

THE CLAY CODE ;
OR,
TEXT-BOOK OF ELOQUENCE.

A COLLECTION OF
AXIOMS, APOTHEGMS, SENTIMENTS,
AND
REMARKABLE PASSAGES
ON
LIBERTY, GOVERNMENT, POLITICAL MORALITY
AND
NATIONAL HONOR :
GATHERED FROM THE PUBLIC SPEECHES OF
HENRY CLAY.

EDITED BY G. VANDENHOFF,
PROFESSOR OF RHETORIC.

I know that virtue to be in you, Brutus,
As well as I do know your outward favor.
Well, *Honor* is the subject of my story.
Shaks.

Disce puer virtutem ex me, verumque laborem.
Virg.

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EDITOR'S PREFACE.

THE great characteristic of Henry Clay, as presented in his public speeches, and the one that must most strongly recommend his ORATORY to the hearts of his countrymen, is his pure, thorough NATIONALITY. This spirit breathes in every page—pervades every sentence—glows in every line. We cannot fail to admire his vigor and independence of mind, his enlarged and statesmanlike views of policy and government, his energy, intensity of purpose, and unflinching advocacy of what he conceives to be *the right*—backed by the closest reasoning, a happy power of illustration, and the keenest satire; but, most of all, we are struck with his Nationality—his AMERICANISM.

He is, indeed, heart and hand, might and main, body and soul, American. He loves, he ADORES the land of his birth: he is proud of her extent, her resources, her natural wealth: he believes her Constitution to be as near to perfection as any human institution can be; and he is most jealous of any interference with it, at home, or from abroad. Above all, he abhors, he loathes the very idea of *foreign influence, foreign example, foreign interference.*

Hence, his continual and emphatic inculcation on his fellow countrymen of the necessity and advantage of *reliance on themselves*, and on their own talents, energy, and industry; not only for their political liberty and independence, but (by their cultivation of, and advances in the industrious arts) for a *total independence on other nations* for a plentiful supply of the necessaries, comforts and luxuries of life.

Nor is his Nationality a cold and abstract and selfish feeling: it is an elevated and lofty PATRIOTISM; acutely and exquisitely sensitive and alive to the glory and happiness and honor of his own land; not dead to the well-being of others. He loves his own country passionately: he thinks her FREEST, GREATEST, BEST: but he has a throb of sympathy for struggling freedom, wherever and by whomsoever held in bondage. His motto is—“*Civil and religious liberty all over the world!*” He regards his own favoured land as the great Cradle of Liberty—the nurse of freedom. America, he deems the Polar Star of Independence, to which the down-trodden of every nation must turn with anxious eye for light and guidance and hope, amid the dark clouds of tyranny and oppression. He desires that *all should be free*; that all should be (in that, his *Catholic** sense of the word) AMERICAN!

He sends the glad tidings of encouragement and sym-

* Καθολικος

pathy to SPANISH AMERICA, in her resistance to a hateful despotism; and the stirring sound of his voice is heard animating awakened GREECE in her glorious efforts to burst her chains, and wafting to her shores what shall be to her, like an echo from Marathon or Thermopyle—a message of hope and a prophetic assurance of deliverance!

His most ardent prayers at the shrine of his tutelary goddess, LIBERTY, are for his own country, his own altars, his own home! But after that, he pours forth an ardent aspiration for UNIVERSAL FREEDOM; and the strain of his fervent and impassioned eloquence comprehends, in the circle of an enlarged benevolence, the inhabitants of every, the nearest and most distant lands; or (as he himself expresses it) “*The liberty and happiness of the whole human family.*”

On these occasions his eloquence is sublime. Frequent extracts in the following pages will illustrate these characteristics:—his NATIONALITY, and his sympathy with popular rights, and hatred of oppression.

The publicly expressed maxims and opinions of a distinguished Orator and Statesman are great lessons to a people. The higher the intellect, the more exalted the character, the more widely spread the fame of the man—the greater the authority of the maxims he promulgates, and the opinions he maintains. They are public property;

they belong to the nation; they form a portion of her wealth, worthy to be stored in her intellectual treasury, and to be preserved and transmitted for the guidance and benefit of posterity.

In this point of view the speeches of Henry Clay are very remarkable. On nearly every subject connected with government and its branches—political economy and public policy, they exhibit just and enlarged views.

The people of ancient Greece and Rome carefully treasured up, and taught their children, the just and noble sentiments of humanity and justice promulgated by their dramatic poets, Euripides and Terence. It was a wise and an easy mode of educating the young mind. Such a sentiment as that of Terence

HOMO SUM; HUMANI NIHIL A ME ALIENUM PUTO

dwells upon the memory; and makes more impression on the heart, as a lesson of humanity and philanthropy, than a long-winded homily from the lips of the gravest teacher.

In the same manner, the maxims of the statesman, pithily and happily expressed, and gracefully illustrated, do more in the political education of a people, than a thousand lectures on political economy. Some of those which will be found in the following collection might be printed in letters of gold, that “all who run may read,”

till they become "familiar as household words." Take one:—

NATIONS, LIKE MEN, FAIL IN NOTHING WHICH THEY BOLDLY ATTEMPT, WHEN SUSTAINED BY VIRTUOUS PURPOSE, AND DETERMINED RESOLUTION.

What a noble, what a cheering lesson! How encouraging to the hopes and energies of a young people! Such pithy lessons (and many will be met with in the following pages, equally worthy to be recorded)—such lessons are the best books of education for a free people. Every one understands them; they are easily learnt; they can never be forgotten; their truth is eternal; they are

"Not for an age, but for all time."

Such were my feelings on perusing the speeches of Henry Clay: such were the feelings with which I prepared the following TEXT BOOK; which I now, with great respect and deference, offer to the American public.

Most unfeignedly I assure the reader, that its object is by no means a *party one*; nor is it intended as a tribute to *party feeling*. With these I have neither a right, nor a wish to interfere; nor can the editing of this collection (I trust) be justly considered as an attempt, or evidence of a desire to do so. ELOQUENCE is of no *one land*; she is indigenious to every soil and every clime; she belongs to no one country, she owns no party, no clique. Like the sun, she sheds her light on all. Her language is universal; she

speaks a tongue to which every heart responds. Nor can there be a monopoly by a nation, or a party, or a man, of the principles of justice, wisdom, truth and honor: they, also, are universal—unchanging, eternal: and their advocate—whether American, English, French—Conservative or Liberal—of the *coté droite* or the *coté gauche*—Tory, Whig or Democrat—is a general benefactor, and (as such) is entitled to the gratitude of mankind.

I originally made extracts from the speeches of Henry Clay, for my own individual purpose, in the preparation of a rhetorical work. I now edit this collection, not as a tribute to PARTY, (with which I have no concern) but as an offering (which will not, I trust, be deemed unwelcome) to the PUBLIC, to THE WORLD: and, at the same time, (I may be permitted to add) as a feeble testimony of my admiration of one unknown to me, except as an enlightened Statesman, an eloquent Orator, and a great man!

I conclude with a sentiment which I have somewhere met in (I think) a French author: “I bring you a *bouquet* of exquisite flowers; I have merely furnished the riband that binds them together.”

New York, August, 1844.

CLAY CODE ;
OR,
TEXT-BOOK OF ELOQUENCE ;
GATHERED FROM THE PUBLIC SPEECHES
OF
HENRY CLAY.

PART I.

PASSAGES ILLUSTRATIVE OF HIS PERSONAL AND PUBLIC
CHARACTER.

NATIONALITY AND SYMPATHY WITH POPULAR RIGHTS.

PART II.

OPINIONS, APOTHEGMS, AND SENTIMENTS, ON GOVERN-
MENT, POLITICAL ECONOMY, &C.

PART III.

ELOQUENT AND REMARKABLE PASSAGES.

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PART I.
PERSONAL AND PUBLIC CHARACTER.

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PERSONAL CHARACTER.

Justum ac tenacem propositi virum
Non civium ardor prava jubentium
Ne vultus instantis tyranni
Mente quatit solidâ.

The brow whereon doth sit disdain of threat,
Defiance of aggression, and revenge
Of contumely !

KNOWLES.

“ Veluti in speculum.”

PERSONAL INDEPENDENCE.

As for myself, born in the midst of the revolution, the first air that I ever breathed on my native soil of Virginia, having been that of liberty and independence, I scorn the wrath and defy the oppression of power.

I thank my God, HE has endowed me with a soul incapable of apprehensions from the anger of any being but himself.

At Lexington, 1827.

My ideas of duty are such, that when my rights are invaded, I must advance to their defence, let what may be the consequence ; even if death itself were to be my certain fate.

1811. Arming against Eng.

DUELLING.

—————Beware
Of entrance to a quarrel; but being in,
Bear't that the opposed may beware of thee.

SHAKS.

I owe it to the community to say that whatever heretofore I may have done, or, by inevitable circumstances may be forced to do, NO MAN HOLDS IN DEEPER ABHORRENCE, THAN I DO, THAT PERNICIOUS PRACTICE. CONDEMNED AS IT MUST BE BY THE JUDGMENT AND PHILOSOPHY, TO SAY NOTHING OF THE RELIGION OF EVERY THINKING MAN, it is an affair of feeling, about which we cannot, although we should, reason. ITS TRUE CORRECTIVE WILL BE FOUND, WHEN ALL SHALL UNITE, AS ALL OUGHT TO UNITE, IN ITS UNQUALIFIED PROSCRIPTION.*

Address to his Constituents, 1824-5.

* Mr. Clay's opinion and feeling on this subject are those which have been entertained by the generality of ancient men occupying a marked and distinguished position in the thorn-strewed career of public life. Men so placed, and so exposed to the envenomed shafts of falsehood and malignity have frequently no other defence against the assassin of their fame than the pistol or the sword. The very susceptibility of genius, and the very intensity and energy of character which has contributed to please them in the elevated situations they enjoy, may frequently render them more irritable, and more sensitive even to petty and unworthy annoyances, than ordinary and feebler spirits. The lion may be stung into madness by the gnat. Nor can such men be judged by the same severe rule as may be applied to the common routine of private life.

All admit that "the sword is the worst argument a man can use." But what is called THE CODE OF HONOUR is so

MORAL COURAGE.

I hope that in all that relates to personal firmness—all that concerns a just appreciation of the insignificance of human life—whatever may be attempt-

imperious, that many wise and good men have felt themselves driven to obey its commands, rather than the dictates of reason, and their own hearts.

Eminent statesmen of other countries have rushed from the Senate to the field, in vindication of unsullied honour, or at call of a political adversary. The names of Pitt, Fox, Percival, Burke, Canning and a host of others bear witness to the power of their conventional code. The Duke of York (brother of the late and uncle of the present Queen of England,) thought himself so bound by it, as to waive the consideration of his royal birth, and if his being the commanding officer of a gentleman who considered himself aggrieved, and to give that private gentleman satisfaction in a personal encounter, in which he (the Duke) well nigh fell a victim to his choleric feeling of honour. The greatest soldier of the age (the Duke of Wellington himself) than whom no man, one would think, might more safely have set his known character for courage and intrepidity (proved in a hundred fights in great and noble causes) against the practice of duelling obeyed the call of the Earl of Winchelsea, and met him in the field; upon some expressions arising out of the discussion of the Catholic Emancipation Bill, in the House of Lords. Mr. O'Connell also, it is well known has shot his man; though his religious feeling, (as well as philosophical conviction) always was and is most strongly opposed to the duel.

The highest examples cannot of course make wrong, right, nor sanctify a crime. They only prove how difficult it is in the course of the struggles of public life to preserve the same temper and moderation, and follow the same wise course of conduct, which reason and duty would have made easy to the same men in a private and less turbulent sphere. Much may be forgiven them on account of their position and temptations.—ED.

ed to threaten or alarm a soul not easily swayed by opposition, or awed or intimidated by menace—a stout heart and a steady eye that can survey, unmoved and undaunted, any mere personal perils that assail this poor, transient, perishing frame, I may, without disparagement, compare with other men. But there is a sort of courage, which, I frankly confess it, I do not possess—a boldness to which I dare not aspire, a valor which I cannot covet. I cannot lay myself down in the way of the welfare and happiness of my country. That—I cannot, I have not the courage to do. I cannot interpose the power with which I may be invested—a power conferred not for my personal benefit, nor for my aggrandizement, but for my country's good—to check her onward march to greatness and glory. I have not courage enough—I am too cowardly for that. I would not, I dare not, in the exercise of such a trust, lie down and place my body across the path that leads my country to prosperity and happiness. This is a sort of courage widely different from that which a man may display in his private conduct and personal relations. Personal or private courage is totally distinct from that higher and nobler courage, which prompts the patriot to offer himself a voluntary sacrifice to his country's good.

Bank Veto, 1841.

HIS EARLY LIFE.

What merit to be dropped on fortune's hill ?

The honor is to mount it.

KNOWLES.

In looking back upon my origin, and progress through life, I have great reason to be thankful. My father died in 1781 ; leaving me an infant of too tender years to retain any recollection of his smiles or endearments. My surviving parent removed to this State in 1792, leaving me, a boy of fifteen years of age, in the office of the High Court of Chancery, in the City of Richmond, without guardian, without pecuniary means of support, to steer my course as I might or could. A neglected education was improved by my own irregular exertions, without the benefit of systematic instruction. I studied law principally in the office of a lamented friend, the late Governor BROOKE, then (Attorney General of Virginia,) and also under the auspices of the venerable and lamented Chancellor WYTHE ; for whom I had acted as an amanuensis. I obtained a license to practice the profession from the Judges of the Court of Appeals of Virginia ; and established myself in Lexington in 1797, without patrons, without the favor or countenance of the great or opulent, without the means of paying my weekly board, and in the midst of a Bar uncommonly distinguished by eminent members. I remember how comfortable I thought I should be, if I could make £100 Virginia money per year, and with what delight I received the first fifteen shilling fee. My hopes were more than realized. I immediately rushed into a successful and lucrative practice.

VENERATION FOR AND RELIANCE ON PROVIDENCE.

“*Spes et tutamen.*”

I should, indeed, sink overwhelmed and subdued beneath the appalling magnitude of the task which lies before me, if I did not feel myself sustained and fortified by a thorough consciousness of the justness of the cause which I have espoused, and by a persuasion I hope not presumptuous, that it has the approbation of that Providence who has so often smiled upon these United States.

Senate, 1832.

If it were allowable for us, at the present day, to imitate ancient examples, I would invoke the aid of the MOST HIGH. I would anxiously and fervently implore His Divine assistance; that He would be graciously pleased to shower on my country His richest blessings; and that He would sustain, on this interesting occasion, the humble individual who stands before Him, and lend him the power, moral and physical, to perform the solemn duties which now belong to his public station.

1824.

Thank God, we are yet free; and, if we put on the chains which are forging for us, it will be because we deserve to wear them. We should never despair of the republic. If our ancestors had been capable of surrendering themselves to such ignoble sentiments, our independence and our liberties would never have been achieved. The winter of 1776-7 was one of the gloomiest periods of the revolution; but on THIS DAY,

fifty-seven years ago, the father of his country achieved a glorious victory, which diffused joy and gladness and animation throughout the States. Let us cherish the hope that, since he has gone from among us, Providence, in the dispensation of his mercies, has near at hand in reserve for us, though yet unseen by us, some sure and happy deliverance from all impending dangers.

Sir : for the preservation of our morals we are responsible to God, and I trust that that responsibility will ever remain to Him and His mercy alone.

American System, 1832.

And if a bountiful Providence would allow an unworthy sinner to approach the throne of grace, I would beseech him, as the greatest favor he could grant to me here below, to spare me until I live to behold the people rising in their majesty, with a peaceful and constitutional exercise of their power, to expel the Goths from Rome ; to rescue the public treasury from pillage, to preserve the Constitution of the United States ; to uphold the Union against the danger of the concentration and consolidation of all power in the hands of the executive ; and to sustain the liberties of the people of this country against the imminent perils to which they now stand exposed.

Senate, 1834.

“ Macte novâ virtute puer ; sic itur ad astra. ”—Virg.

What undertaking within the compass of hu-

man power ever failed, when pursued with perseverance and blessed by the smiles of Providence !

Is it credible, is it not a libel upon human nature to suppose that the principles of fraud and violence and iniquity, can surpass those of virtue and benevolence and humanity ?

At Col. 1827.

I have seen some public service, passed through many troubled times, and often addressed public assemblies, in this capitol and elsewhere ; but never before have I risen in a deliberative body, under more oppressed feelings, or with a deeper sense of awful responsibility. Never before have I risen to express my opinions upon any public measure fraught with such tremendous consequences to the welfare and prosperity of the country, and so perilous to the liberties of the people, as I solemnly believe the bill under consideration will be. If you knew, sir, what sleepless hours reflection upon it has cost me ; if you knew with what fervor and sincerity I have implored Divine assistance to strengthen and sustain me in my opposition to it, I should have credit with you, at least, for the sincerity of my conviction, if I shall be so unfortunate as not to have your concurrence as to the dangerous character of the measure. And I have thanked my God that he has prolonged my life until the present time, to enable me to exert myself in the service of my country, against a project far transcending, in pernicious tendency, any that I have ever had occasion to consider. I thank him for the health I am permitted to enjoy ; I thank him for the

soft and sweet repose which I experienced last night ; I thank him for the bright and glorious sun which shines upon us this day.

Sub Treasury Bill, 1838.

May the blessing of Heaven rest upon the whole Senate and each member of it, and may the labors of every one redound to the benefit of the nation and the advancement of his own fame and renown ! And when you shall retire to the bosom of your constituents, may you meet the most cheering and gratifying of all human rewards—their cordial greeting of “ Well done, good and faithful servants ! ”

On retiring from the Senate, 1842.

PUBLIC CHARACTER.

“ *Mens conscia recti.* ”

With what truth—with what earnestness and devotion to civil liberty, I have struggled, the Searcher of all human hearts best knows.

Senate, 1833.

That I have often misconceived your true interests, is highly probable. That I have ever sacrificed them to the object of personal aggrandizement, I utterly deny. And, for the purity of my motives, however in other respects I may be unworthy to approach the Throne of Grace and Mercy, I appeal to the justice of my God, with all the confidence which can flow from a consciousness of perfect rectitude.

To his Constituents, 1844.

CONSISTENCY.—(POLITICAL CREED.)

I never but once changed my opinion on any great question of National policy, or on any great principle of construction of the national Constitution. In early life, on deliberate conviction, I adopted the principles of interpreting the Federal Constitution, which have been so ably developed and enforced by Mr. Madison, in his memorable report to the Virginia Legislature; and to them, as I understood them, I have constantly adhered. Upon the question coming up in the Senate, to re-charter the first Bank of the United States, thirty years ago, I opposed the re-charter upon convictions which I honestly entertained. The experience of the war which shortly followed, the condition into which the currency of the country was thrown without a Bank, and I may add, later and more disastrous experience convinced me I was wrong. I publicly stated to my constituents, in a speech at Lexington, my reasons for that change; and they are preserved in the archives of the country. I appeal to that record; and I am willing to be judged now and hereafter, by their validity.

On returning to Kentucky, 1842.

PERSONAL AMBITION.

I have been accused of ambition in presenting this measure. Ambition! inordinate ambition! If I had thought of myself only, I should have never brought it forward. I know well the perils to which I expose myself; the risk of alienating faithful and valued friends, with but little prospect of making new ones, if any new ones could compensate for the loss of those whom we have long tried and loved; and the honest

misconceptions both of friends and foes. Ambition! If I had listened to its soft and seducing whispers; if I had yielded myself to the dictates of a cold, calculating, and prudential policy, I would have stood still and unmoved. I might even have silently gazed on the raging storm, enjoyed its loudest thunders and left those who are charged with the care of the vessel of state, to conduct it as they could. I have been heretofore often unjustly accused of ambition. Low, grovelling souls, who are utterly incapable of elevating themselves to the higher and nobler duties of pure patriotism—beings who, for ever keeping their own selfish aims in view, decide all public measures by their presumed influence on their aggrandizement, judge me by the venal rule which they prescribe to themselves. I have given to the winds those false accusations, as I consign that which now impeaches my motives. Pass this bill, tranquilize the country, restore confidence and affection in the Union, and I am willing to go home to Ashland, and renounce public service for ever. I should there find, in its groves, under its shades, on its lawns, amidst my flocks and herds, in the bosom of my family, sincerity and truth attachment and fidelity, and gratitude, which I have not always found in the walks of public life—Yes, I have ambition; but it is the ambition of being the humble instrument, in the hands of Providence, to reconcile a divided people; once more to revive concord and harmony in a distracted land—the pleasing ambition of contemplating the glorious spectacle of a free, united, prosperous, and fraternal people!

Compromise Act, 1834.

But the ingenuity of my assailants is never exhausted, and it seems I have subjected myself to a new epithet, which I do not know whether it should be taken in honor or derogation : I am held up to the country as a ' Dictator.' A Dictator ! The idea of a dictatorship is drawn from Roman institutions ; and at the time the office was created, the person who wielded the tremendous authority it conferred, concentrated in his own person, an absolute power over the lives and property of all his fellow-citizens. He could raise armies ; he could man and build navies ; he could levy taxes at will, and raise any amount of money he might choose to demand ; and life and death rested on his fiat. If I have been a Dictator, as I am said to have been, where is the power with which I have been clothed ? Had I any army ? any navy ? any revenue ? any patronage ? in a word, any power whatever ? If I have been a Dictator, I think that even those who have the most freely applied to me the appellation, must be compelled to make this admission : that my dictatorship has been distinguished by no cruel executions, stained by no blood, nor soiled by any act of dishonor.

That my nature is warm, my temper ardent, my disposition, especially in relation to the public service, enthusiastic, I am fully ready to own ; and those who supposed that I have been assuming the dictatorship, have only mistaken for arrogance or assumption, that fervent ardor and devotion which is natural to my constitution, and which I may have displayed with too little regard to cold, calculating

and cautious prudence, in sustaining and zealously supporting important measures of policy which I have presented and proposed, may have often inadvertently or unintentionally, in moments of excited debate, made use of language that has been offensive and susceptible of injurious interpretation towards my brother Senators. If there be any here who retain wounded feelings of injury or dissatisfaction produced on such occasions, I beg to assure them that I now offer the amplest apology for any departure on my part from the established rules of parliamentary decorum and courtesy. On the other hand, I assure the Senate, one and all, without exception and without reserve, that I retire from this Senate Chamber, without carrying with me a single feeling of resentment or dissatisfaction to the Senate or to any one of its members.

On retiring, 1842.

PUBLIC LIFE.

"I have done the state some service : and they know it."—*Shaks.*

From the period of my entry on this noble theatre (the Senate) with short intervals, to the present time, I have been engaged in the public councils at home and abroad. Of the nature or value of my services during that long and arduous period of my life, it does not become me to speak. History,—if she deign to notice me,—or posterity,—if the recollection of my humble actions shall be transmitted to posterity,—will be the best, the truest, the most impartial judges. When death shall have closed the scene, then sentence will be pronounced; and to

that I appeal and refer myself. My acts and public conduct are a fair subject for the criticism and judgment of my fellow-men ; but, the private motives by which they have been prompted,—*they* are known only to the Great searcher of the human heart,—and to myself : and, I trust, I may be pardoned for repeating a declaration made some nineteen years ago ; that, whatever errors,—(and doubtless there have been many)—may be discovered in a review of my public service to the country, I can, with unshaken confidence, appeal to that Divine Arbiter for the truth of the Declaration, that I have been influenced by no impure purposes, no personal motive,—have sought no personal aggrandizement ; but, that in all my public acts, I have had a sole and single eye, and a warm and devoted heart, directed and dedicated to what in my judgment I believed to be the true interest of my country.

Ibid.

GRATITUDE TO KENTUCKY.

“ O et præsidium, et dulce decus meum ! ”—Hor.

I emigrated from Virginia to the State of Kentucky now nearly forty-five years ago : I went as an orphan who had not yet attained the age of majority—who had never recognized a father's smile nor felt his caresses—poor, pennyless—without the favor of the great ; with an imperfect and inadequate education, limited to the ordinary business and common pursuits of life ; but scarce had I set my foot upon her generous soil when I was seized and embraced with parental fondness, caressed as though

I had been a favorite child, and patronized with liberal and unbounded munificence. From that period the highest honors of the State have been freely bestowed upon me; and afterwards, in the darkest hour of calumny and detraction, when I seemed to be forsaken by all the rest of the world, she threw her broad and impenetrable shield around me; and bearing me up aloft in her courageous arms, repelled the poisoned shafts that were aimed at my destruction, and vindicated my good name against every false and unfounded assault.

Ibid.

I seize the opportunity to present my heartfelt thanks to the whole people of Kentucky, for all the high honors and distinguished favors which I have received, during a long residence with them, at their hands; for the liberal patronage which I received from them in my professional pursuit; for the eminent places in which they have put me, or enabled me to reach: for the generous and unbounded confidence which they have bestowed upon me, at all times; for the gallant and unswerving fidelity and attachment with which they stood by me throughout all the trials and vicissitudes of an eventful and arduous life; and, above all, for the scornful indignation with which they repelled an infamous calumny directed against my name and fame at a momentous period of my public career. In recalling to our memory the circumstances of that period, one cannot but be filled with astonishment at the indefatigability with which the calumny was propagated,

and the zealous partisan use to which it was applied ; not only without evidence, but in the face of a full and complete refutation. Under whatever deception, delusion, or ignorance, it was received elsewhere, with you, my friends and neighbors, and with the good people of Kentucky, it received no countenance ; but in proportion to the venom and the malevolence of its circulation, was the vigor and the magnanimity with which I was generously supported. Upheld by a consciousness of the injustice of the charge, I should have borne myself with becoming fortitude, if I had been abandoned by you as I was by so large a portion of my countrymen ; but, to have been sustained and vindicated as I was by the people of my own State, by you who knew me best, and whom I had so many reasons to love and esteem, greatly cheered and encouraged me in my onward progress. Eternal gratitude and thanks are due from me.

On returning to Kentucky, 1842.

NATIONALITY.

This is my own, my native land !

SCOTT.

Proaris et focis.

PRIDE OF COUNTRY.

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

Here, alone, is the liberty of man secure from the inexorable despotism which every where else tramples it under foot.

Army Bill, 1813.

HER EXTENT.

The subject in other points of view, challenged the fullest attention of an American statesman. If there were any one circumstance more than all others which distinguished our happy condition from that of the nations of the old world, it was the possession of this vast national property, and the resources which it afforded to our people and our government. No European nation, (possibly with the exception of Russia,) commanded such an ample resource.

Senate, 1832.

ADVANTAGES OF HER LAND SYSTEM.

The progress of settlement, and the improvement in the fortunes and condition of individuals, under

the operation of this beneficent system, are as simple as they are manifest. Pioneers of a more adventurous character, advancing before the tide of emigration, penetrate into the uninhabited regions of the west. They apply the axe to the forest, which falls before them, or the plough to the prairie, deeply sinking its share in the unbroken wild grasses with which it abounds. They build houses, plant orchards, enclose fields, cultivate the earth, and rear up families around them. Meantime, the tide of emigration flows upon them; their improved farms rise in value, a demand for them takes place, they sell to the new comers, at a great advance, and proceed farther west, with ample means to purchase from government, at reasonable prices, sufficient land for all the members of their families. Another and another tide succeeds, the first pushing on westwardly the previous settlers, who, in their turn, sell out their farms, constantly augmenting in price, until they arrive at a fixed and stationary value. In this way, thousands and tens of thousands are daily improving their circumstances and bettering their condition. I have often witnessed this gratifying progress. On the same farm you may sometimes behold, standing together, the first rude cabin of round and unhewn logs, and wooden chimnies—the hewed log house, chinked and shingled, with stone or brick chimneys: and lastly, the comfortable brick or stone dwelling, each denoting the different occupants of the farm, or the several stages of the condition of the same occupant. What other nation can boast of such an

outlet for its increasing population, such bountiful means of promoting their prosperity, and securing their independence ?

HER RESOURCES.

The unfortunate captive of St. Helena wished for ships, commerce, and colonies. We have them all, if we do not wantonly throw them away. The colonies of other countries are separated from them by vast seas, requiring great expense to protect them, and are held subject to a constant risk of their being torn from their grasp. Our colonies on the contrary are united to, and form a part of our continent.

Manufactures, 1810.

Was ever a people before so blessed as we are, if true to ourselves ? Did ever any other nation contain within its bosom so many elements of prosperity, of greatness, and of glory ?

Senate, 1839.

HER INSTITUTIONS.

Not to-day, nor to-morrow ; but this government is to last, I trust, for ever : we may at least hope it will endure until the wave of population, cultivation, and intelligence shall have washed the Rocky mountains, and have mingled with the Pacific.

Internal Improvement, 1824.

Whatever is the work of man, necessarily partakes of his imperfections ; and it was not to be expected that, with all the acknowledged wisdom and

virtues of the framers of our constitution, they could have sent forth a plan of government, so free from all defect, and so full of guaranties, that it should not, in the conflict of embittered parties, and of excited passions, be perverted and misinterpreted.

Taylorsville, 1840.

CONGRESS.

We are too much in the habit of looking abroad, not merely for manufactured articles, but for the sanction of high names, to support favorite theories. I have seen and closely observed the British Parliament, and without derogating from its justly elevated character, I have no hesitation in saying, that in all the attributes of order, dignity, patriotism and eloquence, the American Congress would not suffer, in the smallest degree, by a comparison with it.

1824.

THE SENATE.

I entered the Senate of the United States in December, 1806. I regarded that body then, and, still contemplate it, as a body, which may compare, without disadvantage, with any legislative assembly, either of ancient or modern times; whether I look to its dignity, the extent and importance of its powers, or the ability by which its individual members have been distinguished—or its constitution. If compared in any of these respects with the Senates either of France or of England, that of the United States will sustain no derogation. With respect to the mode of its constitution, of those bodies I may observe, that in the House of Peers in England, with the exception

but of Ireland and Scotland—and in that of France with no exception whatever—the members hold their places under no delegated authority; but derive them from the grant of the Crown, transmitted by descent, or expressed in new patents of nobility: while here we have the proud title of Representatives of sovereign States, of distinct and independent Commonwealths.

On retiring, 1842.

If we look again at the powers exercised by the Senates of France and England, and by the Senate of the United States, we shall find that the aggregate of power is much greater here. In all, the members possess the legislative power. In the foreign States, as in this, the judicial power is invested; although there it exists in a larger degree than here. But, on the other hand, that vast, undefined, and undefinable power involved in the right to cooperate with the Executive in the formation and ratification of treaties, is enjoyed in all its magnitude and weight by this body, while it is possessed by neither of theirs; besides which, there is another of very great practical importance—that of sharing with the executive branch in distributing the vast patronage of the Government. In both these latter respects, we stand on grounds different from the House of Peers either of England or France. And then as to the dignity and decorum of its proceedings, and ordinarily as to the ability of its members, I can with great truth declare, that during the whole long period

of my knowledge of this Senate, it can, without arrogance or presumption, sustain no disadvantageous comparison with any public body in ancient or modern times.

Ibid.

HOME MANUFACTURES.

It is a subject, no less of curiosity than of interest, to trace the prejudices in favor of foreign fabrics. In our colonial condition, we were in a complete state of dependence on the parent country, as it respected manufactures, as well as commerce. For many years after the war, such was the partiality for her productions, in this country, that a gentleman's head could not withstand the influence of solar heat, unless covered with a London hat—his feet could not bear the pebbles, or frost, unless protected by London shoes—and the comfort or ornament of his person was then only consulted, when his coat was cut out by the shears of a tailor “just from London.” At length, however, the wonderful *discovery* has been made, that it is not absolutely beyond the reach of American skill and ingenuity, to provide these articles, combining with equal elegance, greater durability. And I entertain no doubt, that in a short time, the no less important fact will be developed, that the domestic manufactories of the United States, fostered by government, and aided by household exertions, are fully competent to supply us with at least every necessary article of clothing. I therefore, sir, *for one* (to use the fashionable cant of the

day) am in favor of encouraging them, not to the extent to which they are carried in England, but to such an extent as will redeem us entirely from all dependence on foreign countries. There is a pleasure—a pride (if I may be allowed the expression, and I pity those who cannot feel the sentiment) in being clad in the productions of our own families. Others may prefer the cloths of Leeds and of London, but give me those of Humphreysville.

Manufactures Senate, 1810.

The entire independence of my country on all foreign states, as it respects a supply of our essential wants, has ever been with me a favorite object. The war of our revolution effected our political emancipation. The last war contributed greatly towards accomplishing our commercial freedom. But our complete independence will only be consummated after the policy of this bill shall be recognised and adopted.

Home Industry, 1820.

HER CHARACTER—AMERICA THE POLAR STAR OF LIBERTY.

We are fighting a great moral battle, for the benefit not only of our Country, but of all mankind. The eyes of the whole world are in fixed attention upon us. One, and the largest portion, is gazing with contempt, with jealousy, with envy; the other portion, with confidence, with hope, and with affection! Every where the black cloud of legit-

imacy is suspended over the world, save only one bright spot which breaks out from the political hemisphere of the West, to enlighten, and animate, and gladden, the human heart! Obscure that, by the downfall of liberty *HERE*, and all mankind are enshrouded in a universal darkness. To you belongs the high privilege of transmitting unimpaired, to posterity, the fair character and liberty of our Country.

I hope our happy form of government is to be perpetual! But if it is to be preserved, it must be by the practice of virtue—by justice, by moderation, by magnanimity, by greatness of soul—by keeping a steady eye on the Executive, and above all, by holding to a strict accountability the military branch of the public Force!

Sem. War, 1819.

PUBLIC SPIRIT.

There is reason to believe that a tremendous storm is ready to burst upon our happy country;—one which may call into action all our vigor, courage and resources. Is it wise or prudent, in preparing to breast the storm—if it must come—to talk to this nation of its incompetency to repel European aggression; to lower its spirit, to weaken its moral energy, and to qualify it for easy conquest and base submission? Should we not rather animate the people, and adjure them to believe, (as I do) that our resources are ample; and that we can bring into the field a million of freemen ready to exhaust their

last drop of blood, and to spend the last cent in defense of the country, its liberty and its institutions! Sir, are these, if united, to be conquered by all Europe combined? If combined Europe is to precipitate herself upon us, we cannot too soon begin to invigorate our strength; to teach our heads to think, our hearts to conceive, and our arms to execute the high and noble deeds which belong to the character and glory of our country. The experience of the world instructs us that conquests are already half achieved which are boldly and firmly resolved on; and that men only become slaves who have ceased to resolve to be free.

Greek Revolution 1824.

HARMONY.

I want harmony. I wish to see the restoration of those ties which have carried us triumphantly through two wars. I delight not in this perpetual turmoil. Let us have peace, and become once more united as a band of brothers.

Senate, 1833.

DEVOTION TO COUNTRY.

In a season of war, there should be no division in the public counsels; but a united and vigorous exertion to bring the war to an honorable conclusion. For my part, whenever that calamity may befall my country, I would entertain but one wish; and that is, that success might crown our struggle, and the war be honorably and gloriously terminated. I would never refuse to share in the joys incident to the victory of our arms; nor to participate in the griefs of defeat or discomfiture. I concur entirely in the sentiment of

that illustrious hero whose recent melancholy fall we all so sincerely deplore, that fortune may attend our country in whatever war it may be involved !

1820.

Holding the principle that A CITIZEN, AS LONG AS A SINGLE PULSATION REMAINS, IS UNDER AN OBLIGATION TO EXERT HIS UTMOST ENERGIES IN THE SERVICE OF HIS COUNTRY, whether in private or in public station, my friends here and every where may rest assured, that in either condition, I shall stand erect, with a spirit unconquered, whilst life endures, ready to second their exertions in the cause of liberty, the union and the national prosperity.

On retiring from office, 1829.

NATIONAL HONOR.

When the honorable Senator from Massachusetts (Mr Webster) the other day uttered, in such thrilling language, the sentiment that honor and probity bound the States to the faithful payment of all their debts, and that they would do it, I felt my bosom swelling with patriotic pride—pride on account of the just and manly sentiment itself; and pride on account of the beautiful and eloquent language in which that noble sentiment was clothed. Dishonor American credit! Dishonor the American name! Dishonor the whole country! Why, sir, what is national character, national credit, national honor, national glory, but the aggregate of the character, the credit, the honor, the glory, of the parts of the nation? Can the parts be dishonored, and the whole remain unsullied? Or can the whole be blemished, and the parts stand pure and untainted! Can a younger sister be disgraced, without bringing blushes

and shame upon the whole family? Can our young sister Illinois (I mention her only for illustration, but with all feelings and sentiments of fraternal regard,) can she degrade her character as a State without bringing reproach and obloquy upon all of us? What has made England—our country's glorious parent—(although she has taught us the duty of eternal watchfulness, to repel aggression, and maintain our rights against even her)—what has made England the wonder of the world? What has raised her to such pre-eminence in wealth, power, empire and greatness, at once the awe and admiration of nations? Undoubtedly, among the prominent causes, have been the preservation of her credit, the maintenance of her honor, and the scrupulous fidelity with which she has fulfilled her pecuniary engagements, foreign as well as domestic. An opposite example of a disregard of national faith and character presents itself in the pages of ancient history. Every school-boy is familiar with the phrase "Punic faith," which at Rome became a by-word and a reproach against Carthage, in consequence of her notorious violations of her public engagements. The stigma has been transmitted down to the present time, and will remain for ever uneffaced. Who would not lament that a stigma should be affixed to any member of our confederacy? If there be any one so thoroughly imbued with party spirit, so destitute of honor and morality, so regardless of just feelings of national dignity and character, as to desire to see any of the States of this glorious Union dishonored, by violating their engagements to foreigners, and refusing to pay

their just debts, I repel and repudiate him and his sentiments as unworthy of the American name.

Pre-emption Bill, 1841.

INTEGRITY OF THE UNION.

No : I do not desire to see the lustre of one single star dimmed, of that glorious confederacy which constitutes our political system ; still less, do I wish to see it blotted out, and its light obliterated for ever. Has not the State of South Carolina been one of the members of this Union, in “ days that tried men’s souls ?” Have not her ancestors fought alongside our ancestors ? Have we not, conjointly, won together many a glorious battle ? If we had to go into a civil war with such a State, how would it terminate ? Whenever it should have terminated, what would be her condition ? If she should ever return to the Union, what would be the condition of her feelings and affections ; what the state of the heart of her people ? She has been with us before, when her ancestors mingled with ours in the throng of battle ; and, as I hope our posterity will mingle with hers, for ages and centuries to come, in the united defence of liberty, and-for the honor and glory of the Union, I do not wish to see her degraded or defaced as a member of this confederacy.

In conclusion, allow me to entreat and implore each individual member of this body to bring into the consideration of this measure, which I have had the honor of proposing, the same love of country which, if I know myself, has actuated me, and the same desire of restoring harmony to the Union, which has prompted this effort. If we can forget for a moment—but that would

be asking too much of human nature—if we could suffer, for one moment, party feelings and party causes to subside—and, as I stand here before my God, I declare I have looked beyond those considerations, and regarded only the vast interests of this united people—I should hope that, under such feelings, and with such dispositions, we may advantageously proceed to the consideration of this bill, and heal, before they are yet bleeding, the wounds of our distracted country.

Compromise Bill, 1833.

Sir, I am not in the habit of speaking lightly of the possibility of dissolving this happy Union. The Senate knows that I have deprecated allusions, on ordinary occasions, to that direful event. The country will testify that, if there be any thing in the history of my public career worthy of recollection, it is the truth and sincerity of my ardent devotion to its lasting preservation.

Senate, 1839.

SYMPATHY WITH POPULAR RIGHTS.

“Born in a land of liberty, my anxious recollections, my sympathetic feelings, and my best wishes are irresistibly excited, whensoever, in any country, I see an oppressed nation unfurl the banners of freedom.”

Words of Washington.

Homo sum ; humani nihil a me alienum puto.—Ter

I have no commiseration for princes ; my sympathies are reserved for the general mass of mankind.

Senate, 1810.

SELF-GOVERNMENT.

It is the doctrine of thrones, that man is too ignorant to govern himself. Their partisans assert his incapacity in reference to all nations: if they cannot command universal assent to the proposition, it is then demanded as to particular nations: and our pride and our presumption too often make converts of us. I contend that it is to arraign the dispositions of Providence himself, to suppose that he has created beings incapable of governing themselves, and to be trampled on by kings. Self-government is, the natural government of man ; and, for proof, I refer to the aborigines of our own land. Were I to speculate in hypotheses unfavorable to human liberty, my speculations should be founded rather upon the vices, refinements, or density of population. Crowded together in compact masses—even if they were philosophers—the contagion of the passions is communicated and caught, and the effect too often, I admit, is the overthrow of liberty.

House of Representatives, 1818.

GENERAL LIBERTY.

If it were possible for Republicans to cease to be the champions of human freedom, and if federalists became its only supporters, I would cease to be a republican; I would become a federalist.

Ibid. 1824.

LIBERTY OF PERSON.

If there be a description of rights which more than any other should unite all parties in all parts of the Union, it is unquestionably the liberty of the person. No matter what his vocation—whether he seeks subsistence amidst the dangers of the deep, or draws them from the bowels of the earth, or from the humblest occupations of mechanic life—whenever the sacred rights of an American citizen are assailed, all hearts ought to unite, and every arm should be braced to vindicate his cause.

Army Bill, 1813.

EMANCIPATION OF SOUTH AMERICA.

I rise under feelings of deep regret, inspired by the painful consideration, that I find myself differing from many highly esteemed friends. But all my reflections have conducted me to the same clear result; and much as I value those friends—great as my deference is for their opinions—I cannot hesitate, when reduced to the distressing alternative of conforming my judgment to theirs, or pursuing the mature and deliberate dictates of my own mind. I enjoy some consolation, for the want of their co-operation, from the persuasion that, if I err on this occasion, I err on the side of the liberty and happiness of a large portion of the human family.

In contemplating the great struggle in which Spanish America is now engaged, our attention is first fixed by the immensity and character of the country which Spain seeks again to subjugate. Within this vast region we behold the most sublime and interesting objects of creation; the loftiest mountains, the most majestic rivers in the world; the richest mines of the precious metals, and the choicest productions of the earth. We behold there a spectacle still more interesting and sublime—the glorious spectacle of eighteen millions of people, struggling to burst their chains and to be free.

But, sir, I take the broad and bold position: I maintain, that an oppressed people are authorized, whenever they can, to rise and break their fetters. This was the great principle of the English Revolution; it was the great principle of our own. We must pass sentence of condemnation upon the founders of our liberty; say they were rebels, traitors; and that we are, at this moment, legislating without competent powers, before we can condemn the cause of Spanish America. Our revolution was mainly directed against the mere theory of tyranny: but our intrepid and intelligent fathers saw, in the usurpation of the power to levy an inconsiderable tax, the long train of oppressive acts that were to follow. They rose; they breasted the storm—they achieved our freedom! Spanish America has for centuries been doomed to the practical effects of an odious tyranny. If we were justified, she is more than justified

Whenever I think of Spanish America, the image

irresistibly forces itself upon my mind of an elder brother, whose education has been neglected, whose person has been abused and maltreated, and who has been disinherited by the unkindness of an unnatural parent. And, when I contemplate the glorious struggle which that country is now making, I think I behold that brother rising, by the power and energy of his fine native genius, to the manly rank which nature, and nature's God, intended for him.

But grant that the people of Spanish America are ignorant and incompetent for free government—to whom is that ignorance to be ascribed? Is it not to the execrable system of Spain, which she seeks again to establish and perpetuate? So far from chilling our hearts, it ought to animate us to desire the redemption of the minds and bodies of unborn millions, from the brutifying effects of a system whose tendency is to stifle the faculties of the soul, and to degrade man to the level of beasts. I invoke the spirit of our departed fathers! Was it for yourselves only that you nobly fought? No, no! It was the chains that were forging for your posterity that made you fly to arms; and scattering the elements of those chains to the winds, you transmitted to us the rich inheritance of liberty!

House of Representatives, 1818:

IN FAVOR OF THE GREEK REVOLUTION.

And has it come to this? Are we so humbled, so low, so debased, that we dare not express our sympathy for suffering Greece; that we dare not articulate our detestation of the brutal excesses of which she

has been the bleeding victim, lest we might offend some one or more of their imperial and royal majesties? If gentlemen are afraid to act rashly on such a subject, suppose, Mr. Chairman, that we unite in an humble petition, addressed to their majesties, beseeching them that of their gracious condescension, they would allow us to express our feelings and our sympathies. How shall it run? "We, the representatives of the FREE people of the United States of America, humbly approach the thrones of your imperial and royal majesties, and supplicate that, of your imperial and royal clemency,"—I cannot go through the disgusting recital—my lips have not yet learned to pronounce the sycophantic language of a degraded slave! Are we so mean, so base, so despicable, that we may not attempt to express our horror, utter our indignation, at the most brutal and atrocious war that ever stained earth or shocked high heaven? at the ferocious deeds of a savage and infuriated soldiery, stimulated and urged on by the clergy of a fanatical and inimical religion, and rioting in all the excesses of blood and butchery, at the mere details of which the heart sickens and recoils!

If the great body of Christendom can look on calmly and coolly, whilst all this is perpetrated on a Christian people, in its own immediate vicinity, in its very presence, let us at least evince that one of its remote extremities is susceptible of sensibility to Christian wrongs, and capable of sympathy for Christian sufferings; that in this remote quarter of the world, there are hearts not yet closed against compassion for human woes, that can pour out their indignant

feelings at the oppression of a people endeared to us by every ancient recollection, and every modern tie. Sir, the committee has been attempted to be alarmed by the dangers to our commerce in the Mediterranean; and a wretched invoice of figs and opium has been spread before us to repress our sensibilities and to eradicate our humanity. Ah! sir, "what shall it profit a man if he gain the whole world and lose his own soul,"—or what shall it avail a nation to save the whole of a miserable trade, and lose its liberties?

House of Representatives, 1824.

SYMPATHY WITH THE POOR.

If the universality of the use of objects of consumption determines their classification, coffee, tea, and spices, in the present condition of civilized society, may be considered necessaries. Even if they were luxuries, why should not the poor, by cheapening their prices, (if that can be effected,) be allowed to use them? Why should not a poor man be allowed to tie a silk handkerchief on his neck, occasionally regale himself with a glass of cheap French wine, or present his wife or daughter with a silk gown, to be worn on Sabbath or gala days? I am quite sure that I do not misconstrue the feelings of the gentleman's heart, in supposing that he would be happy to see the poor as well as the rich moderately indulging themselves in those innocent gratifications. For one, I am delighted to see the condition of the poor attracting the consideration of the opponents of the tariff. *It is for the great body of the people, and especially for the poor, that I have ever supported the American System.* It affords them

profitable employment, and supplies the means of comfortable subsistence. It secures to them, certainly, necessaries of life, manufactured at home and places within their reach, and enables them to acquire a reasonable share of foreign luxuries; while the system of gentlemen *promises* them necessaries made in foreign countries, and which are beyond their power, and *denies* to them luxuries, which they would possess no means to purchase.

American System.

SYMPATHY FOR THE INDIAN.*

“Lo, the poor Indian! whose untutored mind
Sees God in clouds, or hears him in the wind;
His soul proud science never taught to stray
Far as the solar walk or milky-way;
Yet simple nature to his hope has given
Behind the cloud-topped hill, an humbler heaven;
Some safer world, in depth of woods embraced,
Some happier island in the watery waste,
Where slaves once more their native land behold,
No fiends torment, no Christians thirst for gold.”—Pope

I hold in my hands, and beg leave to present to the Senate certain resolutions and a memorial to the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States, of a Council met at Running Waters, consisting of a portion of the Cherokee Indians. They present a case which appeals strongly to the sympathies of Congress. They say that it is impossible for them to continue to live under laws which they do not

* To the credit of Mr. Clay's head and heart, he has always nobly raised his voice in defence of the poor Indian. Faithful to his advocacy of the cause of the oppressed against the oppressor, in every land and every clime, he has ever stood boldly forward for justice and humanity to the Indian. His speeches on the Seminole war breathe a deep sympathy for that unfortunate people. His speech in favour of the Cherokees, (of which the above are extracts,) contains the *gist* of the subject, and embodies his sentiments with full force.—*Ed.*

understand, passed by authority in which they have no share, promulgated in language of which nothing is known to the greater portion of them, and establishing rules for their government entirely unadapted to their nature, education, and habits. They say that destruction is hanging over them if they remain; that, their right of self-government being destroyed, though they are sensible of all the privations, and hardships, and sufferings of banishment from their native homes, they prefer exile with liberty, to residence in their homes with slavery. They implore, therefore, the intervention of the general government to provide for their removal west of the Mississippi, and to establish guaranties never hereafter to be violated, of the possession of the lands to be acquired by them west of the Mississippi, and of the perpetual right of self-government. This is the object of the resolutions and petition which I am about to offer to the Senate.

And here let me be permitted to say, that I go into this subject with feelings which no language at my command will enable me adequately to express. I am actuated only by feelings of grief, feelings of sorrow, and of profound regret, irresistibly called forth by a contemplation of the miserable condition to which these unfortunate people have been reduced.

[After quoting the Act of the State of Georgia regulating the appeal by Indians against acts of dispossession from their lands, and depriving them of the right or power of appeal to the Supreme Courts of the Union, Mr. Clay proceeds]:

I forbear to apply to this law any epithet of any

kind. Sir, no epithet is needed. The features of the law itself; its warrant for the interposition of military power, when no trial and no judgment has been allowed; its denial of any appeal, unless the unhappy Indian shall first renounce his own rights, and admit the rights of his opponent—features such as these are enough to show what the true character of the act is, and supersede the necessity of all epithets were I even capable of applying them.

There then he lies—with his property, his rights, and every privilege which makes human existence desirable—at the mercy of the State of Georgia; a State, in whose government and laws he has no voice. Sir, it is impossible for the most active imagination to conceive a condition of human society more perfectly wretched. Shall I be told that the condition of the African slave is worse? No, sir; no, sir. It is not worse. The interest of the master makes it at once his duty and his inclination to provide for the comfort and the health of his slave: for, without these he would be unprofitable. Both pride and interest render the master prompt in vindicating the rights of his slave, and protecting him from the oppression of others; and the laws secure to him the amplest means to do so. But who—what human being stands in the relation of master, or any other relation which makes him interested in the preservation and protection of the poor Indian thus degraded and miserable? Thrust out from human society, without the sympathies of any, and placed without the pale of common justice, who is there to protect him or to defend his rights?

[Mr. Clay then shows that Congress has full power, under the Constitution, to interfere for the relief of the Indians, and thus eloquently proceeds and concludes] :

If, then, Congress possesses the power to extend relief to the Indians, are they not bound by the most sacred of human considerations, the obligations of treaties, the protection assured them,—by every Christian tie, by every benevolent feeling, every humane impulse of the human heart to extend it? If they fail to do this, and there is (as reason and revelation declare there is) a tribunal of eternal justice to which all human power is amenable, how could they, if they refused to perform their duties to this injured and oppressed, though civilized race, expect to escape the visitations of that Divine vengeance which none will be permitted to avoid who have committed wrong, or done injustice to others.

At this moment—when the United States are urging on the government of France the fulfilment of the obligations of the treaty concluded with that country, to the execution of which it is contended that France has plighted her sacred faith—what strength, what an irresistible force would be given to our plea, if we could say to France that, in all instances, we had completely fulfilled all our engagements; and that we had adhered faithfully to every obligation which we had contracted, no matter whether it was entered into with a powerful or a weak people; if we could say to her that we had complied with all our engagements to others—that we now came before her, always acting right as

we had done, to induce her also to fulfill her obligations with us. How shall we stand in the eyes of France and of the civilized world, if, in spite of the most solemn treaties, which have existed for half a century, and have been recognized in every form, and by every branch of the government—how shall we be justified if we suffer these treaties to be trampled under foot, and the rights which they were given to secure, trodden in the dust? How would Great Britain, after the solemn understanding entered into with her at Ghent, feel after such a breach of faith? And how could I, as a commissioner on the negotiation of that treaty, hold up my head before Great Britain, after being thus made an instrument of fraud and deception, as I assuredly shall be, if the rights of the Indians are to be thus violated, and the treaties, by which they were secured—violated? How could I hold up my head, after such a violation of rights, and say that I am proud of my country; of which we must all wish to be proud?

For myself, I rejoice that I have been spared, and allowed a suitable opportunity to present my views and opinions on this great national subject, so interesting to the national character of the country for justice and equity. I rejoice that the voice which,—without charge of presumption or arrogance, I may say,—has ever been raised in defence of the oppressed of the human species, has been heard in defence of this most oppressed of all. To me—in that awful hour of death, to which all must come, and which, with respect to myself, cannot be very far distant—it will be a source of the highest consolation that an opportunity has been found by me, on

the floor of the Senate, in the discharge of my official duty, to pronounce my views on a course of policy marked by such wrongs as are calculated to arrest the attention of every one; and that I have raised my humble voice, and pronounced my solemn protest against such wrongs.

Senate, 1833.

SLAVERY—ABOLITION.*

The great obstacle in the way of abolition arises out of the fact of the presence in the slave States of three millions of slaves. They are there—dispersed throughout the land—part and parcel of our population. They were brought into the country, originally, under the authority of the parent government, whilst we were colonies; and their importation was continued in spite of all the remonstrances of our ancestors. If the question were an original question—whether, there being no slaves within the country, we should introduce them, and incorporate them into our society—that would be a totally different question. Few, if any of the citizens of the United States would be found to favor their introduction. No man in it would oppose, upon that supposition, their admission with more determined resolution and conscientious repugnance than I should. But that is not the question. The slaves are here; no practical scheme for their removal or separation from us has yet been devised or proposed; and the true

* This extract from Mr. Clay's speech to the Senate, on the presentation of an anti-abolition petition from the District of Columbia, is a short embodiment of the difficulties of this *vexata questio*!—*Ed.*

inquiry is, what is best to be done with them. In human affairs we are often constrained, by the force of circumstances and the actual state of things, to do what we would not do if that state of things did not exist. The slaves are here, and here must remain, in some condition; and, I repeat, how are they to be best governed? What is best to be done for their happiness and our own? In the slave States the alternative is, that the white man must govern the black, or the black govern the white. In several of those States, the number of the slaves is greater than that of the white population. An immediate abolition of slavery in them (as these ultra-abolitionists propose,) would be followed by a desperate struggle for immediate ascendancy of the black race over the white race; or rather, it would be followed by instantaneous collisions between the two races, which would break out into a civil war that would end in the extermination or subjugation of the one race or the other. In such an alternative, who can hesitate? Is it not better for both parties, that the existing state of things should be preserved, instead of exposing them to the horrible strifes and contests which would inevitably attend an immediate abolition. This is our true ground of defence for the continued existence of slavery in our country. It is that which our revolutionary ancestors assumed. It is that which, in my opinion, forms our justification in the eyes of all Christendom.

I am, Mr. President, no friend of slavery. The Searcher of all hearts knows that every pulsation of mine beats high and strong in the cause of civil liberty.

Wherever it is safe and practicable, I desire to see every portion of the human family in the enjoyment of it. But I prefer the liberty of my own country to that of any other,—the liberty of my own race to that of any other race. The liberty of the descendants of Africa in the United States is incompatible with the safety and liberty of the European descendants. Their slavery forms an exception—an exception resulting from a stern and inexorable necessity—to the general liberty in the United States. We did not originate, nor are we responsible for this necessity. Their liberty, (if it were possible,) could only be established by violating the incontestible powers of the States, and subverting the Union. And beneath the ruins of the Union would be buried, sooner or later, the liberty of both races.

Senate, 1839.

RELIGIOUS TOLERATION.

PERSECUTION (INDIANS).

It does not belong to the holy character of the religion to which we profess, to carry its precepts by the force of the bayonet, into the bosom of other people. Mild and gentle persuasion was the great instrument employed by the meek Founder of our Religion. We leave to the humane and benevolent efforts of the reverend professors of Christianity, to convert from barbarism those unhappy nations yet immersed in gloom. But, sir, spare them their prophets! spare them their

delusions! spare their prejudices and superstitions! spare them even their religion (such as it is) from open and cruel violence!

House of Representatives, 1819.

CATHOLIC RELIGION.

With regard to their superstition, *they worship the same God that we do.* Their prayers are offered up, in their temples, *to the same redeemer whose intercession we expect to save us.* Nor is there any thing in the Catholic religion unfavorable to freedom.

Em. of S. America, 1818.

I think the honorable gentleman from Virginia does great injustice to the Catholic religion, in specifying *that*, as one of the leading causes of the decline of Spain. It is a religion entitled to great respect; and there is nothing in its character incompatible with the highest degree of national prosperity. Is not France,—the most polished—in many other respects, the most distinguished state of Christendom,—Catholic? Is not Flanders—the most populous part of Europe—also Catholic? Are the Catholic parts of Switzerland and of Germany less prosperous than those which are Protestant?

American Industry, 1825.

PART II.
OPINIONS, APOTHEGMS, AND SENTIMENTS.

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P A R T I I .

GOVERNMENT, POLITICAL ECONOMY, &c.

Finis et scopus quem leges intueri atque ad quem jussiones et sanctiones suas dirigere debent, non alius est, quam ut cives feliciter degant. Id fiet, si pietate et religione recte instituti, moribus honesti, armis adversus hostes externos tuti, legum auxilio adversus seditiones et privatas injurias muniti, imperio et magistratibus obsequentes, copiis et opibus locupletes et florentes fuerint.

BACON.

The end and scope of legislation is the well-being of the people. That consists in moral and religious education; security against foreign enemies; the maintenance of public order and private rights; and the establishment of a system of government, judiciary and finance, by which the industry, wealth, and prosperity of the community may be encouraged and flourish.—ED'S. TRANS.

GOVERNMENT, &c.

THE LEGISLATIVE AND EXECUTIVE.

No man more than myself respects the preservation of the independence of the several departments of government, in the constitutional orbits which are prescribed to them. It is my favorite maxim, that each, acting within its own proper sphere, should move with its constitutional independence, and under its constitutional responsibility, without influence from any other.

1818.

OPPOSITION.

It is with the utmost sincerity that I assure the Committee, that I have formed no resolution, entered into no engagements, and that *I never will* form any resolution, or contract any engagements, *for systematic opposition* to the administration of the present, or of any other Chief Magistrate.

Sem. War, 1819.

I am ready, for one, to give the tribunals and the executive of the country—whether that executive has or has not my confidence—the necessary measures of power and authority to execute the laws of the Union. But I would not go a hair's breath further than what was necessary for those purposes. Up to that point I would go, and cheerfully go; for, it is my sworn duty, as I regard it, to go to that point.

Senate, 1833.

STATE RIGHTS.

I am a friend—a true friend—to State rights; but not in all cases as they are asserted. The States have their appointed orbit; so has the Union; and each should be confined within its fair, legitimate and constitutional sphere. We should equally avoid that subtle process of argument, which dissipates into air the powers of this government;—and that spirit of encroachment which would snatch from the state powers not delegated to the general government. We shall thus escape both dangers—that of relapsing into the alarming weakness of the Confederation, which is described as a mere rope of sand; and also

that other, perhaps not the greatest danger, Consolidation. No man deprecates more than I do the idea of Consolidation ; yet between separation and consolidation—painful as would be the alternative—I would greatly prefer the latter.

Internal Improvement, 1818.

POLITICAL POWER—ITS RESPONSIBILITY.

Of all the trusts which are created by human agency, *that* is the highest, most solemn, and most responsible, which involves the exercise of political power. Exerted where it has not been entrusted, the public functionary is guilty of usurpation—and his infidelity to the public good is not, perhaps, less culpable, when he neglects or refuses to exercise a power which has been fairly conveyed, to promote the public prosperity. If the power which he thus forbears to exercise can only be exercised by him,—if no other public functionary can employ it, and the public good requires its exercise, his treachery is greatly aggravated. It is only in those cases where the object of the investment of power is the personal ease or aggrandizement of the public agent, that his forbearance to use it is praiseworthy, gracious or magnanimous.

Int. Improve. 1824.

Mr. President, my observation and experience have satisfied me that the safety of liberity and prosperity consists in the division of power, whether political or pecuniary. In our federative system, our

security is to be found in that happy distribution of power which exists between the Federal Government and the State Governments. In our monetary system, as it lately existed, its excellence resulted from that beautiful arrangement by which the States had their institutions for local purposes, and the general government its institution for the more general purposes of the whole Union. There existed the greatest congeniality between all the parts of this admirable system. All was homogeneous. There was no separation of the Federal Government from the States or from the people. There was no attempt to execute practically that absurdity of sustaining, among the same people, two different currencies of unequal value. And how admirably did the whole system, during the forty years of its existence, move and work! And on the two unfortunate occasions of its ceasing to exist, how quickly did the business and transactions of the country run into wild disorder and utter confusion.

Will the Senate, then, bring upon itself the odium of passing this bill? I implore it to forbear—forbear, forbear! I appeal to the instructed Senators. Is this government made for us, or for the people and the States, whose agents we are? Are we not bound so to administer it as to advance their welfare, promote their prosperity, and give general satisfaction? Will that sacred trust be fulfilled, if the known sentiments of large and respectable communities are despised and condemned by those whom they have sent here? I

call upon the honorable Senator from Alabama (Mr. King) with whom I have so long stood in the public councils, shoulder to shoulder, bearing up the honor and the glory of this great people, to come now to their rescue. I call upon all the Senators—let us bury, deep and for ever, the character of the partisan, rise up patriots and statesmen, break the vile chains of party, throw the fragments to the winds, and feel the proud satisfaction that we have made but a small sacrifice to the paramount obligations which we owe our common country

Sub-Treasury Bill, 1837.

THE VETO

The veto is hardly reconcilable with the genius of representative government. It is totally irreconcilable with it, if it is to be frequently employed in respect to the expediency of measures, as well as their constitutionality. It is a feature of our government borrowed from a prerogative of the British king. And it is remarkable that in England it has grown obsolete—not having been used for upwards of a century. At the commencement of the French revolution, in discussing the principles of their constitution, in national convention, the veto held a conspicuous figure. The gay, laughing population of Paris bestowed on the king the appellation of Monsieur Veto, and on the queen, that of Madame Veto. The convention finally decreed that if a measure rejected by the king should obtain the sanction of two concurring legislatures, it should be a law, notwithstanding the veto. In the constitution of Kentucky, (and per-

haps, in some other of the State constitutions), it is provided that if, after the rejection of a bill by the Governor, it shall be passed by a majority of *all* the members elected to *both* Houses, it shall become a law, notwithstanding the Governor's objections. As a co-ordinate branch of the government, the chief magistrate has great weight. If, after a respectful consideration of his objections, urged against a bill, a majority of all the members elected to the legislature shall still pass it, notwithstanding his official influence, and the force of his reasons, ought it not to become a law? Ought the opinion of one man to overrule that of a legislative body twice deliberately expressed?

Senate, 1832.

PRECEDENTS—(CONSTITUTION.)

Precedents, if bad, are fraught with the most dangerous consequences. Man has been described by some who have treated of his nature as *a bundle of habits*. The definition is much truer when applied to governments—*Precedents are their habits*.

There is one important difference between the formation of habits by an individual and by governments. *He* contracts it only after frequent repetition: a single instance fixes and determines the direction of government.

(1819.)

This doctrine of precedents, applied to the legislature, appears to me to be fraught with the most mischievous consequences. The great advantage of our system of government over all others, is, that we

have a *written* constitution, defining its limits, and prescribing its authorities ; and, that—however, for a time, faction may convulse the nation, and passion and party prejudice sway its functionaries—the season of reflection will recur ; when, calmly retracing their deeds, all aberrations from fundamental principle will be corrected. But once substitute practice for principle—the exposition of the constitution for the text of the constitution, and in vain shall we look for the instrument in the instrument itself ! It will be as diffused and intangible as the pretended constitution of England :—and must be sought for in the statute book, in the fugitive journals of Congress, and in reports of the Secretary of the Treasury ! What would be our condition if we were to take the interpretations given to that sacred book, which is, or ought to be, the criterion of our faith—for the book itself ? We should find the Holy Bible buried beneath the interpretations, glosses, and comments of councils, synods and learned divines, which have produced swarms of intolerant and furious sects.

Senate, 1833.

STRUCTURE OF GOVERNMENT.

Let me, in a few words, present to the Senate what are my own views as to the structure of this government. I hold that no powers can legitimately be exercised under it but such as are expressly delegated, and those which are necessary to carry these into effect. Sir, the executive power, as existing in this government, is not to be traced to the notions of Montesquieu, or of any other writer of that class, in

the abstract nature of the executive power. Neither is the legislative nor the judicial power to be decided by any such reference. These several powers with us, (whatever they may be elsewhere,) are just what the constitution has made them, and nothing more. And, as to the general clauses in which reference is made to either, they are to be controlled and interpreted by those where these several powers are specially delegated; otherwise the executive will become a great vortex that must end in swallowing up all the rest. Nor will the judicial power be any longer restrained by the restraining clauses in the constitution, which relate to its exercise. What then, (it will be asked,) does this clause, that the President shall see that the laws are faithfully executed, mean? Sir, it means nothing more nor less than this: that if resistance is made to the laws, he shall take care that resistance shall cease. Congress, by the 1st article of the 8th section of the constitution, is required to provide for calling out the militia, to execute the laws, in case of resistance. Sir, it might as well be contended, under that clause, that Congress have the power of determining what are, and what are not the laws of the land. Congress has the power of calling out the military; well, sir, what is the President, by the constitution? He is commander of the army and navy of the United States; and of the militia, when called out into actual service. When, then, we are here told that he is clothed with the whole physical power of the nation, and when we are afterwards told, that he must take care that the

laws are faithfully executed, is it possible that any man can be so lost to the love of liberty, as not to admit that this goes no farther than to remove any resistance which may be made to the execution of the laws? We have established a system in which power has been carefully divided among different departments of the government. And we have been told a thousand times, that this division is indispensable as a safeguard to civil liberty. We have designated the departments, and have established in each, officers to examine the power belonging to each. The President, it is true, presides over the whole; his eye surveys the whole extent of the system in all its movements. But has he power to enter into the courts, for example, and tell them what is to be done? Or may he come here, and tell us the same? Or when we have made a law, can he withhold the power necessary to its practical effect? He moves, it is true, in a high, a glorious sphere. It is his to watch over the whole with a paternal eye; and, when any one wheel of the vast machine is, for a time, interrupted by the occurrence of invasion or rebellion, it is his care to propel its movements, and to furnish it with the requisite means of performing its appropriate duty in its own place.

NATIONAL BANK.

I believe the establishment of a Bank of the United States is required by the common good of the whole country; and although I might be willing, (if it were practicable,) to adopt an existing bank as the basis of such an institution—under all circumstances, I

think it expedient that a *new* bank with power to establish branches, be created and chartered under the authority of Congress.

Among those who deny the power, there are many who admit the benefits of a Bank of the United States. Four times, and under the sway of all the political parties, have Congress deliberately affirmed its existence. Every department of the government has again and again asserted it. Forty years of acquiescence by the people—uniformity every where in the value of the currency—facility and economy in domestic exchanges, and unexampled prosperity in the general business of the country, with a Bank of the United States ; and, without it—wild disorder in the currency, ruinous irregularity in domestic exchange, and general prostration in the commerce and business of the nation—would seem to put the question at rest—if it is not to be perpetually agitated. The power has been sustained by Washington, the Father of his Country ; by Madison, the Father of the Constitution ; and by Marshall, the Father of the Judiciary. If precedents are not to be blindly followed, neither ought they to be wantonly despised. They are the evidence of truth ; and the force of the evidence is in proportion to the integrity, wisdom, and patriotism, of those who establish them. I think that on no occasion could there be an array of greater or higher authority. For one, I hope to be pardoned for yielding to it, in preference to submitting my judg-

ment to the opinion of those who now deny the power—however respectable it may be.

Senate, 1838.

PUBLIC LANDS.

No subject which had presented itself to the present, or, perhaps, any preceding Congress, was of greater magnitude than that of the public lands. There was another, indeed, which possessed a more exciting and absorbing interest—but the excitement was happily but temporary in its nature. Long after we shall cease to be agitated by the tariff—ages after our manufactures shall have acquired a stability and perfection which will enable them successfully to cope with the manufactures of any other country—the public lands will remain a subject of deep and enduring interest. In whatever view we contemplate them, there is no question of such vast importance. As to their extent, there is public land enough to found an empire stretching across the immense : continent, from the Atlantic to the Pacific Ocean—from the Gulf of Mexico to the northwestern lakes—the quantity, according to official surveys and estimates, amounting to the prodigious sum of one billion and eighty millions of acres ! As to the duration of the interest regarded as a source of comfort to our people, and of public income—during the last year (when the greatest quantity was sold that ever in one year had been previously sold), it amounted to less than three millions of acres—producing three millions and a half of dollars. Assuming that year as affording the standard rate at which the lands will be annually

sold, it would require three hundred years to dispose of them. But the sales will probably be accelerated from increased population and other causes. We may safely, however, anticipate that long, if not centuries after the present day, the representatives of our children's children may be deliberating in the halls of Congress, on laws relating to the public lands.

In a national point of view, one of the greatest advantages which these public lands in the west, and this system of selling them, affords, is the resource which they present against pressure and want, in other parts of the Union, from the vocations of society being too closely filled, and too much crowded. They constantly tend to sustain the price of labor, by the opportunity which they offer of the acquisition of fertile land at a moderate price, and the consequent temptation to emigrate from those parts of the Union where labor may be badly rewarded.

The right of the Union to the public lands is incontestible. It ought not to be considered debateable. It never was questioned but by a few, whose monstrous heresy, it was probably supposed, would escape animadversion from the enormity of the absurdity, and the utter impracticability of the success of the claim. The right of the whole is sealed by the blood of the revolution, founded upon solemn deeds of cession from sovereign States, deliberately executed in the face of the world, or resting upon national treaties concluded with foreign powers, on ample equivalents contributed from the common treasury of the people of the United States.

COMPARISON WITH ENGLAND'S LAND-SYSTEM AND
POPULATION.

England has too little land, and too many people. America has too much land, for the present population of the country, and wants people. The British crown had owned, for many generations, large bodies of land, preserved for game and forest, from which but small revenues were derived. It was proposed to sell out the crown lands, that they might be peopled and cultivated, and that the royal family should be placed on the civil list. Mr. Burke supported the proposition by convincing arguments. But what analogy is there between the crown lands of the British sovereign, and the public lands of the United States? Are they here locked up from the people—and, for the sake of their game or timber, excluded from sale? Are not they freely exposed in market, to all who want them, at moderate prices? The complaint is, that they are not sold fast enough; in other words, that people are not multiplied rapidly enough to buy them. Patience, gentlemen of the land committee—patience! The new States are daily rising in power and importance. Some of them are already great and flourishing members of the confederacy. And, if you will only acquiesce in the certain and quiet operation of the laws of God and man, the wilderness will quickly teem with people, and be filled with the monuments of civilization.

And now, Mr. President, I have a few more words to say, and I shall have done. We are admonished by

all our reflections, and by existing signs, of the duty of communicating strength and energy to the glorious Union which now encircles our favored country. Among the ties which bind us together, the public domain merits high consideration. And if we appropriate, for a limited time, the proceeds of that great resource, among the several States, for the important objects which have been enumerated, a new and powerful bond of affection and of interest will be added. The States will feel and recognize the operation of the general government, not merely in power and burdens, but in benefactions and blessings. And the general government, in its turn, will feel—from the expenditure of the money which it dispenses to the States—the benefits of moral and intellectual improvement of the people, of greater facility in social and commercial intercourse, and of the purification of the population of our country—themselves the best parental sources of national character, national union, and national greatness. Whatever may the fate of the particular proposition now under consideration, I sincerely hope that the attention of the nation may be attracted to this most interesting subject; that it may justly appreciate the value of this immense national property; and that—preserving the regulation of it by the will of the whole, for the advantage of the whole—it may be transmitted as a sacred and inestimable succession, to posterity, for its benefit and blessing for ages to come!

Senate, 1832.

AGRICULTURAL INTEREST

"O Fortunatos nimium, sua si bonanorint
Agricolæ!"—VIRG.

WE ARE NOW, AND EVER WILL BE, ESSENTIALLY AN
AGRICULTURAL PEOPLE.

American Industry, 1824.

Our agricultural is our greatest interest. It ought ever to be predominant. All others should bend to it. And, in considering what is for its advantage, we should contemplate it in all its varieties, of planting, farming, and grazing.

Ibid.

YEOMANRY.

"An honest yeomanry it's country's pride."

There is no doubt but that the yeomanry of a country is the safest depository of public liberty. In all time to come, and under any probable direction of the labor of our population, the agricultural class must be much the most numerous and powerful; and will ever retain—as it ought to retain—a preponderating influence in our councils. The extent and the fertility of our lands constitute an adequate security against an excess in manufactures, and also against oppression, on the part of capitalists, towards the laboring portion of the community.

Ibid.

AGRICULTURE—COMMERCE—MANUFACTURES.

“*Tria juncta in uno.*”

The three great subjects that claim the attention of the national legislature, are the interests of Agriculture, Commerce, and Manufactures. *

Manufactures, 1810.

In inculcating the advantages of domestic manufactures, it never entered into the head of any one, I presume, to change the habits of the nation from an agricultural to a manufacturing community. No one—I am persuaded—ever thought of converting the ploughshare and the sickle into the spindle and the shuttle.

Ibid.

FOREIGN TRADE AND MANUFACTURES.

I am a friend to foreign trade ; but I protest against its being the monopolist of all the parental favor and care of this government.

Friendly as I am to the existence of domestic manufactures, I would not give them *unreasonable* encouragement by protecting duties. Their growth ought to be gradual, but sure. They are the youngest and weakest interest of the State.

Agriculture wants but little, or no protection against the regulations of foreign powers. The advantages of our position, and the cheapness, abundance and fertility

* The whole tenor of Mr. Clay's policy and arguments is, that *no one interest should be exclusively protected* ; nor any one sacrificed to the predominance of the other. He would cherish *all alike*, with parental care and wise impartiality.—*Ed.*

of our land, afford to that greatest interest of the State, almost all the protection it wants.

American Industry, 1824.

NAVIGATION.

This great interest deserves every encouragement consistent with the paramount interest of agriculture. In the order of nature, it is secondary to both agriculture and manufactures. Its business is the transportation of the productions of those two superior branches of industry. It cannot therefore be expected that they should be moulded or sacrificed to suit its purposes. On the contrary, navigation must accommodate itself to the actual state of agriculture and manufactures.

Ibid.

The gentleman from South Carolina has drawn a lively and flattering picture of our coasts, bays, rivers and harbors; and he argues that these proclaimed the design of Providence, that we should be a commercial people. I agree with him. We differ only as to the means. He would cherish the foreign, and neglect the internal trade. I would foster both. What is navigation without ships, or ships without cargoes? By penetrating the bosoms of our mountains, and extracting from them their precious treasures; by cultivating the earth, and securing a home market for its rich and abundant products; by employing the water power with which we are blessed; by stimulating and protecting our native industry, in all its forms—we shall but nourish and promote the prosperity of commerce, foreign and domestic.

American System, 1834.

FREE TRADE—PROTECTION.

AMERICAN SYSTEM.

It would, perhaps, be better for mankind, if, in the intercourse between nations, all would leave skill and industry to their unstimulated exertions. But this is not done ; and if other powers will incite the industry of their subjects, and depress that of our citizens where they may come into competition, we must imitate their selfish example. Hence the necessity to protect our manufactures.

Internal Improvement, 1818.

At present I will only say that I am a friend to free trade,—but it must be a free trade of perfect reciprocity.*

Protection to Home Industry, 1820.

* Free trade without reciprocity is a *quixotism* in legislation, that the common sense of the present day is too clear sighted to follow. England has been sufficiently taught this lesson, in the consequences to her manufacturing interests, of the operation of her corn laws ; by which, imposing almost *prohibitory* duties on the importation of foreign corn, she has driven agricultural countries (which would otherwise have freely exchanged their corn for her manufactures,) to direct the industry of their people to the production of manufactures, so as to render themselves *independent of English* ingenuity and industry. The object of England in her corn-law legislation was to give extraordinary protection to her own agriculture, and thereby to enhance the rent and value of land. For that purpose, the corn laws (fixing enormous duties on foreign corn) were passed by the power and influence of the great landed proprietors in the legislature of the country.

But, from her comparatively small extent in proportion to her immense population,—and from the inferior capabilities of her soil, and the uncertain as well as the ungenial nature of her climate,—England is not qualified to excel as an agricultural country ;—and her efforts to sustain the landed interest have been made at the risk of her manufacturing superiority. The result has been not only a depression of the manufacturing interest (by the consequent refusal of other nations freely to receive the products of her industry, unless they can return their agricultural produce in exchange) but the farmer himself—the tenant of the great land-

PROTECTION—NATIONAL INTERESTS.

Mr. Chairman: Our confederacy comprehends within its vast limits great diversity of interests: agricultural, planting, farming, commercial, navigating, fishing, manufacturing. No one of these interests is felt in the same degree, and cherished with the same solicitude, throughout all parts of the Union. Some of them are peculiar to particular sections of our common country. But all these great interests are confided to the protection of one government—to the fate of one ship: and a most gallant ship it is, with a noble crew. If we prosper and are happy, protection must be extended to all; it is due to all.

TARIFF.

And what is the Tariff? It seems to have been regarded as a sort of monster, huge and deformed,—a wild beast endowed with tremendous powers of destruction, about to be let loose among our people, if not to devour them, at least to consume their substance. But let us calm our passions, and deliberately survey this alarming, this terrific being. The sole object of the Tariff is to tax the produce of foreign industry, with the view of promoting American industry.

holder—is also distressed by the high rents which he has to pay for his land, on the very plea of the protection afforded *his* industry, by these unpolitic and unavailing laws; and which rents, in unfavorable seasons, he is absolutely unable to pay.

Hence the present agitation in England, carried on by the Anti-Corn Law League; which is preaching free trade in corn, and gaining proselytes daily throughout the land, as its “monster meetings” continually attest.—*Ed.*

The tax is exclusively levied at foreign industry. That is the avowed and the direct purpose of the tariff.
American Industry, 1824.

THE ARTS OF INDUSTRY.

The object of protection is the establishment and protection of the arts.

The cause is the cause of the country. It is founded on the interests and affections of the people: it is as native as the granite deeply embosomed in our mountains.

We must naturalize the arts in our country; and we must naturalize them by the only means which the wisdom of nations has yet discovered to be effectual; by adequate protection against the otherwise overwhelming influence of foreigners.

Without a material change in the fixed habits of the country, the friends of this measure desire to draw to it, as a powerful auxiliary to its industry, the manufacturing arts. The difference between a nation with, and without the arts, may be conceived, by the difference between a keel-boat and a steamboat, combating the rapid torrent of the Mississippi. How slowly does the former ascend, hugging the sinuosities of the shore, pushed on by her hardy and exposed crew—now throwing themselves in vigorous concert on their oars, and then seizing the pendent boughs of overhanging trees: she seems hardly to move; and her scanty cargo is scarcely worth the transportation! With what ease is she not passed by the steamboat, laden with the riches of all quarters of the world, with a crew of gay, cheerful

and protected passengers—now dashing into the midst of the current, or gliding through the eddies near the shore! Nature herself seems to survey, with astonishment, the passing wonder, and, in silent submission, reluctantly to own the magnificent triumphs, in her own vast dominion, of Fulton's immortal genius!

American Industry, 1824.

Let our arts breathe under the shade of protection; let them be perfected as they are in England, and we shall be ready (as England now is said to be) to put aside protection and enter on the freest exchanges.

Ibid.

Gallant, as Great Britain undoubtedly is, we have gloriously contended with her, man to man, gun to gun, ship to ship, fleet to fleet, and army to army. And I have no doubt we are destined to achieve equal success in the more useful, if not nobler contest for superiority in the arts of civil life.

American System, 1832.

AMERICAN SYSTEM—(ITS COMPREHENSIVENESS.)

Why, sir, there is scarcely an interest, scarcely a vocation in society, which is not embraced by the beneficence of this system.

It comprehends our coasting tonnage and trade, from which all foreign tonnage is absolutely excluded.

It includes all our foreign tonnage, with the inconsiderable exception made by treaties of reciprocity with a few foreign powers.

It embraces our fisheries, and all our hardy and enterprising fishermen.

It extends to almost every mechanic art : to tanners, cordwainers, tailors, cabinet-makers, hatters, tanners, brass-workers, clock-makers, coach-makers, tallow-chandlers, trace-makers, rope-makers, cork-cutters, tobacconists, whip-makers, paper-makers, umbrella-makers, glass-blowers, stocking-weavers, butter-makers, saddle and harness-makers, cutlers, brush-makers, book-binders, dairy-men, milk-farmers, blacksmiths, type-founders, musical-instrument-makers, basket-makers, milliners, potters, chocolate-makers, floor-cloth-makers, bonnet-makers, hair-cloth-makers, copper-smiths, pencil-makers, bellows-makers, pocket-book-makers, card-makers, glue-makers, mustard-makers, lumber-sawyers, saw-makers, scale-beam-makers, scythe-makers, wood-saw-makers, and many others. The mechanics enumerated enjoy a measure of protection adapted to their several conditions, varying from twenty to fifty per cent. The extent and importance of some of these artizans may be estimated by a few particulars. The tanners, curriers boot-and-shoe-makers, and other workers in hides skins and leather, produce an ultimate value per annum of forty millions of dollars; the manufacturers of hats and caps produce an annual value of fifteen millions; the cabinet-makers twelve millions; the manufacturers of bonnets and hats for the female sex, lace, artificial flowers, combs, &c., seven millions; and the manufacturers of glass, five millions.

It affects the cotton planter himself, and the tobacco planter, both of whom enjoy protection.

It extends to all lower Louisiana ; the Delta of which

might as well be submerged again in the Gulf of Mexico, from which it has been a gradual conquest, as now be deprived of the protecting duty upon its great staple.

The total amount of capital invested in sheep, the land to sustain them, wool, woollen manufactures, and woollen fabrics, and the subsistence of the various persons directly or indirectly employed in the growth and manufacture of the article of wool, is estimated at one hundred and sixty-seven millions of dollars; and the number of persons at one hundred and fifty thousand.

The value of iron, considered as a raw material, and of its manufactures, is estimated at twenty-six millions of dollars per annum. Cotton goods, exclusive of the capital vested in the manufacture, and of the cost of the raw material, are believed to amount annually to about twenty millions of dollars.

These estimates have been carefully made, by practical men of undoubted character, who have brought together and embodied their information. Anxious to avoid the charge of exaggeration, they have sometimes placed their estimates below what was believed to be the actual amount of these interests. With regard to the quantity of bar and other iron annually produced, it is derived from the known works themselves; and I know some in western States which they have omitted in their calculations.

Senate, 1832.

No, Mr. President, it is not destruction, but preservation of the system, at which we aim. If dangers

now assail it, we have not created them. I have sustained it upon the strongest and clearest convictions of its expediency. They are entirely unaltered. Had others, who avow attachment to it, supported it with equal zeal and straight-forwardness, it would be now free from embarrassment; but with them it has been a secondary interest. I utter no complaints; I make no reproaches. I wish only to defend myself now, as heretofore, against unjust assaults. I have been represented as the father of this system, and I am charged with an unnatural abandonment of my own offspring. I have never arrogated to myself any such intimate relation to it. I have, indeed, cherished it with parental fondness, and my affection is undiminished. But in what condition do I find this child? It is in the hands of the Philistines, who would strangle it. I fly to its rescue, to snatch it from their custody, and to place it on a bed of security and repose, where it may grow and strengthen, and become acceptable to the whole people. I behold a torch about being applied to a favorite edifice, and I would save it if possible before it is wrapt in flames,—or at least preserve the precious furniture which it contains. I wish to see the tariff separated from the politics of the country, that business men may go to work in security, with some prospect of stability in our laws, and without every thing being staked on the issue of elections as it were on the hazards of the die.

Senate, 1833.

Let me not be misunderstood, and let me entreat that I may not be misrepresented. I am not advocating the revival of a high protective tariff. I am for abiding by the principles of the compromise act; I am for doing what no Southern man of a fair or candid mind has yet denied—giving to the country a revenue which may provide for the economical wants of the Government, and at the same time give an incidental protection to our home industry. If there be here a single gentleman who will deny the fairness and propriety of this, I shall be glad to see and hear who he is.

Senate, 1842.

WAR.

Custode rerum Cæsare, non furor
 Civilis aut vis eximet otium ;
 Non ira quæ procudit enses
 Et miseram inimitat urbes.

HOR.

WAR.

I am not, sir, in favor of cherishing the passion for conquest.

1810.

It requires a strong effort in a nation prone to peace, as this is, to burst through its habits and encounter the difficulties and privations of war. Such a nation ought seldom to embark in a belligerent contest ; but when it does, it should be for obvious and essential rights alone, and with a firm resolution to extort their recognition, at all hazards and despite of every suffering.

Army Bill, 1813.

The Manufacturing System is favorable to peace : foreign commerce is the great source of foreign wars.

I am averse from war with any power. I would give no just cause of war to any power. I have seen enough of war, and of its calamities, even when successful. No country upon earth has more interest than this in cultivating peace and avoiding war, as long as it is possible honorably to avoid it.

Of those dreadful scourges that are visited on the human race, war is one that so shakes the foundations of society, overturns or changes the character of

governments, interrupts or destroys the pursuits of private happiness: brings, in short, misery and wretchedness in so many forms—and, at last, is, in its issue, so doubtful and hazardous—that nothing but dire necessity can justify an appeal to arms.

Emancipation of S. America, 1818.

I am not one of those who think we must rely exclusively upon moral power, and never resort to physical force. I know too well the frailties and follies of man, in his collective as well as his individual character, to reject, in all possible cases, the employment of force. But I do think that when resorted to, especially among members of a confederacy, it should manifestly appear to be the only remaining appeal.

Compromise Bill, 1833.

MODERATION IN CONQUEST.

It only adds another melancholy proof to those with which history already abounds, that hard and unconscionable terms—extorted by the power of the sword, and the right of conquest—serve but to whet and stimulate revenge; and to give old hostilities—smothered not extinguished by the pretended peace—greater exasperation and more ferocity. A truce thus patched up with an unfortunate people, without the means of subsistence, without bread, is no real *peace*. The instant there is the slightest prospect of relief from such harsh and severe conditions, the conquered party will fly to arms, and spend the last drop of blood rather than live in such degraded bondage.

Sem. War, 1819.

CIVIL WAR.

I wish to see war of no kind ; but above all, I do not desire to see a civil war. When war begins, whether civil or foreign, no human foresight is competent to foresee when, or how, or where, it is to terminate. But when a civil war shall be lighted up in the bosom of our own happy land, and armies are marching, and commanders are winning their victories, and fleets are in motion on our coast—tell me, if you can, tell me, if any human being can tell me, its duration. God alone knows where such a war would end. In what a state will be left our institutions ! In what state our liberties ? I want no war ; above all, no war at home !

Compromise Bill, 1833.

While we would vindicate the Federal Government, we are for peace—if possible—union and liberty. We want no war ; above all, no civil war, no family strife ! We want to see no sacked cities, no desolated fields, no streams of American blood shed by American arms !

Ibid.

ARMIES—NAVIES—STANDING ARMIES.

I do not stand on this floor as the advocate of standing armies in time of peace ; but when war becomes essential, I *am* the advocate of raising able and vigorous armies to ensure its success. The danger of armies in peace arises from their idleness and dissipation ; their corrupted habits, which moulds them to the will of ambitious military chieftains.

We have been the subject of abuse for years by

tourists through this country, whether on horseback or foot, in prose or in poetry : but, although we may not have exhibited as many great instances of discoveries and improvements in science as the long established nations of Europe, the mass of our people possess more general political information than any people on earth : such information is universally diffused among us. This circumstance is *one* security against the ambition of military leaders.

Militia.

MILITIA.

We possess another security against the dangers of armies, in the great body of militia. Massachusetts, at this time, presents the noble spectacle of fifty or sixty thousand of her citizens, with arms in their hands, ready to point their bayonets at the breast of any tyrant who may attempt to crush their freedom !

1811, arming for war with England.

NAVIES.

Without a marine, no foreign commerce could exist to any extent. It is the appropriate, the natural (if the term may be allowed) connexion of foreign commerce. The shepherd and his faithful dog are not more necessary to guard the flock that browse and gambol on the neighboring mountain. I consider the prosperity of foreign commerce indissolubly allied to marine power. Neglect to provide the one and you must abandon the other.

Navy Bill, 1812.

POWER TO MAKE WAR.

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

MISCELLANEOUS.

APOTHEGMS, MAXIMS AND SENTIMENTS.

Doctrina sed vim promovet insitam,
Rectique cultus pectora roborant. HOR.

POLITICAL ECONOMY.

The wants of man may be classed under three heads: food, raiment, and defence. They are felt alike in a state of barbarism and of civilization. He must be defended against the ferocious beasts of prey in the one condition,—and against the ambition, violence, and injustice, incident to the other. If he seeks to obtain a supply of these wants without giving an equivalent, he is a beggar or a robber; if by promising an equivalent which he cannot give—he is fraudulent; and if by a commerce in which there is perfect freedom on his side, whilst he meets with nothing but restrictions on the other, he submits to an unjust and degrading inequality. What is true of individuals is equally so of nations.

Home Industry, 1820.

Competition—Of all human powers operating on the affairs of mankind, none is greater than that of competition. It is action and re-action. It operates between individuals in the same nation, and between different nations. It resembles the meeting of the mountain torrent, grooving by its precipitous motion, its own channel, and ocean's tide. Unopposed, it sweeps every

thing before it; but, counterpoised, the waters become calm, safe and regular. It is like the segments of a circle or an arch; taken separately, each is nothing; but in their combination they produce efficiency, symmetry, and perfection.

Native Industry—Are the fine graceful forms of our fair countrywomen less lovely when enveloped in the chintses and calicoes produced by native industry, than when clothed in the tinsel of foreign drapery?

IMPORTS—REVENUE—TAXATION.

Large importations fill the coffers of government, and empty the pockets of the people. Small importations imply prudence on the part of the people, and leave the treasury empty. In war, the revenue disappears; in time of peace, it is unsteady

By the encouragement of home industry, you will lay a basis of internal taxation, when it gets strong, that will be steady and uniform, yielding alike in peace and war.

We do not derive our ability from abroad to pay taxes. That depends upon our wealth and our industry; and it is the same, whatever may be the form of levying the public contributions.

Distribution—From the first, I have been of those who protested against the existence of any power in this government to tax the people for the purpose of a subsequent distribution of the money among the States. I still protest against it. There exists no such power.

Wealth.—The great desideratum of national economy

is the same as in private pursuits : that is, what is the best application of the aggregate industry of a nation, that can be made honestly to produce the largest sum of National wealth ?

Labour.—Labour is the source of all wealth ; but it is not natural labour only. Such are the improvements and the perfections of machinery, that, in analysing the compound value of many fabrics, the element of natural labour is so inconsiderable as almost to escape detection.

The object of wise governments should be, by sound legislation, so to protect the industry of their own citizens, against the policy of foreign powers, as to give it the most expansive force in the production of wealth.

American Industry, 1824.

Internal Improvement.—Of all the modes in which a government can employ its surplus revenue, none is more permanently beneficial than that of internal improvement. Fixed to the soil, it becomes a durable part of the land itself, diffusing comfort, and activity, and animation on all sides.

Roads and canals are in the nature of fortifications ; since, if not the deposits of military resources, they enable you to bring into rapid action the military resources of the country, whatever they may be. They are better than any fortifications, because they serve the double purposes of peace and of war. They dispense in a great degree with fortifications, since they have all the effect of that concentration at which fortifications aim.

NATIONAL AND SOCIAL.

NATIONS, LIKE INDIVIDUALS, FAIL IN NOTHING WHICH THEY BOLDLY ATTEMPT, WHEN SUSTAINED BY VIRTUOUS PURPOSE AND DETERMINED RESOLUTION ?

Nations, like individuals, do not sensibly feel, and seldom act upon dangers which are remote either in time or place.

NO GUARANTEE FOR THE CONDUCT OF NATIONS OR INDIVIDUALS OUGHT TO BE STRONGER THAN THAT WHICH HONOR IMPOSES.

The best security against the demoralization of society is the constant and profitable employment of its members.

THE GREATEST DANGER TO PUBLIC LIBERTY IS FROM IDLENESS AND VICE.

Nothing is more prejudicial to the great interests of a nation than uncertain and varying policy.

Perhaps the care of the interests of one people is sufficient for all the wisdom of one legislature; and that it is, among nations, as among individuals, that the happiness of the whole is but secured by each attending to its own peculiar interests.

Majority.—“Vox populi vox Dei.”—A majority of the people has decided, and from their decision, there can and ought to be no appeal.

Rights of Minority.—The majority ought never to trample upon the feelings, or violate the just rights of the minority. They ought never to triumph over the fallen, nor to make any but a temperate and equitable use of their power.

The great principle, which lies at the foundation of all free governments, is that the majority must govern; from which there is or can be no appeal but to the sword. That majority ought to govern wisely, equitably, moderately, and constitutionally; but govern it must, subject only to that terrible appeal.

CHARACTER.

Of all the properties which belong to honorable men, not one is so highly prized as that of character.

Calumny.—If the accuser of a political offence is absolved from the duty of supporting his accusations, every other accuser of offence stands equally absolved. Such a principle practically carried into society, would subvert all harmony, peace and tranquillity. None,—no age, nor sex, nor profession, nor calling would be safe against its baleful and overwhelming influence. It would amount to a universal license to universal calumny!

Lexington, 1827.

GOLDEN RULES.

It has been my habit, when an election is once decided, to forget, as soon as possible, all the irritating circumstances which attended the preceding canvass. If one be successful, one should be content with his success. If he have lost it, railing will do no good.

Christianity and charity enjoin us never to ascribe a bad motive, if we can suppose a good one.

It is a maxim with me, when acting either in a public or a private character, to attempt nothing more than what there exists a prospect of accomplishing.

POLITICAL CONSISTENCY.

The preservation of the public confidence can only be secured, or merited, by a faithful adherence to the principles by which it has been acquired.

I prefer to the suggestions of the pride of consistency, the evident interests of the community.

My public life, I trust, furnishes the best guarantee for my faithful adherence to those great principles of external and internal policy to which it has been hitherto zealously dedicated.

STATESMANSHIP.

The duty of the statesman is, to elevate himself above petty conflicts: calmly to survey all the various interests, and deliberately to proportion the measures of protection to each, according to its nature and to the general wants of society.

And is it not the duty of every man who aspires to be a statesman to look at naked facts as they really are? Must he suppress them? Ought he, like children, to throw the counterpane over his eyes, and persuade himself that he is secure from danger?

Statesmen should regulate their conduct, and adapt their measures to the exigencies of the times in which they live.

If statesmen would carefully observe the conduct of private individuals in the management of their own affairs, they would have much surer guides in promoting the interests of the State, than the visionary speculations of theoretical writers.

No prudent or practical government, will, in its measures, run counter to the long settled habits and usages of the people. Religion, language, laws, the established currency and business of a whole country, cannot be easily or suddenly uprooted.

Legislation.—It should be a prominent object with wise legislators, to multiply the vocations and extend the business of society, as far as it can be done, by the protection of our interests at home, against the injurious effects of foreign legislation.

In a scheme of policy which is devised for a nation, we should not limit our views to its operation during a single year, or even for a short term of years. We should look at its operation for a considerable time, and in war as well as in peace.

I will express two opinions; the first of which is, that it is not possible for the ingenuity of man to devise a system of State legislation to defeat the execution of the laws of the United States, which cannot be counter-vented by federal legislation.

POWER.

Mr. President, The arts of power and its minions are the same in all countries and in all ages. It marks a victim; denounces it; and excites the public odium and the public hatred, to conceal its own abuses and

encroachments. It avails itself of the prejudice and the passions of the people, silently and secretly, to forge chains to enslave the people

Parties in the actual possession of power, especially when they have grossly abused it, are perpetually dreading its loss. The miser does not cling to his treasure with a more death-like grasp. Their suspicions are always active and on the alert. In every form they behold a rival; and every breeze comes charged with alarm and dread. A thousand spectres glide before their affrighted imaginations; and they see, in every attempt to enlighten those who have placed them in office, a sinister design to snatch from them their authority.

Arbitrary Power.—Names are nothing. The existence or non-existence of arbitrary government does not depend upon the title or denomination bestowed on the chief of the State, but upon the quantum of power which he possesses and wields. Autocrat, sultan, emperor, dictator, king, doge, president, are all mere names; in which the power respectively possessed by them is not to be found, but is to be looked for in the constitution, or the established usages and practices of the several States which they govern and control. If the Autocrat of Russia were called President of all the Ruissas, the actual power remaining unchanged, his authority under his new denomination would continue undiminished; and, if the President of the United States were to receive the title of Autocrat of the United

States, the amount of his authority would not be increased, without an alteration of the constitution.

Taylorsville, Va., 1840.

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SWORD AND PURSE.

The two most important powers of civil government are, those of the sword and the purse. The first, with some restriction, is confided by the constitution to the executive; and the last to the legislative department. If they are separate, and exercised by different responsible departments, civil liberty is safe; but if they are united in the hands of the same individual, it is gone.

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

—
Fellow-citizens, there is one divorce urgently demanded by the safety and the highest interests of the country—a divorce of the President from the treasury of the United States.

—
Our British ancestors understood perfectly well the immense importance of the money power in a representative government. It is the great lever by which the crown is touched, and made to conform its administration to the interests of the kingdom, and the will of the people. Deprive parliament of the power of freely granting or withholding supplies, and surrender to the king the purse of the nation, he instantly becomes an absolute monarch. Whatever may be the form of government—elective or hereditary, democratic or despotic—that person who commands the force of the

nation, and at the same time has uncontrolled possession of the purse of the nation, has absolute power, whatever may be the official name by which he is called.

THE UNION.

With respect to this Union, Mr. President, the truth cannot be too generally proclaimed, nor too strongly inculcated, that it is necessary to the whole and to all the parts—necessary to those parts, indeed, in different degrees, but vitally necessary to each—and that threats to disturb or dissolve it, coming from any of the parts, would be quite as indiscreet and improper as would be threats from the residue to exclude those parts from the pale of its benefits.

Extension of Dominion.—If a parent country will not, or cannot maintain its authority in a colony adjacent to us—and there exists in it a state of misrule and disorder, menacing our peace;—and if, moreover, such a colony, by passing into the hands of any other power, would become dangerous to the integrity of the Union, and manifestly tend to the subversion of our laws, we have a right, upon the eternal principles of self-preservation, to lay hold upon it.

1810.

LIBERTY.

I am no propogandist. I would not seek to force upon other nations our principles and our liberty, if they do not want them. I would not disturb the repose even of a detestable despotism. But if an abused and oppressed people will their freedom; if they seek to establish it; if, in truth, they have established it—we

have a right, as a sovereign power, to notice the fact, and to act as circumstances and our interest require.

Surely, sir, we need no long or learned lectures about the nature of government, and the influence of property or ranks on society. We may content ourselves with studying the true character of our own people; and with knowing that the interests are confided to us of a nation capable of doing and suffering all things for its liberty. Such a nation, if its rulers be faithful, must be invincible. I well remember an observation made to me by the most illustrious female* of the age, if not of her sex. All history showed, she said, that a nation was never conquered. No, sir; no united nation that resolves to be free, can be conquered.

Foreign Interference.—Republics, above all other governments, ought most seriously to guard against foreign influence. All history proves that the internal dissensions, excited by foreign intrigue, have produced the downfall of almost every free government that has hitherto existed. From the moment Philip intermeddled with the affairs of Greece, the liberty of Greece was doomed to inevitable destruction.

Public Responsibility.—Responsibility is the vital principle of civil liberty—as irresponsibility is the vital principle of despotism. Free government can no more exist without this principle, than animal life can be sustained without the presence of the atmosphere.

*Madame de Stael.

CHURCH AND STATE.

We have no established Church, and I trust never shall have.

All religions united with government are more or less inimical to liberty: all separated from government are compatible with freedom.

JUSTICE—*security of person.*

No man can be executed in this free country without two things being shown.

1. That the law condemns him to death :
2. That his death is pronounced by that tribunal which is authorized by the law to try him.

These principles will reach every man's case, native or foreign, citizen or alien.

1819.

FREEDOM OF THE PRESS.

It was said, by one of those few able men and bright luminaries whom Providence has yet spared to us, in answer to complaints by a foreign minister, against the freedom with which the American press treated certain French functionaries—that the press was one of those concerns which admitted of no regulation by the government; that its abuses must be tolerated, lest its freedom should be abridged. Such, sir, is the freedom of the press, as recognized by our constitution.

SOCIETY.

All society is an affair of mutual compromise. If we expect to derive the benefits which are incident to it, we must sustain our reasonable share of its burthens.

PLAN OF REFORM AND PRINCIPLES OF ADMINISTRATION.

10 JULY, 1840.

EXECUTIVE DEPARTMENT.

1st. A provision to render a person ineligible to the office of President of the United States, after a service of one term.

2d. That the veto power should be more precisely defined, and be subjected to further limitations and qualifications.

3rd. That the power of dismissal from office should be restricted, and the exercise of it be rendered responsible.

4th. That the control over the treasury of the United States should be confided and confined exclusively to Congress; and all authority of the President over it, by means of dismissing the Secretary of the Treasury, or other persons having the immediate charge of it, be rigorously precluded.

And 5th. That the appointment of members of Congress to any office, or any but a few specific offices, during their continuance in office, and for one year thereafter, be prohibited.

ADMINISTRATIVE

1. The currency of the country,—its stability and uniform value,—and—as intimately and indissolubly connected it—the assurance of the faithful performance of the fiscal services necessary to the government—should be maintained and secured by exercising all

the powers requisite to those objects with which Congress is constitutionally invested. These are the great ends to be aimed at: the means are of subordinate importance. Whether these ends, indispensable to the well-being of both the people and the government, are to be attained by sound and safe State banks, carefully selected, and properly distributed; or by a new Bank of the United States, with such limitations, conditions, and restrictions as have been indicated by experience—should be left to the arbitrament of enlightened public opinion.

Candor and truth require me to say, that, in my judgment, while banks continue to exist in the country, the services of a Bank of the United States cannot be safely dispensed with. Without a Bank of the United States, I fear we cannot have a sound currency. But it is the end, that of a sound and sufficient currency, and a faithful execution of the fiscal duties of government, that should engage the dispassionate and candid consideration of the whole community. There is nothing in the name of the Bank of the United States which has any magical charm, or to which any one need be wedded. It is to secure certain great objects, without which society cannot prosper; and if, contrary to my apprehension, these objects can be accomplished by dispensing with the agency of a Bank of the United States, and employing that of State Banks, all ought to rejoice and heartily acquiesce; and none would more than I should.

2d. That the public lands, in conformity with the trusts created expressly or by just implication, on their

acquisition, be administered in a spirit of liberality towards the new states and territories, and in a spirit of justice towards all the States.

3d. That the policy of protecting and encouraging the productions of American industry, entering into competition with the rival productions of foreign industry, be adhered to and maintained, on the basis of the principles, and in the spirit of the compromise of March, 1833.

4th. That a strict and wise economy, in the disbursement of the public money be steadily enforced; and that, to that end, all useless establishments, all unnecessary offices and places, foreign and domestic, and all extravagance, either in the collection or expenditure of the public revenue, be abolished and repressed.

5th. The several States have made such great and gratifying progress in their respective systems of internal improvement, and have been so aided by the distribution under the deposit act—that, in future, the erection of new roads and canals should be left to them; with such further aid only from the general government as they would derive from the payment of the last instalment under that act—from an absolute relinquishment of the right of Congress to call upon them to refund the previous instalments; and from their equal and just quotas, to be received by a future distribution of the nett proceeds from the sales of the public lands.

And 6th. That the right to slave property, being guaranteed by the constitution, and recognized as one of the compromises incorporated in that instrument by

our ancestors, should be left where the constitution has placed it, undisturbed and unagitated by Congress.

Speech at Taylorsville, Va.

PART III.

ELOQUENT AND REMARKABLE PASSAGES.

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P A R T I I I .

————— *facundia preceps ;*
Utiliumque sagax rerum et divina futuri— **HOM.**

SKETCHES, &c.

JEFFERSON.

IN 1801 he snatched from the rude hand of usurpation the violated Constitution of his country. He preserved that instrument in form and substance and spirit, a precious inheritance for ages to come ! How vain and impotent is party rage directed against such a man ! He is not more elevated by his lofty residence upon the summit of his own favorite mountain, than he is lifted by the serenity of his mind and the consciousness of a well-spent life, above the malignant passions and bitter feelings of the day ! No ! his own beloved Monticello is not less moved by the storms that beat against its sides, than is this illustrious man, by the howlings of the whole British pack set loose from the Essex kennel ! When the gentleman to whom I have been compelled to allude, shall have mingled his dust with that of his abused ancestors,—when he shall have been consigned to oblivion, the name of Jefferson will be hailed with gratitude ;—his memory honored and cherished as the second founder of the liberties of the people ; and the period of his administration will be looked back to, as one of the happiest and brightest epochs of American history !

House of Representatives, 1813.

GENERAL HARRISON.

A bright and glorious prospect, in the election of WILLIAM HENRY HARRISON, has opened upon the country. The necessity of a change of rulers has deeply penetrated the hearts of the people; and we everywhere behold cheering manifestations of that happy event. The fact of his election alone; without reference to the measures of his administration, will powerfully contribute to the security and happiness of the people. It will bring assurance of the cessation of that long series of disastrous experiments which have so greatly afflicted the people. Confidence will immediately revive, credit be restored, active business will return, prices of products will rise; and the people will feel and know that, instead of their servants being occupied in devising measures for their ruin and destruction, they will be assiduously employed in promoting their welfare and prosperity.

Taylorsville, 1840.

NATIONAL SKETCH.

If you wish to find an example of order, of freedom from debt, of economy,—of expenditure falling below, rather than exceeding income,—you will go to the well-regulated family of a farmer:—you will go to the house of such a man as Isaac Shelby. You will not find him haunting taverns, engaged in broils, prosecuting angry law-suits. You will behold every member of his family, clad with the produce of their own hands, and usefully employed; the spinning-wheel and the loom in motion by daybreak. With what pleasure will his wife lead you into her neat dairy,—into her

store-house,—and point you to the table-cloths, the sheets, the counterpanes which lie on this shelf for one daughter, or on that for another;—all prepared, in advance, by her provident care for the day of their respective marriages.

If you want to see an opposite example, go to the house of a man who manufactures nothing at home; whose family resorts to the store for every thing they consume. You will find him perhaps, at the tavern, or at the shop or at the cross-roads. He is engaged with the rum-grog, or the table, taking depositions, to make out some case of usury or fraud. Or, perhaps, he is furnishing materials to his lawyer to prepare a long bill of injunction in some intricate case. The sheriff is hovering about his farm to serve some new writ. On Court days (he never misses attending them) you will find him eagerly collecting his witnesses to defend himself against the merchant's and doctor's claims. Go to his house; and after the short and giddy period that his wife and daughters have flirted about in their calico and muslin frocks, what a scene of discomfort and distress is presented to you there!

What the individual family of Isaac Shelby is, I wish to see the nation in the aggregate become! He presents in epitome what the nation, ought to be *in extenso*.

AMERICA COMPARED TO A YOUNG HEIR.

America presents the image of a fine, generous-hearted young fellow, who has just come to the possession of a rich estate—an estate, which, however, requires careful management. He makes nothing; he buys every thing. He is surrounded by a parcel of Jews, each holding out his hand with a packet of buttons or pins, or some other commodity, for sale. If he asks those Jews to buy any thing which his estate produces, they tell him no; it is not for our interest; it is not for yours. Take this new book, says one of them, on political economy, and you will there perceive it is for your interest to buy from us, and to let things alone in your own country.

Home Industry, 1820.

ANECDOTE OF PATRICK HENRY.

The honorable gentleman appeared to me in the predicament in which the celebrated orator of Virginia, Patrick Henry, is said to have been once placed. Engaged in a most extensive and lucrative practice of the law, he mistook, in one instance, the side of the cause in which he was retained; and addressed the court and jury in a very masterly and convincing speech in behalf of his antagonist. His distracted client came up to him whilst he was thus employed, and interrupting him, bitterly exclaimed,—“ You have undone me! You have ruined me!”—“ Never mind,—give yourself no concern, said the adroit advocate and, turning to the court and jury, continued his argument by observing,—“ May it please your honors, and you, gentlemen of the jury, I have been stating to you what I presume

my adversary may urge on his side. I will now show you how fallacious his reasoning, and groundless his pretensions are." The skilful orator proceeded; satisfactorily refuted every argument he had advanced, and gained his cause. *

National Bank, 1811.

EAGERNESS OF PLACE HUNTERS.

I have been again and again shocked during the session, by instances of solicitation for places, before the vacancies existed. The pulse of incumbents who happen to be taken ill, is not watched with more anxiety by the attending physicians, than by those who desire to succeed them; though with very opposite feelings. Our old friend, the faithful sentinel who has stood so long at our door, became indisposed, some weeks ago. The first intelligence I had of his illness was by an application for his unvacated place. I hastened to assure myself of the extent of his danger; and was happy to find that the eagerness of succession outstripped the progress of disease.

1824.

TRIBUTE TO THE IRISH CHARACTER.

Of all foreigners, none amalgamate themselves so quickly with our people as the natives of the Emerald Isle. In some of the visions which have passed through my imagination, I have supposed that Ireland was originally, part and parcel of this continent; and that,

* I have heard or read this anecdote related of a celebrated English lawyer; but the same dilemma might have occurred to more lawyers than one; and probably the gentlemen of the long robe on each side of the Atlantic are equally ingenious in making out a *case*.—*Ed.*

by some extraordinary convulsion of nature, it was torn from America, and drifting across the ocean, was placed in the unfortunate vicinity of Great Britain. The same open-heartedness; the same generous hospitality; the same careless and uncalculating indifference about human life, characterize the inhabitants of both countries. Kentucky has been sometimes called the Ireland of America. And I have no doubt, that if the current of emigration were reversed, and set from America upon the shores of Europe, instead of bearing from Europe to America, every American emigrant to Ireland would there find—as every Irish emigrant here finds—a hearty welcome, and a happy home!

House of Representatives.

SKETCH OF A COTTON FACTORY.

Who has not been delighted with contemplating the clock-work regularity of a large cotton manufactory? I have often visited them at Cincinnati and other places, and always with increased admiration. The women, separated from the other sex, work in apartments, large, airy, well-warmed and spacious. Neatly dressed, with ruddy complexions, and happy countenances, they watch the work before them, mend the broken threads, and replace the exhausted balls or broaches. At stated hours they are called to their meals, and go and return with light and cheerful step. At night they separate, and repair to their respective houses, under the care of a mother, guardian or friend. “Six days shalt thou labor and do all that thou hast to do; but the seventh day is the Sabbath of the Lord thy God.” Accordingly, we behold them, on that sacred

day, assembled together in His Temples, and in devotional attitudes and with pious countenances offering their prayers to Heaven for all its blessings, of which it is not the least, that a system of policy has been adopted by their country, which admits of their obtaining a comfortable subsistence. Manufactures have brought into profitable employment a vast amount of female labor, which, without them, would be lost to the country.

House of Representatives, 1824.

NAPOLEON.

Throughout the period I have been speaking of, the opposition has been distinguished, amidst all its veerings and changes, by another inflexible feature—the application to Bonaparte of every vile and opprobrious epithet which our language, copious as it is in terms of vituperation, affords. He has been compared to every hideous monster and beast, from that mentioned in the Revelation, down to the most insignificant quadruped. He has been called the scourge of mankind, the destroyer of Europe, the great robber, the infidel, the modern Attila—and heaven knows by what other names. Really, gentlemen remind me of an obscure lady, in a city not very far off, who also took it into her head, in conversation with an accomplished French gentleman, to talk of the affairs of Europe. She, too, spoke of the destruction of the balance of power, stormed and raged about the insatiable ambition of the emperor; called him the curse of mankind, the destroyer of Europe. The Frenchman listened to her with perfect patience; and, when she had ceased, said to her with ineffable

politeness, "Madam, it would give my master, the emperor, infinite pain, if he knew how hardly you thought thought of him."

House of Representatives, 1813.

The principle of the system under consideration has the sanction of some of the best and wisest men, in all ages, in foreign countries as well as in our own—of the Edwards, of Henry the Great, of Elizabeth, of the Colberts, abroad; of our Franklin, Jefferson, Madison, Hamilton, at home. But it comes recommended to us by a higher authority than any of these, illustrious as they unquestionably are—by the master spirit of the age—that extraordinary man, who has thrown the Alexanders and the Cæsars infinitely farther behind him, than they stood in advance of the most eminent of their predecessors,—that singular man, who—whether he was seated on his imperial throne, deciding the fate of nations, and allotting kingdoms to the members of his family, with the same composure, if not with the same affection, as that with which a Virginia father divides his plantations among his children; or on the miserable rock of St. Helena, to which he was condemned by the cruelty and the injustice of his unworthy victors—is equally an object of the most intense admiration. He appears to have comprehended, with the rapidity of intuition, the true interests of a state, and to have been able, by the turn of a single expression, to develop the secret springs of the policy of cabinets.

House of Rep., 1824.

EXECUTION OF PRISONERS OF WAR.

To return to the case of Arbuthnot and Ambrister. Will the principle of these men having been the instigators of the war, justify their execution? It is a new one; there are no landmarks to guide us in its adoption, or to prescribe limits in its application. If William Pitt had been taken by the French army, during the late European war, could France have justifiably executed him on the ground of his having notoriously instigated the continental powers to war against France? Would France, if she had stained her character by executing him, have obtained the sanction of the world to the act, by appeals to the passions and prejudices, by pointing to the cities sacked, the countries laid waste, the human lives sacrificed in the wars which he had kindled, and by exclaiming to the unfortunate captive—You! miscreant, monster, have occasioned all these scenes of devastation and blood? What has been the conduct even of England towards the greatest instigator of all the wars of the present age? The condemnation of that illustrious man to the rocks of St. Helena, is a great blot on the English name. And I repeat what I have before said, that if Chatham, or Fox, or even William Pitt himself, had been prime minister in England, Bonaparte had never been so condemned. On that transaction history will one day pass its severe but just censure. Yes—although Napoleon had desolated half Europe; although there was scarcely a power, however humble, that escaped the mighty grasp of his ambition; although in the course of his splendid career he is charged with having committed the greatest atrocities, disgraceful to himself and to

human nature, yet even his life has been spared. The allies would not, England would not, execute him upon the ground of his being an instigator of wars.

Seminole War.

MILITARY ROADS.

Whether we refer to our own experience, or that of other countries, we cannot fail to perceive the great value of military roads. Those great masters of the world—the Romans,—how did they sustain their power so many centuries diffusing law and liberty, and intelligence around them? They made permanent military roads; and among the objects of interest which Europe now presents, are the remains of those Roman roads which are shown to the curious enquirer. If there were no other monument of the superiority and illustrious deeds of the unfortunate captive of St. Helena,—the internal improvements which he made, the road from Hamburgh to Busle would perpetuate his memory to future ages. In making these allusions, let me not be misunderstood. I do not desire to see military roads established for the purpose of *conquest* but of *defence*: and as a part of that preparation which should be made in a season of peace against war. I want to see the Bill, reported by my friend from Ohio, or some other, embracing an effective military system passed into a law: and a chain of roads and canals, by the aid of which our physical means can be promptly transported to any required point. No man who has paid the least attention to the operations of modern war, can have failed to remark how essential good roads and

canals are to the success of those operations. How often have battles been won by celerity and rapidity of movement! It is one of the most essential circumstances in war. But without good roads it is impossible.

Internal Improvement, 1818.

LOUIS PHILIPPE.

While speaking of France, allow me to make an observation—although it has no immediate, or legitimate connexion with any thing before the Senate. It is to embrace the opportunity of expressing my deep regret at a sentiment attributed by the public journals to a highly distinguished and estimable countryman of ours in another part of the capitol; which implied a doubt as to the validity of the title of Louis Philippe to the throne of France, inasmuch as it was neither acquired by conquest nor descent, and raising a question as to his being the lawful monarch of the French people. It appears to me, that after the memorable revolution of July, (in which our illustrious and lamented friend, Lafayette, bore a part so eminent and effectual), and the subsequent hearty acquiescence of all France in the establishment of the Orleans branch of the house of Bourbon upon the throne, the present king has as good a title to his crown as any of the other sovereigns of Europe have to theirs: and quite as good as any which force or the mere circumstance of birth could confer. And, if an individual so humble and at such a distance as I am, might be allowed to express an opinion on the public concerns of another country and another hemisphere, I would add that no Chief Magistrate of

any nation—amid difficulties, public and personal, the most complicated and appalling, could have governed with more ability, wisdom and firmness than have been displayed by Louis Philippe. All Christendom owes him an acknowledgement for his recent successful efforts to prevent a war which would have been disgraceful to Christian Europe—a war arising from the inordinate pretensions of an upstart Mahometan Pacha, a rebel against his lawful sovereign and a usurper of his rights—a war which, if once lighted up, must have involved all Europe, and have led to consequences which it is impossible to foresee.

Senate, 1841.

POLITICAL EXCITEMENT—1840.

Why is the plough deserted, the tools of the mechanic laid aside, and all are seen rushing to gatherings of the people? What occasions those vast and useful assemblages which we behold in every State, and in almost every neighborhood? Why those conventions of the people, at a common centre, from all the extremities of this vast union, to consult together upon the sufferings of the community, and to deliberate on the means of deliverance? Why this rabid appetite for public discussions? What is the solution of the phenomenon, which we observe, of a great nation, agitated upon its whole surface, and at its lowest depths, like the ocean when convulsed by some terrible storm? There must be a cause, and no ordinary cause.

At Taylorsville.

ELOQUENT EXTRACTS.

—hec decies repetita placebit.

HOR

MILITARY DESPOTISM.

Recall to your recollection the free nations which have gone before us. Where are they now ?

“Gone glimmering thro’ the dream of things that were ;
A schoolboys’ tale—the wonder of an hour !”

And how have they lost their liberties ? If we could transport ourselves back to the ages when Greece and Rome flourished in their greatest prosperity ;—and, mingling in the throng, should ask a Grecian, if he did not fear that some daring military chieftain, covered with glory—some Philip or Alexander—would one day overthrow the liberties of his country—the confident and indignant Grecian would exclaim,—No ! no ! we have nothing to fear from our heroes ! Our liberties will be eternal.—If a Roman citizen had been asked, if he did not fear the Conqueror of Gaul might establish a throne upon the ruins of public liberty, he would have instantly repelled the unjust insinuation. Yet, Greece fell ; Cæsar passed the Rubicon ; and the patriotic arm even of Brutus could not preserve the liberties of his devoted country. In the very year, almost the very month, when the President of the Directory declared that monarchy would never more show its frightful head in France, Buonaparte, with his grenadiers, entered the palace of St. Cloud ; and dispersing with the

bayonet, the deputies of the people, deliberating on the affairs of the State, laid the foundation of that vast fabric of despotism which overshadowed all Europe !

Beware how you give a fatal sanction, in this infant period of our Republic, to military insubordination. Remember that Greece had her Alexander,—Rome, her Cæsar—England, her Cromwell—France, her Buonaparte ; and that, if we would escape the rock on which they split, we must avoid their errors.

House of Rep. 1814.

AGGRANDIZEMENT OF INDIVIDUAL NATIONS.

If gentlemen ask me whether I do not view with regret and horror the concentration of such vast power in the hands of Buonaparte, I reply that I do. I regret to see the Emperor of China holding such universal sway over the lives and fortunes of millions of our species. I regret to see Great Britain possessing so uncontrolled a command over all the waters of the globe. If I had the ability to distribute among the nations of Europe their several portions of power and sovereignty, I would say that Holland should be resuscitated, and given the weight she enjoyed in the days of her De Witts. I would confine France within her natural boundaries—the Alps, the Pyrenees and Rhine—and make her a secondary naval power only. I would abridge the British maritime power ; raise Prussia and Austria to their original condition, and preserve the integrity of the Empire of Russia. But these are speculations.

Army Bill, 1813.

PICTURE OF SPANISH DOMINION IN SOUTH AMERICA.

Three hundred years ago, upon the ruins of the thrones of Montezuma and the Incas of Peru, Spain erected the most stupendous system of colonial despotism that the world has ever seen;—the most vigorous, the most exclusive. The great principle and object of this system, has been to render one of the largest portions of the world exclusively subservient, in all its faculties, to the interests of an inconsiderable spot in Europe. To effectuate this aim of her policy, she locked up Spanish America from all the rest of the world; and prohibited, under the severest penalties, any foreigner from entering any part of it. To keep the natives themselves ignorant of each other, and of the strength and resources of the several parts of her American possessions, she next prohibited the inhabitants of one vice-royalty or government from visiting those of another; so that the inhabitants of Mexico, for example, were not allowed to enter the vice-royalty of New Granada. The agriculture of those vast regions was so regulated and restrained as to prevent all collision with the agriculture of the peninsula. Where nature, by the character and composition of the soil, had commanded—the abominable system of Spain has forbidden—the growth of certain articles. Thus, the olive and the vine, to which Spanish America is so well adapted, are prohibited, wherever their culture can interfere with the olive and the vine of the peninsula. The commerce of the country, in the direction and objects of the exports and imports, is also sub-

jected to the narrow and selfish views of Spain—and fettered by the odious spirit of monopoly existing in Cadiz. She has sought, by scattering discord among the several castes of her American population, and by a debasing course of education, to perpetuate her oppression. Whatever concerns public law, or the science of government—all writers upon political economy, or that tend to give vigor, and freedom, and expansion to the intellect—are prohibited. Gentlemen would be astonished by the long list of distinguished authors, whom she proscribes, to be found in Depon's and other works. A main feature in her policy is that which constantly elevates the European and depresses the American character. Out of upwards of seven hundred and fifty viceroys and captains-general, whom she has appointed since the conquest of America, about eighteen only have been from the body of the American population. On all occasions, she seeks to raise and promote her European subjects, and to degrade and humiliate the Creoles. Wherever in America her sway extends, every thing seems to pine and wither beneath its baneful influence. The richest regions of the earth; man, his happiness and his education, all the fine faculties of his soul, are regulated, and modified, and moulded, to suit the execrable purposes of an inexorable despotism.

House of Rep. 1818.

HUMANITY TO THE INDIAN.

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

I, too, hate them; from my very soul I abominate them. But I love my country, and its constitution; I love liberty and safety; and fear military despotism more even, than I hate these monsters. The gentleman, in the course of his remarks, alluded to the State from which I have the honor to come. Little, sir, does he know of the high and magnanimous sentiments of the people of that State, if he supposes they will approve of the transaction to which he referred. Brave and generous, humanity and clemency towards a fallen foe constitute one of their noblest characteristics. Amidst all the struggles for that fair land between the natives and the present inhabitants, I defy the gentleman to point out one instance in which a Kentuckian has stained his hand by—nothing but my high sense of the distinguished services and exalted merits of General Jackson prevents my using a different term—the execution of an unarmed and prostrate captive. Yes—there is one solitary exception, in which a man, enraged at beholding an Indian prisoner, who had been celebrated for his enormities, and who had destroyed some of his kindred, plunged his sword into his bosom. The wicked deed was considered as an abominable outrage when it occurred, and the name of the man has been handed down to the execration of posterity.

Sir, we have no right to practise, under color of retaliation, enormities on the Indians. If it can be shown, that from the first settlement of the Colonies, on this part of the American continent, to the present time, we have constantly refrained from retaliating

on the Indians the excesses practised by them towards us, we are morally bound by this invariable usage, and cannot lawfully change it without the most cogent reasons. I know of but one deviation from the code which regulates the warfare between civilized communities; and that was the destruction of Indian towns, which was supposed to be authorized upon the ground that we could not bring the war to a termination but by destroying the means which nourished it. With this single exception, the other principles of the laws of civilized nations are extended to them, and are thus made law in regard to them. When did this humane custom—by which in consideration of their ignorance, and our enlightened condition, the rigors of war were mitigated—begin? At a time when we were weak, and they comparatively strong—when they were the lords of the soil, and we were seeking, from the vices, from the corruptions, from the religious intolerance, and from the oppressions of Europe, to gain an asylum among them. And when is it proposed to change this custom, to substitute for it the bloody maxims of barbarous ages, and to interpolate the Indian public law with revolting cruelties? At a time when the situation of the two parties is totally changed—when we are powerful and they are weak—at a time when, (to use a figure drawn from their own sublime eloquence,) the poor children of the forest have been driven by the great wave which has flowed in from the Atlantic ocean almost to the base of the Rocky Mountains, and, overwhelming them in its terrible progress,

has left no other remains of hundreds of tribes now extinct, than those which indicate the remote existence of their former companion, the Mammoth of the New World! Yes, sir, it is at this auspicious period of our country, when we hold a proud and lofty station among the first nations of the world, that we are called upon to sanction a departure from the established laws and usages which have regulated our Indian hostilities. And does the honorable gentleman from Massachusetts expect, in this august body—this enlightened assembly, of Christians and Americans—by glowing appeals to our passions, to make us forget our principles, our religion, our clemency, and our humility? Why is it that we have not practised towards the Indian tribes the right of retaliation, now for the first time asserted in regard to them? It is because it is a principle proclaimed by reason, and enforced by every respectable writer on the law of nations, that retaliation is only justifiable as calculated to produce effect in the war. Vengeance is a new motive for resorting to it. If retaliation will produce no effect on the enemy, we are bound to abstain from it by every consideration of humanity and of justice. Will it, then, produce effect on the Indian tribes? No—they care not about the execution of those of their warriors who are taken captive. They are considered as disgraced by the very circumstance of their captivity, and it is often mercy to the unhappy captive to deprive him of his existence. The poet evinced a profound knowledge of the Indian character, when he put into

the mouth of the son of a distinguished chief, about to be led to the stake and tortured by his victorious enemy, the words :

“Begin, ye tormentors! your threats are in vain :
The son of Alknomook will never complain.”

Seminole War, 1818.

ON THE RECOGNITION OF THE INDEPENDENCE OF GREECE.

But, sir, it is not for Greece alone that I desire to see this measure adopted. It will give to her but little support, and that purely of a moral kind. It is principally for America, for the credit and character of our common country, for our own unsullied name, that I hope to see it pass. What, Mr. Chairman, appearance on the page of history would a record like this exhibit? “In the month of January, in the year of our Lord and Savior, 1824, when all European Christendom beheld, with cold and unfeeling indifference, the unexampled wrongs and inexpressible misery of Christian Greece, a proposition was made in the Congress of the United States,—almost the sole, the last, the greatest depository of human hope and human freedom—the representatives of a gallant nation, containing a million of freemen ready to fly to arms—while the people of that nation were spontaneously expressing its deep-toned feeling, and the whole continent by one simultaneous emotion, was rising, and solemnly and anxiously supplicating and invoking high Heaven to spare and succor Greece, and to invigorate her arms, in her glorious cause—while temples and senate houses were alike resounding with one burst of generous and holy

sympathy;—in the year of our Lord and Savior, (that Savior of Greece and of us) a proposition was offered in the American Congress to send a messenger to Greece, to inquire into her state and condition, with a kind expression of our good wishes and our sympathies—and it was rejected!" Go home, if you can—go home, if you dare, to your constituents, and tell them that you voted it down—meet, if you can, the appalling countenances of those who sent you here, and tell them that you shrank from the declaration of your own sentiments—that you cannot tell how, but that some unknown dread, some indescribable apprehension, some indefinable danger, drove you from your purpose—that the spectres of cimeters, and crowns, and crescents, gleamed before you, and alarmed you; and that you suppressed all the noble feelings prompted by religion, by liberty, by national independence, and by humanity. I cannot bring myself to believe that such will be the feeling of a majority of the committee. But, for myself, though every friend of the cause should desert it, and I be left to stand alone with the gentleman from Massachusetts,* I will give to his resolution the poor sanction of my unqualified approbation.

House of Rep., 1824.

*Mr. Webster.

EXTRACT—ON AFRICAN COLONIZATION.*

Such, Mr. Vice-President, is the project of the society; and such is the extension and use which may be made of the principle of colonization, in application to our slave population, by those States which are alone competent to undertake and execute it. If I could be instrumental in eradicating this deepest stain upon the character of our country, and removing all cause of reproach on account of it, by foreign nations,—if I could only be instrumental in ridding of this foul blot that revered State which gave me birth, or that not less beloved State which kindly adopted me as her son,—I would not exchange the proud satisfaction I should enjoy, for the honor of all the triumphs ever decreed to the most successful conqueror!

Of the utility of a total separation of the two incongruous portions of our population, (supposing it to be practicable,) none have ever doubted. The mode of accomplishing that desirable object has alone divided public opinion. Colonization in Hayti for a

* The object of the American Colonization Society—before whom the speech, from which the above extract is taken, was delivered, —was the colonization of the free colored people of this country. With this view the colony of LIBERIA had been established on the shores of Africa; and, on this occasion, was officially reported to be in a very prosperous and thriving state,—having “about five hundred souls, disciplined troops, forts and other means of defence, sovereignty over an extensive territory, and exerting a powerful and salutary influence over the neighboring clans.” The interest Mr. Clay takes in the advancement of this philanthropic society is in perfect accordance with his unchanging principles of enlarged benevolence. See Art. SLAVERY part 1.—ED.

time had its partisans. Without throwing any impediments in the way of executing that scheme, the American Colonization Society has steadily adhered to its own. The Haytien project has passed away. Colonization beyond the Stony Mountains has sometimes been proposed ; but it would be attended with an expense and difficulties far surpassing the African project, whilst it would not unite the same animating motives. There is a moral fitness in the idea of returning to Africa her children, whose ancestors have been torn from her by the ruthless hand of fraud and violence. Transplanted in a foreign land, they will carry back to their native soil the rich fruits of religion, civilization, law, and liberty. May it not be one of the great designs of the Ruler of the universe, (whose ways are often inscrutable by short-sighted mortals,) thus to transform an original crime into a signal blessing, to that most unfortunate portion of the globe. Of all classes of our population, the most vicious is that of the free colored. It is the inevitable result of their moral, political, and civil degradation. Contaminated themselves, they extend their vices to all around them, to the slaves and to the whites. If the principle of colonization should be confined to them ; if a colony can be firmly established, and successfully continued in Africa which should draw off annually an amount of that portion of our population equal to its annual increase, much good will be done. If the principle be adopted and applied by the States, whose laws sanction the existence of slavery to an extent equal to the annual increase of slaves, still greater good will be done. This

good will be felt by the Africans who go—by the Africans who remain—by the white population of our country, by Africa, and by America. It is a project which recommends itself to favor in all the aspects in which it can be contemplated. It will do good in every and any extent in which it may be executed. It is a circle of philanthropy, every segment of which tells and testifies to the beneficence of the whole.

Every emigrant to Africa is a missionary carrying with him credentials in the holy cause of civilization, religion, and free institutions. Why is it that the degree of success of missionary exertions is so limited, and so discouraging to those whose piety and benevolence prompt them? Is it not because the missionary is generally an alien and a stranger, perhaps of a different color, and from a different tribe? There is a sort of instinctive feeling of jealousy and distrust towards foreigners, which repels and rejects them in all countries; and this feeling is in proportion to the degree of ignorance and barbarism which prevail. But the African colonists, whom we send to convert the heathen, are of the same color, the same family, the same physical constitution. When the purposes of the colony shall be fully understood, they will be received as long-lost brethren restored to the embraces of their friends and their kindred by the dispensations of a wise Providence.

Animated by the encouragement of the past, let us proceed under the cheering prospects which lie before us. Let us continue to appeal to the pious, the liberal, and the wise. Let us bear in mind the

condition of our forefathers, when collected on the beach of England, they embarked, amidst the scoffings and the false predictions of the assembled multitude, for this distant land ; and here, in spite of all the perils of forest and ocean, which they encountered, successfully laid the foundations of this glorious republic. Undismayed by the prophecies of the presumptuous, let us supplicate the aid of the American representatives of the people ; and redoubling our labors, and invoking the blessings of an all-wise Providence, I boldly and confidently anticipate success.

In the hall of the House of Representatives, 1827.

CLOSE OF A SPEECH ON THE REMOVAL OF THE DEPOSITS.

The eyes and the hopes of the American people are anxiously turned to Congress. They feel that they have been deceived and insulted ; their confidence abused ; their interests betrayed ; and their liberties in danger. They see a rapid and alarming concentration of all power in one man's hands. They see that, by the exercise of the positive authority of the executive, and his negative power exerted over Congress, the will of one man alone prevails, and governs the Republic. The question is no longer what laws will Congress pass, but what will the executive not veto ? The President, and not Congress, is addressed for legislative action. We have seen a corporation, charged with the execution of a great national work, dismiss an experienced, faithful and zealous President, afterwards testify to his ability by a voluntary resolution, and reward his extraordinary services by a large gratuity, and appoint in his place

an executive favorite, totally inexperienced and incompetent, to propitiate the President. We behold the usual incidents of approaching tyranny. The land is filled with spies and informers; and detraction and denunciation are the orders of the day. People, and especially official incumbents in this place, no longer dare speak in the fearless tones of manly freemen, but in the cautious whispers of trembling slaves. The premonitory symptoms of despotism are upon us; and if Congress do not apply an instantaneous and effective remedy, the fatal collapse will soon come on, and we shall die—ignobly die! base, mean, and abject slaves—the scorn and contempt of mankind—unpityed, unwept, unmourned.

Senate, 1833.

**APOSTROPHE TO THE CITY OF NEW YORK, IN A SPEECH ON
THE STATE OF THE COUNTRY.**

Go on, noble city! Go on, patriotic whigs! follow up your glorious commencement; persevere, and pause not until you have regenerated and disenthralled your splendid city, and placed it at the head of American cities devoted to civil liberty, as it now stands pre-eminently the first as the commercial emporium of our common country! Merchants, mechanics, traders, laborers—never cease to recollect that, without freedom, you can have no sure commerce or business; and that without law you have no security for personal liberty, property, or even existence! Countrymen of Tone, of Emmet, of Macneven, and of Sampson, if any of you have been deceived, and seduced into the support of a cause dangerous to American liberty, hasten to review and correct your

course ! Do not forget that you abandoned the green fields of your native island to escape what you believed the tyranny of a British king ! Do not, I adjure you, lend yourselves, in this land of your asylum, this last retreat of the freedom of man, to the establishment here, for you, and for us all, of that despotism which you had proudly hoped had been left behind you, in Europe, forever ! There is much, I would fain believe, in the constitutional forms of government. But at last, it is its parental and beneficent operation that must fix its character. A government may in form be free, in practice tyrannical ; as it may in form be despotic, and in practice liberal and free.

Senate, 1834.

EXHORTATION TO THE SENATE.

Senators ! let us remain steadily by the constitution and the country, in this most portentous crisis ; let us oppose, to all encroachments and to all corruption, a manly, resolute, and uncompromising resistance ; let us adopt two rules from which we will never deviate, in deliberating upon all nominations. In the first place, to preserve untarnished and unsuspected the purity of Congress, let us negative the nomination of every member for any office, high or low, foreign or domestic, until the authority of the constitution and laws is fully restored. I know not that there is any member of either house capable of being influenced by the prospect or advancement or promotion ; I would be the last to make such an insinuation ; but suspicion is abroad, and it is best, in these times of trouble and revolution, to

defend the integrity of the body against all possible imputations. For one, whatever others may do, I here deliberately avow my settled determination, whilst I retain a seat in this chamber, to act in conformity to that rule.

Senators! we have a highly responsible and arduous position; but the people are with us, and the path of duty lies clearly marked before us. Let us be firm, persevering, and unmoved. Let us perform our duty in a manner worthy of our ancestors—worthy of American Senators—worthy of the dignity of the sovereign States that we represent—above all, worthy of the name of American freemen! Let us “pledge our lives, our fortunes, and our sacred honor,” to rescue our beloved country from all impending dangers. And, amidst the general gloom and darkness which prevail, let us continue to present one unextinguished light, steadily burning, in the cause of the people, of the constitution, and of civil liberty.

Same speech.

BELIEF TO THE COUNTRY.

But there is another quarter which possesses sufficient power and influence to relieve the public distresses. In twenty-four hours, the executive branch could adopt a measure which would afford an efficacious and substantial remedy, and re-establish confidence. And those who, in this chamber, support the administration, could not render a better service than to repair to the executive mansion, and, placing before the chief magistrate the naked and undisguised truth—prevail upon him to retrace his steps, and abandon his fatal

experiment. No one, sir, can perform that duty with more propriety than yourself. You can, if you will, induce him to change his course. To you, then, sir, in no unfriendly spirit, but with feelings softened and subdued by the deep distress which pervades every class of our countrymen, I make the appeal. By your official and personal relations with the President, you maintain with him an intercourse which I neither enjoy nor covet. Go to him and tell him, without exaggeration, but in the language of truth and sincerity, the actual condition of his bleeding country. Tell him it is nearly ruined and undone by the measures which he has been induced to put in operation. Tell him that *his* experiment is operating on the nation like the philosopher's experiment upon a convulsed animal, in an exhausted receiver; and that it must expire in agony, if he does not pause, give it free and sound circulation, and suffer the energies of the people to be revived and restored. Tell him that, in a single city, more than sixty bankruptcies, involving a loss of upwards of fifteen millions of dollars, have occurred. Tell him of the alarming decline in the value of all property, of the depreciation of all the products of industry, of the stagnation in every branch of business, and of the close of numerous manufacturing establishments, which, a few short months ago, were in active and flourishing operation. Depict to him, if you can find language to portray, the heart-rending wretchedness of thousands of the working classes cast out of employment. Tell him of the tears of helpless widows, no longer able to earn their bread; and of unclad and unfed orphans who have been driven,

by his policy, out of the busy pursuits in which but yesterday they were gaining an honest livelihood. Say to him that if firmness be honorable, when guided by truth and justice, it is intimately allied to another quality, of the most pernicious tendency, in the prosecution of an erroneous system. Tell him, how much more true glory is to be won by retracing false steps, than by blindly rushing on until his country is overwhelmed in bankruptcy and ruin. Tell him—of the ardent attachment, the unbounded devotion, the enthusiastic gratitude towards him, so often signally manifested by the American people; and that they deserve at his hands better treatment. Tell him, to guard himself against the possibility of an odious comparison with the worst of the Roman emperors, who, contemplating with indifference the conflagration of the mistress of the world, regaled himself during the terrific scene in the throng of his dancing courtiers. If you desire to secure for yourself the reputation of a public benefactor, describe to him truly the universal distress already produced, and the certain ruin which must ensue from perseverance in his measures. Tell him that he has been abused, deceived, betrayed, by the wicked counsels of unprincipled men around him. Inform him that all efforts in Congress to alleviate or terminate the public distress are paralyzed and likely to prove totally unavailing, from his influence upon a large portion of the members, who are unwilling to withdraw their support, or to take a course repugnant to his wishes and feelings. Tell him that, in his bosom alone, under actual circumstances, does the power abide to relieve the country; and that, unless he opens

it to conviction, and corrects the errors of his administration, no human imagination can conceive, and no human tongue can express, the awful consequences which may follow. Intreat him to pause, and to reflect that there is a point beyond which human endurance cannot go; and let him not drive this brave, generous, and patriotic people to madness and despair.

Senate, 1834.

INDIGNANT PERORATION—ON THE EXPUNGING RESOLUTION.

But why should I detain the Senate, or needlessly waste my breath, in fruitless exertions. The decree has gone forth. It is one of urgency, too. The deed is to be done—that foul deed, like the blood-stained hands of the guilty Macbeth, all ocean's waters will never wash out. Proceed, then, to the noble work which lies before you, and like other skilful executioners, do it quickly. And when you have perpetrated it, go home to the people, and tell them what glorious honors you have achieved for our common country! Tell them that you have extinguished one of the brightest and purest lights that ever burnt at the altar of civil liberty. Tell them that you have silenced one of the noblest batteries that ever thundered in defence of the constitution, and bravely spiked the cannon. Tell them that, henceforward, no matter what daring or outrageous act any President may perform, you have for ever hermetically sealed the mouth of the Senate. Tell them that he may fearlessly assume what power he pleases—snatch from its lawful custody the public purse—command a military detachment to enter the halls of the capitol, overawe Congress, trample down the constitution, and raze every bulwark

of freedom ; but that the Senate must stand mute, in silent submission, and not dare to raise its opposing voice—that it must wait until a House of Representatives, humbled and subdued like itself, and a majority of it composed of the partisans of the President, shall prefer articles of impeachment. Tell them finally, that you have restored the glorious doctrine of passive obedience and non-resistance ; and, if the people do not pour their indignation and imprecations, I have yet to learn the character of American freemen !

Senate, 1837.

RETURN TO THE HOME OF BOYHOOD.

I have come here to the county of my nativity in the spirit of a pilgrim, to meet, perhaps for the last time, the companions and the descendants of the companions of my youth. Wherever we roam—in whatever climate or land we are cast by the accidents of human life, beyond the mountains or beyond ocean, in the legislative halls of the capitol, or in the retreats and shades of private life—our hearts turn with an irresistible instinct to the cherished spot which ushered us into existence. And we dwell with delightful associations on the recollection of the streams in which, during our boyish days, we bathed—the fountains at which we drunk—the piney fields, the hills and the valleys where we sported, and the friends who shared these enjoyments with us. Alas ! too many of these friends of mine have gone whither we must all shortly go ; and the presence here of the small remnant left behind attests both our loss and our early attachment. I would greatly prefer, my friends, to employ the time

which this visit affords in friendly and familiar conversation on the virtues of our departed companions, and on the scenes and adventures of our young days; but the expectation which prevails, the awful state of our beloved country, and the opportunities which I have enjoyed in its public councils impose on me the obligation of touching on topics less congenial with the feelings of my heart, but possessing higher public interest. I assure you, fellow-citizens, however, that I present myself before you for no purpose of exciting prejudices or inflaming passions, but to speak to you in all soberness and truth, and to testify to the things which I know, or the convictions which I entertain, as an ancient friend, who has lived long, and whose career is rapidly drawing to a close. Throughout an arduous life, I have endeavored to make truth and the good of the country the guides of my public conduct; but in Hanover county, for which I cherish sentiments of respect, gratitude and veneration, above all other places, would I avoid saying anything that I did not sincerely and truly believe.

Speech at Taylorsville. 1840.

PERORATION—SPEECH ON THE PRESIDENTIAL ELECTION.

This contest has had no parallel since the period of the revolution. In both instances there is a similarity of object. That was to achieve—this is to preserve the liberties of the country. Let us catch the spirit which animated, and imitate the virtues which adorned our noble ancestors. Their devotion, their constancy, their untiring activity, their perseverance, their indomitable resolution, their sacrifices, their valor! If they fought

for liberty or death (in the memorable language of one of the most illustrious of them), let us never forget that the prize now at hazard, is liberty or slavery! We should be encouraged by the fact that the contest to the success of which they solemnly pledged their fortunes, their lives, and their sacred honor, was far more unequal than that in which we are engaged. But on the other hand, let us cautiously guard against too much confidence. History and experience prove that more has been lost by self-confidence and contempt of enemies, than won by skill and courage. Our opponents are powerful in numbers; and in organization active, insidious, and possessed of ample means, and wholly unscrupulous in the use of them. They count upon success by the use of two words, Democracy and Federalism—Democracy which, in violation of all truth, they appropriate to themselves, and Federalism which, in violation of all justice, they apply to us. And, allow me to conjure you not to suffer yourselves to be diverted, deceived, or discouraged by false rumors which will be industriously circulated, between the present time and the period of the election, by our opponents. They will put them forth in every variety and without number, in the most imposing forms, certified and sworn to by conspicuous names. They will brag, they will boast, they will threaten. Regardless of all their arts, let us keep steadily and faithfully, and fearlessly at work.

But if the opposition perform its whole duty, if every member of it act, (as in the celebrated battle of Lord Nelson,) as if the eyes of the whole nation were fixed on him, and as if on his sole exertions depended the

issue of the day, I sincerely believe, that at least twenty of the States of the Union will unite in the glorious work of the salvation of the constitution, and the redemption of the country.

Taylorsville, 1840.

PERORATION TO HIS SPEECH ON THE PRE-EMPTION BILL.

The measure which I have had the honor to propose, settles this great and agitating question forever. It is founded upon no partial and unequal basis, aggrandizing a few of the states to the prejudice of the rest. It stands on a just, broad, and liberal foundation. It is a measure applicable not only to the states now in being, but to the territories, as states shall hereafter be formed out of them, and to all new states as they shall rise tier behind tier, to the Pacific ocean. It is a system operating upon a space almost boundless, and adapted to all future time. It was a noble spirit of harmony and union that prompted the revolutionary states originally to cede to the United States. How admirably does this measure conform to that spirit and tend to the perpetuity of our glorious Union! The imagination can hardly conceive one fraught with more harmony and union among the States. If to the other ties that bind us together as one people, be superadded the powerful interest springing out of a just administration of our exhaustless public domain—by which, for a long succession of ages, in seasons of peace, the states will enjoy the benefit of the great and growing revenue which it produces, and in periods of war that revenue will be applied to the prosecution of the war—we shall be forever linked together with the strength of adamantine chains. No section, no state, would ever be mad enough

to break off from the Union, and deprive itself of the inestimable advantages which it secures. Although thirty or forty more of the new states should be admitted into this Union, this measure would cement them all fast together. The honorable member from Missouri near me, (Mr. Linn,) is very anxious to have a settlement formed at the mouth of the Oregon, and he will probably be satisfied at no very distant day. Then will be seen members from the Pacific States scaling the Rocky Mountains, passing through the country of the grizzly bear, descending the turbid Missouri, entering the father of rivers, ascending the beautiful Ohio, and coming to this capitol, to take their seats in its spacious and magnificent halls. Proud of the commission they bear, and happy to find themselves here in council with friends, and brothers, and countrymen enjoying the calculable benefits of the great confederacy, and among them their annual distributive share of the issues of a nation's inheritance, would even they, the remote people of the Pacific, ever desire to separate themselves from such a high and glorious destiny? The fund which is to be dedicated to these great and salutary purposes, does not proceed from a few thousand acres of land, soon to be disposed of; but from more than ten hundred millions, of acres; and age after age may roll away—state after state arise—generation succeed generation, and still the fund will remain not only unexhausted, but improved and increasing, for the benefit of our children's children to the remotest posterity. The measure is not one pregnant with jealousy, discord, or division; but it is a far-reaching, comprehensive, healing measure of compromise and composure, having for its patriotic

object the harmony, the stability, and the prosperity of the states of the Union.

Senate, 1841.

HEART-STIRRING APPEAL.

Fellow citizens of all parties! The present situation of our country is one of unexampled distress and difficulty; but there is no occasion for any despondency. A kind and bountiful Providence has never deserted us—punished us he, perhaps, has, for our neglect of his blessings—and our misdeeds. We have a varied and fertile soil, a genial clime, and free institutions. Our whole land is covered, in profusion, with the means of subsistence, and the comforts of life. Our gallant ship (it is unfortunately true), lies helpless, tossed on a tempestuous sea, amid the conflicting billows of contending parties, without a rudder, and without a faithful pilot. But in that Ship is our whole people, by whatever political denomination they are known. If she goes down, we all go down together. Let us remember the dying words of the gallant and lamented Lawrence—“Don't give up the Ship.” The glorious Banner of our country, with its unstained Stars and Stripes, still proudly floats at its mast-head. With stout hearts and strong arms we can surmount all our difficulties. Let us all—all—rally round that Banner, and firmly resolve to perpetuate our liberties, and regain our lost prosperity.

Whigs! Arouse from the ignoble supineness which encompasses you—awake from the lethargy in which you lie bound—cast from you that unworthy apathy which seems to make you indifferent to the fate of your country. Arouse, awake, shake off the dew drops that glitter on your garments, and once more march to Battle and to Victory!

Speech at Lexington, June, 1842.

THE CLAY CODE ;

OR,

TEXT-BOOK OF ELOQUENCE

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 Particularly note the following

ERRATA

In the Note on **DUELLING.**

- p. 14, 2d line of note, for " ancient," read " eminent."
" 9th " " for " please," read " place."
" 12th " " for " ion," read " lion."
p. 15, 5th " " for " unsullied honor," read " insulted honor."
" 8th " " for " their," read " this."
" 9th " " after " late," insert " king."
" 11th " " for " if," read " of."

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