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SPEECH

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RICHARD YEADON, ESQ.

OF CHARLESTON, S. C., CHAIRMAN OF THE DELEGATION, FROM
THE CLAY CLUB OF CHARLESTON,

BEFORE THE LADIES,

AT THE

COURT-HOUSE, IN MADISON, GEORGIA,

BY APPOINTMENT OF THE MADISON CONVENTION,

ON THE

2819
EVENING OF JULY 31ST, 1844.

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Published by request of the Clay Club of Charleston, S. C.
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CHARLESTON:
1844.

SPEECH OF RICHARD YEADON, Esq.,

OF CHARLESTON, SOUTH-CAROLINA.

CHAIRMAN OF THE DELEGATION, FROM THE CLAY CLUB OF CHARLESTON.

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LADIES AND GENTLEMEN: AND YET FELLOW WHIGS ALL!

NEVER before has it been my lot to witness such a grand, exciting and joyous spectacle as I have beheld this day,—never before did my eye embrace, at one glance, such a vast course of human beings—all animated too by impulses of the noblest and purest patriotism. On an occasion so grateful and refreshing to the patriot heart, I have but one regret—it is that, at a period, when I especially desired, with trumpet tongue and tones of thunder, to reach every Whig ear and thrill every Whig bosom in this vast assemblage, I should be almost speechless and voiceless, [Mr. Y. was so hoarse, at first, as to speak and be heard with difficulty,] but it is my consolation that if I have lost my voice, it has been in the cause of Clay and my country; and I trust and pray that Providence will yet interpose and restore me voice enough, this night, to do my duty to the ladies, to our cause, and to our country. I am about to do an act, which, in this land and chosen home of extemporaneous speaking and stump oratory, may require an apology. I am about to deliver you a speech in part prepared for another occasion. And, perhaps, after the scene of this day, where the accomplished Berrien poured forth a full tide of polished rhetoric,—where the gifted Preston, with a mind triumphing over physical infirmity, and speaking at the peril of his life, was never more triumphant in the lightning flash of genius and the perfection of oratorical art,—where the able

and humorous Thompson took his audience, alike captive to reason, wit and feeling, and the impetuous and caustic Stephens struck home the victorious argument, and covered the enemy with a meteoric shower of anecdote and ridicule, it is but fitting that I should not attempt the adventurous competition of a purely extemporaneous effort. True, it is, I might have committed my speech to memory, and palmed it off on you, fair and unsuspecting ladies, as the emanation of the occasion, flowing from the inspiration of your constellated beauty, where there are bright eyes to form the poet's theme, and dark lashes to plume the muse's wing; but, being a Whig, a genuine Whig, I scorn the tricks and arts of democracy, and, without deception or disguise, feel bound to confess the simple truth. Such, however, is the glad and buoyant inspiration of this memorable day and this beaming presence, that I cannot promise to confine myself to the record—my feelings naturally refuse to be “cabin'd, cribb'd confin'd” within the limits of preparation, and I cannot but pour out the teeming thoughts yet pent up in my bosom. Indeed, ever since I first touched the Whig soil, and breathed the Whig atmosphere of Georgia, I have felt as if I were inhaling nitrous oxyde, and have been lifted up to the seventh heaven of patriotic and joyous excitement—and, if there be a yet higher heaven on earth, it is that of this constellated throng of Georgia's daughters,

assembled, in grace and loveliness, to lay the votive offering on the altar of patriotism, and cheer the sterner sex with "the smile from partial beauty won," in their efforts to serve their country, by elevating to her chief magistracy an illustrious and patriot statesman, eminently qualified and eminently worthy to guide the helm of state. And, animated by the influences of this inspiring spectacle, I feel like a prophet, standing on the tripod, and vaticinating, in the spirit of truth, the entire success of our cause and the triumphant election of our candidate. Having now, fair ladies, shown that I can extemporize, if I will, and that to do otherwise is my choice, not my necessity, without farther preface, I proceed to speak from the record, as far as the exigencies of the occasion will permit.

LADIES AND GENTLEMEN, AND

FELLOW WHIGS OF THE STATE OF GEORGIA:

On behalf of the Whigs of South-Carolina, "few, but firm and faithful," I tender you the right hand of fellowship, in the great and glorious and righteous cause, which has convened you, in immense and patriot throng, on this spot, honored with and commemorating the name of the sage of Montpelier. We cannot bring you the electoral vote of a State, to swell the triumph of your illustrious candidate,—but we can, we do bring you our warm sympathy, our ardent wishes, our earnest prayers, for the success of your candidate, and the triumph of your cause—the cause at once of principle and of our country. The Savannah River is no longer "the non-conductor," it was once said to be, happily and with truth—i. e. when South Carolina nullification, or State Rights run mad, sought to cross your border, and poison your people with its criminal heresies, disunion tendencies and treasonable spirit—but it is now the aorta, the great political artery, which animates the harmonious body of Southern Whigs, who dwell on the opposite borders of its commercial tide. We come among you to swell the enthusiasm which has called such cheering numbers—the bone and sinew—the patriotism and intelligence—the grace and loveliness of your gallant State—to this great, this triumphant Whig gathering and festival. We come to unite with you in the promotion of the great cause and the great principles, identified with the best interests and highest glory of our land, which have rallied you under the banner of a renowned leader, destined, I firmly believe, not only to win triumphantly and wear with grace the highest honor of the republic, but also to redeem and save our country from the baneful consequences and disastrous influences of political treachery, and democratic misrule,—a treachery unparalleled on the historic page, the chosen, the elevated and the trusted, selfishly and suicidally wresting power from his party, in the hour of his and their common triumph, and rendering victory barren and more galling than defeat—a misrule, disseminating the most mischievous and disorganizing principles in politics, setting the constitution at defiance and

subjecting it to the Executive or the popular will, refusing to elect Senators to the national Senate, nullifying the law districting the States for Congressional Elections, setting up the revolutionary power of mere numbers, of brute force, against organized authority, mowing down the credit and prosperity of the country, bankrupting its treasury, sapping the foundations of public morals, and giving speculation free pasturage from the national coffers, disregarding the obligation of contracts and treaties, and tarnishing the faith and honor of the republic—yes, a leader, destined to crown and bless that injured country with repose and prosperity, in the restoration of a republican and constitutional administration of our national government, modelled after the example and imbued with the spirit and principles of Washington, and having for its object, not the mere distribution of party spoils and perpetuation of party ascendancy, but the welfare and glory of our whole nation and our united people. We come among you, also, to exchange congratulations with you on the glad tidings, which have been recently borne to us on the wings of the mail, from the commercial emporium of the West. The first gun from the Whig battery, at the very commencement of the campaign, has carried confusion and dismay into the ranks of our opponents; and the Crescent City, and the border State, already the proud monuments of triumph over the British invader, have been signaled by a civil victory, scarcely less important and glorious than its war-laurelled forerunner, in the battle which has been just fought and won by patriot Whigs, over the combined forces of Tylerism and Democracy. But, in the midst of our rejoicings at this auspicious and cheering event, the signal, I trust, of a succession of brilliant victories throughout the length and breadth of our land, let us not forget that this is but the inception of the contest—that the great battle is yet to be fought on the national arena, and that we must remain harnessed for the conflict, and not dream of putting our armor off, until, after many a well fought field in every particular State of our glorious union, victory shall perch upon our national banner, and our illustrious chief, wafted on the breath of millions into the Executive haven, shall receive the civic wreath from the hands of a grateful people, and enjoy the homage of patriot intelligence and patriot beauty. We have carried New-Orleans, the border city, and we have carried Louisiana, the border State of the South-West, the State most deeply interested in the annexation of Texas, in the very heat and tempest of the Texas excitement, and our triumph there, with such fearful odds against us, may well be regarded as a sure augury of the final victory and glorious consummation that awaits our arms.

It occurs to me, fellow Whigs and ladies fair, that this is an apt and fitting occasion to compare notes with our political opponents—and that we cannot better perform this task than by instituting a comparison between the candidates, whom they and we have respectively presented

to the people for the highest office in their gift. Nothing can be conceived more grating to the feelings of patriotism, and mortifying to the pride of true American Republicanism, using the terms in their broad national and not in a party sense, than the recent spontaneous and unanimous nomination of Mr. Polk, of Tennessee, by the Democratic National Convention at Baltimore, as a candidate for the Presidency of the United States. Hitherto, this proud office—the proudest on earth, because the free and unbought gift of a nation of freemen—has been held the legitimate prize and reward of the most shining merit and illustrious public service. To Washington alone, the venerated and patriot father of our country, “first in war, first in peace, first in the hearts of his countrymen,”—to him alone, of all the illustrious citizens on whom it has hitherto been conferred, has it been tendered unsought. ADAMS, the eloquent advocate, and JEFFERSON, the illustrious penman of independence, Madison, the patriot sage, and Jackson, the patriot hero, to say nothing of their only less distinguished fellows in that exalted station, had to compete for it, not only on the national arena, but even in their party hustings. But, in the nomination of Mr. Polk, we have the first instance, in all history, ancient and modern, of the spontaneous proffer of a chief magistracy, which monarchs may envy,—and for which they would willingly barter all the power of their sceptres and jewelry of their crowns—to a man comparatively obscure and of inferior ability—forced on one occasion, by the stringent agency of party discipline, in obedience to presidential and iron rule, and in downright party revenge, into the Speakership of our National House of Representatives,—but filling it with such subserviency to his chief and his party, as not even to earn the universally accorded courtesy of a full or uncontested vote of thanks, at the end of his term (See Appendix, A.)—not long after ousted, by an overwhelming popular vote, from the Executive Chair of his own State, and again alike rejected when seeking a restoration to the same—rejected by the people, after trial by the people—aye, weighed in the popular balances and found wanting—undistinguished by high public service, and destitute of the least shadow of claim on the affections or the gratitude of the nation—without national renown, either as an orator, a statesman, a warrior, or a sage,—scarcely known to the people of any other State than his own, and awakening the almost universal inquiry “Who is he? What is he?”—in his wildest and most disempered dream of ambition, without a hope or even an aspiration, because without claim or pretension to so lofty or towering a distinction;—to such a man, sitting quietly at home, a despairing candidate even for a nomination for the Vice-Presidency, we behold the so styled Democratic Convention of the Union, rising up *en masse*, and offering, unsought, un hoped for and undesired, to his own utter surprise and the universal astonishment of the land, an homage, hitherto the pe-

culiar distinction, the exclusive glory of Washington alone. What a mortifying spectacle! Shades of the illustrious dead, I invoke you to aid us in avenging this insult to your memories, this wrong to your country. Cincinnatus, an illustrious warrior, as eminent in wisdom and virtue, as in valor, was spontaneously called, by the popular voice, from his lowly farm and humble plough, to guide the helm of imperilled Rome—Washington, the good and great, was spontaneously called, by filial love, to preside over the nation which owes him as its parent—and Mr. James K. Polk, of Tennessee, eminent in nothing, a national nobody, is to cap the downward climax in the historic record. Cincinnatus, Washington, James K. Polk!!! anti-climax unparalleled in the annals of composition or the records of fact! Forbid it reason, forbid it patriotism, forbid it honor! Let not our national escutcheon be tarnished by such a degradation of the Presidential office. It is a wretched sacrifice of the highest earthly incentive to a nation's highest service, by a nation's highest honor, to mere party availability—the conversion of the chief magistracy of the union into one of the spoils of party—no longer the guerdon and the pledge of illustrious merit, but a mere means and appliance of party domination, without reference to individual fitness or the nation's weal. It is carrying the doctrine and the maxim of “Principles, not men,” to a most vicious extreme, never contemplated by its authors, for while repudiating man-worship, we should yet ever and only personify principle in a man to be honored and to be trusted. It is a mortifying abasement of the Presidential dignity, painful to the heart of the patriot, and the pride of the American—a mark of political and popular degeneracy, which it must be the part of patriot Whigs to prevent from leaving its impress on the times.

But, fellow Whigs, and gentle ladies, I hold it to be utterly impossible that a man named James K. Polk can ever be President of the United States. With such an unseemly name, so full of odd and ludicrous associations, invincibly tempting one to *poke* fun at its possessor, he carries too much weight to compete with that glorious old courser *our* “Harry of the West.” His unfortunate cognomen forcibly reminds me of the luckless wight and wretched poetaster of Byron's time, with curious and laughter-provoking name, who madly aspired to a place on the immortal roll of British bards, and whom the noble and caustic poet thus embalmed in satiric verse for the derision of posterity.

“Amos Cottle! Phœbus what a name!

To fill the speaking trump of future fame.”

And how do the democracy hope to relieve their name-killed candidate from a like disastrous and derisive destiny! They prate, in affected scorn, of our log cabins and hard cider, as a ridiculous mummery, and a resort to unworthy and unbecoming arts to catch the rabble vote, unmindful that it was their own insulting application of those intended terms of reproach to the lamented Harrison—they having

said, in unworthy disparagement of that illustrious man, "Give him two thousand dollars a year, and he will be content to live in a log cabin and drink hard cider for the rest of his life"—that gave them as watch-words to the Whigs, and caused them to be rung in triumph through the land. But they, who would thus upbraid us with the recoil of their own gun, are how busy in the novel and impossible effort of transforming a *Polk-stalk* into a *Hickory-stick*—as impossible as to convert a *poke-berry* into a *hickory-nut*, or a *poke blossom* into the noble magnolia of the Western forest. Yes! they would fain have us believe that a common *Polk-stalk* of Tennessee is a Young Hickory, a strong and vigorous shoot from the venerable parent trunk at the Hermitage—and they stand ready to form their Hickory Clubs, establish their Hickory Newspapers, and flourish their Hickory poles all over the land, as a set off against our log cabins and homely beverage—but never, never will they be able to achieve the vegetable metamorphosis, nor of a *Polk-stalk* to make a stick of any kind, strong enough to break, or even to bruise the head of the Whigs. It was a sufficient departure from reason, principle and propriety, when a Kinderhook cabbage was thrust into the White House; it will be a still further descent, nay, an immeasurable one, if *Polk-salad* is to be introduced into the Presidential mansion. Democrats may have stomachs for such a dish, but Whigs, we trust, have a relish for *better things*.

And, we are by no means singular in our estimate of this obscure, this *little*, this homœopathic democratic nominee. In his own Tennessee, the Whigs received the news of his nomination with unfeigned surprise, with boisterous joy, with "an unextinguishable laughter that shook the skies." The Democrats, on the other hand, heard it with incredulity and distrust,—believing it a Whig hoax, nay, even calling it a Whig lie; and, when confirmation, strong as proof of holy writ, left them not a loop to hang a doubt upon, their scepticism gave place to dismay (See Appendix B). But let us enter a little more into particulars as to the merits of this infinitesimal pretender to Presidential honors,—and we will find that he has ever been a pliant and subservient tool of his master and his party, changing his opinions with a facility that denotes servility. He was known, in former days, as a strenuous advocate of internal improvements in the several States with the funds of the general government; but he has since conveniently adapted his opinions on the subject to the democratic standard (See Appendix C). He was once the Congressional champion of the deposit or pet-bank system (See Appendix D,) and made elaborate arguments, comparative of the merits of that scheme of finance and the sub-treasury or hard money system, in vehement advocacy of the former and denunciation of the latter,—but here, too, having the fear of his party and of the Old man at the Hermitage before his eyes, he has since pliantly conformed his views to the democratic taste. He was formerly a

bitter and ultra opponent of the tariff and protection to domestic manufactures, in any and every shape, and boasted of his *ultraism* in Congress and on the stump. Indeed, he carried his opposition so far, that he was even for repealing Mr. Clay's celebrated Compromise Bill (See Appendix E,)—that halycon measure of peace and conciliation—as too favourable to the manufacturers—as yielding too much protection to domestic industry,—even at the hazard of renewing the strife which had convulsed the nation. But no sooner was he nominated for the Presidency—no sooner was the glittering bait of the chief Magistracy held up to his dazzled vision—than he was seduced from his virtue, and his sturdy opposition to the tariff system, like the courage of Bob Acres, oozed out at his fingers' ends, and melted into a warm and zealous advocacy of *incidental protection*, coupled with a newborn friendship for the Compromise; and, still further, with a desire to advance the *manufacturing*, along with other national interests, not only by revenue laws, but by all other means within the power of the government. He is said to have come, too, of Tory lineage (See Appendix F), or at least, from one who having first worn a Whig epaulette and a Whig sword, then took British protection, and was never afterwards seen in Whig service, and that this, perhaps, explains his repeated votes against paying pensions (See Appendix G,) to the revolutionary soldiers (and their widows and orphans), who fought the battle of our independence, and won us, by their toils, their valour and their blood, the priceless heritage of freedom and glory that still are ours—and accounts for a like illiberality, displayed in relation to the claim of Mr. Monroe, the patriot soldier, the distinguished diplomatist and cabinet minister, the virtuous and honored President of the republic—against the government for his revolutionary services (See Appendix H), and actual sacrifices of his private property for the defence of the country in the war of the revolution. It is even said that he dodged a draft, for service in the militia when his country called him to do battle against the British in the second war of independence. (See Appendix I,)—and the craven reason of this may become more manifest in the sequel.—Among other charges laid to his door are, that he voted in Congress, with signal want of humanity and charity, to refuse a small pittance of surplus wood at the Capitol, to the freezing poor of Washington, (See Appendix J) and also against a day of humiliation and prayer, during the prevalence of the cholera,—that pestilence that walked in darkness and wasted at noon-day in our land—a measure which had passed the Senate, on the motion of Mr. Clay, and the joint and eloquent advocacy of him and Mr. Frelinghuysen (See Appendix K). As Speaker of the House of Representatives, he gave the casting vote which shut out investigation into the abuses and outrages which caused the Florida war, and screened from exposure the monstrous speculation and

frauds of men of his party (See Appendix L). In spite of his own quoted declaration, that the people had a right to question fully and be fully answered on all points, by candidates for public office, he has refused to answer whether he is for the annexation on the terms of the treaty (See Appendix M); and, while Governor of Tennessee he was presented as a nuisance and for neglect of duty by a grand jury of his own State (See Appendix N).

Let us next suffer Mr. Polk to be weighed in the balances, by those who now profess to be his warm friends and admirers and ardent supporters for the Presidency. Let us exhibit him as painted by his present friends. And first, we will put Gen. Crabb, of Alabama, as a witness on the stand. The General, although now a cordial supporter of Mr. Polk, was one of the fifty-seven, who, in the House of Representatives, refused him the usual courtesy of a vote of thanks, (See Appendix O,) on the expiration of his Speakership—a refusal, based on and justified by the partisanship, displayed by Mr. Polk, in the packing of committees, the ruling of points of order, and various other matters connected with his official station. Gen. C. would not even thank him as Speaker, and yet would make “the great unthanked” President of the United States! Next, let us call Mr. Payne, of Alabama, into court—now another of Mr. Polk’s zealous lieutenants in the Presidential campaign. Mr. Payne being sworn [to testify as to Mr. Polk’s qualifications, not for the Presidency, but for the Vice Presidency,] deponeth (See Appendix P), “that the political capital of Gov. Polk is quite too limited to secure a nomination for the Vice Presidency from the republican party, unless he can pull down the fame of others whose shadow has fallen across the path of this posthumous bantling for the Vice Presidency,” that “there is a well-founded suspicion—a reasonable doubt of his personal courage,” and “he is totally unfit for the office of Vice President of the U. S.,” “that, however honorable he may be, if he is a coward, he cannot maintain his honor, and hence is disqualified for the office of Vice President,” “that he had been insulted day after day, and was caught roughly by the arm [by Mr. Wise,] when escaping from the capitol, pulled round and told that he was the “contemptible tool of a petty tyrant,” and “that he did not resent it;” “that he had been twice *reputated* in his own State by large majorities—defeated by an inexperienced politician,” “that his name would not add one particle of strength to the ticket in any State of the Union”—“that he had been run twice for Governor of Tennessee lately, and had been twice defeated, both times most signally,” and “this was *conclusive* that Tennessee could not be *carried* if Gov. Polk was upon the ticket,” “that it is due to the principles democrats profess, not to jeopard their success by *vain attempts to force upon the people of Tennessee* a man whom they have twice refused to honor,” “that Gov. Polk has no greater claims upon the people of this Union than any other man of equal ability who has faithfully main-

tained the principles of his party”; “that there are now at least one hundred men in the Union, [he might have said safely one hundred thousand,] who have served their party as long, as ably and as faithfully as Gov. Polk, whose claims are fully equal to his, but whose names have never been mentioned in connexion with the Vice Presidency and possibly never will be;” and “that Tennessee democrats should abandon this system of puffing, blowing and swelling, by which a *toad* may be magnified into the dimensions of an ox.” Yet Mr. Payne is now desirous that the *little rejected* of Tennessee should become the *great accepted* of the Union; wishes to intrude this unfit man for the Vice Presidency into the Presidency; to constitute this “coward,” who pocketed an insult, Commander-in-Chief of the Army and Navy of the United States, to inflate this “toad” into an “ox,” and to entrust this King Log, nay this broken and bruised reed, this worthless Polk-stalk, with the destinies of our great republic.

Here, too, may be properly brought in the testimony, not of one of Gov. Polk’s new converts, but of a genuine Tennessee Whig, the high-mettled Peyton, who broke out on the Tennesseean candidate in a perfect storm of scathing ridicule, representing his nomination as the birth of a ridiculous mouse from the laboring mountain, and holding him up to derision as “a little beaten, broken-winded, fundered, spring-halt, shuffling, spavined, bob-tail nag of Tennessee, brought out, by the great democratic party, for the four mile heat, at the fall races, to be run against the great eclipse.” (See Appendix Q.)

The last witness is the Editor of the Charleston Mercury, now a reluctant supporter of the “sail trimming” candidate. We learn from his paper of December 14, 1835, that “the President [Gen. Jackson], doubtless, has been not a little gratified in the success of Mr. Polk [as Speaker of the House of Representatives], which, it is said, he regards and enjoys as a *severe punishment of and signal triumph over those refractory subordinates, Messrs. White and Bell.*” From the same paper of March 3, 1836, we learn [through its copy from the U. S. Telegraph, Gen. Duff Green’s paper,] that

“The House, yesterday, reversed the decision of the Speaker [Mr. Polk], relative to the effect of Mr. Pinckney’s [of S. C.] resolution on the abolition petitions to be presented hereafter. They reversed it by a vote of 147 to 56, all his Van Buren friends, with few exceptions, voting to reverse his decision. One would have supposed that this would have mortified the Hon. Speaker. *His countenance shewed that he was delighted at it. It was an arranged affair.* In order to sustain Mr. Polk at home, he was allowed to give a decision against the party, which would be acceptable to his constituents, and then the party reversed his decision to advance the ultimate objects of the party.”—(Washington Correspondence of the Mercury.) Lastly, the Correspondence of the same paper, on the 13th April, 1836, gives the following picture of Mr. Polk’s arbitrary conduct to Mr. Wise,

and Mr. W.'s unresented insult to Mr. Polk. Mr. Wise, having been speaking on Mr. Pinckney's resolutions, Mr. Polk as Speaker said—

"Order! the gentleman from Virginia is taking too wide a range—will the House permit such disorder." At last, upon being ordered, in a frowning, peremptory manner, not for personality to any one, but for not, in the opinion of the chair, being *at the point*—for irrelevancy—he [Mr. W.] took his seat, under a high state of excitement, and the Speaker then so managed it, as to obtain a vote of the majority that he [Mr. W.] should not proceed at all, and that he should be silenced for irrelevancy. He obtained this vote by an artifice, &c. &c.*** Nothing of the kind has ever before occurred since the origin of the government. To silence a member for irrelevancy was wholly unprecedented in the American Congress, until the administration of the prerogatives of the chair by James K. Polk.****Mr. Wise, under the impulse of the moment, chafed, irritated, brow-beaten and trodden down, met Mr. Polk alone, after the adjournment of the House, and told him, with his finger almost pointing in his eye, "that he was a petty tyrant—he meant it as a personal insult and he might pocket it." Aye, and he did pocket it, and it has remained in his pocket ever since!

Hear too, what the hero of the Withlacoochee said on this subject:—"The gallant Clinch alluding to his [Mr. P.'s] conduct under Wise's insult, in a recent speech before the Savannah Clay Club, emphatically asked whether the American people would place at the head of their affairs, as Commander-in-Chief of the Army and Navy, a man who had not the personal courage to resent an insult to both himself, and patron Gen. Jackson, though it had been cast sneeringly and pointedly into his teeth.—True, the General said, Mr. Polk had been trained by the Old Lion at the Hermitage, but the event proved that, although the Lion might train a fox, he could neither impose the lion heart, nor bestow the lion nerve."

From the contemplation of such a portrait, well may the Whigs turn with pride and delight to the illustrious candidate, whom they have offered to the nation for the highest office in the popular gift. He may well be said to be one, on whom every God doth seem to set his seal to give the world assurance of a man, and on whom the nation has long since set its mark as the foremost citizen of the republic; one, who, to borrow Mr. Peyton's, as well as Shakespeare's phrase, can no more be compared with the democratic candidate, than Hyperion to a Satyr. Born of a Baptist clergyman, killed by the Tories in his son's infancy, he was reared in poverty, and, having passed through a boyhood and youth of privation, embarrassment and obscurity, the Mill-boy of the Slashes, who was wont to ride to mill, bare back and with rope-bridle, the grocer's clerk, and attorney's or chancellor's amanuensis of Richmond, removed to the more congenial soil of Kentucky, and emerged, in the very first stage or rather inception of manhood, from the cloud which over-

shadowed the morning of his life, and rose at once, by the force of talent and merit, to the meridian height of professional, oratorical and intellectual eminence. Known and hailed, at home, as "the great Commoner of Kentucky," he soon earned a fame which transferred him from a local field of action to the great theatre of national renown, and gave to the Union and the nation talents, and counsels and services, too expansive and important to find a fitting employment within the confines of a single State—and the genius, which had so soon reached the zenith of Kentucky, now culminated on the national meridian. From that period to the present day, he has largely influenced the legislation, the history and the destiny of the republic, by a long and eminent course of public service, at home, abroad, in the Senate, in the cabinet and in the diplomatic bureau. On his first appearance, as a member of the national House of Representatives [having been twice before temporarily in the Senate of the Union,] he received the unparalleled honor of being elected to the Speaker's chair. With trumpet tongue and clarion note, in honorable and patriotic companionship with our own Lowndes, Cheves and Calhoun, and other great compeers, he roused the nation to the War of 1812, and animated the war-spirit of the people throughout the entire contest, until the star-spangled banner was illuminated with the glory of numerous victories, by land and sea, over our giant enemy, and the insulted honor and multiplied wrongs of the nation were amply avenged—and, with statesmanlike sagacity and skill, he closed a glorious war by the negotiation and consummation of an honorable and a lasting peace. On his return from the foreign service of the republic, again we find him assuming his high and wonted part in the hall of legislation, proposing or advocating useful and patriotic measures and laws for the nation's good—and when dissension and discord invaded our national legislature, and the Missouri question sat like a brooding mischief on our counsels, boding disruption to our blood-bought Union, the same trumpet tongue, which anon had sounded the alarum of war, inspiring the heart and nerving the arm for battle, was mellowed and softened into persuasion and pathos, and his patriot wisdom and glorious eloquence achieved a new and even more honorable triumph, in the healing of fraternal dissension, and the restoration of national concord. The Union, which had rocked fearfully and been swayed to and fro with earthquake commotion, was again set firm on its base, the troubled waters subsided into auspicious rest, and all was calm and peace. To an ardent and liberal patriotism, ever mindful of the great concerns of his own country, he added an expansive sympathy which embraced the interests of other lands; and classic Greece, in her struggle for liberty and independence against the ruthless and oppressive Turk, and the young republics of Spanish America were themes on which his mouth frequently spoke from the eloquent abundance of his heart; and when, at the head

of the State Department, under the Presidency of the younger Adams, while conducting the foreign relations of the country with the ability and virtue of a patriot statesman, and the skill of a finished diplomatist, his eloquent and touching letter of counsel and admonition to Bolivar, to emulate the virtue and self-denial and patriotism of Washington, relieved and graced the seriousness and gravity of his diplomatic correspondence with the spirit of benevolence and philanthropy (See Appendix R). Having won fresh laurels as a cabinet minister, he resumed the private station, but his own State soon surrendered him again to the service of the nation, and, leaving the rural shades and employments of his own quiet and romantic Ashland, he again stood "a Senator in the Senate House," "the observed of all observers," the leader in debate, the source of delight to the ear, instruction to the mind and service to the country.— Again, the cloud of evil portent, charged with the elements of fraternal strife, darkens the national horizon—nullification threatens the horrid calamity of civil war or the fatal catastrophe of a dissolution of the Union. Once more the persuasive pleadings of our illustrious candidate woo the halcyon to brood on the tempestuous and wave-crested deep—and the spirit of conciliation and compromise, in which our Union and our Constitution had their birth, was once more successfully invoked to preserve them both. The throes of revolution were hushed and stilled, as by the wand of the enchanter, and, at the voice and beck of patriotism, peace and harmony again dwelt and reigned in our land. He who has thus *twice* preserved the Union is *thrice* worthy to preside over that Union—worthy in himself, and doubly worthy in the work of salvation *twice* performed to the imperilled republic. Eminently deserving is he then, not only of Whig votes, but of a grateful nation's universal choice. Let North and South, East and West,—the rock-girt strand of New-England, with her enterprising race; the broad middle land with her numerous and busy population; the sunny South with her generous and chivalrous sons; the far and fertile West with her manly and sturdy foresters and hunters—rally with enthusiastic zeal to his glorious standard and go for "Clay and our country."

Having thus closed my own portraiture of our illustrious candidate, and having previously given the likeness of Mr. Polk, as drawn and painted by his present friends, I proceed to exhibit Mr. Clay as painted, in the glowing colors of truth, by several of his recent and present enemies and revilers, before the meretricious charms of false democracy had seduced them from their political virtue, and their loyalty to the greatest statesman of our country. Before commencing this curious exhibition, however, permit me to show you in what estimation Mr. Clay was held by Thos. Jefferson, the apostle of state rights and father of democracy, of whom modern democrats profess to be the peculiar disciples. In a letter, dated Monticello, May 5, 1823, Mr. Jefferson thus wrote of Mr. Clay, and

shadowed forth his coming and elevated destiny.—"You ask my opinion of the merits of Henry Clay and his policy for the protection of domestic industry and manufactures. These are questions which I feel some delicacy about answering, first because Mr. Clay is now a candidate for the Presidency, and, secondly, I never yet fully understood to what ends his policy extends; and, although I will advise you of my opinions, relative to the questions you put to me, I must beg that you will not, at this juncture, give my words to the public through the press. AS FOR MR. CLAY, I CONSIDER HIM TO BE ONE OF THE MOST TALENTED AND BRILLIANT MEN AND STATESMEN THAT THE COUNTRY EVER PRODUCED, AND SHOULD I LIVE MANY YEARS LONGER, I HOPE TO SEE HIM HOLD THE PLACE OF CHIEF EXECUTIVE OF THE AMERICAN REPUBLIC. *His career thus far has been a career of glory, and he has achieved that for his country, whilst engaged in his career, which would ornament the brightest place in the esculcheom of the most favored statesman of any age or nation.*" (See Appendix, S.)

The next witness is one, who went as a delegate from Virginia to the Harrisburgh Convention, and who, with all his Virginia co-delegates, and the entire Southern delegation, voted for Henry Clay as the Whig nominee for the Presidency, in 1840, and who, on the defeat of Mr. Clay and the success of General Harrison, actually *shed tears* at the unexpected result, and by those tears doubtless won his own nomination for the Vice-Presidency, and his ultimate elevation, by the lamented death of his chief and superior, to the Executive chair—which he soon disgraced by a treachery to his party and to the true interests of his country, unparalleled in the history of political turpitude. We take his evidence as a Court of Justice would that of a witness to a will, who had become disqualified, since his attestation of the instrument—i. e. on proof of his hand writing. In a letter, dated June 20, 1840, to a Committee of Invitation to a dinner, to be given to Mr. Clay, by the people of his own native Hanover, Mr. Tyler wrote thus:—

"WILLIAMSBURG, June 20, 1840.

"Gentlemen—It would afford me no ordinary gratification to be present, in pursuance of your invitation, at Taylorsville, on the 27th instant, to partake of the dinner to be given to Mr. Clay by the citizens of his native county; but this is forbidden me, by considerations which I am not at liberty to disregard. Towards that distinguished citizen I need scarcely say, that I entertain feelings of the highest admiration and regard. *When the work of detraction was at its highest point, I lost no suitable occasion to give expression to my sentiments concerning him, and have never failed to vindicate him, as far as was in my power, against the malice of his enemies; and now, when all men, seemingly of all parties, unite in bearing testimony to his high and exalted worth: and when recent events have furnished him a new opportunity for the display of that noble disinterestedness for which he has through life been distinguished, judge ye with what pleasure I should meet him on the soil of my old district, and in the midst of*

my old constituents. As, however, this is denied me, nothing more remains to me than to wish you a most joyous and happy meeting.

"I have the honor to be, gentlemen, your friend and servant,
JOHN TYLER."

Yet this man has become one of the chief revilers and traducers of Mr. Clay, merely because he was overshadowed by a greatness which eclipsed his own, even in the Presidential chair, and which stood as an obstacle, in the path of his selfish ambition.

Next, the unfortunate Gilmer, victim of the shocking explosion of the trial gun on board of the *Princeton*—he who, but a little month or two before he turned democrat and foe to Mr. Clay, had boasted that "he was every inch a Whig"! Here is his testimony to Mr. Clay's eminence and virtue, as "ONE OF THOSE GREAT MEN WHOM HANOVER HAD GIVEN TO VIRGINIA AND VIRGINIA TO THE WORLD."

"CHARLOTTESVILLE, June 20, 1840.

"Gentlemen—On the eve of my departure from Richmond, I received your very cordial invitation to attend a Public Dinner, on the 27th inst., given by the citizens of Hanover, in honor of our distinguished countryman, Henry Clay. If I can complete some private business, which induced my absence from Richmond for a short time, it will afford me pleasure to be with you.

"The occasion of Mr. Clay's visit to the scenes of his nativity, is not one for mere exultation. His fame, like his genius, belongs now to his country—his whole country, and nothing but his country; and while every Virginian hails him as a native of our soil, the people of Hanover, without reference to parties, cannot fail to extend to him a welcome corresponding with their generous hospitality and his distinction. There is something peculiarly touching in the intercourse which is about to be renewed between Mr. Clay and the people of Hanover. It carries us back through many an interesting epoch of our public history, to the time when a poor boy, from the Slashes, which have since been distinguished as his birth-place, he entered the perilous career of life under the friendly auspices of that great and good man, George Wythe. The high stations which he has since filled, the important public services he has rendered, the distinguished consideration he has attained at home and abroad, the circumstances under which, after contributing so much for history, he returns to the spot consecrated to him by the recollections of childhood,—all serve to invest the occasion with sympathies and reflections, such as are not often suggested in the life of the statesman.

"Mr. Clay stands, at this moment, on an eminence where few ever stood before. After serving his country, in almost every capacity in which service can be required, he asks nothing of his countrymen but a just and impartial judgment on the motives and the abilities which he has employed. If he were dead, and you designed to commemorate those ties [which death alone can sever] that bind the Virginian to his State, the people and the politicians, who have most strenuously opposed some of his

views of policy, would be content to leave the past to history, while they would remember only that *he was one of those great men whom Hanover had given to Virginia and Virginia to the world.* And shall he be greeted with less enthusiasm, because he yet lives, to look back from his present vantage ground, and review the long course of his own experience, to revive with ancient recollections his fealty to the old principles of old Virginia, and to gain fresh vigor in her cause, from touching his mother's soil? Mr. Clay's history is full of examples of manly disinterestedness—and his present position enables him, more than any other man, to aid in giving to his country what he does not seek for himself—to dedicate to public and patriotic ends what never should belong to party.

"*It is time, gentlemen, that those who are entitled to the respect and gratitude of their countrymen, should cease to be the objects of personal obloquy and vituperation.* Our national character has suffered too much and too long to appease the venom of party rancour. Our national pride should rejoice in the belief that there is much of private and public worth, which can and ought to survive our frequent political conflicts, and that a party triumph costs too dearly, when it attempts to dishonor names that must go down as our witnesses to posterity.

"With assurances of my esteem and consideration, gentlemen, I remain, your obedient servant,
THOS. W. GILMER."

Mr. Henry A. Wise, of Virginia, comes next in order—the gentleman who inveighed vehemently, in speech and by letter, against members of Congress accepting appointments to office from the Federal Executive, and yet tried to bully himself into the French mission, and was finally glad to put up with an inferior appointment to the Brazilian Court! Thus did he—now one of the most scorpion-tongued of Mr. Clay's revilers—laud him as one "WHO HAD REFLECTED HONOR ON THE PLACE OF HIS BIRTH," although "A HENRY WAS BORN THERE BEFORE HIM," and who had "MAINTAINED THE REPUTATION OF VIRGINIA'S SONS," although "VIRGINIA IS THE MOTHER OF HEROES, STATESMEN AND SAGES"—as "AN EXPERIENCED TEACHER OF ETERNAL POLITICAL TRUTHS AND A WITNESS OF FACTS FOR FREEDOM AGAINST FREEDOM'S FOES."

"WASHINGTON CITY, June 18, 1840.

"Gentlemen—I have delayed answering yours of the 10th instant, in order to make arrangements, if possible, to accept its kind invitation to attend the dinner, in honor of Mr. Clay, by the citizens of his native county, at Taylorsville, on the 27th instant.

"I need not tell you what I think of that man, Henry Clay, of Hanover. He has done for himself what friends and fortune can do for no man, and has acquired what neither friends nor foes can take from him—"a fame for which himself has fought," and to which no man's praise can add, and from which no man's censure can detract. And that fame is his reward. Office could not add a cubit to his stature. *He has reflected honor on the place of his birth, and a*

Henry was born there before him; he has maintained the reputation of Virginia's sons, and Virginia is the mother of heroes, statesmen and sages.' That is enough for any one man, and it is enough for you to claim him as your own—you honor yourselves in honoring Henry Clay. None can impeach his disinterestedness now, and I wish that all Virginia, all America could see him, as you will see him, and hear him as you will hear him—a teacher, an experienced teacher of eternal political truths, and a witness of facts for freedom against freedom's foes. Heed him, I beseech you—heed him whilst you may.

H. A. WISE."

The last witness, whom I shall put on the stand, is that accomplished artist, that finished limner, the editor of the Charleston Mercury—not the *locum tenens*, but the *veritable amphitryon*, John A. Stuart, when he and his leader Mr. Calhoun and their whole party were Whigs, fighting under the same banner with Clay and Webster against the Jackson and Van Buren dynasty, and their hard money and other measures of financial mischief and democratic misrule. Thus, on the 8th July, 1837, did his glowing and tasteful pencil make the canvass speak eloquently the merits and virtues of our glorious Clay.

"The partizans of Mr. Webster are still obstructing him upon the opposition. Mr. W. will not do. The Northern Whigs may kick as they please, and talk of not submitting to Southern dictation, &c., but we tell them plainly they cannot and shall not impose a candidate upon the opposition of the South. We have no confidence in Daniel Webster, and will not have him.

* * * If we cannot have a Southern State Rights' man—if John C. Calhoun, by going upon the forlorn hope of truth, is (politically) dead upon the ramparts—like a gallant steed fallen in front rank—borne down and trampled upon by the base rear—and can only hope for justice from those who shall look upon these disjointed times with the eyes of posterity. If, for a disinterestedness ABOVE and a political sagacity BEYOND the age, he is to be sacrificed a martyr to principle, at least call upon us to support some one worthy of an enthusiastic trust.

GIVE US A MAN OF SOME NOBLE TRAITS, A BOLD, BRAVE, GALLANT, HIGH-MINDED MAN OF GENIUS, WHO, THOUGH WE SEE HIS POLITICAL ERRORS, WE CAN YET ASSURE OURSELVES CAN DO NOTHING MEAN. GIVE US SUCH A MAN FOR INSTANCE, AS HENRY CLAY. He would have our respect, our admiration—and we would be sure that his government would always be dignified and respectable. There is something heroic in him. Not solitary chieftain heroism:—oh! no! but of a kind not at all related to the *humbly* family. We would not throw ourselves into the arena for his support, but we would not quarrel with the Northern Whigs for offering such a man for the suffrages of the opposition.

We tell the Northern Whigs he is the only man on whom they can rally a conquering party, unless the people come more suddenly to their senses

than we have a right to expect, and at once do themselves the honor of rendering justice to the first man in the country."

Yet this editor, too, is now a reviling enemy of the subject of this lofty eulogy—but he cannot, if he would, undo his own immortal work—it will stand out in bold relief on the canvass where he painted it, in unfading and undying testimony at once of the artist's power and the subject's glory. Yes, our noble "Harry of the West" is indeed "a bold, brave, gallant, high-minded man of genius," "worthy of an enthusiastic trust and confidence," and both Southern and "Northern Whigs" will "rally", and have "rallied" on him, "a conquering party," and will bear him in triumph to the Presidential chair, there to confer honor and blessings on his country.

Such then is a faithful portraiture of the Whig candidate for the Presidency, as reflected from the mirror of his past history, and delineated with the pencil of truth, the artist aiming at the closest imitation of nature and adherence to the original as the very triumph and perfection of art—and, gifted and adorned, as he is, with eloquence to move the popular assembly, or sway the Senate for the public good; with a statesmanship of the highest administrative and intellectual order; with a wise moderation and a conservative spirit; with a patriotism, pure and expansive, national and not sectional; with qualities as a man to attach the hearts of friends and command the respect and admiration of foes; with a renown, not only co-extensive with our wide-spread union of States and Territories, but with our entire continent, and reflected back from enlightened Europe—we may confidently look to his coming and now certain elevation to the Presidency, for an administration of our national government, at once wise, patriotic and constitutional, and conducted in a spirit of compromise and conciliation—consulting all the great interests of the country and harmonizing them all—peaceful and useful at home, and respected in the great family of co-equal nations—dispensing public office, not as spoils among victors, not as plunder wrested from the vanquished, and surrendered to the mercenary followers of the camp, but as national trusts, and as rewards to the "worthy and well qualified and properly vouched for," and introducing a wise and enlightened economy into government disbursements, wasting nothing in extravagance, yet liberal in useful expenditure—securing to the country a healthy system of finance, a sound national currency and a salutary equalization of exchanges, diffusing life and health through every vein and artery of national industry, and giving vigor and prosperity to agriculture, manufactures and commerce—fostering domestic industry, in all its various and varied branches, by a tariff of incidental protection, (within the revenue limit of an honestly and economically administered government,) at once moderate, (See Appendix, T.) certain and durable, and substituting permanency and stability for fluctuation

and change in our national policy—acquiring Texas, (if desirable) by negotiation, not by war, and consistently with national faith and national honor—(See Appendix, U.)—guarding the reserved rights of the States with a wholesome vigilance, and covering the peculiar rights of the South with the shield, and, if necessary, defending them with the sword of the Constitution—isolating the abolitionists for the scorn and detestation of the Union and the world, and causing even those criminal fanatics and traitors to the Constitution, “to pause in their mad and fatal course” (See Appendix, V.); and preserving our political Union, in its beautiful and happy combination of the nation

with the confederacy, in its whole constitutional vigor, “as the sheet anchor of our safety at home, and the source of our strength and consideration abroad.”

And now, fellow Whigs, sons and daughters of generous and hospitable Georgia, let me give you, in conclusion, a watch-word and war-cry for our party, to be echoed and re-echoed, from sea-board to mountain and mountain to sea-board, until it forms the national chorus, on the success of our candidate—

“Clay and our Country”—The man who has twice preserved the Union is thrice worthy to preside over its destinies.

APPENDIX.

(A.) Such was the partisanship carried by Mr. Polk into the office of Speaker, and displayed in packing committees, ruling points of order, and awarding the floor, that, at the expiration of his term of office, the usual courtesy of a vote of thanks, hitherto unanimously awarded to the Speaker, at the expiration of his official term, was, when moved by Mr. Elmore, of South-Carolina, warmly contested, and carried by almost a strictly party vote of Yeas, 91—Nays, 57—a thing unparalleled in Congressional history.

(B.) A Tennessee paper, in announcing the nomination of Mr. Polk, said—“First it was received with utter incredulity—the whole thing seemed improbable—impossible. Next doubt gave way to wonder and astonishment, and when this subsided, uncontrollable and boisterous laughter followed, as a matter of course.” The Columbia (Tenn.) Observer, (Whig) said, “This news taxes our credulity, but pleases our fancy.” And the paper, first above-named, adopted, from the Baltimore Patriot, the following clue to this mouse-like birth of the laboring mountain. “The nomination of Mr. Polk is the defeat of Mr. Van Buren,” but “is at the same time the work and triumph of Mr. Van Buren’s friends. * * * They (the friends of the other candidates) made Mr. V. B. the victim of contemptible intrigue, and it was but a fair return that he should hoist them with their own petard. They have, it is true, killed him with Texas and the two-thirds rule; but he is not without his own revenge. He has made a ghost of Mr. Calhoun. He has annihilated Cass. He has distanced Buchanan—and he has, without the slightest remorse, set up James K. Polk, to be shot at, for the amusement of all parties, during the ensuing campaign.”

(C.) In a speech, delivered at the last session of Congress, Mr. Peyton, of Tenn., said—“He (Mr. P.) had within his reach, though not here, a very precious document concerning this same Jas. K. Polk—an extract from a letter (as the Reporter understood, perhaps speech), in which he came out in favor of works of internal improvement, by the General Government, within the States.”

(D.) Mr. Polk, as Chairman of the Committee of Ways and Means, of the National House of Representatives, was the father of the pet-bank system, and an opponent of the sub-treasury scheme, by elaborate speech, as well as elaborate report. In his report on the pet-bank system, he first threw out the suggestion that the deposit banks should be encouraged to extend their loans, based on the public deposits, an intimation which was afterwards embodied in an official circular and recommendation of Mr. Taney, then Secretary of the Treasury, a recommendation, which, coupled with the exaction of interest by the government for the use of the public monies, led to the expansion of bank issues and consequent explosion of the banking system, to the immense loss of the government and the bankruptcy and ruin of many worthy and enterprising citizens. On the 15th May, 1843, Mr. Polk, while a candidate for Governor of Tennessee, on being interrogated by certain citizens of Shelby County, answered, that he was “in favor of the sub-treasury system, passed by Congress in 1840 and repealed in 1841,” and referred to his published addresses to the people of Tennessee, 3d April, 1839, and 28th March, 1841, in proof of the fact. Mr. Peyton, of Tennessee, thus rated him for his course—“He had been strongly opposed to the sub-treasury, and preferred State banks as places of deposit for public money. He consid-

ered them safer and in all respects to be preferred. Where did he stand now? Oh, now a sub-treasury was the only safe place, 'Motley's your only wear.'" This is the only great public measure, with which Mr. Polk stands identified, and it resulted in disaster and bankruptcy to the government and the people!

(E.) In his address to the people of Tennessee, 2d April, 1839, Mr. Polk lauded Gen. Jackson for recommending "modifications and reductions of the tariff with a view TO THE FINAL ABANDONMENT OF THE ODDIOUS AND UNJUST SYSTEM," and blamed Mr. Clay, the "imputed father" of the tariff, for seizing "on a favorable moment TO SAVE THE WHOLE [system] FROM DESTRUCTION, BY A TIMELY COMPROMISE." He also said, in the same address,—"One of General Jackson's principles was opposition to the high tariff schemes of Henry Clay, and in that also he was supported by all Tennessee. Now a portion of your public men support this MONSTROUS SCHEME, by supporting Henry Clay." Nor is this all—but, within one year after the passage of Mr. Clay's Compromise Act of 1833, Mr. Polk VOTED FOR the resolution of Mr. Hall, of North Carolina, TO REPEAL THE COMPROMISE ACT, or to refer the whole subject to the Committee of Ways and Means, with a view to its repeal, under the pretext of reducing the whole of the duties down to what is called the necessary wants of government—the vote on the resolution was Yeas, 69, (among them Mr. Polk,) Nays, 115. And yet this same Mr. J. K. Polk, since his nomination for the Presidency, has formally set about to enter for and cajole the tariff vote of Pennsylvania, by his letter to Mr. J. K. Kane, of Philadelphia, dated June 19th, 1844, in which he claims the merit of having voted for the Compromise Bill, and comes out in favor of a "revenue sufficient to defray the expenses of the government ECONOMICALLY ADMINISTERED," of "DISCRIMINATING DUTIES" "and reasonable INCIDENTAL PROTECTION TO HOME INDUSTRY," to be effected by means of "revenue laws," and "all other means" within the power of the government. He actually put himself on Mr. Clay's platform, and almost copied his words, Mr. Clay having said, in his letter, of September 15th, 1843, that he was in favor of "whatever revenue is necessary to an HONEST AND ECONOMICAL ADMINISTRATION OF THE GENERAL GOVERNMENT", and of "SUCH DISCRIMINATIONS as will INCIDENTALLY AFFORD REASONABLE PROTECTION TO OUR NATIONAL INTERESTS." The result of this new stand on the part of Mr. Polk is, that, at the North generally, and in Pennsylvania especially, he is supported as a thorough-going tariff man and opponent of free trade, the Harrisburg (Penn.) Democratic Union declaring, on the authority of his friend and neighbor, a Tennessean, "that he holds the doctrine of free trade in UNQUALIFIED ABHORRENCE": "never advocated it and never will"; "is in favor of a judicious revenue tariff, affording the AMPLEST PROTECTION TO AMERICAN INDUSTRY"; "is the especial friend and advocate OF THE COAL AND IRON INTERESTS, those two great objects of solicitude with Pennsyl-

vanians," and IS OPPOSED TO THE DISTURBANCE OF THE EXISTING TARIFF." The Albany (N. Y.) Argus, too, the organ of the celebrated Van Buren or Albany regency, insists "that he (Mr. Clay) and Gov. Polk occupy the same ground on this subject (the tariff)", and charges the Whigs with "garbling and falsifying language," and practising "fraud and imposition," to conceal the fact. It is curious, indeed, and it is disgraceful to Mr. Polk, that he should have so paltered in a double sense in this matter, that the North should thus believe him the unqualified friend of tariff interests, on the faith of his incidental protection letter and the representation of his Tennessee neighbor and friend, and the South should advocate him as a free trade man, on the faith of his former bitter opposition to the tariff system, and his recent declaration, at a public discussion in Tennessee, as late as April, 1843—"I AM IN FAVOR OF REPEALING THE ACT OF THE LATE CONGRESS (the Act of 1812) AND RESTORING THE COMPROMISE TARIFF ACT OF MARCH 2d, 1833, which "will afford sufficient protection to the manufacturers, and IS ALL THEY OUGHT TO DESIRE, OR TO WHICH THEY ARE ENTITLED." His purpose, therefore, must be, either to betray the South, or cheat the North, and either horn of the dilemma should be sufficient to impale him, and lose him the support of every right-minded and true-hearted man, whether Democrat or Whig.

(F.) The most authentic account of Mr. Polk's grandfather, Ezekiel Polk is, that he was at first on the side of the Whigs in the revolutionary war, but afterwards took British protection, (even the Democratic certificates prove this) and was thenceforth as much despised and repudiated by the Whigs of 1776, as his grandson is now by the Whigs of 1844. The Augusta (Ga.) Chronicle, says—"While Lord Cornwallis was encamped at Charlotte, the said Ezekiel remained at the British camp, during which time, as a mark of respect to his country's invaders, he wore the insignia of royalty a red coat. After the removal of Cornwallis, Ezekiel returned to his home, situate on Sugar Creek, about seven miles from Charlotte. The Whigs, in that vicinity, unwilling to tolerate his neighborhood, resolved upon his death. The foremost of the party, who had taken upon themselves the summary execution of his sentence, was a Mr. Taylor, who, upon finding the tory, levelled his gun to kill him; but Ezekiel fell upon his knees, imploring his life; he was, after some consultation, permitted to live, upon condition that he should forthwith quit the county of Mecklenburg. This condition was promptly complied with, and he did not return until after peace had been established." He never, like the martyr Hayne, encountered the peril of repudiating British protection and resuming the defence of his country. He took good care to interpose a red coat between himself and the halter. The Madison (Ga.) Miscellany says—"In addition to other positive testimony, which we have already published, we annex the following circumstantial evidence, which has just been made public—the testimony of an old Revolutionary soldier, well known in Greene county, where he lived

forty years, and in Pike, where he has resided the last twelve years, and whose character for *truth and veracity* is unimpeachable—it is this,

GRIFFIN, (Ga.) JULY 19, 1844.

"I was a volunteer from Virginia, under Capt. Jesse Heard, who commanded a company of Horse Troops. We were at Charlotte and joined Col. Davie, and remained in that county some time, and there I understood that *Ezekiel Polk* WAS A TORY, and never heard it contradicted or disputed. There were some other of the Polks that were true Whigs. I was also at the surrender of Lord Cornwallis at Little York. JOHN JENKINS.

Sworn to and subscribed before me, this 22d day of July, 1844.

JAMES J. ALEXANDER, J. P.

We now come to the evidence, says another journal, we shall produce to sustain the charges.—In the first place we shall give the affidavit of Maj. Thomas Alexander. It would be useless for us to say any thing relative to his character. He is well known and his character above suspicion. He testifies that Ezekiel Polk refused to go to South Carolina to protect the Whites from the Negroes. What do the People think of that? He also testifies that he took protection. Read the affidavit.

MECKLENBURG, N. C., JUNE 19, 1841.

At the commencement of the War of the Revolution, Ezekiel Polk, at that time a resident of South-Carolina, received a Captain's Commission in the Militia, and raised a company on the frontiers of the State, against the Cherokee Indians. I was one of that company. After this, *Ezekiel Polk* was ordered to proceed with his company into South-Carolina, to protect the Whites against the Negroes—the he refused to do.

The winter following, he proceeded with his company, on an expedition against the Tories, stationed not far from *Ninety-Six*, under the command of Cunningham. From this time, he did nothing to favor the Whigs during the War. When Lord Cornwallis marched his army into this county, and erected his Head Quarters in Charlotte, *Ezekiel Polk* went in and took British Protection. One *Jack Burnette*, having learned that Polk had gone to Charlotte, to avail himself of British Protection, determined to way-lay him as he returned, and kill him. From this course he was deterred by his friends. I was in the war, and personally know these facts to be true.

THOS. ALEXANDER.

Subscribed and sworn to before me, one of the acting Justices of the Peace, for said county of Mecklenburg, and State of North-Carolina.

THOMAS M. KERNS, J. P.

June 9, 1841.

STATE OF NORTH-CAROLINA, }
Mecklenburg County. }

I, Braley Oates, Clerk of the Court of Pleas and Quarter Sessions, held for the county and State aforesaid, do hereby certify that Thomas M. Kerns, whose signature appears to the above affidavit, is an acting Justice of the Peace in, and for said county, and that full faith and credit should be given to his official acts as such. I also further certify that the affiant, Thomas Alexander, is respected as a Revolutionary Soldier, and a man of highly respectable standing.

In testimony whereof, I have hereunto set my name, and affixed my seal of office, at Charlotte, the 22d day of June, A. D. 1841.

B. OATES, Clerk.

Mr. Polk's father was a child in the revolution, too young to take any part in it.

(G.) Mr. Polk over and over again voted in Congress, against paying pensions to the old patriots of the revolution for their military services. March 13, 1828, he voted against the Bill for the relief of surviving officers of the revolutionary war; March 18, 1830, against the Revolutionary Pension Bill; March 19, spoke and voted against the Bill; Dec. 17, 1831, voted against the Bill for the relief of revolutionary soldiers; May 2, 1832, voted against the revolutionary Pension Bill. Certainly a very natural succession of votes for one with tory blood in his veins!—Congressional Debates, Vols. 4, p. 2070. 6, part 1, pp. 629, 635. 7, p. 730. 8, p. 2713.

N. B. Since the above was written, Mr. Polk's hostility to our gallant tars, as well as our revolutionary soldiers, has been also made to appear. The loss of the "Hornet," in 1829, was the cause of deep and prevailing gloom throughout the United States. Many were the brave officers and gallant seamen, who found an untimely grave, when that ill fated vessel was "in the deep losom of the ocean buried." Many were the surviving mothers, wives, and children, who were left to the cold charities of the unfeeling world, by the loss of those, around whom their affections were entwined, and upon whom they depended for support in sickness and in sorrow. So general was the sympathy felt by all classes of citizens, that the Congress of the nation was called upon to grant some relief to the unfortunate survivors. A Bill was introduced by Mr. Dorsey, of Maryland, to grant *six months pay* to the families of those gallant men who had perished while in the service of their country. By a reference to the Journal of the House of Representatives, for the session of 1829-'30, the following proceedings will be found:

Thursday, February, 1830—An Act for the relief of the WIDOWS and ORPHANS of the OFFICERS, SEAMEN, and MARINES of the Sloop of War *Hornet*, "was read a third time, and the question being stated, "*Shall the bill pass?*"

A motion was made, by Mr. Test, that the said bill be recommitted to the Committee on Naval Affairs, with instructions to amend the same by striking out these words: "and, if there be no parent, then the brothers and sisters;" so as to exclude brothers and sisters from the benefits proposed to be granted to the relatives of the OFFICERS, SEAMEN, and MARINES, on board of the sloop of war *Hornet*, at the time of her loss. And on the question, Shall the said bill be recommitted with the instructions aforesaid? it was decided in the negative—MR. POLK VOTING IN THE AFFIRMATIVE. See House Journal, 1st session, 21st Congress, page 309.

The question was then put, Shall the bill pass? Yeas 138, nays 42—Mr. Polk voting in the negative, and against granting any relief to

the widows and orphans of the lost crew. See House Journal, 1st session, 21st Congress, page 309.

Thus the records of the country establish, that James K. Polk voted AGAINST granting to the widows and orphans of the brave tars who were lost in the *Hornet*—THE SLIGHT RELIEF OF SIX MONTHS' PAY—as a mark of the sympathy and regard of the nation.

(H.) It is well known that the venerable and illustrious James Monroe made heavy and personal sacrifices of his private property to aid in carrying on the revolutionary war, and this was one of the principal causes which led a grateful republic to elevate him to its chief magistracy. Having spent his life in the military, diplomatic and civil service of the country, he left the Presidency, the goal of human ambition in this free land, a poor and needy man. The nation, however, owed him a debt of dollars as well as gratitude, and paid it to him—the tory blood of Mr. Polk inducing him to vote against the measure of gratitude and justice, properly meted out to the venerable patriot.

(I.) When Mr. Polk was a candidate for re-election as Governor, Gov. Jones, who beat him all to smash, knocked him into a cocked hat, by proving on him that, in the last war with Great Britain, he removed to Maury County, to avoid standing a draft, when the militia, the citizen soldiers, were called out to defend the soil of their country against the invader. The Editor of the Jonesboro' (Tennessee) Whig says—"The locos must not talk of Polk's services on the field of battle, or we will point them to the day, on which the valiant Colonel fled from Rutherford county to Maury, when a young man, to avoid being drafted and called out into the service of his country."

(J.) On the 1st February, 1831, Mr. Washington presented, in the House of Representatives, a statement of the Mayor of Washington, relative to the sufferings of the poor of that city, from the extreme rigor of the winter. There was, at the time more wood at the Capitol than would be needed for the use of Congress. Mr. W. moved that thirty cords be placed at the disposal of the Mayor, for the benefit of the chilled and shivering sons and daughters of poverty. The motion was carried by a decisive and humane majority, Mr. Polk voting in the negative—saying "it was a bad example" and "undignified, for legislators to become overseers of the poor, to hoard up wood and deal it out to the paupers of the district." It is clear, that the grandson of a tory, the foe of revolutionary pensioners, and the dodger of a militia draft, is not the poor man's friend. It is said, that after this charity had been granted by Congress, Mr. P. endeavored to escape the obloquy of his opposition by countenancing the proposition of some one that each member should contribute a day's pay to the same end, but, as far as is known and believed, the measure was not executed by any one.

N. B. Since the foregoing note was written, another instance of Mr. Polk's want of charitable feeling has come to light. In the month

of January, 1827, a most destructive fire occurred in Alexandria, (D. C.). For a considerable period the devouring element raged unchecked, and, when it was finally extinguished, upwards of eighty houses had been consumed. It was in the depth of winter, and the rigor of the cold was excessive. Hundreds of the inhabitants were turned into the streets, many with the loss of all they possessed. The stoutest hearts were appalled. On every side were to be seen objects for pity and commiseration. In this emergency, the Mayor and Citizens of the town petitioned Congress for aid to the houseless and homeless population. The House of Representatives suspended all other business, to pass an appropriation of a few thousands for the relief of their suffering fellow citizens. When the final action on the question was had, James K. Polk voted against it, and thus refused to sanction this generous exhibition of the national charity.

(K.) On the 28th June, 1832, Mr. Clay offered the following resolution:

"Resolved, by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America, in Congress assembled, that a joint committee of both Houses wait on the President of the United States of America, and request that he recommend a day; to be designated by him, of public humiliation, prayer and fasting, to be observed by the people of the United States, with religious solemnity, and with fervent supplication to Almighty God, that He will be graciously pleased to continue his blessings upon our country and that He will avert from it the Asiatic scourge which has reached our borders—or, if in the dispensation of his Providence, we are not to be exempted from the calamity, that, through his bountiful mercy, its severity may be mitigated, and its duration shortened."

Mr. Clay supported the resolution, in a brief but beautiful and touching speech, in which he graphically and eloquently described the ravages of the pestilential scourge, declared that he had "always had a profound respect for Christianity, the religion of his fathers, and for its rites, usages and observances," and counselled the propriety, in times of national or individual distress, of appealing to that BEING, who is alone able to afford adequate relief. Mr. Frelinghuysen, the truly virtuous and pious Frelinghuysen, eloquently seconded the resolution, because "it was our duty devoutly, and in the conviction of our entire dependence on God, to ask for the interference of His mercy."—(Niles' Register, Vol. 42, pp. 243, 344.) The resolution was passed—Yeas 30, Nays 13. In the House of Representatives, on the 5th July following, Mr. Polk, in a large minority voted to lay the resolution on the table—Yeas 46, Nays 91. On the 9th July, he again voted to lay it on the table, and the motion for that purpose having failed, on motion of Mr. Bell, the resolution was referred to a Select Committee.—(See Journ. II. of R. 1832, pp. 1094, 1110.)

(L.) On a motion, in the House of Representatives, December 15, 1836, to appoint a committee

to investigate certain grave charges, against certain functionaries of the government, of outrage and frauds practised upon the Seminole Indians, which led to the Florida war, the Hon. Bailie Peyton, of Tennessee, spoke as follows—"Let it also be remembered that the Committee of Indian Affairs unanimously recommended an inquiry into the abuses of that bureau, which would have developed the cause of the late and present Indian wars in the South. The committee reported a resolution, authorizing any two of its members to prosecute the inquiry by taking testimony for the information of the House, at this session. But, sir, this resolution, reported by a committee, a majority of whom were in favor of Mr. Van Buren, was rejected in the House. The citizens of Georgia and Alabama petitioned and implored the House to investigate that subject, alleging the most unheard-of frauds and abuses. Upon this application the vote stood, ayes 77, noes 77, a *lie*, and the Speaker [JAMES K. POLK] gave the *casting vote against* the investigation. Sir, men high in favor and high in office were suspected. The agent of the Government, John B. Hogan, gave the Department official information of the greatest outrages, practised upon the Indians, which were ever perpetrated upon any people, savage or civilized. He was very soon removed, or rather promoted, from Indian agent, to be collector at the port of Mobile. And yet, sir, we have no account of prosecutions, convictions and punishments which have followed his disclosures. Why, sir, those speculators, or rather Indian robbers, would find an old chief upon his patrimonial estate, where the chiefs and kings of his race had lived for centuries before him, with his slaves and his farm around him, smoking his pipe amidst his own forest trees, spurning any offer to purchase his home, and they would bribe some vagabond Indian to personate him in a trade to sell his lands, forging his name, and the first intimation that he would have of the transaction would be his expulsion by force from his house! This was common, and not only so, but, under the pretext of reclaiming fugitive slaves, the wives and children (of mixed blood) of the Indians were seized and carried off in bondage. The famous Ocoola himself had his wife taken from him, and that, too, it has been said, by a *Government officer*, and was chained by this same officer to a log: Sir, what else could be expected but that these scourged, plundered, starving savages would glut their vengeance by the indiscriminate slaughter of the innocent and helpless families of the frontier, whose blood has cried to us in vain? This has caused the Florida war, which has produced such a waste of treasure, the loss of so much national and individual honor, and of so many valuable lives! This has called the gallant volunteers from my own State, and from my own district, who have traversed a thousand miles to fight the battle of strangers—to contend with a savage foe, while drinking those stagnant waters whose malaria is death, many of whom are left in the wild woods of Florida, "where the foe and the stranger will tread o'er their heads," while their fellow-soldiers are far away, happy at home with their friends and families. Ouc—ah! sir, any one of those noble

youths who now sleep under a foreign sod—was worth more than the whole army of plunderers who have caused the mischief. And yet, sir, such men as these were shielded, at the last session of Congress, by the casting vote of the Speaker [JAMES K. POLK]."—*Whig Standard.*

(M.) Mr. Polk, it is true, wrote a letter in favor of annexation generally, but he equivocally kept silent as to whether he was in favour of annexation on the fraudulent and deceptive terms of the infamous Tyler treaty. A Whig Committee accordingly questioned him on this point, and, although they *quoted* upon him *verbatim* his own repeated declarations that candidates for public office ought to answer fully, when questioned by voters, on matters of public concern, he has obstinately or rather prudently stood mute, lest he should lose Northern Anti-Texas votes.

The letter of the Committee bears date June 20, 1844, and simply inquires, "What we are to understand by his declaring that he is in favor of the *immediate* annexation of Texas to the United States? Whether he is in favor of the ratification of the treaty recently submitted by the President to the Senate, and if not, upon what principle he advocates such annexation?" For thus standing mute, Mr. Polk stands thus self-condemned—

Extract from Gov. Polk's answer to the Members' interrogatories, dated Columbia, May 15, 1843.

"The chief, if not the only value of the right of suffrage consists in the fact, that it may be exercised *understandingly* by the constituent body. It is so, whether the immediate constituency consists of the Legislature, or of the people in their primary capacity, in the election of their executive or legislative agents. In either case the constituent has A RIGHT to know the opinions of the candidate before he casts his vote."

(N.) While Mr. Polk was Governor of Tennessee, that is before he was ejected by Gov. Jones from that office, he was presented by a Grand Jury of Sevier county, "as a nuisance for neglect of his official duty as Governor, and for conduct derogatory to the dignity of the office and to the character of a gentleman."

(O.) At the close of the session of Congress, March 2, 1839, when Mr. Elmore, of S. C., moved a vote of thanks to Mr. Polk, for the "able, impartial and dignified manner," in which he had presided, Gen. Crabb, of Alabama, then in Congress, and who, by a recent summerset or harlequin frolic, has jumped into the arms of Mr. Polk, was one of the 57 who properly refused to the *partisan*, the courtesy due to the *patriot*.

(P.) The following is a laughable extract from Mr. Hardin's (of Illinois) speech in Congress, showing up Mr. Payne, of Alabama, the former reviler, but present eulogist of Mr. Polk, in a most felicitous style.

"Did gentlemen forget how, in 1841, they had abused the Whigs for bringing forward Gen. Har-

riason, and how they had charged the party with giving up their principles for the sake of an available man? What had they brought up James K. Polk for? Had any man here or in the nation been for him? No; but because he was an *available* candidate. But there were some documents upon the subject of availability to which he wished to call the particular attention of gentlemen. Mr. H. read from an article in "the Globe," of January 8, 1844, contrasting the claims for the Vice-Presidency of James K. Polk and Wm. R. King, (there was not a man in the United States; he said, who at that time dreamed of Mr. Polk as a candidate for the Presidency,) the following extract:

'Finally, the political condition of their respective States is another point of preference for Mr. King. Alabama is Democratic; Tennessee is Federal Whig. One is helping, the other is injuring, the Democratic cause. The red-hot shot of Tennessee are now fired into the Democratic ship. [And I trust they will set her on fire and burn her to the water's edge.] This may be a misfortune, and not the fault of that former Democratic State, and her present public men. Still, it is a misfortune which entails a consequence, and which involves a serious consideration in the selection of a Vice-Presidential candidate.'

'In such a contest the Democracy has no compliments to spare to unfortunate States, by carrying the burden of the public men who cannot bring their own State into the Democratic line. They want strength, not weakness.'

'They want strength, not weakness,' continued Mr. H. Did not the gentleman from Alabama write that sentence in that communication? If the gentleman denies it not, I say he did.

Mr. Payne said no man was to infer any thing, the one way or the other, from his silence.

Mr. Hardin. If the gentleman says it is not true, I will take it back.

Mr. Payne. I believe so. I do not know whether I wrote it or not. [Laughter].

Mr. Hardin said he would read another article, relative to the claims to the Vice-Presidency of James K. Polk, and the gentleman might have his choice of the two, as to which he had written. He read from 'the Globe' of Jan. 19, 1844, the following extracts from a communication, in reply to a previous one in that paper, with the signature of 'A Tennessee Democrat:'

'But why attack Col. King? Why advert to his earliest legislative history? Does he feel that the political capital of Gov. Polk is quite too limited to secure a nomination from the Republican party, unless he can pull down the fame of others whose shadow has fallen across the path of his posthumous bantling for the Vice-Prsidency? If so, let me warn 'A Tennessee Democrat' that his disparagement of Col. King will add nothing to the political capital of Gov. Polk.

'But if he will convince me that there is a well founded suspicion—a reasonable doubt—of the personal courage of Col. King, I pronounce him, without hesitation or qualification, totally unfit for the office of Vice-President of the United States. I care not how honorable a man may be, if he is a coward he *cannot maintain* his honor; and hence

it is *such* a man is disqualified for the office of Vice President.

'Now, sir, Col. King has never been insulted, day after day; and, above all, he was never caught roughly by the arm, when escaping from the Capitol, pulled round, and told that he was the '*contemptible tool* of a petty tyrant?' I pledge my head, if he is ever so treated, he will resent the insult in the proper way. Will 'A Tennessee Democrat' do the same in regard to Gov. Polk?'

'What are the facts in regard to Gov. Polk? He has been twice *repudiated* in his own State by large majorities—defeated by an inexperienced politician; and it is not pretended that his name would add one *particle* of strength to the ticket in any State of this Union. Why, then, talk of *his* election as the candidate of the party?'

'Again, we are told, 'if, on the contrary, you do not run Gov. Polk, you may lose Tennessee.' Will the selection of Gov. Polk prevent the result? He has been run twice for Governor of that State lately, and has been defeated both times most signally. This would seem to be *conclusive* that Tennessee *cannot be carried* by the Democracy if Gov. Polk is upon the ticket. If this be a legitimate conclusion, it is due to the principles we profess, not to jeopard their success by *vain* attempts to *force upon the people of Tennessee* a man whom they have twice refused to honor, notwithstanding the supposed 'deep, bold and lasting impress, left by Gov. Polk on our public affairs.'

'The truth is, it will not do, Gov. Polk has no greater claims upon the people of this Union than any other man of equal ability who has faithfully maintained the principles of his party. There are now at least one hundred men in the Union who have served their party as long, as ably, and as faithfully as Gov. Polk; whose claims are fully equal in every respect to his; but whose names have never been mentioned in connexion with the Vice-Presidency, and possibly never will be.

'I therefore respectfully suggest to 'A Tennessee Democrat' to abandon that system of puffing, blowing, and swelling, by which a toad may be magnified into the dimensions of an ox; or, if he still wishes to persevere, let him do so upon the merits of his own *subject*, and not upon the demerits of others.'

'Wont that show the gentleman in capitals,' continued Mr. H., that this "posthumous bantling for the Vice-Presidency"—is not 'AVAILABLE.' And yet they talk of electing him *President* by a triumphant majority! It reminded him of what a delegate to that Convention, in speaking of the nomination, had said to him—'It never did occur to me that we would have to manufacture a candidate for the Presidency, and that out of so small materials.'"

(Q.) The following is a spirited sketch of the merited application of the scorpion lash of ridicule, by Mr. Peyton, of Tennessee, at the last session of Congress, to the old Federalists turned Democrats, and their man of all work, their Caleb Quoten, the Hon. James K. Polk.

'As to the charge of Federalism, which had been brought against the Whigs, who, he asked, were

they who were in favor of giving to the President the kingly power of destroying the legislation of both Houses of Congress at his mere will and pleasure? Was it the Whigs? Mr. Clay was against this power; he held that that ought to be the law of the land, which the People's Representatives in both branches of the Legislature declared should be the law; but the Democrats, *par excellence*, were for vesting all power in one man, and allowing him to cut the heads off of as many legislative acts as might suit his own notions or selfish purposes. Of these two classes of persons, which were the Federalists and which the Republicans?

"But to quit principles, and go a little into the *personelle* of Federalism. Where were the Federalists actually found? he referred to the old anti-war Federalists of '98? In his own district, where the Whigs had a majority of 1,000 votes, it had been his lot to be elected over a gentleman of most amiable and irreprouchable character—a gentleman in the fullest sense of the term—who had been brought out by the Democratic party, in the hope of getting the influence of the Hero of the Hermitage, because he was the nephew of his wife; but he was a Federalist, and, even within pistol shot of the den of the roaring lion, the Whigs got a majority, and counted a majority of not less than 500 votes in the Hermitage district. But to the charge that the Whigs were Federalists! He would begin with James Buchanan; and what had formerly been his sentiments? [Here Mr. P. read extracts, which were certainly of a pretty high-toned Federal character]. Then there was the Hon. Reuel Williams; he, Mr. P. believed, was now held to be a light of democracy in the State of Maine. This gentleman had burnt James Madison in effigy, because he was in favor of war with Great Britain. Then we had Gen'l Wall, of New Jersey, who had declared that he would war under the Federal flag so long as it continued to wave. Mr. Henry Hubbard was another Democrat and Dorrite of the very first water; yet he had voted to send delegates to the Hartford Convention. Another very distinguished gentleman of the Democratic ranks, and now, he believed, a prominent member of Congress—one Charles Jared Ingersoll—had declared that, had he been capable of reflection in the days of the Revolution, he would have been a Tory. That gentleman was most courteous in his deportment, and had always treated Mr. P. with the utmost personal kindness. He meant him no offence or injury; and if the assertion he had now made as his was incorrect, he [Mr. P.] would instantly take it back. The gentleman was present, and could deny it, if it was untrue. [Mr. I. retained his seat.] Mr. P. next quoted a very fiery article indeed, from the pen of J. H. Prentiss, a Van Buren member of Congress. This gentleman declared it gave him infinite pleasure to be able to announce (in his paper) the triumph of Federalism. Was he a Democrat? Then came William Cullen Bryant, the author of a poetical eulogy [of no very flattering kind, as it seemed] on Thomas Jefferson. [Mr. P. quoted from this poem, a sort of mock heroic.]

Now, then, he would again inquire, where was Federalism to be found? He thought he had placed it on the right side of the party-dividing line.

[Mr. Ingersoll here asking the loan of the book, from which the above quotations had been made, Mr. P. replied. "Take good care of it, and do not derange the contents; it is an excellent magazine of Whig ammunition, and I mean to draw on it for some missiles, I hope, to hurl at the polk-stalks of Tennessee."]

And now as to this farce of a nomination, at Baltimore. A distinguished gentleman from N. York so denominated it publicly, and without the slightest reserve; declaring openly that it ought to meet with no respect from the country, and that James K. Polk could not get one electoral college, unless that of South Carolina, and that would depend on the mere whim and caprice of Mr. Calhoun.

[This announcement produced very great sensation in the House.]

Mr. Stetson, of New York, inquired of Mr. P. who the New York member referred to was?

Mr. Peyton replied, that, for the name of the gentleman and all the circumstances, he would refer the gentleman to the Hon. Mr. Black, of S. C. He would tell him who he was.

Mr. Stetson repeated his inquiry, observing that the statement had taken him completely by surprise.

Mr. Peyton replied, it was a member on this floor, a distinguished member of the House, a great friend of Mr. Van Buren, and, in fact, considered as his right-hand man here. That gentleman had declared that Mr. Polk could not get the vote of one electoral college, unless in South Carolina, and that depended on the whim and caprice of Mr. Calhoun. If the gentleman would apply to the honorable gentleman from South Carolina he would get all the information he desired.

Mr. P. was about proceeding in his speech, when

Mr. Stetson again interposed, (Mr. P. not yielding the floor;) and said, that as Mr. P. was the only one who had referred to the member from the New York delegation, it was to him alone he ought to apply for his name.

Mr. Peyton said he would not be thus interrupted; there was a point where courtesy ceased to be a virtue.

A majority of the members of the late Convention went to Baltimore instructed and pledged to vote for Mr. Van Buren; and the Globe, before the Convention assembled, charged whoever should do otherwise with treachery. And what was the result? A majority did vote for Mr. Van Buren; but for this most democratic of Democracies a simple majority was not enough. True, Thomas Jefferson thought it ought to rule, and held the maxim true, *vox populi, vox Dei*, from which there was no appeal but to arms, which he held to be the appeal of tyrants. But these Democrats were not content with Jeffersonian Democracy. A bare majority was not enough for them: they must have two-thirds. A gentleman here had said, that with the Texas feeling in his favor their candidate would get the votes of a majority of the people of the United States. A majority! Suppose he did, that would not do. According to the Baltimore doctrine, he must have two-thirds to elect him. He hoped gentlemen would carry out their own principles. The nomination of James K. Polk would fall on the ears of the people of this country, like a thunder clap in a

very clear day. No; that was too grand, too terrific, a figure; it would strike them like the phenomenon in the ancient proverb. After all the mountains in the land had so long been in labor, out slipped a ridiculous mouse. James K. Polk a candidate for the Presidency! A man never dreamed of, and (if we were to believe the Globe) a man not qualified for the place. There had been, in that paper, a recent war between a Tennessee Democrat and an Alabama Democrat. One of these excellent Democrats was opposed to Mr. King as a candidate for the Vice-Presidency, because he had not signalized himself in the history of the country, and had no memorials to distinguish his name. The other tauntingly observed, that this came with but a bad grace from one who advocated James K. Polk, whom he charged, in substance, with being a coward, and unworthy of being Vice-President on that ground, and, in support of the charge, brought up a scene between Mr. Polk, when Speaker, and Mr. Wise, of Virginia, who, as they were retiring from this Hall, took him by the arm, and said; 'You are the poor petty tool of a tyrant; take that.' The question would then seem very naturally to arise, if Mr. Polk was too much of a coward to be Vice-President, how fit is he to be commander-in-chief of the army and navy? He proclaimed himself for annexation. Now, suppose annexation should lead to war, would the Alabama Democracy support such a candidate to be commander of the army and navy? These were Mr. Polk's qualifications in a military point of view. What were his political ones? Why, he had been found, during his public career, on every side of every important question. Had he originated or given a prominent and leading support to any great measure, or any great and controlling system of policy? None. He had never risen higher than to be a mere second rate man—a tool and follower of some other man. This had been his character all his life. He had been the instrument and subservient tool of Andrew Jackson, to do his bidding, whatever that might be. Never had he been found one thousandth part of an inch from Jackson's track, wind and turn as it might. However contradictory his measures or opinions might be, those were the measures and those the opinions of the obedient Mr. Polk.

This was what the great Democratic party had brought out for the four-mile heat at the fall races! A little, beaten, broken-winded, foundered, spring-halt, shuffling, spavined, bob-tail nag, of Tennessee, to run against the great Eclipse! [Much laughter, and some punning among the Democratic members.] There was a turning up of the nose, a sense of the ridiculous, in the mere idea of the parallel. One had been identified with all the great events and measures in our political history for the last forty years. A man—ay—every inch a man, in heart and intellect, in firmness, grasp, and comprehension of mind—a whole head and shoulders above any man that ever had set his foot-print on this continent, save one only. When the tyrant power of Great Britain was seizing our citizens, and confining them in the loathsome dungeon of a prison ship, whose voice was it that sounded in

thunder tones of indignation through the land, loud and long and deep, till the injury was redressed?—Henry Clay. And when another crisis arose in our affairs—a crisis, which shook the Government of the country to its centre, which caused the good man and the patriot to turn pale, and made Jefferson himself declare that it struck upon his spirit like an alarm bell in the dread hour of night, who was it that came to the rescue, threw himself into the breach, and saved his country?—Henry Clay. And then, in that other critical and trying hour, when the flag of disunion was raised in South-Carolina, and the laws of the Union were resisted at the cannon's mouth, while we had in the chair of State a man of iron nerve and lion heart, who swore by the Eternal that the laws should be executed, and that if one gun was fired by South-Carolina, "he would hang Calhoun and McDuffie, and Hayne and Hamilton, and the other leaders of the rebellion, as high as Haman," who was it that came again as our deliverer, with a heart deeply penetrated by the crisis of his country's fate, and, casting on the issue all he held dear in life, once more, by his prudence, moderation and skill, assuaged the angry elements, and rescued this fair land from the horrors of civil discord? It was Henry Clay. When the hour of danger came, there was he: and wherever he came, danger was quelled, disorder fled, and public prosperity smiled upon her restorer. Now, look on this picture and on that—the counterfeit presentment of two candidates. "Tis Hyperion to a Satyr." As well compare a mousing owl to the imperial bird of Jove, that sprang aloft and soared into the very sun.

Mr. P. wished to say a few more words on this Gen. Polk—no, not general, he never rose quite as high as that.

A voice. 'Colonel Polk.'

Another voice. 'Governor Polk.'

A third voice. 'President Polk.'

Well, Governor Polk, then. He had a document in his hand, which would show what were General Jackson's sentiments in relation to a protective tariff, so vehemently opposed by Mr. Polk. He would read them.

Mr. Hale suggested that, in his own case, the doctrine had been insisted on that no paper could be read by a member in his place, without leave of the House.

Mr. Peyton bowed respectfully to the very orderly gentleman from New-Hampshire—the same, he believed, who had voted "No" on a vote of acceptance and thanks, when the venerable and illustrious gentleman from Massachusetts [Mr. Adams] had presented the memorial of Washington's labors in the field—a scene that drew tears from many a manly eye, which held this House in deep silence, while the very air seemed sacred, and the place hallowed by the memory of the Father of his country. At such a moment it was, that one solitary member, with a voice as strong as the blast of a blacksmith's bellows, had uttered that monosyllable of his own renown. What! would the gentleman muzzle the press? Would not he let him read a paper? Might not the Clerk read it, then?

[Mr. Hale said the gentleman entirely mistook him, and wished to explain; but Mr. P. would not spare the time.

The Clerk then read a letter from Gen. Jackson to Dr. Golding, in which reference is made to the Tariff.]”

What letter of Gen. J. is here referred to is not known, but the following extract from one of his annual messages to Congress, shows his real views on the constitutionality and expediency of a protective tariff—and if Young Hickory be indeed a chip of the old block, what are anti-tariffites to expect of him?

“The power to impose duties on imports originally belonged to the several States. *The right to adjust these duties, with a view to the encouragement of industry, is so completely incidental to that power, that it is difficult to suppose the existence of one without the other.* The States have delegated their whole authority over imports to the General Government, without limitation or restriction, saving the very inconsiderable reservation relating to their inspection laws. This authority having thus entirely passed from the States, the right to exercise it for the purpose of protection, does not exist in them, and, consequently, *if it be not possessed by the General Government, it must be extinct.* OUR POLITICAL SYSTEM WOULD THUS PRESENT THE ANOMALY OF A PEOPLE STRIPPED OF THE RIGHT TO FOSTER THEIR OWN INDUSTRY; AND TO COUNTERACT THE MOST SELFISH AND DESTRUCTIVE POLICY WHICH MIGHT BE ADOPTED BY FOREIGN NATIONS. This surely cannot be the case; this indispensable power, thus surrendered by the States, must be within the scope of the authority, on this subject, expressly delegated to Congress.” *Pres. Jackson’s Message to Congress, Dec. 6, 1830.*

(R.) *Correspondence between Bolivar & Mr. Clay.*
BOLIVAR TO MR. CLAY.

Bogota, November 21, 1827.

Sir,—I cannot omit availing myself of the opportunity afforded me by the departure of Colonel Watts, Charge d’Affaires of the United States, of taking the liberty to address your excellency. This desire has long been entertained by me, for the purpose of expressing my admiration of your excellency’s brilliant talents and ardent love of liberty. All America, Colombia, and myself, owe your excellency our purest gratitude, for the incomparable services you have rendered to us, by sustaining our course with a sublime enthusiasm. Accept, therefore, this sincere and cordial testimony, which I hasten to offer to your excellency and to the government of the United States, who have so greatly contributed to the emancipation of your Southern brethren.

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

Your excellency’s obedient servant,
BOLIVAR.

MR. CLAY TO BOLIVAR.

Washington, October 27, 1828.

Sir,—It is very gratifying to me, to be assured directly by your excellency, that the course which

the government of the United States took on this memorable occasion, and my humble efforts, have excited the gratitude and commanded the approbation of your excellency. I am persuaded that I do not misinterpret the feelings of the people of the United States, as I certainly express my own, in saying that the interest which was inspired in this country by the arduous struggles of South America, arose principally from the hope that along with its independence would be established free institutions, insuring all the blessings of civil liberty. To the accomplishing of that object we still anxiously look. We are aware that great difficulties oppose it, among which not the least is that which arises out of the existence of a large military force, raised for the purpose of resisting the power of Spain.—Standing armies, organized with the most patriotic intentions, are dangerous instruments. They devour the substance, debauch the morals, and too often destroy the liberties of a people. Nothing can be more perilous or unwise, than to retain them after the necessity has ceased which led to their formation, especially if their numbers are disproportioned to the revenues of the State.

But, notwithstanding all these difficulties, we had fondly cherished and still indulge the hope that South America would add a new triumph to the cause of human liberty, and that Providence would bless her, as He had her Northern sister, with the genius of some great and virtuous man, to conduct her securely through all her trials. We had even flattered ourselves that we beheld that genius in your excellency. But I should be unworthy the consideration with which your excellency honors me, and deviate from the frankness which I have ever endeavored to practice, if I did not, on this occasion state that ambitious designs have been attributed by your enemies, to your excellency, which have created in my mind great solicitude. They have cited recent events in Colombia as proofs of these designs. But slow, in the withdrawal of confidence which I have once given, I have been most unwilling to credit the unfavorable accounts which have, from time to time, reached me. I cannot allow myself to believe, that your excellency will abandon the bright and glorious path which lies plainly before you, for the bloody road passing over the liberties of the human race, on which the vulgar crowd of tyrants and military despots have so often trodden. I will not doubt that your excellency will, in due time, render a satisfactory explanation to Colombia, and to the world, of the parts of your public conduct which have excited any distrust, and that preferring the true glory of our immortal Washington to the ignoble fame of the destroyers of liberty, you have formed the patriotic resolution of ultimately placing the freedom of Colombia upon a firm and sure foundation. That your efforts to that end may be crowned with complete success, I most fervently pray.

I request that your excellency will accept assurances of my sincere wishes for your happiness and prosperity.
H. CLAY.

(S) *Letter from Mr. Jefferson.*

MONTICELLO, May 25, 1823.

Dear Sir:—I have received your letter of the

14th of this month, and at the same time was delivered me, by Captain Barlow, a piece of domestic fabric called negro cloth, containing twenty-four yards, for my acceptance and inspection. I thank you for the kind and very flattering expressions contained in your letter and for the handsome present of the cloth. I should be happy to return you something more solid than empty thanks.

You ask my opinion of the American system. Relative to that somewhat absorbing question I should hope that the whole of my past life and policy had given a satisfactory reply. I have always been of opinion that the people of this nation should manufacture ALL the fabrics that their exigencies demand, if they can do so—and that they can do so without applying to the workshops of England, France, and Germany, who will doubt? Cotton and Woollen we make in rare abundance and of a quality quite good enough to answer all our wants and demands; why, then, should we travel to Europe for our supplies? For our silks and fine Linen we must for some time to come go to the workshops of Europe; but I apprehend that the day is not far distant when even they will be manufactured by NATIVE INDUSTRY.

You ask my opinion of the merits of Henry Clay and his policy for the protection of domestic industry and manufactures. These are questions which I feel some delicacy about answering, first because Mr. Clay is now a candidate for the Presidency, and secondly I never yet fully understood to what ends his policy extends; and although I will advise you of my opinions relative to the questions you put to me, I must beg that you will not at this juncture give my words to the public through the press. As for Mr. Clay, I consider him to be one of the most talented and brilliant men and statesmen that the country ever produced, and should I live many years longer, I HOPE TO SEE HIM HOLD THE PLACE OF CHIEF EXECUTIVE OF THE AMERICAN REPUBLIC! His career thus far in life has been a career of glory, and he has achieved that for his country whilst engaged in his career, which would ornament the brightest place in the escutcheon of the most favored statesman of any age or nation! I say this much in reply to your interrogatories, but, as I said before, I do not wish to have my remarks given to the press, for the simple reason that this country is involved in a political excitement in which I am not disposed to take part, as I have long since resolved not to take part in the politics of the times.

My wrist, which is quite lame, admonishes me to discontinue this hasty note. With assurances of the most perfect respect, I am your obliged fellow citizen,

THOMAS JEFFERSON.

(T.) The Southern democrats endeavor to hold Mr. Clay up as a high tariff man, but the following extract, from his great Raleigh speech, will effectually silence the calumny.

"We must reject both the doctrines of free trade and of a high and exorbitant tariff. The parti-

sans of each must make some sacrifices of their peculiar opinions. They must find some common ground, on which both can stand, and reflect that, if neither has obtained all that it desires, it has secured something, and what it does not retain has been gotten by its friends and countrymen. There are very few who dissent from the opinion that, in time of peace, the federal revenue ought to be drawn from foreign imports, without resorting to internal taxation. Here is a basis for accommodation, and mutual satisfaction. *Let the amount which is requisite for an ECONOMICAL ADMINISTRATION OF THE GOVERNMENT*, when we are not engaged in war, be raised exclusively on foreign imports, and in adjusting a tariff, for that purpose, let SUCH DISCRIMINATIONS be made as will foster, and encourage our own domestic industry. All parties ought to be satisfied with a tariff for revenue and discriminations for protection. In thus settling this great and disturbing question, in a spirit of mutual concession and of amicable compromise, we do but follow the noble example of our illustrious ancestors, in the formation and adoption of our present happy constitution. It was that benign spirit that presided over all their deliberations, and it has been in the same spirit that all the threatening crises, that have arisen during the progress of the administration of the constitution, have been happily quieted and accommodated."

Mr. Clay predicting the Manufacturing Prosperity of the South.—In Mr. Clay's great speech, at Raleigh, N. C., he thus shadowed forth the coming conversion of the Southern portion of the Union into a manufacturing country:—

"The day will come, and is not distant, when the South will feel an imperative necessity voluntarily to make such a diversion of a portion of its labor. Considering the vast water power, and other facilities of manufacturing, now wasting and unemployed at the South, and its possession at home of the choice of the raw material, I believe the day will come when the Cotton region will be the greatest manufacturing region in the world."

The Free Trade of Great Britain and France.—Mr. Clay, in his Raleigh speech, thus hits off the pretended devotion of these two great European powers to the principle of free trade—the one taxing our tobacco alone with a revenue duty, equal to the whole amount of duty on our entire importation from all foreign countries, and the other, in one breath, complaining of our tariff of 1812, and declaring her own steady adherence to the protection of French industry!

"We are invited, by partizans of the doctrine of free trade, to imitate the liberal example of some of the great European powers. England, we are told, is abandoning her restrictive policy, and adopting that of free trade. England adopting the principles of free trade! Why, where are her Corn laws? Those laws, which exclude an article of prime necessity—the very bread which sustains human life—in order to afford protection to English agriculture. And, on the single article of American tobacco, England

levies annually an amount of revenue equal to the whole amount of duties, levied annually by the United States upon all the articles of import from all the foreign nations of the world, including England. That is her free trade! And as for France, we have lately seen a State paper, from one of her high functionaries, complaining in bitter terms of the American Tariff of 1842, and ending with formally announcing to the world that France steadily adhered to the system of protecting French industry!"

The free trade of Great Britain with this country may be judged of by the following passage, from the speech of the Hon. Eugenius A. Nesbit, of Georgia, in favor of the Tariff of 1842, at the last session of Congress:

"She taxes our wheat 50 per cent.; flour 50 per cent.; beef 59 per cent.; pitch 25 per cent.; rosin 75 per cent.; spirits of grain, 500 per cent.; rice 30 per cent.; butter 70 per cent.; spirits of molasses 1,600 per cent.; tobacco, unmanufactured, 1,000 per cent.; tobacco, manufactured, 1,200 per cent.; and yet she would induce us to pursue the policy of fostering her manufactures, artisans and mechanics, instead of fostering our own. Sir, I don't subscribe to the doctrine; and gentlemen must excuse me if I tell them that it is, in my opinion, unpatriotic and anti-American."

Mr. Calhoun on the Tariff.—In 1816, John Randolph, of Va., moved to repeal the *minimum*, or prohibitory duty, on low priced cottons, [which Mr. McDuffie now denounces as the most odious, infamous and unconstitutional of all unconstitutionalitys,] as both unconstitutional and against the principle of free trade—but Mr. Calhoun rose in his place, and in the course of an able, eloquent, convincing and triumphant argument, said—

"But it will no doubt be said, if they [the cotton and woollen manufactures] are so well established, and if the situation of the country is so favorable to their growth, where is the necessity of affording them *protection*? IT IS TO PUT THEM BEYOND THE REACH OF CONTINGENCY.

"Besides, circumstances, if we act with wisdom, are favorable to attract to our country much skill and industry. The country in Europe having the most skillful workmen is broken up. IT IS TO US, IF WISELY USED, MORE VALUABLE THAN THE REPEAL OF THE EDICT OF NANTZ WAS TO ENGLAND. She had the prudence to profit by it—let us not discover less political sagacity. AFFORD TO INGENUITY AND INDUSTRY IMMEDIATE AND AMPLE PROTECTION, and they will not fail to give a preference to this free and happy country.

"It [the manufacturing interest] PRODUCED AN INTEREST STRICTLY AMERICAN, AS MUCH SO AS AGRICULTURE: IN WHICH IT HAD THE DECIDED ADVANTAGE OF COMMERCE OR NAVIGATION. *The country will derive from this much advantage.* Again, it is CALCULATED TO BIND TOGETHER MORE CLOSELY OUR WIDELY SPREAD REPUBLIC. It will increase our mutual dependence and intercourse, and will, as a necessary consequence, excite an increased attention to IN-

TERNAL IMPROVEMENT, a subject every way so intimately connected with the ultimate attainment of national strength and the perfection of our political institutions. In his own opinion, THE LIBERTY AND THE UNION OF THIS COUNTRY WERE INSEPARABLY UNITED—"DISUNION"—THIS SIMPLE WORD COMPREHENDED ALMOST THE SUM OF OUR POLITICAL DANGERS AND AGAINST IT WE OUGHT TO BE PERPETUALLY GUARDED."—Mr. Calhoun's speech on the tariff of 1816.

"Mr. C. proceeded to another topic—the encouragement proposed to be afforded to the industry of the country. In regard to the question how far MANUFACTURES OUGHT TO BE FOSTERED, Mr. C. said it was THE DUTY OF THIS country, as a means of defence, TO ENCOURAGE the domestic industry of this country, more especially that part of it which provides the necessary materials for clothing and defence. * * * *The question relating to manufactures must not depend on the abstract principle that industry, left to pursue its own course, will find in its own interest all encouragement that is necessary.* I lay the claim of the manufacturers entirely out of view, said Mr. C., BUT ON GENERAL PRINCIPLES, without regard to their interest, a certain encouragement should be extended AT LEAST TO OUR WOOLLEN AND COTTON MANUFACTURES."—*Mr. Calhoun's Speech on Direct Taxation, 1816.*

(U.) *Annexation of Texas.*—Extract from Mr. Clay's letter dated

ASHLAND, JULY 27, 1844.

"But, gentlemen, you are anxious of knowing, by what policy I would be guided, in the event of my election as Chief Magistrate of the United States, in reference to the annexation of Texas. * * * I have no hesitation in saying that, far from having any personal objection to the annexation of Texas, I should be glad to see it without dishonor—without war—with the common consent of the Union, and upon just and fair terms."

"In the contingency of my election, to which you have adverted, if the affair of acquiring Texas should become a subject of consideration, I would be governed by the state of fact and the state of public opinion existing at the time I might be called upon to act. Above all, I should be governed by the paramount duty of preserving this Union entire, and in harmony, regarding it as I do as the great guaranty of every public and political blessing under Providence, which, as a free people, we are permitted to enjoy."

(V.) In January, 1839, Mr. Clay made his great anti-abolition speech in the Senate, because "he would rather be right than be President," from which the following is an extract:

"I am, Mr. President, (said Mr. Clay,) no friend to slavery. The searcher of hearts knows that every pulsation of mine beats high and strong in the cause of civil liberty. Whenever it is safe and practicable, I desire to see every portion of the human family in the enjoyment of it. BUT I PREFER THE LIBERTY OF MY OWN COUNTRY TO THAT OF ANY OTHER PEOPLE, AND

THE LIBERTY OF MY OWN RACE TO THAT OF ANY OTHER RACE. THE LIBERTY OF THE DESCENDANTS OF AFRICA IN THE UNITED STATES IS INCOMPATIBLE WITH THE SAFETY AND LIBERTY OF THE EUROPEAN DESCENDANTS. Their slavery forms an exception, resulting from a stern and inexorable necessity to the general liberty in the United States. We did not originate, nor are we responsible for this necessity. THEIR LIBERTY, IF IT WERE POSSIBLE, COULD ONLY BE ESTABLISHED, BY VIOLATING THE INCONTESTABLE POWERS OF THE STATES AND SUBVERTING THE UNION: and beneath the ruins of the Union would be buried, sooner or later, the liberty of both races." (See Speech of Mr. Clay, on a Petition to the Senate, against the abolition of slavery in the District of Columbia, Jan. 14, 1839.)

When Mr. Clay had closed this noble effort in favor of Southern rights and national harmony, our great Southern statesman, Mr. Calhoun, the man who has recently declared himself without a rival, or perhaps without an equal in devotion to the Union—rose in the Senate and thus publicly and nobly awarded the grateful tribute to the illustrious Kentuckian.

"Sir," said Mr. Calhoun, "I have heard the Senator from Kentucky with pleasure. His speech will have a happy effect, and will do much to consummate what had been already so happily begun, and successfully carried on towards completion.

"This," continued he, "is a great epoch. Of all the dangers to which we have ever been exposed, this has been the greatest. We may now consider it as passed. The resolutions to which he referred, with the following movements, gave the fatal blow, to which the position now assumed by the Senator from Kentucky, has given the finishing stroke."

After this noble testimony of the great Carolinian, to the fidelity of the great Kentuckian to Southern rights and Southern institutions, to the Constitution and to the country, who will dare to couple the name of the latter with the foul calumny of abolition?

On other occasions Mr. Clay made speeches, from which we make the following extracts:

"I beseech the abolitionists themselves solemnly to pause in their mad and fatal course. The liberty of the descendants of Africa could only be established by violating the incontestable powers of the States and subverting the Union."

"If I had been, or were now, a citizen of any of the planting States—the Southern or South-Western States—I should have opposed, and would continue to oppose, any scheme whatever of emancipation, gradual or immediate.

"I know there is a visionary dogma which holds that negro slaves cannot be the subjects of property. I shall not dwell long upon the speculative abstraction. That is property which the law declares to be property. Two hundred years have sanctioned and sanctified negro slaves as property.

"It is not true, and I rejoice that it is not true, that either of the two great parties of this country has any design or aim at abolition, I should

deeply lament if it were true." Clay's Speech in the Senate, Feb. 7th, 1839.

"I will now make a single remark on an unfortunate and delicate subject, [that of slavery.] At the commencement of the session that subject was before us, and I now repeat what I then declared, that if there should be an attack from any quarter on that great domestic institution of our section of the country, the Senator from South Carolina would never be found in front of me in defending our rights." Clay's Speech in the Senate, Jan. 28, 1837.

"He urged the importance of keeping the abolitionists separate and distinct from all other classes, unmixed with the rest of the community, without the general sympathy, and exposed to the overwhelming power of the united opinion of all who desire the peace, harmony and union of our confederacy." Clay's Speech on Calhoun's Resolutions, 1837.

"I WOULD SUFFER THE TORTURES OF AN INQUISITION BEFORE I WOULD SIGN A BILL, having for its object the abolition of slavery in the District of Columbia, or in any manner give countenance to the project." Clay's Speech in 1841.

In addressing a large assemblage of slave holders, in Raleigh, North-Carolina, in April last, Mr. Clay, after discussing other topics, spoke as follows of abolition:

"On the subject of abolition, I am persuaded it is not necessary to say one word to this enlightened assemblage. My opinion was fully expressed in the Senate of the United States, a few years ago, and the expression of it was one of the assigned causes of my not receiving the nomination as a candidate for the Presidency in December, 1839. But if there be any one who doubts, or desires to obtain further information about my views, in respect to that unfortunate question, I refer him to Mr. Mendenhall, of Richmond, Indiana."

It will be remembered, that, on the 1st Oct., 1841, at Richmond, Indiana, Mr. Mendenhall, a prominent member of the abolition party, presented a petition to Mr. Clay to manumit his slaves. After a brief appeal to his friends not to mob Mr. Mendenhall, nor offer him any violence or indignity, Mr. Clay, addressing Mr. M., said:

"Excuse me, Mr. Mendenhall, for saying, that my slaves are as well fed and clad, look as sleek and hearty, and are quite as civil and respectful in their demeanor, and are as little disposed to wound the feelings of any one, as you are. * * * * Go home and mind your own business, and leave other people to take care of theirs. * * * * I own about 60, (slaves) who are probably worth about fifteen thousand dollars. To turn them loose upon society, without any means of subsistence or support, would be an act of cruelty. Are you willing to raise and secure the payment of fifteen thousand dollars for their benefit if I should free them? The security of the payment of that sum would materially lessen the obstacles in the way of their emancipation."

From the Lexington Inquirer.

Our readers will recollect our comments up-

on an article in the Gazette, making such ado about "Whiggery courting Abolition." The direct appeal of the Gazette to Mr. Clay's benevolence, is met by him as such appeals always have been and always will be.

We trust all fears and apprehensions will now be quieted.

Ashland, Sept. 2d, 1844.

The editor of a neighboring print, (the Kentucky Gazette, of Lexington,) calling my attention to a letter of C. M. Clay, Esq., under date of the 10th July, 1844, and addressed to Col. J. J. Speed, of Ithaca, has appealed to me, with so much earnestness and with a purpose of such *unaffected sincerity*, to say whether I approve or disapprove of that letter, that I have not the heart to deny to that editor the very great gratification which he will derive from the perusal of this note, especially when it gives me so little trouble to write it.

Mr. C. M. Clay's letter was written without my knowledge, without any consultation with me, and without any authority from me. I never saw it until I read it in the public prints. That gentleman is an independent citizen, having a perfect right to entertain and avow his own opinions. I am not responsible for them, as he is not for mine. So far as he ventures to interpret my feelings he has entirely misconceived them. I believe him to be equally mistaken as to those in the circle of my personal friends and neighbors generally.

In my speech, addressed to the Senate of the United States, and in resolutions which I offered to that body, in my address to Mr. Mendenhall, about two years ago, and on various other public occasions, I have fully, freely, and explicitly avowed my sentiments and opinions on the Institution of Slavery and Abolition. I adhere to them, without any reservation. I have neither entertained nor expressed, publicly or privately, any others. And my friends and neighbors generally, so far as I have interchanged sentiments with them, coincide with me.

The sentiments and opinions so expressed by me, may be briefly stated to be: 1st. That Congress has no power or authority over the institution of Slavery. 2d. That the existence, maintenance and continuance of that Institution, depend, exclusively, upon the power and authority of the respective States within which it is situated. And, 3d. That Congress cannot interfere with slavery in the District of Columbia, without a violation of good faith to the States of Maryland and Virginia, implied, if not expressed, in the terms, objects and purposes of the grant of ten miles square to the General Government.

So far from the success of the Whig cause having any injurious tendency, as has been alleged, I believe it will have a powerful effect in tranquilizing and harmonizing all parts of the Union, and in giving confidence, strength and security to all the great interests of our country.

I hope that your editorial neighbor will be now satisfied. And, as I trust that I do not ex-

aggerate the pleasure which this renewed expression of my views and opinions will give him, is it too much to anticipate that he will forthwith renounce the errors of his ways, and come straight out a staunch and sterling Whig.

Yours, respectfully,

H. CLAY.

ADDENDA.

MR. CLAY'S PRIVATE CHARACTER.—The maligners of Mr. Clay, having endeavored to stigmatize him as a gambler and a profligate, it is deemed proper to add to this speech the following testimonials from the Rev. Dr. H. B. Bascom, the able and pious President of Transylvania University, at Lexington, Kentucky, living in the same city with Mr. Clay, and his intimate and familiar friend.

Letters from the Rev. H. B. Bascom, D. D., President of the Transylvania University, and one of the most eloquent and distinguished preachers of the Methodist Episcopal Church, in reply to the Clay Club of Newark, N. J.:

Newark, July 9th, 1844.

Rev. Dr. BASCOM,

President of Transylvania University.

Rev. and Dear Sir—You will, I trust, pardon the liberty I take in writing to you, when I state that my object is to ascertain from you some testimony concerning the private character of the Hon. Henry Clay. I do this at the solicitation of many conscientious, upright men, who appear to have been led to regard Mr. C. as any thing but an honest and upright citizen—a Sabbath breaker—gambler—profane swearer, &c. I would respectfully ask if these things be so. It is not my wish to draw from you a letter for publication, and no public use will be made of your answer, my object being to ascertain how far these representations which are constantly repeated by the Democratic papers of the North are warranted by truth.

Your answer to the interrogatories will much oblige, Yours, very respectfully,

J. G. GOBLE,
Cor. Sec. Clay Club.

TRANSYLVANIA UNIVERSITY, }
Lexington, Ky., July 24th, 1844. }

My Dear Sir—In reply to your letter of the 9th inst., I owe it to *truth, virtue* and the *claims of society*, without any reference to the political strifes of the day, to say, I have been in intimate and confidential intercourse with the *Hon. H. Clay*, both in public and private life, for more than twenty years, and know the charges enumerated in your letter against the private character of Mr. Clay, to be *utterly and basely false*. Mr. Clay, as is known to the whole nation, offers no claim to Christian piety, in the parlance of our churches, but in view of the *ordinary accredited principles of good moral character*, no charge can be brought against him, without violating the obligations of truth and sound justice. To each interrogative charge, therefore, con-

tained in your letter, and reaching me in the shape of a *question*, I return for answer, that I regard one and all of them as shamefully *unjust*, because *not true*, in whole or in part.

Very respectfully,

Your obt' serv't,

H. B. BASCOM.

Dr. J. G. GOBLE.

After this full, explicit, and unequivocal testimony of one of the most distinguished divines of our country, we trust no reader can feel that there can be any further necessity of pursuing the reckless slanders of Mr. Clay. It is due to Mr. B., perhaps, that his reply to the letter, asking permission to publish the above, should be added, and so here it is.

TRANSYLVANIA UNIVERSITY, }
Lexington, (Ky.) August 7th, 1844. }

My Dear Sir—In your letter of the 9th July, you called upon me for information respecting the "*private character*" of my neighbor Mr. Clay, assuring me that "many conscientious, upright men," in your section, had been induced, by the representations of his enemies, to regard Mr. Clay as "*any thing but an honest and upright citizen—a Sabbath breaker—profane—gambler, &c.*" Your letter added, at the same time, that "no public use" would be made of my reply, should one be received from me. Thus appealed to, I expressed to you freely, in relation to the private character of Mr. Clay, what I regarded as due to him, to myself, and the community in which we live. I need scarcely add, that, called upon under similar circumstances, I should most cheerfully attest the good character of any of my neighbors, without reference to political relations or discussions, nor do I believe any of them would hesitate calling on me, to this effect, should it be found necessary.

In a second letter, just received from you, you ask permission to use my first at discretion, and as no injustice has been done to any one, by allowing you to do so, although my letter was written as private, I know of no good reason why I should withhold the permission you ask, and therefore accord it.

Very respectfully,

H. B. BASCOM.

Dr. J. GOBLE.

MR. CLAY'S STANDING AT HOME.—The Lincoln Telegraph publishes the following extracts from a letter, recently written by the Rev. Dr. Nash, a distinguished divine of the Episcopal Church, who has resided for ten years near Mr. Clay, and who fully corroborates Dr. Bascom's statement in reference to Mr. Clay's character. The paragraphs quoted show conclusively how the great statesman is regarded by the moral and religious men of his own neighborhood and State, who know him best. The letter is dated

"St. Albans, (Vt.) Aug. 21, 1844.

"As a criterion of the estimation in which he is held at home, it will not be out of place to state here—which I do unhesitatingly, having

had ample opportunities for ascertaining the truth—that Mr. Clay has the confidence and political support of a very large proportion of the moral worth, and, I may add, of a very large majority of the members of the different denominations, residing in Lexington. All of these, I believe, with one exception, are the friends of Mr. Clay; and most of them are frequent visitors at his house. There are about twenty Episcopal clergymen in Kentucky. All of these are the friends of Mr. Clay. Of the one hundred and five or ten clergymen—I do not recollect the exact number—composing the last conference of the Methodist Church of Kentucky, all but three, as I was informed by a member of the conference, are the political friends of Mr. Clay. I am not so accurately informed respecting the political opinions of the ministers of other denominations, as I am respecting the opinions of the ministers of the Episcopal Church; I am confident, however, that there is nearly, if not quite, as large a majority of these friendly to the election of Mr. Clay, as of those last mentioned. Out of the four or five hundred clergymen, of different denominations, in Kentucky, there are not, I am almost certain, fifty political opposers of Mr. Clay.

"The opinion of a great majority of the religious people (ministers and others) living in the neighborhood of, and immediately connected with, Mr. Clay, I am confident is, that if he is elected to the Presidency, there will be, while he continues President, a far healthier, moral influence around the Presidential chair, than there has been since J. Q. Adams' administration."

BARGAIN AND CORRUPTION.—The following testimonials, from political friend and political foe, will dispose of this stale slander:

"TESTIMONY OF MR. ADAMS.—Upon him (Mr. Clay) the foulest slanders have been showered. Long known and appreciated, as successively a member of both Houses of your National Legislature, as the unrivalled speaker, and at the same time most efficient leader of debates in one of them; as an able and successful negotiator for your interests, in war and in peace, with foreign powers, and as a powerful candidate for the highest of your trusts,—the Department of State itself was a station which, by its bestowal, could confer neither profit nor honor upon him, but upon which he has shed unfading honor by the manner in which he discharged its duties. Prejudice and passion have charged him with obtaining that office by bargain and corruption. *Before you, fellow citizens, in the presence of our country and of Heaven, I PRONOUNCE THAT CHARGE TOTALLY UNFOUNDED.* This tribute of justice is due from me to him, and I seize with pleasure the opportunity afforded me, by your letter, of discharging the obligation."

"Again, Mr. Adams, in his address in the Presbyterian Church at Maysville, in responding to the declaration of Gen. Collins, 'that he [Mr. Adams] had placed Kentucky under deep and lasting obligations to him, for his noble de-

fence of her great statesman, in his letter to the Whigs of New-Jersey,' replied as follows :

"I thank you, sir, for the opportunity you have given me of speaking of the great statesman who was associated with me in the administration of the General Government, at my earnest solicitation; who belongs not to Kentucky alone but to the whole Union; and is not only an honor to this State and this nation, but to mankind. The charges to which you refer, I have, after my term of office had expired, and it was proper for me to speak, denied before the whole country; and I here reiterate and reaffirm that denial; and as I expect shortly to appear before my God, to answer for the conduct of my whole life, should these charges have found their way to the Throne of Eternal Justice, I WILL, IN THE PRESENCE OF OMNIPOTENCE, PRO- NOUNCE THEM FALSE,"

TESTIMONY OF GENERAL JAMES HAMILTON, JUNR.—"It would, in my humble opinion, have been an act of supererogation on the part of Mr. Clay, to have made a bargain for what, by the force and gravity of political causes and geographical considerations, was inevitably his, without either his crime or his participation—an offer of a seat in Mr. Adams' cabinet. In accepting it, I have always understood he acted in conformity with the advice of some of the most influential supporters of Mr. Crawford, whose friends then occupied a position of neutrality between the two great parties of Gen. Jackson and Mr. Adams, although they soon after, it is true, became belligerents on our side. I sincerely believe that Mr. Clay's acceptance of the office that subjected him to such obloquy, was the result of a sense of duty which he owed to the country, to aid, by his counsels, him whom he had assisted to place in power. He certainly relinquished, in [accepting] the Department of State, a position in the House of Representatives, far more desirable, and of more influence and authority, which was much better adapted to the peculiar and transcendent vein of his signal ability for distinction in a popular assembly.

"I know that this view of the case runs counter to the opinions of my old chief, (who, if he puts himself at the head of the annexation movement will be my chief again,) and those of many esteemed friends, with whom I was proudly and victoriously associated in the struggle of 1825 and '29. But they must pardon me for adhering to an opinion, (however valueless) long since entertained and frequently expressed. And now, when I have no sort of connection with any party in the country, (except on one isolated question, associated, as I believe, with the best interests of the whole Union, and the vital security of the South,) I hope I may be allowed, without any impeachment of my own motives, and certainly with no adhesion, either expressed or implied, to the politics of Mr. Clay, to do justice, as far as my humble opinion can afford it, to his public reputation and his unsullied personal honor."

TESTIMONIAL OF JOHN RANDOLPH IN FAVOR OF HENRY CLAY.

"AN INTERESTING INCIDENT.—Charles James Faulkner, Esq., in his speech, at Gerardstown, on the 3d ult., while commenting in eloquent and indignant terms upon the movements of the Disunionists at the South, related an incident in the life of John Randolph, so creditable to the magnanimity of that celebrated man, and so just and honorable to the fame of Henry Clay, that we have deemed it worthy of being preserved and placed before the public. It is well known that the personal relations between these two remarkable men were not of the kindest character, but unfortunately the reverse. It is equally well known, that as politicians they were invariably arrayed against each other—the opposition of Mr. Randolph at times assuming the most virulent character, as in 1812-13—previous to and during the war—and whilst Mr. Clay was Secretary of State. And yet, in the last public address ever made to the people—in a speech in the County of Buckingham—during the pendency of that fearful struggle, between the State of South-Carolina and the Federal Government, when one rash and indiscreet act of violence might have involved this country in the horrors of civil war, and led to the dismemberment of the Confederacy—and when every patriotic eye watched the progress of events with the deepest solicitude—the opportunity occurred which that gentleman availed himself of to do justice to the character of his great and distinguished opponent. In the course of his speech he is reported to have said:

"Gentlemen, I am filled with the most gloomy apprehensions for the fate of the Union. I cannot express to you how deeply I am penetrated with a sense of the danger which at this moment threatens its existence. If Madison filled the Executive chair he might be bullied into some compromise. If Monroe was in power, he might be coaxed into some adjustment of this difficulty. But Jackson is obstinate, headstrong, and fond of fight. I fear matters must come to an open rupture. If so, this Union is gone." Then pausing for near a minute, raising his finger in that emphatic manner so peculiar to his action as a speaker, and seeming, as it were, to breathe more freely, he continued—"There is one man, and one man only, who can save this Union. THAT MAN IS HENRY CLAY. I KNOW HE HAS THE POWER—I BELIEVE HE WILL BE FOUND TO HAVE THE PATRIOTISM AND FIRMNESS EQUAL TO THE OCCASION."

"Shortly after this, Mr. Randolph proceeded on through Washington to Philadelphia, where in the course of a few months he died. He arrived in the former city after the Compromise Bill had passed. Deeply impressed with the great and valuable service, which Mr. Clay had just rendered the country, he had himself conveyed to the Senate Chamber, then too plainly exhibiting, in his face and appearance, the ravages of that fatal disease to which he was so soon to fall a victim, where these two brilliant rival orators and prodigally gifted favorites of

nature met for the last time. As Mr. Clay approached to salute him, Mr. Randolph said:

'Mr. Clay, you perceive I am dying. Yes, sir, I am dying, but, thank God, I have strength enough yet left to return you my poor acknowledgments for having saved the Union.'

"This incident, we understood Mr. Faulkner to say, he derived, during a recent visit to the city of Richmond, from Thomas Miller, of Powhatan, a gentleman of high character—one who for many years enjoyed the intimacy and friendship of Mr. Randolph, and upon whose accuracy the utmost reliance could be placed.

"The relation of this interesting incident, in the life of Mr. Randolph, by Mr. Faulkner, produced a marked effect upon his audience, and seemed to inspire the speaker himself with an increased love for the Union, and its great defender, Henry Clay."—*Martinsburg (Va.) Gaz.*

DEMOCRATIC ABUSE AND PROFANITY.—The following specimen will show the ruffian and profane warfare, waged against the Whig candidates.

A Design, to illustrate the character of the Whig Party.

At the top of the sheet, put the name

"WHIG PARTY."

Under this, place the figure of a double man, with a face each way; one side representing Henry Clay, with a pistol in one hand and a pack of cards in the other; and the other representing Theodore Frelinghuysen, with a Bible in his hand. Below, put the words—

"We fight with both carnal and spiritual weapons."

Under this, divide the sheet into two columns. On the left put a cut representing Henry Clay shooting a fellow-man in a duel; on the right, Frelinghuysen praying for sinners.

Below this, Clay at the card table, playing a game of brag; and Frelinghuysen at the Communion Table, partaking of the Sacrament.

Then, Clay in a brothel, kissing the lewd women, and Frelinghuysen amid his pious sisters in a prayer-meeting.

Clay looking on while his overseer whips a negro man, and Frelinghuysen walking arm-in-arm with a black dandy.

The whole to be interspersed with appropriate sayings from the mouths of the two candidates, and concluded by a grand procession of WHIG Clergymen who support the Ticket, escorting their JUGGERNAUT, Henry Clay, in the shape of Old Nick, to the Temple of Civil Power; while Frelinghuysen, with angels' wings on, sits beside him on the same car, with this motto:—"OUR HEAVEN IS POWER, THOUGH THE DEVIL BE ITS GOD."—*Kendall's Expositor.*

POLITICAL SUMMERSETS.

After Mr. Calhoun, his editor and his followers, had gone over "horse, foot and dragoons" to Mr. Van Buren and his party, which Mr. C. had shortly before denounced as a set of "rogues and royalists, held together only by the cohesive power of public plunder," and to

the Sub-Treasury policy, which his editor and man Friday had, only "a little month" before, denounced as "a humbug," and "a scheme to put the money of the Government in the President's Breeches pocket," the '76 Association and Revolution Societies, (both exclusively composed of Nullifiers and Calhounites), which had, in 1835 or 1836, when Mr. C. was a Whig, resolved themselves into one body, under the name of "The Whig Association," followed their file leader in his sub-Treasury summer-set, doffed the Whig garb, and *relapsed* into the "'76 Association."

When, in his rabid mood of Whiggery, "the Editor of the Mercury," now a patent democrat, wrote thus of Mr. Van Buren:

"Martin Van Buren is the spawn of Jackson's tyranny—the successor to Jackson's usurpation—the fabric of 'the simple machine' into which the hero retrenched the government"—"brought into power on the servile shoulders of the subservient democracy, and unworthy the support, therefore, of any freeman."!!!

The following testimony shows also what Mr. Calhoun and Mr. McDuffie once thought of the party with whom they are now associated.

Extract from a Speech delivered by Mr. Calhoun, in Pennington, S. C., in 1836.

"The foe is in the bosom of the country, and in possession of the Government. A powerful faction, [party it cannot be called,] held together by the hopes of public plunder, and marching under a banner wherein is written 'to the victors belong the spoils,' has made successful war on our institutions, and converted all the power and influence of the Government into instruments of gain. Ampler means for this purpose were scarcely ever placed in the hands of a dominant faction. With available means five times greater than is required by the legitimate wants of the country; with the administration of a boundless public domain; with unlimited control, till the passage of the deposit bill, over the public funds, and through them over the currency and banking institutions of the country; with one hundred thousand dependants on the bounty of the Government; and, finally, with an organized, rigid and severe system of discipline, having its centre in Washington, and extending in every direction over the wide circle of the country, a scene of speculation and corruption has been opened, reaching from the Capitol to the extremities, embracing the high and the low, those in and those out of office, the like of which has scarcely ever existed under the most despotic and profligate Governments. It is this powerful and corrupt combination, in actual possession of the Government, against which the honest and patriotic have now to wage war."

Reply of Mr. McDuffie to an invitation to a Fourth of July Dinner.

"CHERRY HILL, July 4, 1837.

Gentlemen:—Being unexpectedly called off this morning, it will be out of my power to unite with you in commemorating the anniversary of our independence. However gratifying it would be to me to mingle with my friends and neigh-

now, that if the Compromise had not passed, at the next session of Congress all traces of that policy would have been effaced from the statute book.

You and I both maintained that the measure of protection, preserved by the Compromise would be sufficient, until about 1842. But we were taunted by our opponents, to now what would be its condition when the period arrived. We replied, there were the home valuation, cash duties, a long list of free articles, &c. But I said, also, let us take care of ourselves now; the people of 1842 may be trusted to take care of themselves. Public opinion, in the meantime, may become more enlightened, and the wisdom of the protective policy may be demonstrated. I have not been disappointed. My predictions have been fulfilled.

I thought we achieved a great triumph in placing the Protective policy, by the Compromise act, without the reach and beyond the term of Gen. Jackson's administration. And we availed ourselves of the fact that the South-Carolina Delegation were much more anxious that the difficulty should be settled by us than by Gen. Jackson."

Now this is very nearly identical with what Mr. Clay said, in his speech, contemporaneous with the Compromise Bill, of which he was the father.

Mr. Webster and Mr. Dallas, having opposed the Compromise, as too unfavorable to the manufacturers, and indeed abandoning the protective principle, and being desirous to give us the Force Bill without the Compromise, the thunder-bolt without the olive-branch, Mr. Clay, in reply, said:

"The pledge, by which the Senator from Massachusetts supposed the constitutional power of protection to be surrendered, he did not consider as any thing more than a suggestion of the wishes of the parties to the compromise at this time. THERE WAS NOTHING IN IT THAT WOULD BIND US OR OUR SUCCESSORS, OR IN ANY WAY RESTRICT THE CONSTITUTIONAL POWER OF DISCRIMINATION. THE CONSTITUTION WAS OUT OF THE REACH OF ALL SUCH ATTEMPTS. * * * * *

He was surprised at the suggestion of the Senator that there was no occurrence within the last six months which shows that the protective system is in danger. The issue of numerous elections, the President's recommendations, the general tone of public feeling, and the whole power and influence of the dominant party, endanger the continuance of the system. The footing, on which the administration would place the tariff, was infinitely less favorable to the protective interests than this bill. HE SAW A TORCH APPLIED TO THE SYSTEM, AND HE HAD ATTEMPTED TO SNATCH IT AWAY.

* * * * * He objected to the entire argument of the Senator that he proceeded forward

to the year 1842, and undertook to prophecy the results of the bill in that distant year. * * *

HE WOULD PREFER TO LEAVE THE MATTER TO THE CONGRESS OF 1842. * * *

HE CONTENDED THAT THE BILL DID NOT SURRENDER THE PRINCIPLE OF PROTECTION. It was effectually secured for nine years, when it was brought down to something like what the Southern States demanded [i. e. a revenue adjusted to the economical wants of the government]. * * *

The South had given up as much as the North in the bill and a perfect equality of concession had been arrived at. * * *

The Senator chooses to say that my proposition is seconded by the Senator from South-Carolina, and that it is supported by two opposite extremes. * * *

If he be not altogether opposed to an adjustment of the question by Compromise—and he assures us he is not—in what other manner would he effect an adjustment? He (Mr. C.) had urged the proposition as a measure of mutual concession—of peace, of harmony. HE WANTED TO SEE NO CIVIL WARS—NO SACKED CITIES—NO EMBATTLED ARMIES—NO STREAMS OF AMERICAN BLOOD, SHED BY AMERICAN ARMS."

That Mr. Clay had good and substantial reason for taking this noble and patriot stand, in favor of concession and peace, is fully established by the information, for the first time made public, by the Hon. James S. Rhett, of this city, in his recent democratic speech made at Savannah, little suspecting that he was thereby magnifying the claims of Mr. Clay to the gratitude and the honors of South-Carolina, the South, and the whole nation, by showing that he (Mr. C.) had indeed saved South-Carolina from inglorious submission at the point of the bayonet, to Gen. Coffee and 50,000 troops, or her and the South and the Union from a horrible and bloody civil and fratricidal war.

In looking at the alleged violation of the Compromise, due regard also should be had to the fact, that it was accompanied by Mr. Clay's Land Bill, which passed the Senate by a decisive vote, and the House by Yeas 96, Nays 40, and was to have afforded some equivalent or compensation to the tariff party for their concessions on that subject, and which was pocketed and smothered by President Jackson (there not being ten days of the session left to put an end to his constitutional deliberation on the bill), with the full knowledge, that, if returned with his veto, it would have been passed by two-thirds of both branches of Congress. And this Land Bill, thus smothered by Gen. Jackson, has ever since been opposed by Mr. Calhoun and his party.

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