MINERS' JOURNAL, AND POTTSVILLE GENERAL ADVERTISER.

I will teach you to pierce the bowels of the Earth, and bring out from the caverns of Mountains, Metals which will give strength to our hands and subject all Nature to our use and pleasure.—*Dr. Johnson.*

PUBLISHED EVERY SATURDAY BY BENJAMIN BANNAN, POTTSVILLE, SCHUYLKILL COUNTY, PA.

VOL. XXIV. SATURDAY MORNING, JULY 29, 1848. NO. 31.

A CARD TO MALE READERS.

TO those who intend visiting Philadelphia to make purchases, it is important to know where it can be done to the best advantage. Such as are about to buy HATS of their own or by the case to sell again, are respectfully informed that there is an establishment at No. 1, Strawberry street, on the second floor, conducted by E. DA-[illegible], on the cash system entirely, where HATS of the best materials, and of the *latest fashion*, can positively be obtained at from one to two dollars less than at the large and extravagant stores in the fashionable streets of the city, where rents are from *one* to *three thousand* dollars per annum! [illegible] this establishment, on account of locating himself [illegible] street, and up stairs, the proprietor procures his [illegible] at the low rent of one hundred dollars. The vast [difference] in the profits which there must be between [these] descriptions of stores, every one can answer. [It] is earnestly solicited, as it is certain no one [will] ever regret doing so. Strawberry street is the first above Second, running from Market to Chesnut street.

[Phila.] Feb. 19, 1848 7-6m

FIRE! FIRE! FIRE!

THE old adage, "take time by the forelock" commends itself to every one by its plain common sense; and, when the chill winds of autumn begin to blow, [the] notice of the approach of winter, every prudent [man] will at once make provision against cold weather. [Know]ing that the people of Pottsville have a commen[dable] regard for comfort, convenience, and economy, [LONG] & JACKSON have just started their new store [opposi]te street, opposite Trinity church, with an ex[tensive] assortment of PARLOR AND COOKING [STO]VES, among which will be found all the old and [approv]ed styles, and a number of new ones adapted [partic]ularly to the wants of the Coal Region. We have [the pl]easure of introducing to this neighborhood [PIER]CE'S AMERICAN AIR TIGHT COOKING STOVE, WITH BRICK TOP OVEN. [This st]ove, which is of recent invention, bids fair to su[persede] every other kind now in use. During the past [year it] has grown into public favor with unprecedented [rapidity]. Also, [STEW]ART'S SUMMER AND WINTER AIR TIGHT COOKING STOVE. [This] stove, which is equally adapted to wood or coal, [has] received silver medals at the fairs of the American [Institu]te, New York; of the Mechanics' Institute, Bos[ton; o]f the Franklin Institute, Philadelphia; and of [the Me]chanics' Institute, Wilmington, Delaware. A[ll] of their stoves are now in operation in this re[gion a]nd have given entire satisfaction. [Call] and examine our assortment of *parlor* and *chamber* [stoves], they are of all sorts, sizes and prices. [A lar]ge and splendid assortment of *Sheet Iron*, *Tin*, [and *Jap*]*anned Ware* kept constantly on hand. [TIN] ROOFING and all work connected with the bu[siness] executed with neatness and despatch, and at the [most re]asonable prices. LONG & JACKSON.

Stoves! Stoves! Stoves!

[C]orner of Norwegian and Rail Road Streets, POTTSVILLE.

SOLOMON HOOVER,

HAS just received at his establishment an elegant assortment of Parlor, Hall, Office, and Cooking Stoves, embracing the largest and most elegant assortment ever offered in the borough of Pottsville, among which are [illegible]LOW'S AIR TIGHT REVOLVING FLUE [COOK]ING STOVE, for either coal or wood, which are [consider]ed the best stove in use in the county. [illegible]E'S IMPROVED COOKING STOVE, and [PH]ILADA. AIR-TIGHT COOKING STOVE. [Toget]her with a large assortment of beautiful Par[lor and] Room stoves, Radiators, &c.; &c., all of which [will be so]ld at unusual low rates. [His sto]ck of Tin Ware is very extensive, embracing [all a]rticles in that line of business. Also Japanned [ware, s]uch as Waiters &c., all of which will be sold [lower t]han any other establishment, both wholesale [and ret]ail. [He als]o manufactures to order all kinds of Tin and [Sheet Ir]on work, at short notice and low rates. [ROOF]ING & SPOUTING. As he is prepared to ex[ecute] Tin Roofing and Spouting, he invites those in [want of] such work, to give him a call, as he pledges [himself] to do it cheaper and better than it has ever [been do]ne in this place before. [The pu]blic are respectfully invited to call and exam[ine his] stock and judge for themselves. [Sep25 39

Stoves! Stoves! Stoves!

THE undersigned respectfully beg leave to inform the public that they have commenced a STOVE FOUNDRY which is now in full operation, on Coal street, next to Henry Jenkins' Wire Manufactory in Pottsville, and known as the [Pottsv]ille Stove Works: they would, therefore, call the [attention of] stove dealers of this region, and all others, [to their s]tock of stoves, as they feel confident that they [can sell] them on as reasonable terms and with stoves [of a p]attern and equal in beauty and material to those [manufac]tured at the Philadelphia foundries. [All] kinds of castings done to order at the short[est notice] and on the most reasonable terms. HILL & WILLIAMS [Pottsvil]le, May 29, 1847 22-ly

[Me]yers' Grand-Action Pianos.

THE subscriber respectfully invites the public to call at Mr. Witfield's Store, Centre street, and examine his assortment of C. Meyer's GRAND [ACTIO]N PIANOS of Philadelphia. [These i]nstruments are highly approved of by the most [eminent] Professors and Composers of music. For qual[ity of] tone, touch, and keeping in tune up to concert [pitch, they] cannot be surpassed by either American or [Europe]an Pianos. They are chosen by all musical [celebritie]s, such as Madame Castellan, [illegible] Meyer, Vieux Temps, Burk, Wallace, Templeton [and] many others; they are used for 200 or 300 [concerts] a year. They have also received the first [premium] of the three last exhibitions, and the last [medal] of the Franklin Institute was awarded to [them]. The subscriber warrants these instruments for [illegible] [illegible] lowest manufacturer's prices on reasona[ble terms]. All orders from abroad will be promptly [attended to]. T. E. RICHARDS.

[Scharf]er's First Premium Pianos.

JUST received two cases of C. Meyer's Philadelphia first premium PIANO FORTES, which are unrivaled for power and tone and are chosen by the [first artists] for their concerts. The Franklin In[stitute] of Philadelphia awarded the first premium and [medal in] 1843, '44, '45, '46, and '47, to Mr. Meyer for [the best] piano at the exhibition, [illegible] [illegible] a silver medal of the Institute for the best [illegible]. Those in want of a good instrument [will find] it to their advantage to call on the subscriber [at B]annan's Book and Music Store, before purcha[sing els]ewhere. T. C. ZULICH. [illegible] Agent for the Manufacturer.

WHITE LEAD FOR SALE, CHEAP FOR CASH.

[G]odman & Joseph Wharton,

White Lead Manufacturers,

OFFER for sale at low prices for cash, their superior White Lead, warranted [equal to] any made in Ameri[ca, put up] in kegs of all sizes. Also [illegible] and 2 White Lead. Country merchants are [invited to ca]ll. Office No. 110 South Front St. Phila.

PURE WHITE LEAD.

Wetherill & Brother,

[MANU]FACTURERS, No. 65, North Front street, [Philadelphia], have now a good supply of their war[ranted pure] WHITE LEAD, and those customers who [have been di]sappointed in consequence of a run [on the article] recently can now have their orders filled. [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] WETHERILL & BROTHER in full, [on the] other, *warranted pure*, all in red letters.

F. X. LAUBE.

Respectfully informs his friends and the public in general, that he has established at SECOND STREET, [illegible] [illegible], where he will furnish at the lowest terms [the] newest style, all kinds of Chairs, Sofas, [Set]tees, Couches, &c. He will also attend [to] Paper Hanging business, if applied to. [illegible] May 13, 1848. 20-3m

East India Tea Company,

[HA]VING OPENED A TEA WAREHOUSE, 132, North Third street, next door to the Rotterdam Hotel, PHILADELPHIA. [illegible] GREEN AND [BLACK] TEAS, of the latest importations, [illegible]

Teas of the New Crop.

DAVID RANKEN, 73, Chesnut Street, Philadelphia, has for sale the following Teas—

300 half Chests Young Hyson Tea.
100 do Gunpowder do
150 do Imperial do
75 do Hyson do
100 do Powchong do
80 do Ningyong Souchong.
40 do Oolong do
75 chests Padre Souchong.
45 do Black leaf Pekoe.
45 half chests do do
25 do Orange do
100 Mata Cassia.

[illegible] comprise the best chops imported in show [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [April 29 '48. 18-3mo

A Card.

LIPPINCOTT & TAYLOR respectfully invite the attention of their customers and the public [in gen]eral, to their extensive stock of Spring [and S]ummer goods, just opened, which consist [of] English, and American style Mixed Cloths [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] LIPPINCOTT & TAYLOR. [illegible] Pottsville.

T. T. McGurn.

[SIGN] AND SIGN PAINTER, PAPER HANGER, [illegible] POTTSVILLE, PA.

Guns! Guns!!

BRIGHT & POTT,

TOWN HALL IRON STORE.

DOUBLE and Single barrel SHOT GUNS, POWDER FLASKS, SHOT BELTS, DUPONT'S CANISTER POWDER, PERCUSSION CAPS, REVOLVING PISTOLS, SINGLE AND DOUBLE PISTOLS.

The above are a fine assortment of English and German manufacture.

TABLE, POCKET, CUTLERY, SCISSORS, AND RAZORS a fine assortment of the most celebrated makes.

ROPE, HEMP, PACKING CORDAGE, ANVILS, Bellows, Vices and Files,

BLASTING TUBES FOR WET PLACES IN Mines, Safety Fuse, Long and Short handled Shovels made expressly for our own sales.

BUILDING MATERIALS,

Consisting of Locks, Latches, Hinges, Paints, Oil, Glass of American, German, and English manufacture.

IRON AND STEEL.

Hammered and Rolled Iron, Sheet, Flue, Band, and Hoop Iron. TOOLS,

Blacksmiths', Carpenters', Shoemakers', and Saddlers'.

SADDLERY, HARDWARE, & COACH TRIMMING, With a variety of iron notions. [Aug. 28 47 35

COLEMAN'S

CHEAP CUTLERY STORES,

Nos. 32 and 33 Arcade, and 81 North Third street, Philadelphia.

COUNTRY MERCHANTS can save from 10 to 15 per cent. by purchasing at the above stores. By importing my own Goods, paying but little rent, and living economically, it is plain I can undersell those who purchase their goods here, pay high rents, and live like princes.

Constantly on hand, a large assortment of pen and pocket knives, scissors and razors, table knives and forks, in ivory, stag, buffalo, bone and wood handles; carvers and forks, steels, &c.; butcher knives, dirks, bowie knives, revolving and plain pistols, &c. Just received, a large stock of Rodgers' and Wostenholm's fine pen and Congress knives. Also, a large assortment of Accordeons, &c. Also, fine English Twist and German guns JOHN M. COLEMAN.

Phila. April 15 ly 15

Iron Commission Warehouse.

No. 109, North Water Street, and No. 54, North Wharves.—PHILADELPHIA.

THE undersigned still continue the COMMISSION BUSINESS, for the sale of all descriptions of IRON. Our experience of many years, and extensive acquaintance with the *Dealers and Consumers of Iron*, throughout the country, has enabled us to establish such relations as give us peculiar advantages to serve our correspondents, *equal to any other house.*

ORRICK & CAMPBELL,

No. 109, North Water street, & 54, North Wharves, Philadelphia.

March 25 1848-12-6m]

Carriages, Buggies, Rockaway Wagons, &c.

THE subscriber would beg leave to inform his friends and the public in general that he has bought out W. G. Moore, at the corner opposite Clemens & Parvin's Steam Mill, in the rear of the American House, where he is prepared to do all kinds of work in the neatest manner. Being himself a practical carriage maker, he hopes to give entire satisfaction to his customers.

N. B.—For the accommodation of the coal trade, he intends building Rail Road cars, Drift cars, and wheel barrows, all of which will be built of the best materials. Persons in want of anything in his line will do well to give him a call, as his charges are reasonable.

June 5, 1847. 23-ly WISTAR A. KIRK.

BLACKSMITH SHOP.—The subscriber announces to his friends that he has commenced the BLACKSMITH business in connection with his carriage establishment, and is prepared to do all kinds of work in that line of business in the best style of workmanship at short notice and at low rates.

COACH MAKING.

M. JONES,

HAS just started the above business in Severn's stone shop in 4th, near Market street, Pottsville, where, with first rate materials and experienced hands, he is prepared to make all kinds of CARRIAGES in a style that will compare with those made at any other establishment.

Repairing promptly done in a manner that will suit customers. ALSO BLACKSMITHING in its various branches.

Those who want anything in the above line will please call and try me. [Sep25 47 39 tf

New Marble Yard

IN POTTSVILLE.

THE subscriber announces to the public that he has opened a MARBLE YARD in Norwegian street, a short distance back of Fox & Mortimer's Hotel, where he intends keeping on hand a large supply of Monuments, Tombs, Grave Stones, Posts, &c. &c., of as good material as the city of Philadelphia can produce, and which will be executed in the best mechanical style, and at short notice.

He invites the especial attention of builders and others to call at his Yard, as he intends keeping a supply of Marble for house work, such as Window Sills, Door Sills, Steps, Platforms, &c., of the very best material, both of Marble and Brown Stone.

He has also made arrangements with an extensive Marble Mantel Establishment in Philadelphia, to supply Marble Mantels of every style and pattern, at the lowest city prices. His terms will be found reasonable.

March 11848-12-ly] THOMAS C. MOORE.

New Firm.

THE subscribers having this day entered into copartnership for the purpose of transacting a general wholesale and retail business in IRON, GROCERIES, PROVISIONS, HAY, FLOUR, and FEED, at the well-known York Store in the borough of Pottsville, would most respectfully beg leave to say that they have now on hand a large and well selected stock of Bar Iron of all descriptions, also Flat Bar and T Rail Road Iron of various sizes, suitable for drifts and lateral roads, which they offer for sale at as low a rate as can be had in the County. Also a fresh stock of Groceries and Provisions constantly on hand at very low prices for cash. Also, Cast, Blister, and Shear Steel, Nails and Spikes, Oils, Flour, Feed, &c., all of which they would respectfully solicit an inspection of by the public, and relying as they do upon a strict attention to business to be able at all times to accommodate their customers.

E. YARDLEY & SON.

P. S.—The subscriber would take this opportunity to return his sincere thanks for the liberal patronage he has heretofore received from his friends and the public generally, and respectfully solicits a continuance of the same for the new firm.

Pottsville, March 4, 1848-10] EDW. YARDLEY.

Pryor, Ellis, & Williams,

COMMISSION MERCHANTS

For the sale of Western Produce and Provisions, No. 4, South Water street,—PHILADA.

CONSTANTLY receiving on consignment, and for sale at lowest market rates:

Mess and Prime Pork, Sugar Cured Hams,
Mess Beef, Bacon, Lard in bb's and kegs,
Hams, Sides & Shoulders Cheese in casks and boxes,
Smoked Beef, Butter, Dried Fruits, &c.

Orders from the country will receive prompt attention. [Phila. March 18 1848-12-6m

Wholesale Depot of Umbrellas,

Corner of Centre and Market streets, Pottsville,

AT BANNAN'S NEWS ROOM.

JUST received from the manufacturers in Philadelphia a large supply of Cotton and Silk Umbrellas, made of the best material, and warranted to be of a superior manufacture. As the above article is on consignment they can be sold at low cash prices.

Cotton and Gingham Umbrellas, $4 50 to $12 per doz.
Super Gingham do steel ribs, 18 00 to 21 do
Super Silk do do 20 00 to 40 do
Super Silk do fancy handles 40 00 to 50 do

Sold in lots to suit purchasers.

Merchants in the country supplied on favorable terms. Merchants trading with this place will find it to their interest to call. [illegible]

COUNTRY MERCHANTS

CAN save from 15 to 25 per cent. by purchasing their Oil Cloths direct from the Manufacturers. POTTER & CARMICHAEL have opened a Warehouse, No. 135 North Third Street above Race, second door South of the Eagle Hotel, Philadelphia, where they will always keep on hand a complete assortment of Patent Elastic Carriage Oil Cloths, 28, 36, 40, 48, 54 and 64 inches wide. Figured, Painted, and Plain, on the inside, on Muslin Drilling and Linen. Table Oil Cloths of the most desirable patterns, 36, 40, 46 and 54 inches wide. Floor Oil Cloths, from 28 inches to 24 feet wide, well seasoned, and the newest style of patterns, all of their own manufacture. Transparent Window Shades Carpets, &c. All goods warranted. [May27 22-3mo.

Wholesale Clothing Warehouse,

No. 132, Market Street, (between 4th and 5th) PHILADELPHIA.

The subscriber respectfully solicits the attention of Country Merchants and Dealers generally to the examination of a complete stock of READY MADE CLOTHING, which for extent, variety, and workmanship, he flatters himself will give universal satisfaction, while his reduced scale of prices presents to purchasers inducements which cannot be surpassed by any other establishment in the United States.

Geo. S. Appleton,

BOOKSELLER, PUBLISHER, AND IMPORTER.

148, Chesnut street,—PHILADELPHIA.

OFFERS to Country Merchants and all others, wishing BOOKS, extraordinary inducements to purchase at his store, as, by his connection with all the principal houses he is enabled to sell every book at the lowest possible price.

He publishes Ure's valuable Dictionary of Arts, Manufactures, and Mines; Freeman's Chemical Analysis, Boussingault's Rural Economy, Farmers' Treasure, Cooley's Cyclopedia of 6000 Practical Receipts, Ollendorf's Italian, French, German, and Spanish Grammars, Jaquelle's French Dictionary, Reid's English Dictionary of 40,000 words, Taylor's Manual of History, Keble's Christian Year with large type, numerous Episcopal publications, Cabinet editions of the Poets, various beautiful miniature volumes, forty different kinds of Children's Books with colored engravings, Grandmamma Easy's large colored Toy Books, 12 kinds, and many other very valuable publications too numerous to be specified.

Catalogues furnished gratis on post-paid application. [illegible] April 1848 [illegible]

These Books can also be had at Bannan's Bookstore.

New Grocery, Flour, Feed,

AND PROVISION STORE.

THE subscriber announces to the citizens of Pottsville, that he has just opened a new Grocery, Flour and Feed Store, at Market street, where he will always keep on hand a general stock of GROCERIES, PROVISIONS, Family FLOUR, TEA, COFFEE, SUGAR, &c., all of which will be selected with great care, and will be sold at very low rates. He flatters himself that he can make it to the interest of this community to deal with him; he therefore solicits their patronage.

He returns thanks to his numerous customers for the patronage they bestowed upon him in his other business. [Dec. 11 '47-50] E. D. SPOONER.

BURDEN'S PATENT HORSE SHOES

MADE OF THE best refined American Iron, for sale at about the same prices of the iron in bar, being a saving of about 100 per cent to the purchaser. All shoes sold, are warranted, and if not satisfactory, can be returned and the money will be refunded.

GRAY & BROTHER, 12 Walnut st., Philada

Terms of the Miners' Journal.

SINGLE SUBSCRIPTIONS.

Two Dollars per annum, payable semi-annually in advance, to those who reside in the County—an annualy in advance to those who reside out of the County. The publisher reserves to himself the right to charge $2 50 per annum, when payment is delayed longer than one year.

TO CLUBS.

Three copies to one address,			$5 00
Seven	Do	Do	10 00
Fifteen	Do	Do	20 00

Five dollars in advance will pay for three year's subscription to the Journal.

RATES OF ADVERTISING.

One square of 16 lines, 3 times,	$1 00
Every subsequent insertion,	25
Four lines, 3 times,	25
Subsequent insertions, each,	6¼
One Square, 3 months,	$3 00
Six months,	5 00
One Year,	8 00
Business Cards of Five lines, per annum,	3 00
Merchants and others, advertising by the Year, with the privilege of inserting different advertisements weekly,	12 00

Larger Advertisements, as per agreement.

SINGLE COPIES OF THE MINERS' JOURNAL can be obtained every Saturday of William Oldknow, Minersville; Henry Shissler, Port Carbon; at the corner of Centre and Market streets, Pottsville and at the counter of the publication office.

MR. E. J. FRY is authorised to receive subscriptions for the Miners' Journal, and receipt for the same at his Drug store, in Tamaqua.

Speech of Jno. M. Clayton

Of Delaware,

IN DEFENCE OF ZACHARY TAYLOR.

Delivered in the Senate of the United States, July 5th, 1848.

Mr. Foote having concluded an elaborate address to the Senate against Gen. Taylor, and called upon the Whig Senators, and especially the Senator from Delaware, to explain the principles upon which Taylor was to be sustained as a candidate for the Presidency;

Mr. Clayton rose to reply. Mr. Niles, of Connecticut, immediately called Mr. Clayton to order, denying his right to reply, as the whole subject introduced by Mr. Foote was irrelevant, and Mr. Dallas, the Vice President, refusing to hear any debate upon the call to order, decided the debate to be out of order. But the Senate, on a vote taken immediately after this, gave leave to Mr. Clayton to proceed, notwithstanding the decision of the Vice President.

Mr. Clayton then addressed the Senate, as follows:

The decision of the chair was indeed unprecedented, and directly in opposition to his own solemn decision, on a case precisely similar to this, made by him only a few weeks ago. Neither I nor my friends originated this political debate.—We were content to leave Gen. Cass and Gen. Taylor in the hands of the people, and the Senate will unanimously bear me witness, that I have introduced no irrelevant topic into any debate here. The political friends of the gentleman who occupies the chair began this discussion. They attacked Gen. Taylor and his character, and scoffed at his claim to the Presidency. They were allowed to proceed *without interruption from the chair*, through a debate which extended through the greater part of two days. The Vice President was, by the rules of the Senate, bound to call his own political friends to order, if he thought the debate was out of order. But not a word about *order* was heard from his lips till I took the floor to reply, and then he arrested the debate, and put a seal upon my lips. The Senator from Mississippi had charged upon me and my friends that we desire to evade the discussion—that Gen. Taylor had no principles which we dare avow—and said that he had, on consultation with his friends, resolved to provoke us to a debate on this subject, and to see that we should dodge no blows which in chivalry and honesty we were bound to take. He even charged us with a design to pass the resolution for a speedy adjournment of Congress in order to avoid and dodge this very discussion.—He went further, sir. He called on me personally to meet him in debate on these questions. Yet, after he had been permitted to indulge in this strain of attack on me and my friends, his own party associates seize the occasion, the moment I rise to take up the glove he has thrown at my feet, to dodge the encounter. These are the circumstances under which twenty-one Democratic Senators have this day voted to deny me the freedom of speech. They have a large party majority here, but such and so gross was the injustice of this attempt to stifle a discussion which they themselves provoked, that a majority of the Senate has overruled their purpose; and to that majority, and especially to the chivalrous Senator from Mississippi, (Mr. Foote) who has expressed his own deep sense of the injustice done, I tender my thanks.

I have already stated to the Senate that I have no means of access to the opinions of Gen. Taylor which are not in possession of every member of this body, and every citizen of the country.—Honoring his character, as I sincerely do, I have never yet had the pleasure of an introduction to that distinguished man—I have never addressed a letter to him in my life, nor received one from him. I have formed my opinions of the principles of the man from his writings and actions, and from what any other may have seen in the public prints.—To these means of information all have equal access, and all can form an opinion as well as I can, on the whole subject of debate.

I think it is also due to General Taylor to say, in the outset, that the position which he has assumed before the country, as a candidate for the Presidency, has been entirely misapprehended in the course of this debate. He has been held up here as merely a Whig candidate, bound to sustain every Whig principle with which that party has ever been identified. It has been alledged that he is bound to carry out all the dictates, and obey all the behests of a mere party—that he runs merely as a party man—that he is bound hand and foot by party pledges—and, that he must carry out, at all hazards, and under all changes of time and circumstances, every ancient known measure proposed by the Whig party. Now, undoubtedly Gen. Taylor is a Whig, but I do not understand him as occupying any such position, as that which I have just described. He, himself, has repudiated it in every letter having reference to this subject. It is true that he has been nominated by the Whig party; but it is also true that he was originally nominated by a meeting composed of both Whigs and Democrats. Thousands of Democrats had nominated him for the Presidency before he was nominated by the Whig party.—Naturalized citizens and Native Americans, in all sections of the country had nominated him before he received the nomination of the Philadelphia convention. And now, the great objection urged against him is, that the Whig party of the Union has confirmed the nomination which Gen. Taylor had previously received. He was nominated by the Whig Convention at Philadelphia, with the assurance that he was a Whig. In every letter that he wrote on that subject, he declared that he was a Whig, but he uniformly took the bold and manly ground, that if elected President of the United States, he would not consider himself the mere servant or tool of a party, not even the party to which he has been attached, but that he should be the President of the American people. Under these circumstances, the honorable gentleman from Mississippi can find no difficulty in answering the questions which he has propounded with regard to the principles of Gen. Taylor. If he will examine the principal letter which Gen. Taylor has written with reference to this subject, the letter to Capt. Allison, he will see the ground on which he places himself as a candidate before the American people. Before I proceed further, permit me to read the following extract from that letter:

Baton Rouge, April 22, 1848.

"First.—I reiterate what I have often said—I am a Whig, but not an ultra Whig. If elected I would not be the mere President of a party. I would endeavor to act independent of party domination. I should feel bound to administer the Government untrammelled by party schemes.

"Second.—The veto power. The power given by the Constitution to the Executive to interpose his veto, is a high conservative power; but in my opinion should never be exercised except in cases of clear violation of the Constitution, or manifest haste and want of consideration by Congress. Indeed, I have thought that for many years past the known opinions and wishes of the Executive have exercised undue and injurious influence upon the legislative department of the Government; and for this cause I have thought our system was in danger of undergoing a great change from its true theory. The personal opinions of the individual who may happen to occupy the Executive chair, ought not to control the action of Congress upon questions of domestic policy; nor ought his objections to be interposed where questions of constitutional power have been settled by the various departments of Government, and acquiesced in by the people.

"Third.—Upon the subject of the tariff, the currency, the improvement of our great highways, rivers, lakes, and harbors, the will of the people, as expressed through their Representatives in Congress, ought to be respected and carried out by the Executive.

"Fourth.—The Mexican war. I sincerely rejoice at the prospect of peace. My life has been devoted to arms, yet I look upon war at all times, and under all circumstances, as a national calamity, to be avoided if compatible with national honor. The *principles* of our Government, as well as its true *policy*, are opposed to the subjugation of other nations and the dismemberment of other countries by *conquest*. In the language of the great Washington, "Why should we quit our own to stand on foreign ground." In the Mexican war our national honor has been vindicated, amply vindicated; and, in dictating terms of peace, we may well afford to be forbearing, and even magnanimous to our fallen foe."

General Taylor, then, stands before the country not merely as a Whig, but as *the great representative and champion of the principle of the right of man to self-government.* He maintains the principle that the majority have the right to govern. He stands precisely upon the ground on which Thos. Jefferson originally made a party difference with John Adams. Let me quote a passage from the letter of Thomas Jefferson to John Adams, stating the grounds on which the Republican party of 1798 commenced its opposition to the encroachments of Executive power, and to which it owed its true origin. In the 4th volume of Jefferson's Memoirs, page 202, we find the letter to which I refer. It is dated June 27, 1813, and contains the following passages:

"The terms of Whig and Tory belong to natural as well as civil history. They denote the temper and constitution of mind of different individuals. To come to our own country and to the times when you and I became first acquainted, we well remember the violent parties which agitated the old Congress, and their bitter contests. There you and I were arrayed together; others cherished the monarchy of England, and we the rights of our country.

"But as soon as the Constitution was put into motion, the line of division was again drawn. We broke into two parties, each wishing to give the government a different direction,—THE ONE (the Republican party) TO STRENGTHEN THE MOST POPULAR BRANCH, (Congress) THE OTHER THE MORE PERMANENT BRANCHES, AND TO EXTEND THEIR PERMANENCE. Here you and I separated for the first time, and one party placed your name at their head—the other selected mine."

Precisely upon that principle, Gen. Lewis Cass and Gen. Zachary Taylor now differ, and stand at issue before the country. Gen. Taylor places himself upon this just principle, laying at the foundation of all republican forms of Government—the right of the majority to govern. He holds that the popular branch of the Government possesses rights, and that he, if elected President, would be bound to respect them. He says, therefore, in reference to all those great questions which have hitherto agitated the country, and which are properly within the power of Congress, that he will be guided by the will of the people, as expressed by their Representatives! On the other hand, what says Gen. Cass? He denies that the will of the people shall govern. He maintains the high federal doctrines of ancient days, that the President of the United States, with his veto power, shall control the will of the people. He stands up as a champion of executive power, and has received his nomination from a party convention, under circumstances which I think, when carefully examined by the American people, will seal his fate as a candidate before them. What were these circumstances? The very first rule adopted by the convention assembled at Baltimore was, that the will of the majority should not govern—that the vote of two-thirds should be necessary to nominate the President. They had laid down that doctrine before on a memorable occasion. I refer to the Baltimore nomination in 1844. The result reminds me of one of those games at cards which is called "Solitaire," in which you know a man plays against himself.—Did you ever see a man sit down to play that game who did not cheat himself? The Democratic leaders on this occasion, undertook to play "Solitaire"—the Whigs were not present to be cheated—and the very first act or decree was one amounting, in my judgement, to a most flagitious fraud, not only upon the country, but upon the party itself. It ordained that the will of the people should not govern, and that no man should be nominated for the Presidency without the vote of two-thirds of that convention.

Well, now, what must be—(everybody knows what was the consequence in this case)—the necessary consequence of the establishment of such a principle by any party? We can all very well estimate the power of one hundred thousand office-holders, many of them anxious to perpetuate their dynasty. They can pack a Democratic convention with more than one-third of its members though they might not be able to control a majority. They can send on their relations, their friends and dependants, as delegates, and, under the operation of this two-thirds rule, govern the convention. It was so on this occasion. All the gentlemen who composed the convention went to Baltimore bound to nominate some candidate for the Presidency. To fail to nominate by a convention would be to dissolve the party. They were compelled, therefore, to make a nomination, and when they entered the convention, they were met with a rule declaring that the vote of two-thirds was necessary to nominate their Democratic candidate for the Presidency. They knew that within the walls of the convention there stood a packed minority, of more than one-third, representing the office-holders of the country, who could veto or negative the nomination of any man not subservient to their views, or who would not perpetuate their dynasty, and continue them and their friends in office. The candidates all understood this beforehand, and on such occasions he who makes the most satisfactory bargain with this clique or faction—constituting more than one-third, but not one-half of the convention—is sure to receive the nomination. No other man can get it. I say again, every candidate understood this, and every future candidate will, in all future Democratic conventions understand it. Each of them will know it is impossible for him to procure the nomination unless he can secure the services of those who come there for the purpose of sustaining themselves in office. He is bound, then, to lend himself to all their views. If they desire to establish a platform of political faith, he must subscribe to it. He has no option. He must either relinquish all hope of the nomination, or subscribe to every dogma that this clique may choose to lay down. Under these circumstances, I ask what is the inevitable tendency of the party which has nominated Gen. Lewis Cass? Does it not directly tend to the rule of the few over the many, and eventually to a monarchy? It tends to the establishment in the first instance, of an oligarchy, or an aristocracy of office-holders—able to dictate the nomination of any man they please. They have a veto on the acts of the convention as absolute and effectual as that which the President of the United States, whom they may nominate and elect under the magic name of Democrat, may have upon the laws of Congress and the will of the people.

Undoubtedly the great mass of the Democratic party is honest and patriotic. We who are Whigs and opposed to them in politics, are entitled to a free expression of our opinion in making a party nomination; and Whigs as well as Democrats, are defrauded by this political legerdemain—this hocus pocus—introduced by some political magicians into that party within a few years past, which compels that party to accept a nomination made and forced upon them by a minority. Such were the circumstances—such was the fraud—such was the established rule and iron law under which General Cass received his nomination.

Let us inquire in connection with this, what are some of the other doctrines of the party to which General Cass has been compelled to subscribe. Among other things, there stands prominently the assertion of the great right and duty of the President of the United States to exercise the Veto Power, without reference to the limitations prescribed by the fathers of the Constitution. Every one who has perused the "Federalist," knows that Mr. Madison and his associates uniformly maintained, that the great object of the veto was to enable the executive of the United States to defend the Constitution and the executive power within its limits. No man of their day pretended it was designed that the veto power should be extended as it has been, to every act of ordinary legislation, and every instance in which a party might by the aid of it elevate or sustain itself against the interests of the whole country. It never was imagined by any member of the convention which framed the Constitution, that the veto clause in that instrument could be so construed by the most latitudinarian expositor, as that the President of the United States should be enabled, by the force of that clause, to become a part of the legislative power of the country. Now, however, you find the doctrine laid down by this party boldly in their public prints, that the President constitutes a part of the legislative power of the country, and that the veto power is unlimited, and was so intended to be by those who made the Constitution. Let me call the attention of the Senate to a consideration of the principles upon which this veto power was inserted in the American Constitution. The first sentence of the Constitution declares that all "the legislative powers herein granted shall be vested in the Senate and House of Representatives." No part of the legislative power is given to the President of the United States. In the judgment of the fathers of the Republic the Executive never constituted an essential component part of the legislative power. A qualified power of revision was given to him; but it was never intended that he should exercise any legislative power. In order that we may understand this subject, which enters largely into the great questions now before us, let me read a portion of the debate on the adoption of the Constitution. I am particularly desirous of the attention of the Senate to this point, because I wish it to see by whom these extreme notions in relation to the veto power were originally advanced. During this session of Congress we have heard the honorable Senator from Ohio (Mr. Allen) utter very strong denunciations against Col. Hamilton as the intentional advocate of kingly and monarchical doctrines, and a traitor to the cause of liberty. I do not stand here for the purpose of branding one of the greatest men the country ever produced with ignominious charges; but I desire to show that the great leader of the Federal party, when this subject was first presented to the consideration of the old Continental Congress, was the very man to press this veto power upon the convention, and to insist upon its being made absolute and unqualified. In Madison's state papers, page 151, we read:

"Mr. Gerry's proposition being now before the committee, Mr. Wilson (then called a 'consolidation federalist,') and Mr. Hamilton, moved that the last part of it be struck out, *so as to give the Executive an absolute negative on the laws.* There was no danger, they thought, of such a power being too much exercised. It was mentioned by Col. Hamilton that the King of Great Britain had not exerted his negative since the Revolution." (i. e. 1688.)

That is the argument in favor of the absolute veto made by one who has been represented in this chamber, as the great aristocrat and monarchist of that day. Mr. Gerry, a Democrat of that day—

Mr. Mangum, (in his seat) Republican.

Mr. Clayton. I thank my friend for the word. Republican is a much better name.

"Mr. Gerry said he saw no necessity for so great a control over the legislature, as the best men in the country would be comprised in the two branches of it.

"Dr. Franklin said he was sorry to differ from his colleague, for whom he had a very great respect, on any occasion, but he could not help it on this. He had had some experience of this check in the executive on the legislature, under the proprietary government of Pennsylvania. The negative of the Governor was constantly made use of to extort money. No good law whatever could be passed without a private bargain with him.— * * If the executive was to have a council, such a power would be less objectionable. It was true the king of Great Britain had not, as was said, exerted his negative since the revolution; but that matter was easily explained. The bribes and emoluments now given to the members of Parliament rendered it unnecessary, everything being done according to the will of the ministers. He was afraid if a negative should be given as proposed, that more power and money would be demanded, till at last enough would be got to influence and bribe the legislature into a complete subjection to the will of the executive."

Then comes the Republican shoemaker, Roger Sherman. What did he say?

"Mr. Sherman was against enabling any one man to stop the will of the whole. No one man could be found so far above all the rest in wisdom to revising the laws, as to permit him to over-rule the decried and cool opinions of the legislature."

"Mr. Wilson said in his speech for the veto, "there might be tempestuous moments in which animosities may run high between the executive and legislative branches, and in which *the former ought to be able to defend itself.*"

"Mr. Butler had been in favor of a single executive magistrate; but could he have entertained an idea that a complete negative on the laws was to be given him, he certainly should have acted very differently. It had been observed, that in all countries the executive power is in a constant course of increase. This was certainly the case in Great Britain. Gentlemen seemed to think that we had nothing to apprehend from the abuse of the executive power. But why might not a Catiline or a Cromwell arise in this country as well as in others?"

"Mr Bedford, of Delaware, was opposed to every check on the legislature, even the council of revision first proposed. He thought it would be sufficient to mark out in the Constitution the boundaries to the legislative authority, which would give all the requisite security to the rights of the other departments. The representatives of the people were the best judges of what was for their interest, and ought to be under no external control whatever. The two branches would produce a sufficient control within the legislature itself."

"Col. Mason observed, that a vote had already passed—he found—he was out at the time—for vesting the executive powers in a single person. Among these powers was that of appointing to offices in certain cases. The probable abuses of a negative had been well explained by Dr. Franklin, as proved by experience, the best of all tests. Will not the same door be opened here? The executive may refuse his assent to necessary measures, till new appointments shall be referred to him; and, having by degrees engrossed all these into his own hands, the American executive, like the British, will, by bribery and influence, save himself the trouble and odium of exerting his negative afterwards. We are, Mr. Chairman, going very far in this business. We are not indeed constituting a British government, but a more dangerous monarchy—an elective one. We are introducing a new principle into our system, and not necessary, as in the British government, where the executive has greater rights to defend. Do gentlemen mean to pave the way to hereditary monarchy? Do they flatter themselves that the people will ever consent to such an innovation? If they do, I venture to tell them they are mistaken. The people never will consent. And do gentlemen consider the danger of delay, and the still greater danger of rejection, not for a moment, but forever, of the plan which shall be proposed to them? Notwithstanding the oppression and injustice experienced among us from democracy, the genius of the people is in favor of it, and the genius of the people must be consulted. He could not but consider the federal system as in effect dissolved by the appointment of this Convention to devise a better one. And do gentlemen look forward to the dangerous interval between the extinction of an old, and the establishment of a new government, and to the scenes of confusion which may ensue? He hoped that nothing like a monarchy would ever be attempted in this country. A hatred to its oppression had carried the people through the late revolution. Will it not be enough to enable the executive to suspend offensive laws, till they shall be coolly revised, and the objections to them overruled by a greater majority than was required in the first instance? He never could agree to give up all the rights of the people to a single magistrate. If more than one had been fixed on, greater powers might have been intrusted to the executive. He hoped this attempt to give such powers would have its weight hereafter, as an argument for increasing the number of the executive."

After this Dr. Franklin again spoke against the veto power, treating this question as if it involved that of monarchy or republicanism; and one passage of his speech contains a prophecy so remarkable that I must read it to the Senate:

"The first man put at the helm (of state) will be a good one. Nobody knows what sort may come afterwards. The executive will be always increasing here, as elsewhere, till it ends in a monarchy."

Thus, then, it appears that the opinion of six out of nine who participated in the debate, was that an absolute and unqualified veto would introduce a great monarchical feature into our institutions; in other words, that the Executive would be converted into a monarchy by its adoption. That was the opinion of Franklin, of Mason, of Sherman, of Bedford, of all except the ultra Federalists of the day. Now, where are we? What is the party which now maintains this ultra veto power? The party that arrogates to itself the name of Democratic! That is the party which places in the foreground of its political platform, the doctrine of the absolute and unqualified exercise of the veto power. That is the party which sustained the absolute and unqualified veto on the land bill in 1833. That bill to distribute the nett proceeds of all the public lands among the States, which passed both Houses in March, 1833, was a bill which would have given the people of each State in this Union the means of educating all their children without taxation, and of improving their harbors and rivers. These funds have been since wasted upon land jobbers and party favorites, on Government contractors and office-holders, and not a dollar of these unnumbered millions have been given to those who owned them, as rightfully as any man on earth ever owned his own house.

"By an absolute veto—"a *pocket veto*"—a vile trick and a fraud upon the people and their Representatives; this bill was defeated after the Representatives of the nation had passed it by yeas 96, nays 40—more than two-thirds! The bill passed within the last ten days of the session as three-fourths of all the laws of Congress always have, and always will pass. Experience shows us that the labors of Congress are consummated within the last ten days of each session, and that bills which have been discussed or matured for months are generally signed at the close of the session. If, therefore, the President can, for the want of ten days, within which the Constitution allows him to retain a bill for his signature, withhold his sanction and refuse to return the bill, he can defeat it, although two-thirds of each branch should be disposed to pass it as the Constitution authorizes them to do. The Senate, as well as the House, in March, 1833, stood ready to annul the veto on the land bill. The Senators from North and South Carolina (Mr. Mangum and Mr. Calhoun,) as well as myself were present at the time in the Senate, and we are all here now ready to attest his to be true. The President obtained secret information of the spirit of the Senate against his veto power, and pocketed the bill, in defiance of the whole spirit of the Constitution. This was a gross case of the exercise of the absolute and unqualified veto, which has never been condemned, but always approved, by your *pseudo* Democracy; and it is a fatal precedent, which may virtually annul the whole power of Congress. The qualified rule or power of revision recognized by the Constitution, subject to the will of two-thirds of each branch of Congress, has been exercised in the cases of the bill to pay the interest due the States for expenditures in the last war, the various bills for improvement of rivers and harbors, the bill to recharter the Bank, the bill to equalize the sessions of Congress, the French spoliation bill, and in so many other cases that it is difficult to enumerate them. These vetoes have been sustained by Executive influence. Congress has fallen beneath the Executive arm, strengthened as that is, and always will be, by a venal and subservient press and the ready aid of the Post Office Department, with a hundred thousand Office holders, many of whom will always "crook the pregnant hinges of the knee where thrift may follow fawning." The whole veto power as thus exercised, is now sustained by the Baltimore platform and promptly adopted by Gen. Cass, in his acceptance of the Baltimore nomination. It is part of his established creed.

On the other hand, how stands the man we support on this great and vital subject? He denounces the kingly power—the power for the exercise of which a Stuart and a Bourbon lost their heads—and confines the veto to the cases in which the fathers of the republic intended it to be exercised. He treats it as a "high conservative power." So did they. They declared by their exposition in the "Federalist," that its chief object was "to enable the Executive to defend himself when attacked." They meant it to be a shield, not a sword. "In my opinion," says General Taylor, in his letter to Captain Allison, "it should never be exercised except in cases of clear violation of the Constitution, or manifest haste and want of consideration by Congress." He modestly adds—"Indeed I have thought that for many years past, the known opinions and wishes of the Executive have exercised undue and injurious influence upon the legislative department of the Government, *and from this cause I have thought our system was in danger of undergoing a great change from its true theory.*" Sir, if he had been forty years in these halls, instead of the tented fields, he could not have more thoroughly understood the true theory of this Government and its actual and inevitable tendency as now administered. It is evident he has, in the silent hours allowed him in the camp, by the watch fire in the night, or amid the intervals of battle and military service, deeply studied the genius of our Government and its practical administration.

Sir, it would consume more time than is necessary for my purpose, to show how often the will of the people, expressed by their Representatives in Congress, has been defeated by the iron will of a President, and especially by the exercise of his monarchical negative on the laws. In the language of a distinguished statesman "the extreme medicine of the Constitution has become our daily food." Every man who remembers the history of the last twenty years, will bear me witness, that in this respect, the modern Democracy have drifted to a returnless distance from the old landmarks of republicanism. The Executive prerogative is no longer the object of attack, but its advocates have been the unceasing assailants of the rights of the people, and of the popular branch of the Government. "The power of the crown has increased, is increasing, and ought to be diminished." He has broken down the power of the people to improve their rivers and harbors—dictated a new and untried system of currency in despite of their expressed opinion—and even gone so far as to deny the right of Congress to pay a private claim to an American citizen. I refer to the claim for French spoliation on our commerce prior to 1800, for the liquidation of which a bill passed both houses of Congress two years ago—a bill, the principles of which he never understood—a bill, to which, it is palpable, he never gave a week's attention in his life, though Congress passed it, after having held it under consideration for a period of nearly fifty years. The Government has ceased to be a government of the people, and has become a government of one man. Power, says Junius, is continually stealing from the many to the few, and I may add, from the few to the one. The one-man power is the subject of unceasing eulogy among some of the advocates of the Baltimore convention platform, and one of the delegates lately made a speech to show its superiority in concentrating all responsibility in one head, instead of dividing it among many, thus frankly avowing his preference for the monarchical to the republican principle.

We must arrest this tendency to monarchy, if we intend to remain a republic. When you talk to me about Whig principles, tariffs, the currency, internal improvements and bills, and public economy, I tell you that, although I am a Whig, have always been a Whig, and expect to die a Whig, yet I hold that, in comparison with the great principle now at issue between Lewis Cass and Zachary Taylor, the other principles of any party ever yet known in this country sink into insignificance. I am called upon, in the election of Zachary Taylor, to vindicate the great right of man to self-government, and the right of the people, through their Representatives in Congress, to make laws. I am called upon to deny the right of the President of the United States to assume the position of a legislator; and whenever the day shall come that his right to legislate shall be acknowledged, that moment the republican character of our Government utterly ceases to exist. You may call it what you please—you may style the man at the head of the Government a President, as Bonaparte was, in the first instance, styled the First Consul, and afterwards Emperor of the Republic—but to all intents and purposes your Republic is at an end. It becomes a monarchy—an elective monarchy—the meanest and most despicable form in which that kind of government can exist.

Here then is the principle, upon which I make issue with the honorable gentleman from Mississippi, in the approaching Presidential campaign. I mean to stand by Gen. Taylor as the representative of the right of man to self-government. I mean to support him because he has boldly and nobly proclaimed himself, before the country, as the champion of this great principle, that the majority should govern. In all those cases where the fathers of the republic intended that the veto power should be applied, declared that he will exercise it.—In all cases where a bill passed by Congress is clearly and manifestly unconstitutional, or has been passed in haste and without due consideration, he will be prepared to apply the veto. He is ready to apply it to sustain the Union of these States against any dangerous infraction of the Constitution. But he will permit the people of the country to govern themselves. He will suffer Representatives of the people and the Senate, in these halls, to make the laws. He will not set himself up as an essential part of the legislative power of the nation. He will, when he reaches the Presidential chair, stand by the great principles avowed on this subject by Madison and his compatriots of 1788, and utterly repudiate the kingly maxim practised upon it in the present day—"*Sic volo, sic jubeo, sic vetes. Stet pro ratione voluntas.*"

I propose to look a little further into this subject. I desire the Senate and the people of the country to understand what kind of government was sought to be established by those who introduced the veto power into the Constitution of the United States, and kindred principles which actuated them.—In Madison's papers we find a copy of the Constitution which Colonel Hamilton, the father of the veto, intended to propose. Here are three of its provisions:

"Article I.—Sec. 1. The legislative power shall be vested in two distinct bodies of men, one to be called the Assembly, the other the Senate, subject to the negative hereinafter mentioned.

"Article IV.—Sec. 12. The President shall have a right to negative all bills, resolutions or acts, of the two Houses of the legislature about to be passed into laws

"Article III.—Sec 6. The Senators shall hold their places during good behaviour, removable only by conviction, on impeachment, for some crime or misdemeanor."

Here are the principles of the government which the author of the veto power intended to introduce. It is manifest that the mind of the author of the veto power was at an infinite distance from the opinions of those who made the Constitution. It is evident that he intended to establish a Senate for life, and to make the President a part of the legislative power.

But the Executive practice in these days (all of which seems to be fully approved by Gen. Cass.) is not merely *sic veto* but *sic volo, sic jubeo.* He now assumes the initiative in addition to the veto power. He not only recommends, but dictates to Congress. His opinions are daily quoted in debate here, and control our legislation. It has been but four days since an attempt was made by the Senators from Kentucky and Tennessee, (Mr. Underwood and Mr. Bell,) to remove the obstruction in the river Ohio at Cumberland island. Everybody here seemed to think it right to remove it—but it was known and said that the President would veto the bill which contained the proposition, and the improvement fell. So the navigation of the Ohio must be obstructed till Taylor can put all right, by allowing Congress to make laws. We have not a single river or harbor bill before Congress—not one measure for internal improvement. Why? Because we all know it is idle to waste our time in passing them, as the President has publicly avowed his resolution to veto them all. The will of the people is nothing. All men here look only to the will of the President. He is the fountain of favor. Now, in the British House of Commons, under a limited monarchy, the independence of Parliament is secured by a rule which makes it *out of order* for any member to state in debate what is the will of the king; and it is perfectly true, as Col. Hamilton stated in the convention of 1787, that no king of England has dared to exercise the veto power since the English revolution produced by the Whigs in 1688—one hundred and sixty years ago.

Why? Because the exercise of a power so despotic, which wholly denies to the people the right of self-government, would, even in that limited monarchy, have cost any English monarch his head. Queen Victoria would not keep the throne a week under one of our Presidential vetoes. We have the name of a Republic, but *stat nominis umbra*—it stands but the shadow of a name. I first came into congress nearly twenty years ago, and I have still been an attentive observer of men and things here, though one of the humblest of the actors on this theatre, where men, with loud professions of Democracy on their lips, cherish the most despotic principles in their hearts; and I say that the monarchical tendency has every year been growing stronger, that many of our legislative acts of the most important character are drafted at the Executive Departments to suit the will of the Executive, and that Congress has degenerated, under Democratic Presidents, till it is little better than the register of the edicts of an Emperor. It is but a few days since a member who has served in Congress about thirty years, (Mr. Webster) declared in his place, that he had never known a President set his heart on any great measure which he did not force through Congress.

Why is this? Let a Democratic report, made to drive the younger Adams from power twenty-two years ago, make the answer. The veteran member from Missouri, (Mr. Benton) in his report on executive patronage, May 4, 1826, after enumerating the monstrous extent of the power of that patronage, says:

"The whole of this great power will centre in the President. The King of England is the 'fountain of honor;' the President of the United States is the source of patronage. He presides over the entire system of federal appointments, jobs, and contracts. He has 'power' over the 'support' of the individuals who administer the system. He makes and unmakes them. He chooses from the circle of his friends and supporters, and may dismiss them, and upon all the principles of human action, will dismiss them, as often as they disappoint his expectations. His spirit will animate their actions in all the elections to *State* and *Federal* offices. There may be exceptions, but the truth of a general rule is proved by the exception. The intended check and control of the Senate, without new constitutional or statutory provisions, will cease to operate. Patronage will penetrate this body, subdue its capacity of resistance, chain it to the car of power, and enable the President to rule as easily, and much more securely with, than without the nominal check of the Senate. If the President was himself the officer of the people, elected by them, and responsible to them, there would be *less* danger from this concentration of all power in his hands; but it is the business of statesmen to act upon things as they are, and not as they would wish them to be. We must then look forward to the time when the *public revenue will be doubled; when the civil and military officers of the Federal Government will be quadrupled;* when its influence over individuals will be *multiplied to an indefinite extent;* when the nomination by the President can carry any man through the Senate, and his recommendation can carry any measure through the two Houses of Congress, when the principle of public action will be open and avowed, *the President wants my vote, and I want his patronage; I will vote as he wishes and he will give me the office I wish for.* What will this be but the government of *one man*? and what is the government of *one man* but a *monarchy*? Names are nothing. The nature of a thing is in its substance, and the name soon accommodates itself to the substance. The first Roman Emperor was styled *Emperor of the Republic*, and the last French Emperor took the same title; and their respective countries were just as essentially *monarchical* before as after the assumption of these titles. It cannot be denied or dissembled, but that this Federal Government gravitates to the same point, and "Those who make the President must support him. Their political fate becomes identified, and they must stand or fall together. Right or wrong they must support him; and if he is made contrary to the will of the people, he must be supported not only by votes and speeches, but by arms."

I proceed now to answer some of the interrogations proposed by the honorable Senator from Mississippi; and, first in relation to the tariff. He asks me whether Gen. Taylor is in favor of the tariff. I answer that Gen. Taylor has expressly declared in his letter to Captain Allison, that he will, on that subject, submit to the will of the people. If they, by their Representatives in Congress, choose to pass a protective tariff law, he will not veto it. The Senator asks, what is my position in regard to this question? I answer that I am a Whig, and as a true friend of the American tariff of 1842, and the principles of that tariff, I am perfectly content with a President of the United States who will permit the will of the Representatives of the people and of the States to become the law of the land. The honorable gentleman referred to a letter of mine, written in 1846 to my political friends in Delaware, in which I avowed myself to be what I have always felt proud to declare myself—a friend to the protection of American industry, and the tariff of 1842. It was a letter written, not as he says, for a Presidential election, but for a State election, and on the eve of it. I shall never abandon it—but I glory in the principle it avows.

The honorable Senator inquired if there was a man on this side of the chamber who was in favor of the tariff of 1842? I AM, and I think all on my side of the chamber concur with me. But I do not desire General Taylor to force any tariff upon the country, by the exercise of Executive power. He is willing, on that great question, to let the voice of the people govern; and no man, be he from the North or from the South, who desires to curb the expression of the people on this subject, can justly call himself a true Republican.

It is because General Taylor on this, as on other great questions stands on Republican ground, that we desire his election. He occupies precisely the platform on which Mr. Jefferson placed himself in the origin of parties in this country.—He is in favor of strengthening the popular branch of the Government, and opposed to the augmentation of Executive power. This was the great dividing landmark between parties in 1798. But alas! your modern Democracy has been driven by its office-holding leaders to a very different position from that occupied by Mr. Jefferson. It now stands as the advocate, the prop, and support of kingly power. [Here Mr. C. addressed himself to the Democratic side of the chamber.] You defend all its encroachments. You spurn the rights of the country and of Congress. You decide that the President shall put down the will of the people; and you have nominated a man who stands solemnly pledged before the Convention, by his letter of acceptance of your nomination, to veto the will of the people when expressed through their Representatives, on all great leading questions, in any other way than a mere faction may dictate. By the action of a convention which the minority was suffered to control, and which took only one night to consider all the great questions of public policy, your candidate is pledged to veto the vote of the people, should even nine-tenths of them decide upon a repeal of the tariff of 1846, and a re-enactment of that of 1842.—Now, on this ground, is there any honorable free trade man who will hesitate to give the support to General Taylor? Every honest Democrat—every native and every naturalized citizen—can support Gen. Taylor; and no one can accuse them of apostatizing from any political party to which they may have been attached. I, as a Whig, can unite with my fellow citizens of the Democratic party in support of Gen. Taylor, and all I ask of them is to be Republican in heart, and allow the will of the people to govern; for that is the great principle laid down by him in the Allison letter, and it towers infinitely above all other questions of party ever made in this country. I cherish no unkind personal feeling toward the distinguished gentleman whom the Democratic convention nominated. I have always entertained for him the highest regard on account of the excellence of his private character. But I am now reviewing his public acts—not his private life. I have shown that instead of occupying Republican ground, he stands precisely in the position maintained by Col. Hamilton and Mr. Wilson in the Federal Convention—pledged to sustain the ultra exercise of Executive power, and to veto and put down the will of the nation on every subject upon which an irresponsible convention have had the effrontery to dictate their arbitrary dogmas to the American people. These men have thus set themselves up above the Constitution, and usurped the legislative power. They seek to control the appointment of Chief Magistrate, and like the Polish Diet, virtually to elect a monarch to ride and rule an abused and insulted people.

Which, then, is the Republican party? It is the great National Party, composed of democrats, naturalized citizens, native citizens, and Whigs—patriotic men of all parties—who now constitute the great Taylor party of the county. *That* is the true Republican party; opposed to the downward tendency of the Government in this Administration—anxious to avert its progress to monarchy; and, unless the principles of the party be sustained, the liberties of the country must, sooner or later, fall beneath the axe which has been laid to their root by the proceedings of the interested and intriguing faction, which has by turns muzzled, cajoled, and trampled upon the rights of the modern Democracy. When, then, I call upon any man to support Gen. Taylor, I do not ask that he should be merely a Whig or a Democrat, but a Republican—a Republican not merely by profession, but a Republican in heart and in deed.

The party leaders in the convention that introduced this two-thirds rule, and thus cheated itself, refusing to allow the majority to govern, have felt already the consequences of their conduct.—This rule was introduced as a permanent principle of the Democratic party in the convention of 1844, and was a deliberate fraud upon Mr. Van Buren and his friends. He went into the convention, expecting that the will of the majority would be allowed to control its action; and he received the votes of a decided majority of that convention. But the politicians—those jugglers who understood the game which was to be played—so contrived it that a majority could not control the action of the convention. They deluded Southern men by the pretext, that as the North had a majority of votes, their institution of slavery was in danger, and thus procured their aid to establish the rule, that a vote of two-thirds was necessary to nominate the candidate. They thus rejected Mr. Van Buren; and what has been the result? This political magician, as he was called, has applied his magic touch to your party, and lo, it is crumbling into dust! It is prostrate beneath his feet at this moment. The splendid party fabric—the Regency palace—which, by his wizard art, he erected in the Empire State, has vanished like the morning mist, or one of those dreamy mansions of which we read in Eastern tales, at the touch of one of the genii. The vengeance of the man who was thus defrauded and defeated, equals that of Mazeppa, the Prince of Barnburners—

"For if we do but mark the hour,
There never yet was human power,
That could evade, if unforgiven,
The patient search and vigil long,
Of him who treasures up a wrong."

I say to gentlemen who now vainly attempt to uphold this tottering fabric of progressive, aggressive and retrogressive Democracy, that on the day on which you established that principle, and overthrew the fundamental principle of all republican governments, your destiny was sealed. From that hour your doom was irretrievably fixed. Nothing could or can save you from the fate that awaits you. Nothing can save any party in this country that shall dare to establish such an unprincipled rule. The people may be humbugged for a time; but when they have been allowed opportunity for reflection, and see a fraud perpetrated, repeated, and enjoined as a principle, by which the right of the majority is denied, the shackles of party can bind them no longer. They imbibed this sacred principle from their fathers—they were taught it by their mothers amidst the first lesson of their infancy, and they know that without it their Government would be converted into a government of pronunciamentos, and could not exist an hour. Whig as I am, and ever have been, I have no hesitation in declaring, that if the Whig party were to re-assemble in convention to-morrow and adopt such a principle, I would leave them the moment I could address a letter to the public.

The Senator also inquires what will General Taylor do in reference to the Sub-Treasury and the Bank. I answer that Gen. Taylor has pledged himself, in the Allison letter to let the people govern. If they want this miserable sub-Treasury scheme, they will keep it. If they wish to repeal it, he will interpose no veto upon the exercise of their will. On the other hand, how stands Lewis Cass, the champion of the Democracy? He stands pledged to retain the sub-Treasury, in spite of the will of the people. If three-fifths of the people should come here demanding the repeal of the sub-Treasury law, Mr. Cass would be bound to trample upon that will. Which, then, is the Republican? Which the true Democrat?

Mr. Foote.—Will the gentleman bear with me while I submit another question. Does he regard the veto power as a conservative one, to be retained, or as one to be struck out of the Constitution? If to be retained should it not be exercised?

Mr. Clayton.—I am very glad that the honorable gentleman has put this interrogatory. I hold the veto power to be a great conservative power in the Constitution. I do not seek, nor do the friends of General Taylor seek, to strike it from the Constitution. We regard it as the fathers of the Republic did—as a conservative power to enable the Executive to defend itself, and to be exercised precisely within the limitations laid down by Madison and his associates. Gen. Taylor specifies the causes, for which he will apply the veto.

I return now to the consideration of the question of the currency and the National Bank, at which point the Senator interrupted the course of my remarks. And I recur to the bank question particularly, that this matter may be put to rest, so far as is in my power, now and forever. I do not know a man who supports Gen. Taylor, that entertains the most remote idea of bringing the question of a National Bank before the Congress of the Union. I do not know a Whig on this side of the chamber, or any where else who cherishes any idea of reviving that question. The gentlemen on the other side will rattle the dry bones of the old Bank of the United States in our faces; but they will, by doing so, only frighten the men of their own party who voted in Congress for, and carried that bank charter; and they will attempt in vain to ride any longer on their old political hobby as an anti-bank party. Whatever opinions we may have in regard to that great question, we have all resolved that we will never revive it. If the Democratic party want a Bank of the United States let them move it. We on this side of the Chamber know that a National Bank could be of no value to the country, unless sustained by the will of both the great parties of the country. I am free to declare here the part which I took in reference to this question. I voted for the bank in 1832; *to whom?* under your lead, sir; for you, Mr. President, (Mr. Dallas,) were the chairman of the committee that reported the bill. I only followed that lead. We passed the bank bill with your assistance, your argument, influence and vote; and your aid extended much farther; for when Gen. Jackson vetoed it, you and I concurred in voting against the veto! I will never deny the faith that is in me. As I thought then, I think now. And the day will come when your Democracy will, under the pressure of distress, cry aloud for another bank; but no Whig will ever start that question again. The question of a National Bank should be and will be allowed to remain at rest, until men of all parties shall seek to establish, and resolve to sustain it, by an unanimity which shall place it above the reach of the demagogues who will seek to destroy it.

I am asked what Gen. Taylor will do in regard to internal improvements. That is a most important subject, and I think I have already answered the question. It deserves the patient and most deliberate consideration of every American citizen. But on this question, the course of the bold, manly old patriot, is as plain as the sun at noonday. He will leave this question, also, to the will of the people. If the Representatives in Congress choose to pass a bill for internal improvements, he will not impose his veto on the law. Nor will he write any messages for the purpose of manufacturing internal improvement men, or tariff men, or any other kind of politicians. He will not enter on a career of propagandism. He does not intend to get up a hotbed for tariffs and internal improvement, but knowing that nothing can prosper which does not rest in the confidence and affections of the people, he will refer these questions to the original sources of power, and will sustain them all with inflexible firmness, so long as the people will them to stand. He does not mean to push things to extremes. His administration will neither be aggressive or retrogressive, but he will adapt his progress to the mighty energy and capabilities of a nation unexampled in the history of the world for its advance in arts as well as in arms, in agriculture, commerce, and manufactures.

Now, on this great question, let me ask, where