annually, is transferred for the public lands alone: and almost every dollar goes like him who goes to death—to a bourne from which no traveller returns. In ten years it will amount to fifteen millions; in twenty, to ——— but I will not pursue the appalling results of arithmetic. Gentlemen who believe that these vast sums are supplied by emigrants from the east, labor under

great error. There was a time when the tide of emigration from the east bore along with it the means to effect the purchase of the public domain. But that tide has, in a great measure, now stopt. And as population advances farther and farther west, it will entirely cease. The greatest migrating states in the union at this time, are Kentucky first, Ohio next, and Tennessee. The emigrants from those states carry with them, to the states and territories lying beyond them, the circulating medium, which, being invested in the purchase of the public land, is transmitted to the points where the wants of government require it. If this debilitating and exhausting process were inevitable, it must be borne with manly fortitude. But we think that a fit exertion of the powers of this government would mitigate the evil. We believe that the government incontestibly possesses the constitutional power to execute such internal improvements as are called for by the good of the whole. And we appeal to your equity, to your parental regard, to your enlightened policy, to perform the high and beneficial trust thus sacredly reposed. I am sensible of the delicacy of the topic to which I have reluctantly adverted, in consequence of the observations of the honora

ble gentleman from Virginia. And I hope there will be no misconception of my motives in dwelling upon it. A wise and considerate government should anticipate and prevent, rather than wait for the operation of causes of discontent.

STATE OF THE COUNTRY.

Mr. Chairman,—Although it is not entirely compatible with the precautions which are enjoined by the delicate state of my health, to which you have so obligingly alluded, to present myself in this attitude, I cannot refrain from making a public expression to you, and to my fellow citizens here assembled, of my profound acknowledgments for the hearty welcome, and cordial, spontaneous, and enthusiastic manifestation of respect and attachment, with which my present visit to your city has been attended. It has been frequently but not less truly said, that the highest reward for public service, is the approbation of the public. The support of public opinion is the greatest incentive to the faithful and beneficial discharge of official duty. If, as you have truly suggested, it has been my misfortune for several years, to have been abused and assailed without example, I have nevertheless had the satisfaction to have been cheered and

sustained in all parts of the union, by some of the best and most virtuous men in it. And I seize with pleasure this occasion, to say, that even among my political opponents, many of the moderate and most intelligent, have done me the justice to discredit and discountenance the calumnies of which I have been the object. But no where have I found more constant, ardent, and effective friends, than in this city. I thank them most heartily for all their friendly sentiments and exertions.

Whatever may be the issue of the contest which, at present, unhappily divides and distracts our country, I trust that the beneficial system, to which you have referred, will survive the struggle, and continue to engage the affections, and to cheer and animate the industry, of the people of the United States. It has indeed been recently attacked in another quarter of the union, by some of our fellow citizens, with a harshness and intemperance which must every where excite the patriot's regret. It has been denounced as if it were a new system, that sprung into existence but yesterday, or at least with the present administration, if not during the last session of congress. But it owes its origin to a much earlier date. The present administration, though

sincerely attached to it, and most anxious for its preservation, has not the merit of having first proposed or first established it. The manufacturing system was quickened into existence by the commercial restrictions which preceded the late war with Great Britain, and by that greatest of them all, the war itself. Our wants, no longer supplied from abroad, must have been supplied at home, or we must have been deprived of the necessaries and comforts of civilization, if we had not relapsed into a state of barbarism. The policy of Jefferson and Madison fostered, if it did not create, the manufactures of our country. The peace brought with it a glut of foreign fabrics, which would have prostrated our establishments, if government had been capable of unjustly witnessing such a spectacle, without interposing its protective power. Protection, therefore, was not merely called for by the substantial independence of our country, but it was a parental duty of government to those citizens who had been tempted by its restrictive policy to embark all their hopes and fortunes in the business of manufacturing. Twelve years ago congress took up the subject, and, after long and mature deliberation, solemnly decided to extend that measure of protection which was alike de-

manded by sound policy and strict justice. Then the foundations were laid of the American System; and all that has been subsequently done, including the act of the last session of congress, are but the consequences of the policy then deliberately adopted, having for their object the improvement and perfection of the great work then began. It is not the least remarkable of the circumstances of these strange times, that some who assisted, in the commencement, who laid corner stones of the edifice, are now ready to pull down and demolish it.

It is not the fact of the existence of an opposition to the tariff, that can occasion any inquietude; nor that of large and respectable assemblies of the people, to express their disapprobation of the policy, and their firm resolution to consume only the produce of their own industry. These meetings are in the true spirit of our free institutions, and that resolution is in the true spirit of our American system itself. But what must excite deep regret is, that any persons should allow themselves to speak of open and forcible resistance to the government of their country, and to threaten a dissolution of the union. What is the state of the case? A great measure of national policy is proposed: it is a

subject of discussion for a period of twelve years in the public prints, in popular assemblies, in political circles, and in the congress of the United States. That body, after hearing the wishes and wants of all parts of the union, fairly stated by their respective representatives, decides by repeated *majorities*, to adopt the measure. It is accordingly put into successful operation; improved from time to time, and is rapidly fulfilling all the hopes and expectations of its friends. In this encouraging condition of things, a small number of the citizens composing the minority, (for I will not impute to the great body of the minority any such violent purposes,) threaten the employment of force, and the dissolution of the union! Can any principle be more subversive of all government, or of a tendency more exceptionable and alarming? It amounts to this, that whenever any portion of the community finds itself in a minority, in reference to any important act of the government, and by high coloring and pictures of imaginary distress, can persuade itself that the measure is oppressive, that minority may appeal to arms, and, if it can, dissolve the union. Such a principle would reverse the established maxim of representative government, according to which, the will of the majority

must prevail. If it were possible that the minority could govern and control, the union may, indeed, as well be dissolved : for it would not then be worth preserving. The conduct of an individual would not be more unwise and suicidal, who, because of some trifling disease afflicting his person, should, in a feverish and fretful moment, resolve to terminate his existence.

THE UNION.

Nothing can be more unfair and ridiculous, than to compare any of the acts of the congress of the United States, representing all, and acting for all, to any of the acts of the British parliament, which led to our revolution. The principle on which the colonies receded was, that there should be no taxation without representation. They were not represented in the British parliament, and to have submitted to taxation would have been to have submitted to slavery, and to have surrendered the most valuable privileges of freemen. If the colonies had been fairly represented in the British parliament, and equal taxes, alike applicable to all parts of the British empire, had been imposed by a majority, a case of remote analogy to any act of congress to which a minority is opposed, might be deduced

from the history of the revolution. But every state of this confederacy is fairly represented, and has the faculty of being fully heard in the congress of the United States. The representation has been regulated by a joint principle of distribution, the result of a wise spirit of mutual compromise and concession, which I hope never to see disturbed, of which none can justly complain, and least of all, those citizens who have resorted to threats of an appeal to arms and disunion.

But there is, I hope and believe, no reason to apprehend the execution of those empty threats. The good sense, the patriotism, and the high character of the people of South Carolina, are sure guarantees for repressing, without aid, any disorders, should any be attempted within her limits. The spirit of Marion, and Pickens, and Sumpter, of the Rutledges, the Pinckneys, and of Lowndes, yet survives, and animates the high minded Carolinians. The Taylors and the Williams's, and their compatriots of the present day, will be able to render a just account of all, if there be any, who shall dare to raise their parricidal hands against the peace, the constitution, and the union of the states. Rebuked by public opinion—a sufficient corrective—and condemned

by their own sober reflections, the treasonable purpose will be relinquished, if it were ever seriously contemplated by any.

I have no fears for the permanency of our union, whilst our liberties are preserved. It is a tough and strong cord, as all will find who shall presumptuously attempt to break it. It has been competent to suppress all the domestic insurrections, and to carry us safely through all the foreign wars with which we have been afflicted since it was formed, and it has come out of each with more strength and greater promise of durability. It is the choicest political blessing which, as a people, we enjoy, and I trust and hope that Providence will permit us to transmit it, unimpaired, to posterity, through endless generations.

DEFENCE OF SELF.

Cultivating a farm in Kentucky, and having other objects of private concern, I have found it necessary, both on that account, and the relaxation from official business, indispensable to the preservation of health, annually to visit this quarter of the union, during the period of my connexion with the executive of the United States. In these visits, I have frequently met

large portions of my fellow citizens, upon their friendly and pressing invitations. My object has been called in question, and my motives assailed. It has been said that my purpose was electioneering. If it be intended to charge me with employing improper or dishonorable acts to secure any election, I deny the charge, and disclaim the purpose. I defy my most malignant enemies to show that I ever, during any period of my life, resorted to such acts to promote my own election, or that of any other person. I have availed myself of these assemblies, and of other opportunities, to defend myself against an accusation, publicly made, and a thousand times repeated. I had a right to do this by the immutable laws of self-defence. My addresses to the public, heretofore, have been generally strictly defensive. If they have ever given pain to any of my adversaries, they must reproach themselves with its infliction. There is one way, and but one way, in which they can silence me. My traducers have attributed to me great facility in making a bargain. Whether I possess it or not, there is one *bargain* which, for their accommodation, I am willing to enter into with them. If they will prevail upon their chief to acknowledge that he has been in

error, and has done me injustice, and if they will cease to traduce and abuse me, I will no longer present myself before public assemblies, or in public prints, in my own defence. That is one bargain which I have no expectation of being able to conclude; for men who are in a long established line of business, will not voluntarily quit their accustomed trade, and acknowledge themselves bankrupts to honor, decency, and truth.

Some have persuaded themselves, that they saw in my occasional addresses to the people, incompatibility with the dignity and reserve belonging to the office I hold. I know not according to what standard (it can hardly be any deduced from a popular representative government) these gentlemen have regulated their opinions. True dignity appears to me to be independent of office or station. It belongs to every condition; but, if there be a difference between private and public life, the more exalted the station, the greater is the obligation of the public functionary, in my humble judgment, to render himself amiable, affable, and accessible. The public officer who displays a natural solicitude to defend himself against a charge deeply affecting his honor and his character, manifests,

at the same time, a just respect for the community. It is, I think, an erroneous judgment of the nature of office, and its relations, to suppose that it imposes the duty on the officer, of abstracting himself from society, and a stiff and stately port. Without, I hope, forgetting what was due to myself, my habit, throughout life, has been that of friendly, free, and frank intercourse with my fellow citizens. I have not thought it necessary to change my personal identity in any of the various offices through which I have passed, or to assume a new character. It may not be easy to draw the line, as to the occasions in which a man should remain silent or defend himself. In the general, it is better, perhaps, that he should leave his public acts, and the measures which he espouses or carries, to their own vindication; but if his integrity be questioned, and dishonorable charges, under high and imposing names, be preferred against him, he cannot remain silent without a culpable insensibility to all that is valuable in human life

Sir, I feel that I have trespassed too much both upon you and myself. If prudence were a virtue of which I could boast, I should have spared both you and me. But I could not deny myself the gratification of expressing my thanks

to my Cincinnati friends, for the numerous instances which I have experienced of their kind and respectful consideration. I beg you, sir, and every gentleman here attending, to accept my acknowledgments; and I especially owe them to the gentlemen of the committee, who did me the honor to meet me at Louisville, and accompany me to this city. Whatever may be my future destiny, whilst my faculties are preserved, I shall cherish a proud and grateful recollection of these testimonies of respect and attachment.

DOMESTIC MANUFACTURES.

In inculcating the advantages of domestic manufactures, it never entered the head, I presume, of any one, to change the habits of the nation from an agricultural to a manufacturing community. No one, I am persuaded, ever thought of converting the plough-share and the sickle into the spindle and the shuttle. And yet this is the delusive and erroneous view too often taken of the subject. The opponents of the manufacturing system transport themselves to the establishments of Manchester and Birmingham, and dwelling on the indigence, vice, and wretchedness prevailing there, by pushing it to an *ex-*

treme, argue that its introduction into this country will necessarily be attended by the same mischievous and dreadful consequences. But what is the fact? That England is a manufacturer of a great part of the world; and that, even there, the numbers thus employed bear an inconsiderable proportion to the whole mass of population. Were we to become the manufacturers of other nations, effects of the same kind might result. But if we *limit* our efforts by our own wants, the evils apprehended would be found to be chimerical. The invention and improvement of machinery, for which the present age is so remarkable, dispensing in a great degree with manual labor; and the employment of those persons, who, if we were engaged in the pursuit of agriculture alone, would be either unproductive, or exposed to indolence and immorality, will enable us to supply our wants without withdrawing our attention from agriculture, that first and greatest source of national wealth and happiness. A judicious American farmer, in the household way, manufactures whatever is requisite for his family. He squanders but little in the gewgaws of Europe. He presents in epitome what the nation ought to be in *extenso*. Their manufactories should bear the same proportion, and ef-

fect 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 certainly desirable that the exports of the country should continue to be the surplus production of tillage, and not become those of manufacturing establishments. But it is important to diminish our imports—to furnish ourselves with clothing, made by our industry—and to cease to be dependent, for the very coats we wear, upon a foreign and perhaps inimical country. The nation that imports its clothing from abroad, is but little less dependent than if it imported its bread.

The fallacious course of reasoning urged against domestic manufactures, namely, the distress and servitude produced by those of England, would equally indicate the propriety of abandoning agriculture itself. Were you to cast your eyes upon the miserable peasantry of Poland, and revert to the days of feudal vassalage, you might thence draw numerous arguments of the kind now under consideration against the pursuits of the husbandman! What would become of commerce, the favorite theme of some gentlemen, if assailed with this sort of weapon? The fraud, perjury, cupidity, and cor-

ruption with which it is unhappily too often attended, would at once produce its overthrow. In short, sir, take the black side of the picture, and every human occupation will be found pregnant with fatal objections.

The opposition to manufacturing institutions recalls to my recollection the case of a gentleman, of whom I have heard. He had been in the habit of supplying his table from a neighboring cook and confectioner's shop, and proposed to his wife a reform, in this particular. She revolted at the idea. The sight of a scullion was dreadful, and her delicate nerves could not bear the clattering of kitchen furniture. The gentleman persisted in his design; his table was thenceforth cheaper and better supplied, and his neighbor, the confectioner, lost one of his best customers. In like manner, Dame Commerce will oppose domestic manufactures. She is a flirting, flippant, noisy jade, and if we are governed by her phantasies, we shall never put off the muslins of India and the cloths of Europe. But I trust that the yeomanry of the country, the true and genuine landlords of this tenement, called the United States, disregarding her freaks, will persevere in reform, until the

whole national family is furnished by itself with the clothing necessary for its own use.

It is a subject no less of curiosity than of interest, to trace the prejudices in favor of foreign fabrics. In our colonial condition, we were in a complete state of dependence on the parent country, as it respected manufactures, as well as commerce. For many years after the war, such was the partiality for her productions, in this country, that a gentleman's head could not withstand the influence of solar heat, unless covered with a London hat—his feet could not bear the pebbles, or frost, unless protected by London shoes—and the comfort or ornament of his person was only consulted 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 manufactories 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, sir, *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. There is a pleasure—a pride, (if I may be allowed the expression, and I pity those who cannot feel the sentiment,) in being clad in the productions of our own families. Others may prefer the cloths of Leeds and of London, but give me those of Humphreysville.

NATIONAL SPIRIT.

Are you prepared to see a foreign power seize what belongs to us? I have heard in the most credible manner that, about the period when the President took his measures in relation to that country, agents of a foreign power were intriguing with the people there, to induce them to come under his dominion; but whether this be the fact or not, it cannot be doubted, that if you neglect the present auspicious moment—if you reject the proffered boon, some other nation, profiting by your errors, will seize the occasion to get a fatal footing in your southern frontier. I have no hesitation in saying, that if a parent country will not or cannot main-

tain its authority in a colony adjacent to us, and there exists in it a state of misrule and disorder, menacing our peace, and if moreover such colony, by passing into the hands of any other power, would become dangerous to the integrity of the union, and manifestly tend to the subversion of our laws; we have a right upon the eternal principles of self-preservation, to lay hold upon it. This principle alone, independent of any title, would warrant our occupation of West Florida. But it is not necessary to resort to it, our title being in my judgment incontestibly good. We are told of the vengeance of resuscitated Spain. If Spain, under any modification of her government, chooses to make war upon us, for the act under consideration, the nation, I have no doubt, will be willing to embark in such a contest. But the gentleman reminds us that Great Britian, the ally of Spain, may be obliged, by her connexion with that country, to take part with her against us, and to consider this measure of the President as justifying an appeal to arms. Sir, is the time never to arrive when we may manage our own affairs without the fear of insulting His Britannic Majesty? Is the rod of British power to be forever suspended over our heads? Does congress put on

an embargo to shelter our rightful commerce against the piratical depredations committed upon it on the ocean? We are immediately warned of the indignation of offended England. Is a law of non-intercourse proposed? The whole navy of the haughty mistress of the seas is made to thunder in our ears. Does the President refuse to continue a correspondence with a minister who violates the decorum belonging to his diplomatic character, by giving and deliberately repeating an affront to the whole nation? We are instantly menaced with the chastisement which English pride will not fail to inflict. Whether we assert our rights by sea or attempt their maintenance by land—whithersoever we turn ourselves, this phantom incessantly pursues us. Already has it had too much influence on the councils of the nation. It contributed to the repeal of the embargo—that dishonorable repeal, which has so much tarnished the character of our government.

THE POWER OF WEALTH.

The power of a nation is said to consist in the sword and the purse. Perhaps at last all power is resolvable into that of the purse, for with it you may command almost every thing

else. The specie circulation of the United States is estimated by some calculators at ten millions of dollars, and if it be no more, one moiety is in the vaults of this bank. May not the time arrive, when the concentration of such a vast portion of the circulating medium of the country in the hands of any corporation, will be dangerous to our liberties? By whom is this immense power wielded? By a body, who, in derogation of the great principle of all our institutions, responsibility to the people, is amenable only to a few stockholders, and they chiefly foreigners. Suppose an attempt to subvert this government—would not the traitor first aim by force or corruption to acquire the treasure of this company? Look at it in another aspect. Seven tenths of its capital are in the hands of foreigners, and these foreigners chiefly English subjects. We are possibly on the eve of a rupture with that nation. Should such an event occur, do you apprehend that the English premier would experience any difficulty in obtaining the entire control of this institution? Republics, above all other governments, ought most seriously to guard against foreign influence. All history proves that the internal dissensions excited by foreign intrigue, have produced the

downfall of almost every free government that has hitherto existed; and yet, gentlemen contend that we are benefited by the possession of this foreign capital! If we could have its use, without its attending abuse, I should be gratified also. But it is in vain to expect the one without the other. Wealth is power, and, under whatsoever form it exists, its proprietor, whether he lives on this or the other side of the Atlantic, will have a proportionate influence. It is argued, that our possession of this English capital gives us a great influence over the British government. If this reasoning be sound, we had better revoke the interdiction as to aliens holding land, and invite foreigners to engross the whole property, real and personal, of the country. We had better at once exchange the condition of independent proprietors for that of stewards. We should then be able to govern foreign nations, according to the reasoning of the gentlemen on the other side. But let us put aside this theory, and appeal to the decisions of experience. Go to the other side of the Atlantic, and see what has been achieved for us there, by Englishmen holding seven tenths of the capital of this bank. Has it released from galling and ignominious bondage one solitary American

seaman, bleeding under British oppression? Did it prevent the unmanly attack upon the Chesapeake? Did it arrest the promulgation, or has it abrogated the orders in council—those orders which have given birth to a new era in commerce? In spite of all its boasted effect, are not the two nations brought to the very brink of war? Are we quite sure, that on this side of the water, it has had no effect favorable to British interests.

NECESSITY OF A NAVAL FORCE.

The shepherd and his faithful dog are not more necessary to guard the flocks that browze and gambol on the neighbouring mountain. He considered the prosperity of foreign commerce indissolubly allied to marine power. Neglect to provide the one, and you must abandon the other. Suppose the expected war with England is commenced, you enter and subjugate Canada, and she still refuses to do you justice —what other possible mode will remain to operate on the enemy but upon that element where alone you can then come in contract with him? And if you do not prepare to protect there your own commerce and to assail his, will he not sweep from the ocean every vessel

bearing your flag, and destroy even the coasting trade? But from the arguments of gentlemen, it would seem to be questioned if foreign commerce is worth the kind of protection insisted upon. What is this foreign commerce that has suddenly become so inconsiderable? It has, with very trifling aid from other sources, defrayed the expenses of government ever since the adoption of the present constitution—maintained an expensive and successful war with the Indians—a war with the Barbary powers—a quasi war with France—sustained the charges of suppressing two insurrections, and extinguishing upwards of forty-six millions of the public debt. In revenue it has, since the year 1789, yielded one hundred and ninety-one millions of dollars. During the first four years after the commencement of the present government, the revenue averaged only about two millions annually—during a subsequent period of four years, it rose to an average of fifteen millions annually, or became equivalent to a capital of two hundred and fifty millions of dollars, at an interest of six per centum per annum. And if our commerce is re-established it will, in the course of time, nett a sum for which we are scarcely furnished with figures in arithmetic. Taking the

average of the last nine years, (comprehending of course the season of the embargo,) our exports average upwards of thirty-seven millions of dollars, which is equivalent to a capital of more than six hundred millions of dollars at six per centum interest, all of which must be lost in the event of a destruction of foreign commerce. In the abandonment of that commerce, is also involved the sacrifice of our brave tars, who have engaged in the pursuit from which they derive subsistence and support, under the confidence that government would afford them that just protection which is due to all. They will be driven into foreign employment, for it is vain to expect that they will renounce their habits of life.

POLICY OF SPAIN.

Three hundred years ago, upon the ruins of the thrones of Montezuma and the Incas of Peru, Spain erected the most stupendous system of colonial despotism that the world has ever seen: the most vigorous, the most exclusive. The great principle and object of this system, has been to render one of the largest portions of the world exclusively subservient, in all its faculties, to the interests of an inconsiderable

spot in Europe. To effectuate this aim of her policy, she locked up Spanish America from all the rest of the world, and prohibited, under the severest penalties, any foreigner from entering any part of it. To keep the natives themselves ignorant of each other, and of the strength and resources of the several parts of her American possessions, she next prohibited the inhabitants of one vice-royalty or government from visiting those of another; so that the inhabitants of Mexico, for example, were not allowed to enter the vice-royalty of New Grenada. The agriculture of those vast regions was so regulated and restrained, as to prevent all collision with the interests of the agriculture of the peninsula. Where nature, by the character and composition of the soil, had commanded, the abominable system of Spain has forbidden, the growth of certain articles. Thus, the olive and the vine, to which Spanish America is so well adapted, are prohibited, wherever their culture could interfere with the olive and the vine of the peninsula. The commerce of the country, in the direction and objects of the exports and imports, is also subjected to the narrow and selfish views of Spain, and fettered by the odious spirit of monopoly existing in Cadiz. She has sought, by scatter-

ing discord among the several castes of her American population, and by a debasing course of education, to perpetuate her oppression. Whatever concerns public law, or the science of government, all writers upon political economy, or that tend to give vigor and freedom and expansion to the intellect, are prohibited. Gentlemen would be astonished by the long list of distinguished authors whom she proscribes, to be found in Depon's and other works. A main feature in her policy, is that which constantly elevates the European and depresses the American character. Out of upwards of seven hundred and fifty viceroys and captains general, whom she has appointed since the conquest of America, about eighteen only have been from the body of the American population. On all occasions, she seeks to raise and promote her European subjects, and to degrade and humiliate the creoles. Wherever in America her sway extends, every thing seems to pine and wither beneath its baneful influence. The richest regions 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.

NECESSITY OF DOMESTIC MANUFACTURES.

The wants of man may be classed under three great heads—food, raiment, and defence. They are felt alike in the state of barbarism and of civilization. He must be defended against the ferocious beasts of prey in the one condition, and against the ambition, violence, and injustice incident to the other. If he seeks to obtain a supply of those wants without giving an equivalent, he is a beggar or a robber; if by promising an equivalent which he cannot give, he is fraudulent; and if, by a commerce, in which there is perfect freedom on his side, whilst he meets with nothing but restrictions on the other, he submits to an unjust and degrading inequality. What is true of individuals is equally so of nations. The country, then, which relies upon foreign nations for either of those great essentials, is not, in fact, independent. Nor is it any consolation for our dependence upon other nations, that they also are dependent upon us, even were it true. Every nation should anxiously endeavor to establish its absolute independence, and consequently be able to feed and clothe and defend itself. If it rely upon a foreign supply, that may be cut off by the caprice of the nation yield-

ing it, by war with it, or even by war with other nations, it cannot be independent. But it is not true that any other nations depend upon us in a degree any thing like equal to that of our dependence upon them, for the great necessaries to which I have referred. Every other nation seeks to supply itself with them from its own resources; and so strong is the desire which they feel to accomplish this purpose, that they exclude the cheaper foreign article for the dearer home production. Witness the English policy in regard to corn. So selfish, in this respect, is the conduct of other powers, that, in some instances, they even prohibit the produce of the industry of their *own* colonies, when it comes into competition with the produce of the parent country. All other countries but our own exclude, by high duties, or absolute prohibitions, whatever they can respectively produce within themselves. The truth is, and it is in vain to disguise it, that we are a sort of independent colonies of England—politically free, commercially slaves. Gentlemen tell us of the advantages of a free exchange of the produce of the world. But they tell us of what has never existed, does not exist, and perhaps never will exist. They invoke us to give perfect freedom

on our side, whilst, in the ports of every other nation, we are met with a code of odious restrictions, shutting out entirely a great part of our produce, and letting in only so much as they cannot possibly do without. I will hereafter examine their favorite maxim, of leaving things to themselves, more particularly. At present I will only say, that I too am a friend to free trade, but it must be a free trade of perfect reciprocity. If the governing consideration were cheapness, if national independence were to weigh nothing; if honor nothing; why not subsidize foreign powers to defend us? why not hire Swiss or Hessian mercenaries to protect us? why not get our arms of all kinds, as we do in part the blankets and clothing of our soldiers, from abroad? We should probably consult economy by these dangerous expedients.

SLAVERY.

We are reproached with doing mischief by the agitation of this question. The society goes into no household to disturb its domestic tranquillity; it addresses itself to no slaves to weaken their obligations of obedience. It seeks to affect no man's property. It neither has the power nor the will to affect the property of any

one contrary to his consent. The execution of its scheme would augment instead of diminishing the value of the property left behind. The society, composed of free men, concerns itself only with the free. Collateral consequences we are not responsible for. It is not this society which has produced the great moral revolution which the age exhibits. What would they, who thus reproach us, have done? If they would repress all tendencies towards liberty and ultimate emancipation, they must do more than put down the benevolent efforts of this society. They must go back to the era of our liberty and independence, and muzzle the cannon which thunders its annual joyous return. They must revive the slave trade, with all its train of atrocities. They must suppress the workings of British philanthropy, seeking to meliorate the condition of the unfortunate West Indian slaves. They must arrest the career of South American deliverance from thraldom. They must blow out the moral lights around us, and extinguish that greatest torch of all which America presents to a benighted world, pointing the way to their rights, their liberties, and their happiness. And when they have achieved all these purposes, their work will be yet incomplete. They must

penetrate the human soul, and eradicate the light of reason and the love of liberty. Then, and not till then, when universal darkness and despair prevail, can you perpetuate slavery, and repress all sympathies, and all humane and benevolent efforts among freemen, in behalf of the unhappy portion of our race doomed to bondage.

Animated by the encouragement of the past, let us proceed under the cheering prospects which lie before us. Let us continue to appeal to the pious, the liberal, and the wise. Let us bear in mind the condition of our forefathers, when collected on the beach of England, they embarked, amidst the scoffings, and the false predictions of the assembled multitude, for this distant land; and here, in spite of all the perils of forest and ocean, which they encountered, successfully laid the foundations of this glorious republic. Undismayed by the prophecies of the presumptuous, let us supplicate the aid of the American representatives of the people, and redoubling our labors, and invoking the blessings of an all-wise Providence, I boldly and confidently anticipate success. I hope the resolution which I offer will be unanimously adopted.

COLONIZATION.

The object of the society was the colonization of the free colored people, not the slaves, of the country. Voluntary in its institution, voluntary in its continuance, voluntary in all its ramifications, all its means, purposes, and instruments, are also voluntary. But it was said that no free colored persons could be prevailed upon to abandon the comforts of civilized life, and expose themselves to all the perils of a settlement in a distant, inhospitable, and savage country; that, if they could be induced to go on such a quixotic expedition, no territory could be procured for their establishment as a colony; that the plan was altogether incompetent to effectuate its professed object; and that it ought to be rejected as the idle dream of visionary enthusiasts. The society has outlived, thank God, all these disastrous predictions. It has survived to swell the list of false prophets. It is no longer a question of speculation whether a colony can or cannot be planted from the United States, of free persons of color, on the shores of Africa. It is a matter demonstrated; such a colony, in fact, exists, prospers, has made successful war, and honorable peace, and transacts all the multiplied

business of a civilized and Christian community. It now has about five hundred souls, disciplined troops, forts, and other means of defence, sovereignty over an extensive territory, and exerts a powerful and salutary influence over the neighboring clans.

Numbers of the free African race among us are willing to go to Africa. The society has never experienced any difficulty on that subject, except that its means of comfortable transportation have been inadequate to accommodate all who have been anxious to migrate. Why should they not go? Here they are in the lowest state of social gradation—aliens—political—moral—social aliens, strangers, though natives. There, they would be in the midst of their friends and their kindred, at home, though born in a foreign land, and elevated above the natives of the country, as much as they are degraded here below the other classes of the community. But on this matter, I am happy to have it in my power to furnish indisputable evidence from the most authentic source, that of large numbers of free persons of color themselves. Numerous meetings have been held in several churches in Baltimore, of the free people of color, in which, after being organized as deliberative assemblies, by the ap-

pointment of a chairman, (if not of the same complexion,) presiding as you, Mr. Vice-president, do, and secretaries, they have voted memorials addressed to the white people, in which they have argued the question with an ability, moderation, and temper, surpassing any that I can command, and emphatically recommended the colony of Liberia to favorable consideration, as the most desirable and practicable scheme ever yet presented on this interesting subject. I ask permission of the society to read this highly creditable document.

[Here Mr. Clay read the memorial referred to.]

The society has experienced no difficulty in the acquisition of a territory, upon reasonable terms, abundantly sufficient for a most extensive colony. And land in ample quantities, it has ascertained, can be procured in Africa, together with all rights of sovereignty, upon conditions as favorable as those on which the United States extinguish the Indian title to territory within their own limits.

In respect to the alleged incompetency of the scheme to accomplish its professed object, the society asks that that object should be taken to be, not what the imaginations of its enemies re-

present it to be, but what it really proposes. They represent that the purpose of the society is to export the whole African population of the United States, bond and free; and they pronounce this design to be unattainable. They declare that the means of the whole country are insufficient to effect the transportation to Africa of a mass of population approximating to two millions of souls. Agreed: but that is not what the society contemplates. They have substituted their own notion for that of the society. What is the true nature of the evil of the existence of a portion of the African race in our population? It is not that there are *some*, but that there are so *many* among us of a different caste, of a different physical, if not moral, constitution, who never can amalgamate with the great body of our population. In every country, persons are to be found varying in their color, origin, and character, from the native mass. But this anomaly creates no inquietude or apprehension, because the exotics, from the smallness of their number, are known to be utterly incapable of disturbing the general tranquillity. Here, on the contrary, the African part of our population bears so large a proportion to the residue of European origin, as to create the most lively appre-

hension, especially in some quarters of the union. Any project, therefore, by which, in a material degree, the dangerous element in the general mass, can be diminished or rendered stationary, deserves deliberate consideration.

The colonization society has never imagined it to be practicable, or within the reach of any means which the several governments of the union could bring to bear on the subject, to transport the whole of the African race within the limits of the United States. Nor is that necessary to accomplish the desirable objects of domestic tranquillity, and render us one homogeneous people. The population of the United States has been supposed to duplicate in periods of twenty-five years. That may have been the case heretofore, but the terms of duplication will be more and more protracted as we advance in national age; and I do not believe that it will be found, in any period to come, that our numbers will be doubled in a less term than one of about thirty-three and a third years. I have not time to enter now into details in support of this opinion. They would consist of those checks which experience has shown to obstruct the progress of population, arising out of its actual augmentation and density, the settlement of waste

lands, &c. Assuming the period of thirty-three and a third, or any other number of years, to be that in which our population will hereafter be doubled, if, during that whole term, the capital of the African stock could be kept down, or stationary, whilst that of European origin should be left to an unobstructed increase, the result, at the end of the term, would be most propitious. Let us suppose, for example, that the whole population at present of the United States, is twelve millions, of which ten may be estimated of the Anglo-Saxon, and two of the African race. If there could be annually transported from the United States an amount of the African portion equal to the annual increase of the whole of that caste, whilst the European race should be left to multiply, we should find at the termination of the period of duplication, whatever it may be, that the relative proportions would be as twenty to two. And if the process were continued, during a second term of duplication, the proportion would be as forty to two—one which would eradicate every cause of alarm or solicitude from the breasts of the most timid. But the transportation of Africans, by creating, to the extent to which it might be carried, a vacuum in society, would tend to accelerate the duplication of tho

European race, who, by all the laws of population, would fill up the void space.

This society is well aware, I repeat, that they cannot touch the subject of slavery. But it is no objection to their scheme, limited as it is exclusively to those free people of color who are willing to migrate, that it admits of indefinite extension and application, by those who alone, having the competent authority, may choose to adopt and apply it. Our object has been to point out the way, to show that colonization is practicable, and to leave it to those states or individuals, who may be pleased to engage in the object, to prosecute it. We have demonstrated that a colony may be planted in Africa, by the fact that an American colony there exists. The problem which has so long and so deeply interested the thoughts of good and patriotic men, is solved—a country and a home have been found, to which the African race may be sent, to the promotion of their happiness and our own.

But, Mr. Vice-President, I shall not rest contented with the fact of the establishment of the colony, conclusive as it ought to be deemed of the practicability of our purpose. I shall proceed to show, by reference to indisputable statistical details and calculations, that it is within

the compass of reasonable human means. I am sensible of the tediousness of all arithmetical data, but I will endeavor to simplify them as much as possible.—It will be borne in mind that the aim of the society is to establish in Africa a colony of the free African population of the United States, to an extent which shall be beneficial both to Africa and America. The whole free colored population of the United States amounted, in 1790, to fifty-nine thousand four hundred and eighty-one; in 1800, to one hundred and ten thousand and seventy-two; in 1810, to one hundred and eighty-six thousand four hundred and forty-six; and in 1820, to two hundred and thirty-three thousand five hundred and thirty. The ratio of annual increase during the first term of ten years, was about eight and a half per cent per annum; during the second, about seven per cent per annum; and during the third, a little more than two and a half. The very great difference in the rate of annual increase, during those several terms, may probably be accounted for by the effect of the number of voluntary emancipations operating with more influence upon the total smaller amount of free coloured persons at the first of those periods, and by the facts of the insurrection in St.

Domingo, and the acquisition of Louisiana, both of which, occurring during the first and second terms, added considerably to the number of our free coloured population.

AMERICAN INDUSTRY.

In foreseeing, as many years ago I thought I did, the success which would crown the exertions of the people of the United States, by the application of a portion of their industry to the arts, I was gifted with no spirit of prophesy. I only studied the character and the resources of our countrymen and our country. Of their enterprise, ingenuity, and perseverance, no doubt can be entertained. We produced all the essential raw materials, and we had the command of boundless power, natural and artificial. With these elements, physical and moral, why should we fail? Nor has the strength of my conviction abated by the discouraging predictions of the timid and the interested. These have not been wanting, in every stage of our national progress; and the failure of our arms, in both our wars, as well as of our arts, had been confidently foretold. Our march has, nevertheless, been onward, successful, and triumphant, and glorious.

If the friends of American industry had pre-

sented a system for its protection, based upon doubtful theory and visionary speculation—if they had offered to the consideration of their countrymen a scheme which experience in other nations had demonstrated to be impracticable and injurious, all the opposition which they encountered would have been patriotic and justifiable. But they came forward with no doubtful project. They were sustained by the experience of all countries, and especially of that from which we sprung. And now the very great success which has attended those branches of our manufactures which were adequately protected, enables us to add that of our own as a testimony to the wisdom of self-defence and protection.

Notwithstanding the new markets which have been created, the wants which have been supplied, and the animation which has been given to labor, the foes of the American system continue their opposition with a perseverance worthy of a better cause. Availing themselves with the irritations and divisions incident to a late contested election, and enlisting under the banners of a distinguished name, they have taken fresh courage, and assail the further progress of our manufactures with renovated vigor. Prior to that event, they had contented themselves with con-

troverting the *policy* of encouragement; and no statesman in congress had been seen bold enough seriously to question the right of congress to afford it. But now the legislature of a distinguished state, after a long deliberation and mature consideration, has solemnly resolved that congress does not possess the *power* to counteract foreign legislation by laws of self-protection. From the very commencement of the government, and throughout all the stages of its existence, in peace and in war, the power has been asserted and exercised. It is delegated by more than one clause in the constitution. Under the authority to regulate commerce with foreign nations, we have seen the power exercised to suspend, for long and indefinite periods, commercial intercourse with all nations, and especially with Great Britain and France. The power to regulate our foreign commerce is plenary, clear and explicit; and, if the clause which conveys it is not adapted to the purpose, human language is incompetent to supply the appropriate terms. Under another clause, also full and explicit, the power is granted to lay imposts, without limitation as to amount, and has been exercised to an extent far beyond the wishes of the friends of the American system to apply it.

I hope the vigor of this new attack upon the system will be met by corresponding vigor in its defence. Let us treat our antagonists with the greatest respect, and be tender even of their prejudices. But, faithful to measures, let us firmly meet concert and co-operation on the other side, by concert and co-operation on ours. Let us oppose mind to mind, and exertion to exertion; and if we must fail—if the bright prospects which lie before us are to be dissipated and destroyed, let there be no occasion for reproaching ourselves. If our opponents can make themselves the majority, however much we may deplore the issue of the struggle, we will bow with submission and deference to the will of the majority. If, as I hope, our system is preserved, and improved, I will now hazard the prediction, that in less than twenty years the value of our exported manufactures will exceed in amount that of all the exports of raw produce from our country.

MILITARY HEROES.

We differed only about men. You wished to commit the national ship to a gallant commander. I thought that was not his element, and I preferred another, who possessed, I believed, more

skill and experience, and under whose command I thought the ship, and the crew, and the cargo, would be safer and happier.

You were actuated by one of the noblest of virtues. I too acknowledge its sway. But whilst military merit is no disqualification, but, when accompanied by other requisite attainments, may be a reason for civil promotion, standing, as it appeared to me, alone, I did not think we could prudently entrust the chief magistracy of this great country to the distinguished object of your choice. I felt with you the obligations of national gratitude. But I thought they should be fulfilled in other forms. Let the public gratitude manifest itself in just and adequate rewards, drawn from the public treasure. Let inspired poets sing the praises of our military and naval commanders. Let the chisel and the pencil preserve their faithful images for the gratification of the present and future generations. Let the impartial historian faithfully record their deeds of glory and renown, for the admiration and the imitation of posterity. I say too, in the language of a departed sage, "honor to those who fill the measure of their country's glory." But it should be appropriate, considerate honor—such as becomes its object, and such

as freemen, jealous, cautious, and enlightened freemen, ought to bestow. If my suffrage is asked for the highest civil office of my country, the candidate, however illustrious and successful he may be, must present some other title than laurels, however gloriously gathered on the blood-stained field.

ADDRESS AT LEXINGTON.

I beg permission to offer my hearty thanks, and to make my respectful acknowledgments, for the affectionate reception which has been given me during my present visit to my old congressional district, and for this hospitable and honorable testimony of your esteem and confidence. And I thank you especially for the friendly sentiments and feelings expressed in the toast which you have just done me the honor to drink. I always had the happiness of knowing that I enjoyed, in a high degree, the attachment of that portion of my fellow citizens whom I formerly represented; but I should never have been sensible of the strength and ardor of their affection, except for the extraordinary character of the times. For near two years and a half I have been assailed with a rancor and bitterness which have few examples. I have found my-

self the particular object of concerted and concentrated abuse; and others, thrusting themselves between you and me, have dared to arraign me for treachery to your interests. But my former constituents, unaffected by the calumnies which have been so perseveringly circulated to my prejudice, have stood by me with a generous constancy and a noble magnanimity. The measure of their regard and confidence has risen with, and even surpassed, that of the malevolence, great as it is, of my personal and political foes. I thank you, gentlemen, who are a large portion of my late constituents. I thank you, and every one of them, with all my heart, for the manly support which I have uniformly received. It has cheered and consoled me, amidst all my severe trials; and may I not add, that it is honorable to the generous hearts and enlightened heads who have resolved to protect the character of an old friend and a faithful servant?

The numerous manifestations of your confidence and attachment will be among the latest and most treasured recollections of my life. They impose on me obligations which can never be weakened or cancelled. One of these obligations is, that I should embrace every fair opportunity to vindicate that character which you

have so generously sustained, and to evince to you and to the world, that you have not yielded to the impulses of a blind and enthusiastic sentiment. I feel that I am, on all fit occasions, especially bound to vindicate myself to my former constituents. It was as *their* representative, it was in the fulfilment of a high trust which *they* confided to me, that I have been accused of violating the most sacred of duties, of treating their wishes with contempt, and their interests with treachery. Nor is this obligation, in my conception of its import, at all weakened by the dissolution of the relations which heretofore existed between us. I would instantly resign the place I hold in the councils of the nation, and directly appeal to the suffrages of my late constituents, as a candidate for re-election, if I did not know that my foes are of that class whom one rising from the dead cannot convince, whom nothing can silence, and who wage a war of extermination. On the issue of such an appeal, they would redouble their abuse of me and of you: for their hatred is common to us both.

They have compelled me so often to be the theme of my addresses to the people, that I should have willingly abstained, on this festive occasion, from any allusion to this subject, but for a new

and imposing form which the calumny against me has recently assumed. I am again put on my defence, not of any new charge, nor by any new adversary; but of the old charges clad in a new dress, and exhibited by an open and undisguised enemy. The fictitious names have been stricken from the foot of the indictment, and that of a known and substantial prosecutor has been voluntarily offered. Undaunted by the formidable name of that prosecutor, I will avail myself, with your indulgence, of this fit opportunity of free and unreserved intercourse with you, as a large number of my late constituents, to make some observations on the past and present state of the question. When evidence shall be produced, as I have now a clear right to demand, in support of the accusation, it will be the proper time for me to take such notice of it as its nature may require.

In February, 1825, it was my duty, as the representative of this district, to vote for some one of the three candidates for the presidency, who were returned to the house of representatives. It has been established, and can be farther proved, that, before I left this state the preceding fall, I communicated to several gentlemen of the highest respectability, my fixed

determination not to vote for General Jackson. The friends of Mr. Crawford asserted to the last, that the condition of his health was such as to enable him to administer the duties of the office. I thought otherwise after I reached Washington city, and visited him to satisfy myself; and thought that physical impediment, if there were no other objections, ought to prevent his election. Although the delegations from four states voted for him, and his pretensions were zealously pressed to the very last moment, it has been of late asserted, and I believe by some of the very persons who then warmly espoused his cause, that his incompetency was so palpable as clearly to limit the choice to two of the three returned candidates. In my view of my duty, there was no alternative but that which I embraced. That I had some objections to Mr. Adams, I am ready freely to admit; but these did not weigh a feather in comparison with the greater and insurmountable objections, long and deliberately entertained against his competitor. I take this occasion, with great satisfaction, to state, that my objections to Mr. Adams arose chiefly from apprehensions which have not been realized. I have found him at the head of the government, able, enlightened, patient of investi-

gation, and ever ready to receive with respect, and when approved by his judgment, to act upon the councils of his official advisers. I add, with unmixed pleasure, that, from the commencement of the government, with the exception of Mr. Jefferson's administration, no chief magistrate has found the members of his cabinet so united on all public measures, and so cordial and friendly in all their intercourse, private and official, as these are of the present president.

Had I voted for General Jackson, in opposition to the well-known opinions which I entertained of him, one tenth part of the ingenuity and zeal which have been employed to excite prejudices against me would have held me up to universal contempt: and what would have been worse, *I* should have *felt* that I really deserved it.

Before the election, an attempt was made by an abusive letter, published in the Columbian Observer, at Philadelphia, a paper which, as has since transpired, was sustained by Mr. Senator Eaton, the colleague, the friend, and the biographer of General Jackson, to assail my motives, and to deter me in the exercise of my duty. This letter being avowed by Mr. George Kremer, I instantly demanded from the house of re-

presentatives an investigation. A committee was accordingly, on the 5th day of February, 1825, appointed in the rare mode of balloting by the house, instead of by the selection of the speaker. It was composed of some of the leading members of that body, not one of whom was my political friend in the preceding presidential canvass. Although Mr. Kremer, in addressing the house, had declared his willingness to bring forward his proofs, and his readiness to abide the issue of the inquiry, his fears, or other counsels than his own, prevailed upon him to take refuge in a miserable subterfuge. Of all possible periods, that was the most fitting to substantiate the charge, if it was true. Every circumstance was then fresh; the witnessess all living and present; the election not yet complete; and therefore the imputed corrupt bargain not fulfilled. All these powerful considerations had no weight with the conspirators and their accessories, and they meanly shrunk from even an attempt to prove their charge, for the best of all possible reasons—because, being false and fabricated, they could adduce no proof which was not false and fabricated.

During two years and a half, which have now intervened, a portion of the press devoted to the

cause of General Jackson, has been teeming with the vilest calumnies against me; and the charge, under every chameleon form, has been a thousand times repeated. Up to this time, I have in vain invited investigation, and demanded evidence. None, not a particle, has been adduced.

The extraordinary ground has been taken, that the accusers were not bound to establish by proof the guilt of their designated victim. In a civilized, Christian, and free community, the monstrous principle has been assumed, that accusation and conviction are synonymous; and that the persons who deliberately bring forward an atrocious charge, are exempted from all obligations to substantiate it! And the pretext is, that the crime being of a political nature, is shrouded in darkness, and incapable of being substantiated. But is there any real difference, in this respect, between political and other offences? Do not all perpetrators of crime endeavor to conceal their guilt and to elude detection? If the accuser of a political offence is absolved from the duty of supporting his accusation, every other accuser of offence stands equally absolved. Such a principle, practically carried into society, would subvert all harmony,

peace, and tranquillity. None—no age, nor sex, nor profession, nor calling, would be safe against its baleful and overwhelming influence. It would amount to an universal license to universal calumny!

No one has ever contended, that the proof should be exclusively that of eye-witnesses, testifying from their sense positively and directly to the fact. Political, like all other offences, may be established by circumstantial as well as positive evidence. But I do contend, that *some* evidence, be it what it may, ought to be exhibited. If there be none, how do the accusers know that an offence has been perpetrated? If they do know it, let us have the *fact* on which their conviction is based. I will not even assert that, in public affairs, a citizen has not a right, freely to express his *opinions* of public men, and to speculate upon the motives of their conduct. But if he chooses to promulgate opinions, let them be given as *opinions*. The public will correctly judge of their value and their grounds. No one has a right to put forth a positive assertion, that a political offence has been committed, unless he stands prepared to sustain, by satisfactory proof of some kind, its actual existence.

If he who exhibits a charge of political crime

is, from its very nature, disabled to establish it, how much more difficult is the condition of the accused? How can he exhibit negative proof of his innocence, if no affirmative proof of his guilt is, or can be adduced?

PUBLIC FEELING.

In passing through my native state, towards which I have ever borne, and shall continue in all vicissitudes to cherish, the greatest respect and affection, I expected to be treated with its accustomed courtesy and private hospitality. But I did not anticipate that I should be the object of such public, distinguished, and cordial manifestations of regard. In offering you the poor and inadequate return of my warm and respectful thanks, I pray you to believe that I shall treasure up these testimonies among the most gratifying reminiscences of my life. The public service which I have rendered my country, your too favorable opinion of which has prompted you to exhibit these demonstrations of your esteem, has fallen far below the measure of usefulness which I should have been happy to have filled. I claim for it only, the humble merit of pure and patriotic intention. Such as it has been, I have not always been fortunate

enough to give satisfaction to every section, and to all the great interests of our country. When an attempt was made to impose upon a new state about to be admitted into the Union, restrictions, incompatible, as I thought, with her co-equal, sovereign power, I was charged in the north with being too partial to the south, and as being friendly to that unfortunate condition of slavery, of the evils of which none are more sensible than I am. At another period, when I believed that the industry of this country required some protection against the selfish and contracted legislation of foreign powers, and to constitute it a certain and safe source of supply, in all exigencies, the charge against me was transposed, and I was converted into a foe of southern, and an infatuated friend of northern and western interests. There were not wanting persons, in every section of the Union, in another stage of our history, to accuse me with rashly contributing to the support of a war, the only alternative left to our honor by the persevering injustice of a foreign nation. These contradictory charges and perverted views, gave me no concern, because I was confident that time and truth would prevail over all misconceptions; and because they did not impeach my public in-

tegrity. But I confess I was not prepared to expect the aspersions which I have experienced on account of a more recent discharge of public duty. My situation on the occasion to which I refer was most peculiar and extraordinary; unlike that of any other American citizen. One of the three candidates for the presidency presented to the choice of the house of representatives was out of the question for notorious reasons, now admitted by all. Limited as the competition was to the other two, I had to choose between the statesman long experienced at home and abroad in numerous civil situations, and a soldier—brave, gallant, and successful—but a mere soldier—who, although he also had filled several civil offices, had quickly resigned them all, frankly acknowledging, in some instances, his incompetency to discharge their duties. It has been said that I had some difference with the present chief magistrate at Ghent. It is true that we did not agree on one of the many important questions which arose during the negotiations at that city; but the difference equally applied to our present minister at London, and to the lamented Bayard, between whom and myself, although we belonged to opposite political parties, there existed a warm friend-

ship to the hour of his death. It was not of a nature to prevent our co-operation in the public service, as is demonstrated by the convention at London, subsequently negotiated by Messrs. Adams, Gallatin, and myself. It was a difference of opinion on a point of expediency, and did not relate to any constitutional or fundamental principle. But with respect to the conduct of the distinguished citizen of Tennessee, I had solemnly expressed, under the highest obligations, opinions which, whether right or wrong, were sincerely and honestly entertained, and are still held. These opinions related to a military exercise ofpower believed to be arbitrary and unconstitutional. I should have justly subjected myself to the grossest inconsistency, if I had given him my suffrage. I thought, if he were elected, the sword and the constitution, bad companions, would be brought too near together. I could not have foreseen, that fully justified as I have been by those very constituents, in virtue of whose authority I exerted the right of free suffrage, I should nevertheless be charged with a breach of duty and corruption, by strangers to them, standing in no other relation to them, but that of being citizens of other states, members

of the confederacy. It is in vain that these revilers have been called upon for their proofs; have been defied, and are again invited, to enter upon any mode of fair investigation and trial. Shrinking from every impartial examination, they persevere with increasing zeal in the propagation of calumny, under the hope of supplying by the frequency and boldness of asseveration, the want of truth, and the deficiency of evidence—until we have seen the spectacle exhibited, of converting the hall of the first legislative assembly upon earth, on the occasion of discussions which, above all others, should have been characterized by dignity, calmness, and temperance, into a theatre for spreading suspicious and groundless imputations, against an absent and innocent individual. Driven from every other hold, they have seized on the only plank left within their grasp, that of my acceptance of the office of secretary of state, which has been asserted to be the consummation of a previous corrupt arrangement. What can I oppose to such an assertion, but positive, peremptory, and unqualified denial, and a repetition of the demand for proof and trial? The office to which I have been appointed, is that of the country; created by it, and administered for its benefit. In deciding whether I should accept it or not, I did not

take counsel from those, who foreseeing the probability of my designation for it, sought to deter me from its acceptance by fabricating anticipated charges, which would have been preferred with the same zeal and alacrity, however I might have decided. I took counsel from my friends, from my duty; from my conscious innocence of unworthy and false imputations. I was not left at liberty by either my enemies, or friends, to decline the office. I would willingly have declined if from an unaffected distrust of my ability to perform its high duties, if I could have honorably declined it. I hope the uniform tenor of my whole public life, will protect me against the supposition of any unreasonable avidity for public employment. During the administration of that illustrious man, to whose civil services, more than to those of any other American patriot, living or dead, this country is indebted for the blessing of its present constitution, now more than ten years ago, the mission to Russia, and a place in his cabinet, were successively offered me. A place in his cabinet at that period of my life, was more than equivalent to any place under any administration, at my present advanced age. His immediate successor tendered me the same place in his cabinet, which he anxiously

urged me to accept, and the mission to England. Gentlemen, I hope you will believe, that far from being impelled by any vain or boastful spirit to mention these things, I do it with humiliation and mortification.

If I had refused the department of state, the same individuals who now, in the absence of all proof, against all probability, and in utter disregard of all truth, proclaim the existence of a corrupt, previous arrangement, would have propagated the same charge, with the same affected confidence, that they now unblushingly assume, and it would have been said, with at least as much plausibility, that I had contributed to the election of a chief magistrate, of whom I thought so unfavorable, that I would not accept that place in his cabinet which is generally regarded as the first. I thought it my duty, unawed by their denunciations, to proceed in the office assigned me by the president and senate, to render to the country the best service of which my poor abilities are capable. If this administration should show itself unfriendly to American liberty, and to free liberal institutions; if it should be conducted upon a system adverse to those principles of public policy, which I have ever endeavored to sustain, and I should be found still clinging to

office, then nothing could be said by those who are inimical to me which would be undeserved.

THE DEFENCE OF GOVERNMENT.

This is not a fit occasion, nor perhaps am I a fit person, to enter upon a vindication of its measures. But I hope I shall be excused for asking what measure of domestic policy has been proposed or recommended by the present executive, which has not its prototype in the previous acts or recommendations of administrations at the head of which was a citizen of Virginia? Can the liberal and high minded people of this state condemn measures emanating from a citizen of Massachusetts, which when proposed by a Virginian, commanded their express assent or silent acquiescence, or to which, if in any instance they made opposition, it was respectful, limited, and qualified? The present administration desires only to be judged by its measures, and invites the strictest scrutiny and the most watchful vigilance on the part of the public. With respect to the Panama mission, it is true that it was not recommended by any preceding administration, because the circumstances of the world were not then such as to present it as a subject for decision. But during that of

Mr. Monroe, it has been seen that it was a matter of consideration, and there is every reason to believe if he were now at the head of affairs, his determination would correspond with that of his successor. Let me suppose that it was the resolution of this country, under no circumstances, to contract with foreign powers intimate public engagements, and to remain altogether unbound by any treaties of alliance, what should have been the course taken with the very respectful invitation which was given to the United States to be represented at Panama? Haughtily folding your arms, would you have given it a cold and abrupt refusal? Or would you not rather accept it, send ministers, and in a friendly and respectful manner, endeavor to satisfy those who are looking to us for counsel and example, and imitating our free institutions, that there is no necessity for such an alliance; that the dangers which alone could, in the opinion of any one, have justified it, have vanished, and that it is not good for them or for us. What may be the nature of the instructions with which our ministers may be charged, it is not proper that I should state; but all candid and reflecting men must admit, that we have great interests in connexion with the southern

republics, independent of any compacts of alliance. Those republics, now containing a population of more than twenty millions, duplicating their numbers probably in periods still shorter than we do, comprising within their limits the most abundant sources of the precious metals, offer to our commerce, to our manufactures, to our navigation, so many advantages, that none can doubt the expediency of cultivating the most friendly relations with them. If treaties of commerce and friendship, and liberal stipulations in regard to neutral and belligerent rights, could be negotiated with each of them at its separate seat of government, there is no doubt that much greater facilities for the conclusion of such treaties present themselves at a point, where all being represented, the way may be smoothed, and all obstacles removed, by a disclosure of the views and wishes of all, and by mutual and friendly explanations. There was one consideration which had much weight with the executive in the decision to accept the mission, and that was the interest which this country has, and especially the southern states, in the fate and fortunes of the island of Cuba. No subject of our foreign relations has created with the executive government, more anxious concern than

that of the condition of that island, and the possibility of prejudice to the southern states, from the convulsions to which it might be exposed. It was believed, and is yet believed, that the dangers which, in certain contingencies, might threaten our quiet and safety, may be more successfully averted at a place, at which all the American powers should be represented, than any where else. And I have no hesitation in expressing the firm conviction, that if there be one section of this union more than all others interested in the Panama mission, and the benefits which may flow from it, that section is the south. It was therefore, with great and unaffected surprise, that I witnessed the obliquity of those political views, which led some gentlemen from that quarter, to regard the measure, as it might operate on the southern states, in an unfavorable light. Whatever may be the result of the mission, its moral effect in Europe will be considerable : and it cannot fail to make the most friendly impression upon our southern neighbors. It is one of which it is difficult, in sober imagination, to conceive any possible mischievous consequences, and which the executive could not have declined, in my opinion, without culpable neglect of the interests of this

country, and without giving some dissatisfaction to nations, whose friendship we are called upon by every dictate of policy to conciliate.

There are persons who would impress on the southern states, the belief that they have just cause of apprehending danger, to a certain portion of their property, from the present administration. It is not difficult to comprehend the object, and the motive of these idle alarms. What measure of the present administration gives any just occasion, for the smallest apprehension to the tenure by which that species of property is held? However much the president and the members of his administration may deprecate the existence of slavery among us as the greatest evil with which we are afflicted, there is not one of them that does not believe, that the constitution of the general government confers no authority to interpose between the master and his slave, none to apply an adequate remedy, if indeed there be any remedy within the scope of human power. Suppose the object of these alarms were accomplished, and the slave holding states were united in the sentiment, that the policy of this government in all time to come, should be regulated on the basis of the fact of slavery, would not union on one side,

lead to union on the other ; and would not such a fatal division of the people and states of this confederacy, produce perpetual, mutual irritation and exasperation, and ultimately disunion itself? The slaveholding states cannot forget that they are now in a minority, which is in a constant relative diminution, and should certainly not be the first to put forth a principle of public action, by which they would be the greatest losers. I am but too sensible of the unreasonable trespass on your time which I have committed, and of the egotism of which my discourse has partaken. I must depend for my apology upon the character of the times, and the venom of the attacks which have been made upon my character and conduct, and upon the generous sympathy of the gentlemen here assembled.

OPPOSITION TO BANKS.

I will observe, in the first place, that I am not in favor with such a bank as was recommended in the message of the President of the United States, at the commencement of the last session of congress ; that, with the committee of the two houses, I concur in thinking it would be an institution of a dangerous and alarming charac-

ter; and that, fraught as it would be with the most corrupting tendencies, it might be made powerfully instrumental in overturning our liberties. As to the existing bank, I think it has been generally administered, particularly of late years, with great ability and integrity; that it has fulfilled all the reasonable expectations of those who constituted it; and, with the same committees, I think it has made an approximation towards the equalization of the currency, as great as is practicable. Whether the charter ought to be renewed or not, near six years hence, in my judgment, is a question of expediency to be decided by the then existing state of the country. It will be necessary at that time to look carefully at the condition both of the bank and of the union. To ascertain, if the public debt shall, in the mean time, be paid off, what effect that will produce? what will be our then financial condition? what that of local banks, the state of our commerce, foreign and domestic, as well as the concerns of our currency generally? I am, therefore, not now prepared to say whether the charter ought or ought not to be renewed on the expiration of its present term. The bank may become insolvent, and may hereafter forfeit all pretensions to a renew-

al. The question is premature. I may not be alive to form any opinion upon it. It belongs to posterity, and if they would have the goodness to decide for us some of the perplexing and practical questions of the present day, we might be disposed to decide that remote question for them. As it is, it ought indefinitely to be postponed.

THE AMERICAN SYSTEM.

With respect to the American system, which demands your undivided approbation, and in regard to which you are pleased to estimate much too highly my service, its great object is to secure the independence of our country, to augment its wealth, and to diffuse the comforts of civilization throughout society. That object, it has been supposed, can be best accomplished by introducing, encouraging, and protecting the arts among us. It may be called a system of real reciprocity, under the operation of which one citizen or one part of the country can exchange one description of the produce of labor, with another citizen of another part of the country for a different description of the produce of labor. It is a system which develops, improves, and perfects the capabilities of our common

country, and enables us to avail ourselves of all the resources with which Providence has blest us. To the laboring classes it is invaluable, since it increases and multiplies the demands for their industry, and gives them an option of employments. It adds power and strength to our union by new ties of interest, blending and connecting together all its parts, and creating an interest with each in the prosperity of the whole. It secures to our own country, whose skill and enterprise, properly fostered and sustained, cannot be surpassed, those vast profits which are made in other countries, by the operation of converting the raw material into manufactured articles. It naturalizes and creates within the bosom of our country all the arts, and mixing the farmer, manufacturer, mechanic, artist, and those engaged in other vocations, together, admits of those mutual exchanges, so conducive to the prosperity of all and every one, free from the perils of the sea and war. All this it effects, whilst it nourishes and leaves a fair scope to foreign trade. Suppose we were a nation that clad ourselves, and made all the implements necessary to civilization, but did not produce our own bread, which we brought from foreign countries, although our own was capable of produ-

cing it, under the influence of suitable laws of protection, ought not such laws to be enacted? The case supposed is not essentially different from the real state of things which led to the adoption of the American system.

That system has had a wonderful success. It has more than realized all the hopes of its founders. It has completely falsified all the predictions of its opponents. It has increased the wealth, and power, and population of the nation. It has diminished the price of articles of consumption, and has placed them within the reach of a far greater number of our people than could have found means to command them, if they had been manufactured abroad instead of at home.

But it is useless to dwell on the argument in support of this beneficent system before this audience. It will be of more consequence here to examine some of the objections which are still urged against it, and the means which are proposed to subvert it. These objections are now principally confined to its operation upon the great staple of cotton wool, and they are urged with most vehemence in a particular state. If the objections are well founded, the system should be modified, as far as it can consistently with interest, in other parts of the union. If

they are not well founded, it is to be hoped they will be finally abandoned.

In approaching the subject, I have thought it of importance to inquire what was the profit made upon capital employed in the culture of cotton, at its present reduced price. The result has been information, that it netts from seven to eighteen per cent. per annum, varying according to the advantage of situation, and the degree of skill, judgment, and industry, applied to the production of the article. But the lowest rate of profit, in the scale, is more than the greatest amount which is made on capital employed in the farming portions of the union.

If the cotton planter have any just complaint against the expediency of the American system, it must be founded on the fact, that he either sells *less* of his staple, or sells at *lower* prices, or purchases for consumption at *dearer* rates or of *worse* qualities, in consequence of that system, than he would do, if it did not exist. If he would neither sell more of his staple, nor sell it at better prices, nor could purchase better or cheaper articles for consumption, provided the system did not exist, then he had no cause, on the score of its burthensome operation, to complain of the

system, but must look to other sources for the grievances which he supposes afflict him.

As respects the sale of his staple, it would be indifferent to the planter whether one portion of it was sold in Europe and the other in America, provided the aggregate of both were equal to all that he could sell in one market, if he had but one, and provided he could command the same price in both cases. The double market would indeed be something better for him, because of its greater security in time of war as well as in peace, and because it would be attended with less perils and less charges. If there be an equal amount of the raw material manufactured, it must be immaterial to the cotton planter, in the sale of the article, whether there be two theatres of the manufacture, one in Europe and the other in America, or but one in Europe; or if there be a difference, it will be in favor of the two places of manufacture, instead of one, for reasons already assigned, and others that will be hereafter stated.

It could be of no advantage to the cotton planter, if all the cotton now manufactured both in Europe and America, was manufactured exclusively in Europe, and an amount of cotton

fabrics should be brought back from Europe, equal to what is now brought from there and what is manufactured in the United States together. Whilst he would gain nothing, the United States would lose the profit and employment resulting from the manufacture of that portion which is now wrought up by the manufacturers of the United States.

Unless, therefore, it can be shown that, by the reduction of import duties and the overthrow of the American system, and by limiting the manufacture of cotton to Europe, a greater amount of the raw material would be consumed than is at present, it is difficult to see what interest, so far as respects the sale of that staple, the cotton planter has in the subversion of that system. If a reduction of duties would admit of larger investments in British or European fabrics of cotton, and their subsequent importation into this country, this additional supply would take the place, if consumed, of an equal amount of American manufactures, and consequently would not augment the general consumption of the raw material. Additional importation does not necessarily imply increased consumption, especially when it is effected by a policy which would impair the ability to purchase and consume.

Upon the supposition, just made, of a restriction to Europe of the manufacture of cotton, would more or less of the article be consumed than now is? More could not be, unless in consequence of such a monopoly of the manufacture, Europe could sell more than she now does. But to what countries could she sell more? She gets the raw material now unburthened by any duties except such moderate ones as her policy, not likely to be changed, imposes. She is enabled thereby to sell as much of the manufactured article as she can find markets for in the states within her own limits or in foreign countries. The destruction of the American manufacture would not induce her to sell cheaper, but might enable her to sell dearer than she now does. The ability of those foreign countries, to purchase and consume, would not be increased by the annihilation of our manufactures, and the monopoly of European manufacture. The probability is that those foreign countries, by the fact of that monopoly, and some consequent increase of price, would be worse and dearer supplied than they now are under the operation of a competition between America and Europe in their supply.

At most, the United States, after the transfer

from their territory to Europe of the entire manufacture of the article, could not consume of European fabrics from cotton a greater amount than they now derive from Europe and from manufactures within their own limits.

NULLIFICATION.

The doctrine of some of the South Carolina politicians is, that it is competent to that state to annul, within its limits, the authority of an act deliberately passed by the congress of the United States. They do not appear to have looked much, beyond the simple act of nullification, into the consequences which would ensue, and have not distinctly announced whether one of them might not necessarily be to light up a civil war. They seem, however, to suppose that the state might, after the act was performed, remain a member of the union. Now, if one state can, by an act of its separate power, absolve itself from the obligations of a law of congress, and continue a part of the union, it could hardly be expected that any other state would render obedience to the same law. Either every other state would follow the nullifying example, or congress would feel itself constrained, by a sense of equal duty to all parts of the union, to repeal

altogether the nullified law. Thus, the doctrine of South Carolina, although it nominally assumes to act for one state only, in effect, would be legislating for the whole union.

Congress embodies the collective will of the whole union, and that of South Carolina among its other members. The legislation of congress is, therefore, founded upon the basis of the representation of all. In the legislature, or a convention of South Carolina, the will of the people of that state is alone collected. They alone are represented, and the people of no other state have any voice in their proceedings. To set up for that state a claim, by a separate exercise of its power, to legislate, in effect, for the whole union, is to assert a pretension at war with the fundamental principles of all representative and free governments. It would practically subject the unrepresented people of all other parts of the union to the arbitrary and despotic power of one state. It would substantially convert them into colonies, bound by the parental authority of that state.

Nor can this enormous pretension derive any support from the consideration that the power to annul is different from the power to originate laws. Both powers are, in their nature, legisla-

tive ; and the mischiefs which might accrue to the republic from the annulment of its wholesome laws, may be just as great as those which would flow from the origination of bad laws. There are three things to which, more than all others, mankind, in all ages, have shown themselves to be attached, their religion, *their laws*, and their language.

But it has been argued, in the most solemn manner, "that the acknowledgment of the exclusive right of the federal government to determine the limits of its own powers, amounts to a recognition of its absolute supremacy over the states and the people, and involves the sacrifice not only of our dearest rights and interest, but the very existence of the southern states."

In cases where there are two systems of government, operating at the same time and place over the same people, the one general and the other local or particular, one system or the other must possess the right to decide upon the extent of the powers, in cases of collision, which are claimed by the general government. No third party of sufficient impartiality, weight, and responsibility, other than such a tribunal as a supreme court, has yet been devised, or perhaps can be created.

The doctrine of one side is, that the general government, though limited in its nature, must necessarily possess the power to ascertain what authority it has, and, by consequence, the extent of that authority. And that, if its legislative or executive functionaries, by act, transcend that authority, the question may be brought before the supreme court, and being affirmatively decided by that tribunal, their act must be obeyed, until repealed or altered by competent power.

Against the tendency of this doctrine to absorb all power, those who maintain it, think there are reasonable, and, they hope, sufficient securities. In the first place, all are represented in every legislative or executive act, and of course, each state can exert its proper influence, to prevent the adoption of any that may be deemed prejudicial or unconstitutional. Then, there are sacred oaths, elections, public virtue and intelligence, the power of impeachment, a common subjection to both systems of those functionaries who act under either, the right of the states to interpose and amend the constitution, or to dissolve the union; and, finally, the right, in extreme cases, when all other remedies fail, to resist insupportable oppression.

The necessity being felt, by the framers of the

constitution, to declare which system should be supreme, and believing that the securities now enumerated, or some of them, were adequate, they have accordingly provided that the constitution of the United States, and the laws made in pursuance of it, and all treaties made under the authority of the United States, shall be the *supreme law* of the land; and that the judicial power shall extend to *all* cases arising under the constitution, laws, or treaties, of the United States.

The South Carolina doctrine, on the other side, is, that that state has the right to determine the limits of the powers granted to the general government; and that, whenever any of its acts transcend those limits, in the opinion of the state of South Carolina, she is competent to annul them. If the power, with which the federal government is invested by the constitution, to determine the limits of its authority, be liable to the possible danger of ultimate consolidation, and all the safeguards which have been mentioned might prove inadequate, is not this power, claimed for South Carolina, fraught with infinitely more certain, immediate, and fatal danger! It would reverse the rule of supremacy prescribed in the constitution. It would render the au-

thority of a single state paramount to that of the whole union. For, undoubtedly, that government, to some extent, must be supreme, which can annul and set aside the acts of another.

The securities which the people of other parts of the United States possess against the abuse of this tremendous power claimed for South Carolina, will be found, on comparison, to be greatly inferior to those which she has against the possible abuses of the general government. They have no voice in her councils; they could not, by the exercise of the elective franchise, change her rulers; they could not impeach her judges, they could not alter her constitution, nor abolish her government.

Under the South Carolina doctrine, if established, the consequence would be a dissolution of the union, immediate, inevitable, irresistible. There would be twenty-four chances to one against its continued existence. The apprehended dangers of the opposite doctrine, remote, contingent, and hardly possible, are greatly exaggerated; and, against their realization, all the precautions have been provided, which human wisdom and patriotic foresight could conceive and devise.

Those who are opposed to the supremacy of

the constitution, laws, and treaties of the United States, are adverse to all union, whatever contrary professions they may make. For it may be truly affirmed, that no confederacy of states can exist without a power, somewhere residing in the government of that confederacy, to determine the extent of the authority granted to it by the confederating states.

It is admitted that the South Carolina doctrine is liable to abuse ; but it is contended, that the *patriotism* of each state is an adequate security, and that the nullifying power would only be exerted " in an extraordinary case, where the powers reserved to the states, under the constitution, are usurped by the federal government." And is not the *patriotism* of *all* the states, as great a safeguad against the assumption of powers not conferred upon the general government, as the patriotism of *one* state is against the denial of powers which are clearly granted ? But the nullifying power is only to be exercised in an *extraordinary* case. Who is to judge of this extraordinary case ? What security is there, especially in moments of great excitement, that a state may not pronounce the plainest and most common exercise of federal power, an *extraordinary case ?* The expressions in the

constitution, "general welfare," have been often justly criticised, and shown to convey, in themselves, no power, although they may indicate how the delegated power should be exercised. But this doctrine of an extraordinary case, to be judged of and applied by one of the twenty-four sovereignties, is replete with infinitely more danger than the doctrine of the "general welfare," in the hands of all.

We may form some idea of future abuses under the South Carolina doctrine, by the application which is now proposed to be made of it. The American system is said to furnish an *extraordinary case* justifying that state to nullify it. The power to regulate foreign commerce, by a tariff, so adjusted as to foster our domestic manufactures, has been exercised from the commencement of our present constitution down to the last session of congress. I have been a member of the house of representatives at three different periods, when the subject of the tariff was debated at great length, and on neither, according to my recollection, was the want of a constitutional power in congress, to enact it, dwelt on, as forming a serious and substantial objection to its passage. On the last occasion (I think it was) in which I participated in the

debate, it was incidentally said to be against the spirit of the constitution.—Whilst the authority of the father of the constitution is invoked to sanction, by a perversion of his meaning, principles of disunion and rebellion, it is rejected to sustain the controverted power, although his testimony in support of it has been clearly and explicitly rendered. This power, thus asserted, exercised, and maintained, in favor of which, leading politicians in South Carolina have themselves voted, is alleged to furnish "an *extraordinary case*, where the powers reserved to the states, under the constitution, are *usurped* by the general government." If it be, there is scarcely a statute in our code which would not present a case equally extraordinary, justifying South Carolina or any other state to nullify it.

The United States are not only threatened with the nullification of numerous acts, which they have deliberately passed, but with a withdrawal of one of the members from the confederacy. If the unhappy case should ever occur of a state being really desirous to separate itself from the union, it would present two questions. The first would be, whether it had a right to withdraw, without the common consent of the members; and supposing, as I believe, no such right

to exist, whether it would be expedient to yield consent. Although there may be power to prevent a secession, it might be deemed politic to allow it. It might be considered expedient to permit the refractory state to take the portion of goods that falleth to her, to suffer her to gather her all together, and to go off with her living. But, if a state should be willing, and allowed thus to depart, and to renounce her future portion of the inheritance of this great, glorious, and prosperous republic, she would speedily return, and in language of repentance, say to the other members of this union, brethren, "I have sinned against heaven and before thee." Whether they would kill the fatted calf, and, chiding any complaining member of the family, say, "this thy sister was dead, and is alive again—and was lost, and is found," I sincerely pray the historian may never have occasion to record.

PUBLIC DISCONTENT.

No, Mr. President, it is not destruction but preservation of the system at which we aim. If dangers now assail it, we have not created them. I have sustained it upon the strongest and clearest convictions of its expediency. They are

entirely unaltered. Had others, who avow attachment to it, supported it with equal zeal and straightforwardness, it would be now free from embarrassment; but with them it has been a secondary interest. I utter no complaints—I make no reproaches. I wish only to defend myself now, as heretofore, against unjust assaults. I have been represented as the father of this system, and I am charged with an unnatural abandonment of my own offspring. I have never arrogated to myself any such intimate relation to it. I have, indeed, cherished it with parental fondness, and my affection is undiminished. But in what condition do I find this child? It is in the hands of the Philistines, who would strangle it. I fly to its rescue, to snatch it from their custody, and to place it on a bed of security and repose for nine years, where it may grow and strengthen, and become acceptable to the whole people. I behold a torch about being applied to a favorite edifice, and I would save it, if possible, before it is wrapt in flames, or at least preserve the precious furniture which it contains. I wish to see the tariff separated from the politics of the country, that business men may go to work in security, with some prospect of stability in our laws, and with-

out every thing being staked on the issue of elections as it were on the hazards of the die.

And the other leading object which has prompted the introduction of this measure, the tranquillizing of the country, is no less important. All wise human legislation must consult in some degree the passions, and prejudices, and feelings, as well as the interests of the people. It would be vain and foolish to proceed at all times, and under all circumstances, upon the notion of absolute certainty in any system, or infallibility in any dogma, and to push these out without regard to any consequences. With us, who entertain the opinion that congress is constitutionally invested with power to protect domestic industry, it is a question of mere expediency as to the form, the degree, and the time that the protection shall be afforded. In weighing all the considerations which should control and regulate the exercise of that power, we ought not to overlook what is due to those who honestly entertain opposite opinions to large masses of the community, and to deep, long cherished, and growing prejudices. Perceiving, ourselves, no constitutional impediment, we have less difficulty in accommodating ourselves to the sense of the people of the United States upon this inter-

esting subject. I do believe that a majority of them is in favor of this policy; but I am induced to believe this almost against evidence. Two states in New England, which had been in favor of the system, have recently come out against it. Other states of the north and the east have shown a remarkable indifference to its preservation. If, indeed, they have wished to preserve it, they have nevertheless placed the powers of government in hands which ordinary information must have assured them were rather a hazardous depository. With us in the west, although we are not without some direct, and considerable indirect, interest in the system, we have supported it more upon national than sectional grounds.

Meantime, the opposition of a large and respectable section of the union, stimulated by political success, has increased, and is increasing. Discontents are multiplying and assuming new and dangerous aspects. They have been cherished by the course and hopes inspired during this administration, which, at the very moment that it threatens and recommends the use of the power of the whole union, proclaims aloud the injustice of the system which it would enforce. These discontents are not limited to those who

maintain the extravagant theory of nullification; they are not confined to one state; they are co-extensive with the entire south, and extend even to northern states. It has been intimated by the senator from Massachusetts, that, if we legislate at this session on the tariff, we would seem to legislate under the influence of a panic. I believe, Mr. President, I am not more sensible to danger of any kind than my fellow men are generally. It, perhaps, requires as much moral courage to legislate under the imputation of a panic, as to refrain from it, lest such an imputation should be made. But he who regards the present question as being limited to South Carolina alone, takes a view of it much too contracted. There is a sympathy of feeling and interest throughout the whole south. Other southern states may differ from that as to the remedy to be now used, but all agree, (great as in my humble judgment is their error,) in the substantial justice of the cause. Can there be a doubt that those who think in common will sooner or later act in concert? Events are on the wing, and hastening this co-operation. Since the commencement of this session, the most powerful southern member of the union has taken a measure which cannot fail to lead to important conse-

quences. She has deputed one of her most distinguished citizens to request a suspension of measures of resistance. No attentive observer can doubt that the suspension will be made. Well, sir, suppose it takes place, and congress should fail at the next session to afford the redress which will be solicited, what course would every principle of honor, and every consideration of the interests of Virginia, as she understands them, exact from her? Would she not make common cause with South Carolina; and, if she did, would not the entire south eventually become parties to the contest? The rest of the union might put down the south, and reduce it to submission; but, to say nothing of the uncertainty and hazards of all war, is that a desirable state of things? Ought it not to be avoided if it can be honorably prevented? I am not one of those who think that we must rely exclusively upon moral power, and never resort to physical force. I know too well the frailties and follies of man, in his collective as well as individual character, to reject, in all possible cases, the employment of force; but I do think, that, when resorted to, especially among the members of a confederacy, it should manifestly appear to be the only remaining appeal.

THE AMERICAN SYSTEM.

But it is confidently believed that the consumption of cotton fabrics, on the supposition which has been made within the United States, would be much less than it is at present. It would be less, because the American consumer would not possess the means or ability to purchase as much of the European fabric as he now does to buy the American. Europe purchases but little of the produce of the northern, middle, and western regions of the United States. The staple productions of those regions are excluded from her consumption by her policy or by her native supplies of similar productions. The effect, therefore, of obliging the inhabitants of those regions to depend upon the cotton manufactures of Europe for necessary supplies of the article, would be alike injurious to them and to the cotton grower. They would suffer from their inability to supply their wants, and there would be a consequent diminution of the consumption of cotton. By the location of the manufacture in the United States, the quantity of cotton consumed is increased, and the more numerous portion of their inhabitants, who would not be otherwise sufficiently supplied, are abun-

dantly served. That this is the true state of things, I think cannot be doubted by any reflecting and unprejudiced man. The establishment of manufactures within the United States, enables the manufacturer to sell to the farmer, the mechanic, the physician, the lawyer, and all who are engaged in other pursuits of life; and these, in their turns, supply the manufacturer with subsistence, and whatever else his wants require. Under the influence of the protecting policy, many new towns have been built and old ones enlarged. The population of these places draw their subsistence from the farming interest of our country, their fuel from our forests and coal mines, and the raw material from which they fashion and fabricate, from the cotton planter and the mines of our country. These mutual exchanges, so animating and invigorating to the industry of the people of the United States, could not possibly be effected between America and Europe, if the latter enjoyed the monopoly of manufacturing.

It results, therefore, that, so far as the sale of the great southern staple is concerned, a greater quantity is sold and consumed, and consequently better prices are obtained, under the operation of the American system, than would be without it.

Does that system oblige the cotton planters to buy dearer or worse articles of consumption than he could purchase, if it did not exist?

The same couse of American and European competition, which enables him to sell more of the produce of his industry, and at better prices, also enables him to buy cheaper and better articles for consumption. It cannot be doubted that the tendency of the competition, between the European and American manufacturer, is to reduce the price and improve the quality of their respective fabrics, whenever they come into collision. This is the immutable law of all competition. If the American manufacture were discontinued, Europe would then exclusively furnish those supplies which are now derived from the establishments in both continents; and the first consequence would be an augmentation of the demand, beyond the supply, equal to what is now manufactured in the United States, but which, in the contingency supposed, would be wrought in Europe. If the destruction of the American manufactures were sudden, there would be a sudden and probably a considerable rise in the European fabrics. Although in the end, they might be again reduced, it is not likely that the ultimate reduction of the prices would

be to such rates as if both the workshops of America and Europe remained sources of supply. There would also be a sudden reduction in the price of the raw material in consequence of the cessation of American demand. And this reduction would be permanent, if the supposition be correct, that there would be a diminution in the consumption of cotton fabrics arising out of the inability, on the part of large portions of the people of the United States, to purchase those of Europe.

That the effect of competition between the European and American manufacture has been to supply the American consumer with cheaper and better articles, since the adoption of the American system, notwithstanding the existence of causes which have obstructed its fair operation, and retarded its full development, is incontestible. Both the freeman and the slave are now better and cheaper supplied than they were prior to an existence of that system. Cotton fabrics have diminished in price, and been improved in their texture, to an extent that it is difficult for the imagination to keep pace with. Those partly of cotton and partly of wool are also better and cheaper supplied. The same observation is applicable to those which are ex-

clusively wrought of wool, iron, or glass. In short, it is believed that there is not one item of the tariff inserted for the protection of native industry, which has not fallen in price. The American competition has tended to keep down the European rival fabric, and the European has tended to lower the American.

STATE OF THE COUNTRY.

This, or some other measure of conciliation, is now more than ever necessary, since the passage, through the senate, of the enforcing bill. To that bill, if I had been present, on the final vote, I should have given my assent, although with great reluctance. I believe this government not only possessed of the constitutional power, but to be bound, by every consideration, to maintain the authority of the laws. But I deeply regretted the necessity which seemed to require the passage of such a bill. And I was far from being without serious apprehensions as to the consequences to which it might lead. I felt no new born zeal in favor of the present administration, of which I now think as I have always thought. I could not vote against the measure: I could not speak in its behalf. I thought it most proper in me to leave to the

friends of the administration, and to others who might feel themselves particularly called upon, to defend and sustain a strong measure of the administration. With respect to the series of acts to which the executive has resorted, in relation to our southern disturbance, this is not a fit occasion to enter upon a full consideration of them; but I will briefly say, that, although the proclamation is a paper of uncommon ability and eloquence, doing great credit, as a composition, to him who prepared it, and to him who signed it, I think it contains some ultra doctrines, which no party in this country had ventured to assert. With these are mixed up many sound principles and just views of our political system. If it is to be judged by its effects upon those to whom it was more immediately addressed, it must be admitted to have been ill-timed and unfortunate. Instead of allaying the excitement which prevailed, it increased the exasperation in the infected district, and afforded new and unnecessary causes of discontent and dissatisfaction in the south generally. The message, subsequently transmitted to congress, communicating the proceedings of South Carolina, and calling for countervailing enactments, was characterized with more prudence and moderation. And, if

this unhappy contest is to continue, I sincerely hope that the future conduct of the administration may be governed by wise and cautious counsels, and a parental forbearance. But when the highest degree of animosity exists; when both parties, however unequal, have arrayed themselves for the conflict, who can tell when, by the indiscretion of subordinates, or other unforeseen causes, the bloody struggle may commence? In the midst of magazines, who knows when the fatal spark may produce a terrible explosion? And the battle once begun, where is its limit? What latitude will circumscribe its rage? Who is to command our armies? When, and where, and how, is the war to cease? In what condition will the peace leave the American System, the American union, and what is more than all, American liberty? I cannot profess to have a confidence which I have not, in this administration; but if I had all confidence in it, I should still wish to pause, and, if possible, by any honorable adjustment, to prevent awful consequences, the extent of which no human wisdom can foresee.

It appears to me then, Mr. President, that we ought not to content ourselves with passing the enforcing bill only. Both that and the bill of

peace seem to me to be required for the good of our country. The first will satisfy all who love order and law, and disapprove the inadmissible doctrine of nullification. The last will soothe those who love peace and concord, harmony and union. One demonstrates the power and the disposition to vindicate the authority and supremacy of the laws of the union; the other offers that which, if it be accepted in the fraternal spirit in which it is tendered, will supersede the necessity of the employment of all force.

REPLY TO MR. WEBSTER.

I have long, with pleasure and pride, co-operated in the public service with the senator from Massachusetts; and I have found him faithful, enlightened, and patriotic. I have not a particle of doubt as to the pure and elevated motives which actuate him. Under these circumstances, it gives me deep and lasting regret to find myself compelled to differ from him as to a measure involving vital interests, and perhaps the safety of the union. On the other hand, I derive great consolation from finding myself, on this occasion, in the midst of friends with whom I have long acted, in peace and in war, and especially with

the honorable senator from Maine, [Mr. Holmes,] with whom I had the happiness to unite in a memorable instance. It was in this very chamber, that senator presiding in the committee of the senate, and I in the committee of twenty-four of the house of representatives, on a Sabbath day, that the terms were adjusted, by which the compromise was effected of the Missouri question. Then the dark clouds that hung over our beloved country were dispersed; and now the thunders from others not less threatening, and which have been longer accumulating, will, I hope, roll over us harmless and without injury.

The senator from Massachusetts objects to the bill under consideration on various grounds. He argues that it imposes unjustifiable restraint on the power of future legislation; that it abandons the protective policy; and that the details of the bill are practically defective. He does not object to the gradual, but very inconsiderable, reduction of duties which is made prior to 1842. To that he could not object; because it is a species of prospective provision, as he admits, in conformity with numerous precedents on our statute book. He does not object so much to the state of the proposed law prior to 1842, during a period of nine years; but throwing him-

self forward to the termination of that period, he contends that congress will then find itself under inconvenient shackles, imposed by our indiscretion. In the first place, I would remark, that the bill contains no obligatory pledges; it could make none; none are attempted. The power over the subject is in the constitution; put there by those who formed it, and liable to be taken out only by an amendment of the instrument. The next congress, and every succeeding congress, will undoubtedly have the *power* to repeal the law whenever they may think proper. Whether they will exercise it or not, will depend upon a sound discretion, applied to the state of the whole country, and estimating fairly the consequences of the repeal, both upon the general harmony and the common interests. Then, the bill is founded in a spirit of compromise. Now, in all compromises there must be mutual concessions. The friends of free trade insist that duties should be laid in reference to revenue alone. The friends of American industry say that another, if not paramount, object in laying them, should be to diminish the consumption of foreign, and increase that of domestic products. On this point the parties divide, and, between these two opposite opinions, a reconciliation is to be effect-

ed, if it can be accomplished. The bill assumes as a basis, adequate protection for nine years, and less beyond that term. The friends of protection say to their opponents, we are willing to take a lease of nine years, with the long chapter of accidents beyond that period, including the chance of war, the restoration of concord, and along with it a conviction, common to all, of the utility of protection; and, in consideration of it, if, in 1842, none of these contingencies shall have been realized, we are willing to submit, as long as congress may think proper, to a maximum rate of 20 per cent., with the power of discrimination below it, cash duties, home valuations, and a liberal list of free articles, for the benefit of the manufacturing interest. To these conditions, the opponents of protection are ready to accede. The measure is what it professes to be, a compromise; but it imposes and could impose no restriction upon the will or power of a future congress. Doubtless great respect will be paid, as it ought to be paid, to the serious condition of the country that has prompted the passage of this bill. Any future congress that might disturb this adjustment would act under a high responsibility, but it would be entirely

within its competency to repeal, if it thought proper, the whole bill.

It is far from the object of those who support this bill, to abandon or surrender the policy of protecting American industry. Its protection or encouragement may be accomplished in various ways. 1st. By bounties, as far as they are within the constitutional power of congress to offer them. 2d. By prohibitions, totally excluding the foreign rival article. 3d. By high duties, without regard to the aggregate amount of revenue which they produce. 4th. By discriminating duties, so adjusted as to limit the revenue to the economical wants of government. And 5thly, by the admission of the raw material, and articles essential to manufactures, free of duty. To which may be added, cash duties, home valuations, and the regulation of auctions. A perfect system of protection would comprehend most, if not all these modes of affording it. There might be, at this time, a prohibition of certain articles, (ardent spirits and coarse cottons, for example,) to public advantage. If there were not inveterate prejudices and conflicting opinions prevailing, (and what statesman can totally disregard impediments of that character ?) such a compound system might be established.

Now, Mr. President, before the assertion is made that the bill surrenders the protective policy, gentlemen should understand perfectly what it does not, as well as what it does, propose. It impairs no power of congress over the whole subject; it contains no promise or pledge whatever, express or implied, as to bounties, prohibitions, or auctions; it does not touch the power of congress in regard to them, and congress is perfectly free to exercise that power at any time; it expressly recognises discriminating duties within a prescribed limit; it provides for cash duties and home valuations; and it secures a free list, embracing numerous articles, some of high importance to the manufacturing arts. Of all the modes of protection which I have enumerated, it affects only the third; that is to say, the imposition of high duties, producing a revenue beyond the wants of government. The senator from Massachusetts contends that the policy of protection was settled in 1816, and that it has ever since been maintained. Sir, it was settled long before 1816. It is coeval with the present constitution, and it will continue, under some of its various aspects, during the existence of the government. No nation can exist, no nation, perhaps, ever existed, without protection, in

some form, and to some extent, being applied to its own industry. The direct and necessary consequence of abandoning the protection of its own industry, would be to subject it to the restrictions and prohibitions of foreign powers; and no nation, for any length of time, can endure an alien legislation, in which it has no will. The discontents which prevail, and the safety of the republic, may require the modification of a specific mode of protection, but it must be preserved in some other more aceeptable shape.

All that was *settled* in 1816, in 1824, and in 1828, was, that protection should be afforded *by high duties, without regard to the amount of the revenue which they might yield.* During that whole period, we had a public debt which absorbed all the surpluses beyond the ordinary wants of government. Between 1816 and 1824, the revenue was liable to the great fluctuations, vibrating between the extremes of about nineteen and thirty-six millions of dollars. If there were more revenue, more debt was paid; if less, a smaller amount was reimbursed. Such was sometimes the deficiency of the revenue, that it became necessary, to the ordinary expenses of government, to trench upon the ten millions annually set apart as a sinking fund, to extinguish

the public debt. If the public debt remained undischarged, or we had any other proper and practical mode of appropriating the surplus revenue, the form of protection, by high duties, might be continued without public detriment. It is the payment of the public debt, then, and the arrest of internal improvements by the exercise of the veto, that unsettle that specific form of protection. Nobody supposes, or proposes that we should continue to levy, by means of high duties, a large annual surplus, of which no practical use can be made, for the sake of the incidental protection which they afford. The secretary of the treasury estimates that surplus on the existing scale of duties, and with the other sources of revenue, at six millions, annually. An annual accumulation, at that rate, would, in a few years, bring into the treasury the whole currency of the country, to lie there inactive and dormant.

This view of the condition of the country has impressed every public man with the necessity of some modification of the principle of protection, so far as it depends upon high duties. The senator from Massachusetts feels it; and hence in the resolutions which he submitted, he proposes to reduce the duties, so as to limit the

amount of the revenue to the wants of the government. With him, revenue is the principal, protection the subordinate object. If protection cannot be enjoyed after such a reduction of duties as he thinks ought to be made, it is not to be extended. He says specific duties, and the power of discrimination, are preserved by his resolutions. So they may be under the operation of the bill. The only difference between the two schemes is, that the bill, in the maximum which it provides, suggests a certain limit; whilst his resolutions lay down none. Below that maximum, the principle of discrimination and specific duties may be applied. The senator from Pennsylvania, [Mr. *Dallas*] who, equally with the senator from Massachusetts, is opposed to this bill, would have agreed to the bill if it had fixed thirty instead of twenty per centum; and he would have dispensed with home valuation, and come down to the revenue standard in five or six years. Now, Mr. President, I prefer, and I think the manufacturing interest will prefer, nine years of adequate protection, home valuations, and twenty per cent., to the plan of the senator from Pennsylvania.

Mr. President, I want to be perfectly understood as to the motives which have prompted

me to offer this measure. I repeat what I said on the introduction of it, that they are, first, to preserve the manufacturing interest, and, secondly, to quiet the country. I believe the American System to be in the greatest danger; and I believe it can be placed on a better and safer foundation at this session than at the next. I heard, with surprise, my friend from Massachusetts say, that nothing had occurred within the last six months to increase its hazard. I entreat him to review that opinion. Is it correct? Is the issue of numerous elections, including that of the highest officer of the government, nothing? Is the explicit recommendation of that officer, in his message at the opening of the session, sustained, as he is, by a recent triumphant election, nothing? Is his declaration in his proclamation, that the burdens of the south ought to be relieved, nothing? Is the introduction of a bill into the house of representatives during this session, sanctioned by the head of the treasury and the administration, prostrating the greater part of the manufactures of the country, nothing? Are the increasing discontents, nothing? Is the tendency of recent events to unite the whole south, nothing? What have we not witnessed in this chamber? Friends of the administration

bursting all the ties which seemed indissolubly to unite them to its chief, and, with few exceptions south of the Potomac, opposing, and vehemently opposing, a favorite measure of that administration, which three short months ago they contributed to establish! Let us not deceive ourselves. Now is the time to adjust the question in a manner satisfactory to both parties. Put it off until the next session, and the alternative may, and probably then would be a speedy and ruinous reduction of the tariff, or a civil war with the entire south.

It is well known that the majority of the dominant party is adverse to the tariff. There are many honorable exceptions, the senator from New Jersey [Mr. Dickerson] among them. But for the exertions of the other party, the tariff would have been long since sacrificed. Now let us look at the composition of the two branches of congress at the next session. In this body we lose three friends of the protective policy, without being sure of gaining one. Here, judging from present appearances, we shall, at the next session, be in the minority. In the house it is notorious that there is a considerable accession to the number of the dominant party. How then, I ask, is the system to be sustained against

numbers, against the whole weight of the administration, against the united south, and against the increased pending danger of civil war? There is, indeed, one contingency that might save it, but that is too uncertain to rely upon. A certain class of northern politicians, professing friendship to the tariff, have been charged with being secretly inimical to it, for political purposes. They may change their ground, and come out open and undisguised supporters of the system. They may even find in the measure which I have brought forward, a motive for their conversion. Sir, I shall rejoice in it, from whatever cause it may proceed. And if they can give greater strength and durability to the system, and at the same quiet the discontent of its opponents, I shall rejoice still more. They shall not find me disposed to abandon it because it has drawn succor from an unexpected quarter.

PATRIOTISM.

There are some who say, let the tariff go down; let our manufactures be prostrated, if such be the pleasure, at another session, of those to whose hands the government of this country is confided; let bankruptcy and ruin be spread over the land; and let resistancet o the laws, at

all hazards, be subdued. Sir, they take counsel from their passions. They anticipate a terrible reaction from the downfall of the tariff, which would ultimately re-establish it upon a firmer basis than ever. But it is these very agitations, these mutual irritations between brethren of the same family, it is the individual distress and general ruin that would necessarily follow the overthrow of the tariff, that ought, if possible, to be prevented. Besides, are we certain of this reaction? Have we not been disappointed in it as to other measures heretofore? But suppose, after a long and embittered struggle, it should come, in what relative condition would it find the parts of this confederacy? In what state our ruined manufactures? When they should be laid low, who, amidst the fragments of the general wreck, scattered over the face of the land, would have courage to engage in fresh enterprises, under a new pledge of the violated faith of the government? If we adjourn, then, without passing this bill, having entrusted the executive with vast powers to maintain the laws, should he be able by the next session to put down all opposition to them, will he not, as a necessary consequence of success, have more power than ever to put down the tariff also?

Has he not said that the south is oppressed, and its burdens ought to be relieved? And will he not feel himself bound, after he shall have triumphed, if triumph he may in a civil war, to appease the discontents of the south by a modification of the tariff, in conformity with its wishes and demands? No, sir; no, sir; let us save the country from the most dreadful of all calamities, and let us save its industry, too, from threatened destruction. Statesmen should regulate their conduct and adapt their measures to the exigencies of the times in which they live. They cannot, indeed, transcend the limits of the constitutional rule; but, with respect to those systems of policy which fall within its scope, they should arrange them according to the interests, the wants, and the prejudices of the people. Two great dangers threaten the public safety. The true patriot will not stop to inquire how they have been brought about, but will fly to the deliverance of his country. The difference between the friends and the foes of the compromise, under consideration, is, that they would, in the enforcing act, send forth alone a flaming sword. We would send out that also, but along with it the olive branch, as a messenger of peace. They cry out, the law! the law! the law! Power!

power! power! We, too, reverence the law, and bow to the supremacy of its obligation; but we are in favor of the law executed in mildness, and of power tempered with mercy. They, as we think, would hazard a civil commotion, beginning in South Carolina, and extending God only knows where. While we would vindicate the authority of the federal government, we are for peace, if possible, union and liberty. We want no war, above all, no civil war, no family strife. We want to see no sacked cities, no desolated fields, no smoking ruins, no streams of American blood shed by American arms!

I have been accused of ambition in presenting this measure. Ambition! inordinate ambition! If I had thought of myself only, I should have never brought it forward. I know well the perils to which I expose myself; the risk of alienating faithful and valued friends, with but little prospect of making new ones, if any new ones could compensate for the loss of those whom we have long tried and loved; and the honest misconceptions both of friends and foes. Ambition! If I had listened to its soft and seducing whispers; if I had yielded myself to the dictates of a cold, calculating, and prudential policy, I would have stood still and unmoved.

I might even have silently gazed on the raging storm, enjoyed its loudest thunders, and left those who are charged with the care of the vessel of state to conduct it as they could. I have been heretofore often unjustly accused of ambition. Low, grovelling souls, who are utterly incapable of elevating themselves to the higher and nobler duties of pure patriotism—beings, who, forever keeping their own selfish aims in view, decide all public measures by their presumed influence on their aggrandizement, judge me by the venal rule which they prescribe to themselves. I have given to the winds these false accusations, as I consign that which now impeaches my motives. I have no desire for office, not even the highest. The most exalted is but a prison, in which the incarcerated incumbent daily receives his cold, heartless visitants, marks his weary hours, and is cut off from the practical enjoyment of all the blessings of genuine freedom. I am no candidate for any office in the gift of the people of these states, united or separated; I never wish, never expect to be. Pass this bill, tranquillize the country, restore confidence and affection in the union, and I am willing to go home to Ashland, and renounce public service forever. I should there

find, in its groves, under its shades, on its lawns, amidst my flocks and herds, in the bosom of my family, sincerity and truth, attachment and fidelity, and gratiude, which I have not always found in the walks of public life——Yes, *I have* ambition, but it is the ambition of being the humble instrument, in the hands of Providence, to reconcile a divided people, once more to revive concord and harmony in a distracted land—the pleasing ambition of contemplating the glorious spectacle of a free, united, prosperous, and fraternal people!

THE END.