HERALD & EXPOSITOR.

CARLISLE, PA.

Wednesday, Aug. 3, 1842.

SPEECH OF HENRY CLAY.

At the Great Barbecue at Lexington, June 9, 1842.

MR. PRESIDENT, LADIES AND GENTLEMEN:

It was given to our countryman, Franklin, to bring down the lightning from Heaven. To enable me to be heard by this immmense multitude, I should have to invoke to my aid, and to throw into my voice, its loudest thunders. As I cannot do that, I hope I shall be excused for such a use of my lungs as is practicable and not inconsistent with the preservation of my health. And I feel that it is our first duty to express our obligations to a kind and bountiful Providence, for the copious and general showers with which he has just blessed our land—a refreshment of which it stood much in need. For one, I offer to Him my humble and dutiful thanks. The inconvenience to us, on this festive occasion, is very slight, while the sum of good which these timely rains will produce is very great and encouraging.

Fellow-citizens, I find myself now in a situation somewhat like one in which I was placed a few years ago when travelling through the State of Indiana, from which my friend (MR. RARIDEN) near me comes. I stopped at a village containing some four or five hundred inhabitants, and I had scarcely alighted before I found myself surrounded in the bar-room by every adult male resident of the place. After a while, I observed a group consulting together in one corner of the room and shortly after, I was diffidently approached by one of them, a tall, lank, lean, but sedate and sober looking person, with a long face and high cheek bones, who, addressing me, said he was commissioned by his neighbors to request that I would say a few words to them. Why, my good friend, said I, I should be very happy to do any thing gratifying to yourself and neighbors, but I am very much fatigued and hungry and thirsty, and I do not think the occasion is exactly suitable for a speech, I wish you would excuse me to your friends. Well, says he, Mr. Clay, I confess I thought so myself, especially as we have no wine to offer you to drink!

Now if the worthy citizen of Indiana was right in supposing that a glass of wine was a necessary preliminary and precedent condition to the delivery of a speech, you have no just right to expect one from me at this time; for during the sumptuous repast from which we have just risen, you offered me nothing to drink but cold water—excellent water, it is true, from the classic fountain of our lamented friend Mr. MAXWELL, which has so often regaled us on celebrations of our great anniversary. [Great laughter.]

I protest against any inference of my being inimical to the Temperance Cause. On the contrary, I think it an admirable cause that has done great good and will continue to do good as long as legal coercion is not employed; and it rests exclusively upon persuasion and its own intrinsic merits.

I have a great and growing repugnance to speaking in the open air to a large assemblage. But whilst the faculty of speech remains to me, I can never feel that repugnance, never feel other than grateful sensations, in making my acknowledgements under such circumstances as those which have brought us together. Not that I am so presumptuous as to believe that I have been the occasion solely of collecting this vast multitude. Among the inducements, I cannot help thinking that the fat white virgin heifer of my friend MR. BERRYMAN, that cost $600, which has just been served up, and the other good things which have been so liberally spread before us, exerted some influence in swelling this unprecedentedly large meeting.—[Great laughter.]

I cannot but feel, Mr. President, in offering my respectful acknowledgements for the honor done me, in the eloquent address which you have just delivered, and in the sentiment with which you concluded it, that your warm partiality, and the fervent friendship which has so long existed between us, and the kindness of my neighbors and friends around me, have prompted an exaggerated description, in too glowing colors, of my public services and my poor abilities.

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 partizan 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 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 know 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.

I thank you, friends and fellow-citizens, for your distinguished and enthusiastic reception of me this day; and for the excellence and abundance of the Barbecue that has been provided for our entertainment. And I thank, from the bottom of my heart, my fair countrywomen for honoring and gracing and adding brilliancy to this occasion by their numerous attendance. If the delicacy and refinement of their sex will not allow them to mix in the rougher scenes of human life, we may be sure that whenever, by their presence, their smiles and approbation are bestowed, it is no ordinary occurrence. That presence is always an absolute guaranty of order, decorum and respect. I take the greatest pleasure in bearing testimony to their value and their virtue. I have ever found in them true and steadfast friends, generously sympathizing to distress, and, by their courageous fortitude in bearing themselves, encouraging us to imitate their example. And we all know and remember how, as in 1840, they can powerfully aid a great and good cause, without any departure from the propriety or dignity of their sex.

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 a 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 Gov. 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 its 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.

Afterwards, when I was absent from the County of Fayette, at the Olympian Springs, without my knowledge or previous consent, I was brought forward as a candidate and elected to the General Assembly of this State. I served in that body several years, and was then transferred to the Senate, and afterwards to the House of Representatives of the United States. I will not now dwell on the subsequent events of my political life, or enumerate the offices which I have filled. During my public career, I have had bitter, implacable, reckless enemies. But if I have been the object of misrepresentation and unmerited calumny, no man has been beloved or honored by more devoted, faithful and enthusiastic friends. I have no reproaches—none—to make towards my country, which has distinguished and elevated me far beyond what I had any right to expect. I forgive my enemies, & hope they may live to obtain the forgiveness of their own hearts.

It would neither be fitting, nor is it my purpose to pass judgment on all the acts of my public life; but I hope I shall be excused for one or two observations, which the occasion appears to me to authorize.

I never but once changed my opinion on any great measure of National policy, or on any great principle of construction of the National Constitution. In early life, on deliberate consideration, I adopted the principles of interpreting the Federal Constitution which had 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 of the United States to recharter the first Bank of the United States thirty years ago, I opposed the recharter 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 now add, later and more disastrous experience, convinced me I was wrong. I publicly stated to my constituents, in a speech in Lexington, (that which I had made in the House of Representatives of the United States not having been reported,) my reasons for that change, and they are preserved in the archives of the country. I appeal to that record; & I am willing to be judged now and hereafter by their validity.

I do not advert to the fact of this solitary instance of change of opinion as implying any personal merit, but because it is a fact. I will however, say that I think it very perilous to the utility of any public man to make frequent changes of opinion, or any change, but upon grounds so sufficient and palpable that the public can clearly see and approve them. If we could look through a window into the human breast, and there discover the causes which lead to changes of opinion, they might be made without hazard. But as it is impossible to penetrate the human heart, and distinguish between the sinister and honest motives which prompt it, any public man that changes his opinion, once deliberately formed and promulgated, under other circumstances than those which I have stated draws around him distrust, impairs the public confidence, and lessens his capacity to serve his country.

I will take this occasion now to say, that I am and have long been satisfied, that it would have been wiser and more politic in me to have declined accepting the office of Secretary of State in 1825. Not that my motives were not as pure and as patriotic as ever carried any man into public office—not that the calumny which was applied to the fact was not as gross and as unfounded as any that was ever propagated.

(Here somebody cried out that Mr. Carter Beverly, who had been made the organ of announcing it, had recently borne testimony to its being unfounded. Mr. Clay said it was true that he had voluntarily borne such testimony. But with great earnestness and emphasis, Mr. Clay said I want no testimony: here—here—HERE—(repeatedly touching his heart, amidst tremendous cheers)—here is the best of all witnesses of my innocence.)

Not that valued friends and highly esteemed opponents did not unite in urging my acceptance of the office; not that the administration of Mr. Adams will not, I sincerely believe advantageously compare with that of any of his predecessors, in economy, purity, prudence and wisdom; nor that Mr. Adams was himself wanting in any of those high qualifications and upright and patriotic intentions which were suited to the office. Of that extraordinary man, of rare and varied attainments, whatever diversity of opinion may exist as to his recent course in the House of Representatives (& candor obliges me to say that there are some things in it which I deeply regret,) it is with no less truth than pleasure that I declare, that during the whole period of his administration, annoyed, assailed and assaulted as it was, no man could have shown a more devoted attachment to the Union and all its great interests; a more ardent desire, faithfully to discharge his whole duty, or brought to his aid more useful experience and knowledge than he did. I never transacted business with any man in my life with more ease, satisfaction and advantage than I did with that most able and indefatigable gentleman, as President of the United States. And I will add that more harmony never prevailed in any Cabinet than in his.

But my error, in accepting the office, arose out of my underrating the power of detraction and the force of ignorance, and abiding, with too sure a confidence in the conscious integrity and uprightness of my own motives. Of that ignorance, I had a remarkable and laughable example on an occasion which I will relate. I was travelling in 1828, through, I believe it was Spottsylvania in Virginia, on my return to Washington. In company with some young friends. We halted at night at a tavern, kept by an aged gentleman, who I quickly perceived, from the disorder and confusion which reigned, had not the happiness to have a wife. After a hurried and bad supper, the old gentleman sat down by me and without hearing my name, but understanding that I was from Kentucky, remarked that he had four sons in that State, and that he was very sorry they were divided in politics, two being for Adams and two for Jackson; he wished they were all for Jackson. Why? I asked him. Because, he said, that fellow Clay and Adams had cheated Jackson out of the Presidency. Have you ever seen any evidence, my old friend, said I, of that? No, he replied, none, and he wanted to see none. But, I observed, looking him directly and steadily in the face, suppose Mr. Clay were to come here and assure you, upon his honor, that it was all a vile calumny, and not a word of truth in it, would you believe him? No, replied the old gentleman promptly and emphatically. I said to him in conclusion, will you be good enough to show me to bed, and bid him good night. The next morning, having in the interval learnt my name, he came came to me full of apologies, but I at once put him at his ease by assuring him that I did not feel in the slightest degree hurt or offended with him.

Mr. President, I have been accused of ambition, often accused of ambition. I believe, however, that my accusers will be generally found to be political opponents, or the friends of aspirants in whose way I was supposed to stand, and it was thought therefore necessary to shove me aside. I defy my enemies to point out any act or instance of my life, in which I have sought the attainment of office by dishonorable or unworthy means. Did I display inordinate ambition when, under the administration of Mr. Madison, I declined a foreign mission of the first grade, and an Executive Department, both of which he successively kindly tendered to me? When, under that of his successor, Mr. Monroe, I was first importuned (as no one knows better than that sterling old patriot, Jonathan Roberts, now threatened, as the papers tell us, with expulsion from an office which was never filled with more honesty and uprightness because he declines to be a servile instrument,) to accept a Secretaryship, and was afterwards offered a *carte blanche* of all the foreign missions! At the epoch of the election of 1826 I believe no one doubted at Washington that, if I had felt it my duty to vote for Gen. Jackson, he would have invited me to take charge of a department. And such unoubtedly Mr. Crawford would have done, if he had been elected. When the Harrisburg Convention assembled, the general expectation was that the nomination would be given to me. It was given to the lamented Harrison. Did I exhibit any extraordinary ambition when, cheerfully acquiescing, I threw myself into the canvass, and made every exertion in my power to insure it success? Was it evidence of unchastened ambition in me to resign, as I recently did, my seat in the Senate—to resign the Dictatorship, with which my enemies had so kindly invested me, and come home to the quiet walks of private life?

But I am ambitious because some of my countrymen have seen fit to associate my name with the succession for the Presidential office. Do those who prefer the charge know what I have done, or not done, in connexion with that object? Have they given themselves the trouble to inquire at all into any agency of mine in respect to it? I believe not. It is a subject which I approach with all the delicacy which belongs to it, and with a due regard to the dignity of the exalted station; but on which I shall at the same time, speak to you, my friends and neighbors, without reserve, and with the utmost candor.

I have prompted none of those movements among the people of which we have seen accounts. As far as I am concerned, they are altogether spontaneous, and not only without concert with me, but most generally without any sort of previous knowledge on my part. That I am thankful and grateful—profoundly grateful—for those manifestations of confidence and attachment, I will not conceal or deny. But I have been and mean to remain a passive if not indifferent spectator. I have reached a time of life, and seen enough of high official stations to enable me justly to appreciate their value, their cares, their responsibilities, their ceaseless duties. That estimate of their worth, in a personal point of view, would restrain me from seeking to fill one, the highest of them, in a scramble of doubtful issue with political opponents, much less with political friends. That I should feel greatly honored by a call from a majority of the people of this country to the highest office within their gift, I shall not deny; nor if my health were preserved, might I feel at liberty to decline a summons so authorative and commanding.

But I declare, most solemnly, that I have not, up to this moment, determined whether I will consent to the use of my name or not as a candidate for the Chief Magistracy. That is a grave question, which should be decided by all attainable lights, which I think, is not necessary yet to be decided, and a decision of which I reserve to myself, when it ought to be solved. That period has not, as I think yet arrived. When it does, an impartial survey of the whole ground should be taken, the state of public opinion properly considered, and one's personal condition, physical and intellectual, duly examined and weighed. In thus announcing a course of conduct for myself, it is hardly necessary to remark that it is no part of my purpose to condemn, or express any opinion whatever upon those popular movements which have been made, or may be contemplated, in respect to the next election of a President of the United States.

If to have served my country, during a long series of years, with fervent zeal and unshaken fidelity, in seasons of peace and war, at home and abroad, in the Legislative Halls and in an Executive Department—if to have labored most seduously to avert the embarrassment and distress which now overspread this Union; and when they came, to have exerted myself anxiously, at the Extra Session and at this, to devise healing remedies; if to have desired to introduce economy and reform in the general administration, curtail enormous Executive power, and amply provide at the same time for the wants of the Government and the wants of the People by a Tariff which would give it revenue and them protection; if to have earnestly sought to establish the bright but too rare example of a party in power, faithful to its promises and pledges made when out of power—if these services, exertions and endeavors justify the accusation of ambition, I must plead guilty to the charge.

I have wished the good opinion of the world; but I defy the most malignant of my enemies to show that I have attempted to gain it by any low or grovelling arts, by any mean or unworthy sacrifices, by the violation of any of the obligations of honor, or by a breach of any of the duties which I owed to my country. I turn, Sir, from these personal allusions and reminiscences, to the vastly more important subject of the present actual condition of the country. If they could ever be justifiable or excusable it would be on such an occasion as this, when I am addressing those to whom I am bound by so many intimate and friendly ties.

In speaking of the present state of the country, it will be necessary for me to touch with freedom and independence upon the past as well as the present, and upon the conduct, spirit and principles of parties. I doing this, I assure my democratic brethren and fellow-citizens, of whom I am told there are many here present, (and I tender them my cordial thanks for the honor done me by their attendance here this day, with as much sincerity and gratitude as if they agreed with me in political sentiment.) that nothing is further from my intention than to say one single word that ought to wound their feelings or give offence to them. But surely if there ever were a period in the progress of any people when all were called upon, with calmness and candor, to consider thoroughly the present posture of public and private affairs, and deliberately to enquire into causes and remedies of this unpropitious state of things, we have arrived at that period in the United States. And if ever a people stood bound by the highest duties to themselves and to their posterity, to sacrifice upon the altar of their country, cherished prejudices and party predelictions and antipathies, we are now called upon to make the sacrifice if necessary.

What is our actual condition? It is one of unexampled distress and embarrassment, as universal as it is intense, pervading the whole community, and sparing none. Property of all kinds, and everywhere, fallen and falling in value; agricultural produce of every description at the most reduced prices; money unsound and at the same time scarce, and becoming more scarce by preparations, of doubtful and uncertain issue, to increase its soundness; all the departments of business inactive and stagnant; exchanges extravagantly high and constantly fluctuating; credit, public and private, at the lowest ebb and confidence lost; and a feeling of general discouragement and depression. And what darkens the gloom which hangs over the country, no one can discern any termination of this sad state of things, nor see in the future any glimpse of light or hope.

Is not this a faithful, although appalling, picture of the United States in 1842?—I appeal to all present; Whigs and Democrats, Ladies and Gentlemen, to say if it be at all too highly colored.

Now let us see what was our real condition only the short time of ten years ago. I had occasion, in February, 1832, in the Senate of the United States, when I was defending the American System against the late Col. HAYNE of South Carolina, to describe it; and I refer to this description as *evidence* of what I believe to be the state of the country at that time. That it conformed to the truth of the case, I appeal with confidence to those now present. On that occasion, among other things, I said:

"I have now to perform the more pleasing task of exhibiting an imperfect sketch of the existing state of the unparalleled prosperity of the country. On a general survey, we behold cultivation extended, the arts flourishing, the face of the country improved, our people fully and profitably employed, and the public countenance exhibiting tranquility, contentment and happiness. And, if we descend into particulars, we have the agreeable contemplation of a people out of debt, land rising slowly in value, but in a secure and salutary degree; a ready, though not extravagant, market for all the surplus productions of our industry; innumerable flocks and herds browsing and gamboling on ten thousand hills and plains, covered with rich and verdant grasses; our cities expanded, and whole villages springing up as it were, by enchantment; our exports and our imports increased and increasing; our tonnage, foreign and coastwise, swelling and fully occupied; the rivers of our interior animated by the perpetual thunder and lightning of countless steamboats; the currency sound and abundant; the public debt of two wars nearly redeemed; and, to crown all, the public treasury overflowing, embarrassing Congress not to find subjects of taxation, but to select the subjects which shall be liberated from the impost. If the term of seven years were to be selected, of the greatest prosperity which this people have enjoyed, since the establishment of their present Constitution, it would be exactly that period of seven years which immediately followed the passage of the Tariff of 1824."

The contrast in the state of the country, at the two periods of 1832 and 1842, is most remarkable and startling. What has precipitated us from that great height of enviable prosperity down to the lowest depths of pecuniary embarrassment? What has occasioned the wonderful change? No foreign foe has invaded and desolated the country. We have had neither famine nor earthquakes. That there exists a cause there can be no doubt; and I think it equally clear that the cause, whatever it may be, must be a general one; for nothing but a general cause could have produced such widespread ruin; and everywhere we behold the same or similar effects, every interest affected, every section of the Union suffering, all descriptions of produce and property depressed in value. And whilst I endeavor to find out that cause, and to trace to their true source the disastrous effects which we witness and feel, and lament, I entreat the Democratic portion of my audience, especially, to listen with patience and candor, and dismissing for a moment party biases and prejudices, to decide with impartiality and in a spirit of genuine patriotism.

It has been said by those high in authority, that the People are to blame and not the Government; that the distresses of the country have proceeded from speculation and overtrading. The people have been even reproached for expecting too much from Government and not relying sufficiently upon their own exertions. And they have been reminded that the highest duty of the Government is to take care of itself, leaving the People to shift for themselves as well as they can.—Accordingly we have seen the Government retreating from the storm which, it will be seen in the sequel, itself created, and taking shelter under the Sub-Treasury. That there have been some speculation and overtrading may be true; but all have not speculated and overtraded; whilst the distress reaches, if not in the same degree, the cautious and the prudent, as well as the enterprising and adventurous. The error of the argument consists in mistaking the effect for the cause. What produced the overtrading?—What was the cause of speculation? How were the people tempted to abandon the industrious and secure pursuits of life, and embark in doubtful and perilous, but seducing enterprizes? That is the important question.

Now, fellow-citizens, I take upon myself to show that the people have been far less to blame than the General Government, and that whatever of error they committed, was the natural consequence of the unwise policy of their rulers. To the action of Government is mainly to be ascribed the disorders, embarrassments and distress which all have now so much reason to deplore. And, to be yet more specific, I think they are to be fairly attributed to the action of the Executive branch of the Federal Government.

Three facts or events, all happening about the same time, if their immediate effects are duly considered, will afford a clear and satisfactory solution of all the pecuniary evils which now unhappily afflict this country. The first was the veto of the recharter of the Bank of the U. States; the second was the removal of the deposites from that Bank to local banks. And the third was the refusal of the President of the United States, by an arbitrary stretch of power, to sanction the passage of the Land Bill. These events occurred in quick succession, in 1832-33, and each of them deserves particular consideration.

1. When the Bank of the United States had fully recovered from its early administration, and at the period when it was proposed to re-charter it, it furnished the best currency that ever existed, possessing not merely unbounded confidence in the U.States, but throughout the whole commercial world. No institution was ever more popular, and the utility of a Bank of the U.States was acknowledged by President Jackson in his Veto message, in which he expressly stated that he could have suggested to Congress the plan of an unexceptionable charter, if application had been made to him. And I state as a fact, what many, I am sure, will here remember and sustain that during the canvass then going on for the Presidency, many of his friends in this State gave assurance that, in the event of his re-election, a Bank of the United States would be established. It was held out to the people that a better currency should be supplied, and a more safe and faithful execution of the fiscal duties towards the Government would be performed by the local banks than by the Bank of the United States.

What was the immediate effect of the overthrow of that institution? The establishment of innumerable local banks, which sprung up everywhere with a rapidity to which we cannot look back without amazement. A respectable document which I now hold in my hand, I believe correctly states that "in 1830 the aggregate banking capital of the Union was $145,190,268. Within two years after the removal of the deposites, the banking capital had swollen to $331,250,337. While the U. S. Bank was in existence, the local banks, not aspiring to the regulation of the currency, were chartered with small capitals, as occasion and business required. After 1833, they were chartered without necessity, and multiplied beyond example. In December 1837, there were no less than 709 State Banks. Nearly four hundred banks sprung up upon the ruins of the U. S. Bank, and $250,000,000 of capital was incorporated, to supply the uses formerly discharged by the $55,000 000 of capital of the Bank of the U.States. The impulse given to extravagance and speculation by this enormous increase of banking capital was quicked by the circulars of the Treasury Department to the pet State Banks that were made the custodiers of the National Revenue."

A vast proportion of these new banks, more I believe than four fifths, were chartered by the Legislatures in which the Democratic party had the undisputed ascendancy. I well remember that in this state the presses of that party made a grave charge against me of being inimical to the establishment here of State Banks; and I was opposed to their establishment, until all prospect vanished of getting a United States Bank. The effect upon the country of this sudden increase, to such an immense amount of the banking capital of the country, could not fail to be very great, if not disastrous. It threw out, in the utmost profusion, bank accommodations in all the variety of forms, ordinary bank notes, post notes checks, drafts, bills, &c. The currency thus put forth, the people had been assured was better than that supplied by the U. S. Bank; and after the removal of the deposites, the Local Banks were urged and stimulated by the Secretary of the Treasury freely to discount and accommodate upon the basis of those deposites. Flooded as the country was, by those means and in this way, with all species of bank money and facilities, is it surprising that they should have rushed into speculation, and freely adventured in the most desperate enterpises? It would have been better to have avoided them; it would have been better that the people should have been wiser and more prudent than the Government; but who is most to blame, they who yielded to temptation so thrown out before them—they who yielded confidence to their rulers—they who could not see when this inordinate issue of money was to cease, or to become vitiated; or Government, that tempted seduced and betrayed them?

And now, fellow-citizens, do let us, in calmness and candor, revert for a moment to some of the means which were employed to break down the U.S. Bank, and to inflict upon the country all the sad consequences which ensued. I shall not stop to expose the motives of the assault upon that institution, and to show that it was because it refused to make itself basely and servilely instrumental to the promotion of political views and objects. The Bank was denounced as a monster, aiming, as was declared, to rob the people of their liberties, and to subvert the government of the country. The Bank to subvert the Government!—Why, how could the Bank continue to exist after the overthrow of that Government to which it was indebted for its existence, and in virtue of whose authority it could alone successfully operate! Convulsions, revolutions, civil wars, are not the social conditions most favorable to Bank prosperity; but they flourish most when order, law, regularity, punctuality, and successful business prevail.

Rob the people of their liberties! And pray what would it do with them after the robbery was perpetrated? It could not put them in its vaults, or make interest or profit upon them, the leading, if not the sole object of a Bank. And how could it destroy the liberties of the people, without, at the same time, destroying the liberties of all persons interested or concerned in the Bank? What is a Bank? It is a corporation, the aggregate of whose capital is contributed by individual share-holders and employed in pecuniary operations, under the management of President, Directors, Cashier, Teller and Clerks. Now, all these persons are usually citizens of the United States, just as much interested in the preservation of the liberties of the country as any other citizens. What earthly motive could prompt them to seek the destruction of the liberty of their fellow-citizens, and with it their own?

The fate of the Bank of the United States clearly demonstrated where the real danger to the public liberties exists. It was not the bank. Its popularity had been great, and the conviction of its utility strong and general up to the period of the Bank Veto. Unbounded as was the influence of President Jackson, and undisguised as his hostility was to the Bank, he could not prevent the passage through Congress of a bill to re-charter it. In such favor and esteem was it held, that the Legislature of Pennsylvania, in which his friends had uncontrolled sway, almost unanimously recommended the re-charter. But his Veto came; he blew his whistle for its destruction; it was necessary to sustain his party, which could only be done by sustaining him, and instantly and everywhere down with the Bank and huzza for the Veto, became the watchwords and the rallying cry of his partizans. That same Legislature of Pennsylvania, now, with equal unanimity, approved the destruction of an institution which they had believed to be so indispensable to the public prosperity, and deluded people felt as if they had fortunately escaped a great National calamity!

The Veto notwithstanding, the House of Representatives, by a large majority, resolved that the public deposites were safe in the custody of the Bank of the United States, where they were placed under the sanction and by the command of the law; and it was well known at Washington, that this resolution was passed in anticipation and to prevent the possibility of their removal. In the face and in contempt of this decision of the Representatives of the People, and in violation of a positive law, the removal was ordered by the President a few months after, the Secretary of the Treasury having been previously himself removed to accomplish the object. And this brings me to consider the effect produced upon the interest of the country by the

2d event to which I have alluded. It it well known to be the usage of Banks, to act upon the standing average amount of deposites as upon a permanent fund. The Bank of the United States had so regulated its transactions upon the desposites of the United States, and had granted accommodations and extended facilities as far as could be safely done on that basis. The deposites were removed and dispersed among various local banks, which were urged by an authority not likely to be disregarded, especially when seconding, as it did, their own pecuniary interests, to discount and accommodate freely on them. They did so; and thus these deposites performed a double office, by being the basis of Bank facilities, first, in the hands of the bank of the United States, and afterwards in the possession of the local banks. A vast addition to the circulation of the country ensued, adding to that already so copiously put forth by the multitude of new Banks, which were springing up like mush-rooms. That speculation and overtrading should have followed were to have been naturally expected. It is surprising that there were not more. Prices arose enormously, as another consequence; and thousands were tempted, as is always the case in an advancing market, to hold on or to make purchases, under the hope of prices rising still higher. A rush of speculators was made upon the public lands, and the money invested in their purchase, coming back to the deposite banks, was again and again loaned out to the same or other speculators, to make other and other purchasers.

Who was to blame for this inflated and artificial state of things? Who for the speculation which was its natural offspring? The policy of Government which produced it, or the people? The seducer, or the seduced? The People, who only used the means so abundantly supplied in virtue of the public authority, or our rulers, whose unwise policy tempted them into ruinous speculation?

3. There was a measure, the passage of which would have greatly mitigated this unnatural state of things. It was not difficult to forsee after the Veto of the Bank, some of the consequences that would follow. The multiplication of Banks, a superabundant currency, rash and inordinate speculation, and probable ultimate suspension of specie payments. And the public domain was too brilliant and tempting a prize not to be among the first objects that would attract speculation. In March 1833, a bill passed both Houses of Congress to distribute among the States the proceeds of sales of the public lands. It was a measure of strict justice to the States, and one of sound policy as it respects the revenue of the United States; but the view I now propose to take of it applies altogether to the influence which it would have exerted upon circulation and speculation. It was the constitutional duty of the President to have returned the bill to Congress with his objections, if he was opposed to it; or with his sanction if he approved it; but the bill fell by his arbitrarily withholding it from Congress.

Let us here pause and consider what would have been the operation of that most timely and salutary measure, if it had not been arrested. The bill passed in 1833, and in a short time after, the sales of the public lands were made to an unprecedented extent; insomuch, that in one year they amounted to about $25,000,000, and in a few years to an aggregate of about $50,000,000. It was manifest that, if this fund so rapidly accumulating, remained in the custody of the local banks, in conformity with the Treasury Circular, and with their interests, it would be made the basis of new loans, new accommodations, fresh bank facilities. It was manifest that the same identical sum of money might, as it in fact did, purchase many tracts of land, by making the circuit from the land offices to the banks and from the banks to the land offices, besides stimulating speculation in other forms.

Under the operation of the measure of the distribution, that great fund would have been semi-annually returned to the States & would have been applied, under the direction of their respective legislatures, to various domestic and useful purposes. It would have fallen upon the land, like the rain of heaven, in gentle, genial & general showers, passing through a thousand rills, and fertilizing and beautifying the country. Instead of being employed in purposes of speculation, it would have been applied to the common benefit of the whole people. Finally, when the fund had accumulated & was accumulating in an alarming degree, it was distributed among the States by the deposite act, but so suddenly distributed in such large masses, and in a manner so totally in violation of all the laws and rules of finance, that the crisis of suspension in 1837 was greatly accelerated. This would have been postponed, if not altogether avoided, if the landbill of 1833 had been approved & executed.

To these three causes, fellow-citizens, the Veto of the Bank of the United States, with the consequent creation of innumerable local banks, the removal of the deposites of the United States from the Bank of the United States, and their subsequent free use, and the failure of the land bill of 1833, I verily believe, all, or nearly all of the pecuniary embarrassments of the country are plainly attributable. If the bank had been rechartered, the public deposites suffered to remain undisturbed where the law required them to be made, & the land bill gone into operation, it is my firm conviction that we should have had no more individual distress & ruin than is common, in ordinary & regular times, to a trading and commercial community. And do just now take a rapid review of the experiments of our rulers. They began with incontestibly the *best* currency in the world; and promised a *better*. That better currency was to be supplied by the local banks; and, in the first stages of the experiment, after the removal of the deposites, they were highly commended from high authority, for the benefici l and extensive operations in exchange, the financial facilities which they afforded to the Government, &c. &c.

But the day of trouble and difficulty which had been predicted, for the want of a United States Bank, came. They could not stand the shock, but gave way, and the suspension of 1837 took place. Then what was the course of these same rulers? They had denounced and put down the U. S. Bank. It was a monster. They had extolled and lavished praises on the local Banks.—Now, they turned round against the objects of their own creation and commendation. Now they were a brood of little monsters, corrupt and corrupting, with separate privileges, preying upon the vitals of the State. They vehemently call out for a divorce of State and Bank, and meanly retreating under the Sub-Treasury, from a storm which themselves had raised, leaving the people to suffer under all its pelting and pitiless rage, they add insult to injury, by telling them that they unreasonably expect too much from Government, that they must take care of themselves, and that it is, the highest and most patriotic duty of a free Government to take care of itself, without regard to the sufferings and distresses of the people!

They began with the best currency, promised a better, and ended by giving none! For we might, as well resort to the custumes of our original parents in the Garden of Eden, as attempt in this enlightened age, with the example of the whole commercial world before us, to cramp this energetic and enterprising people by a circulation exclusively of the precious metals. Let us see how the matter stands with us here in Kentucky, and I believe we stand as well as the people do in most of the States. We have a circulation in Bank notes amounting to about two millions and a half, founded upon specie in the vaults amounting to about one million and a quarter, half the actual circulation. Have we too much money? [No, no! exclaimed many voices.] If all Banks were put down and all paper annihilated, we should have just one half the money that we now have. I am quite sure that one of the immediate causes of our present difficulties, is a defect in quantity as well as the quality of our circulating medium. And it would be impossible, if we were reduced to such a regimen as is proposed by the hard-moneyed theorists, to avoid stop laws, relief laws, repudiations, bankruptcies, and perhaps civil commotion.

I have traced the principal causes of the present embarrassed condition of the the country, I hope with candor and fairness, and without giving offence to any of my fellow-citizens, who may have differed in political opinion from me. It would have been far more agreeable to my feelings to have dwelt, as I did in 1832, during the third year of the first term of President Jackson's Administration, upon bright and cheering prospects of general prosperity. I thought it useful to contrast that period with the present one, and to inquire into the causes which have brought upon us such a sad and dismal reverse. A much more important object remains to me to attempt, and that is, to point out remedies for existing evils & disorders.

And the first I would suggest requires the cooperation of the Government and the People—it is economy and frugality; strict and persevering economy, both in public and private affairs. Government should incur or continue no expense that can be justly or honorably avoided, and individuals should do the same. The prosperity of the country has been impaired by causes operating throughout several years, and it will not be restored in a day or a year, perhaps not in a period less than it has taken to destroy it. But we must not only be economical, we must be industrious, indefatigably industrious. An immense amount of capital has been wasted and squandered in visionary or unprofitable enterprise, public and private. It can be reproduced by labor and saving.

The second remedy which I would suggest, and that without which all others must prove abortive or ineffectual, is a sound currency, of uniform value throughout the Union, & redeemable in specie upon the demand of the holder. I know of but one mode in which that object can be accomplished, and that has stood the test of time and practical experience. If any other can be devised than an U. S. Bank, which should be safe and certain & free from the influence of Government, and especially not under the control of the Executive department, I should, for one, gladly see it embraced. I am not exclusively wedded to a U. S. Bank, nor do I desire to see one established against the will and without the consent of the People. But all my observation and reflection have served to strengthen and confirm my conviction, that such an institution emanating from the authority of the General Government, properly restricted & guarded, with such improvements as experience has pointed out, can alone supply a reliable currency.

Accordingly, at the Extra Session, a bill passed both Houses of Congress, which, in my opinion, contained an excellent charter, with one or two slight defects, which it was intended to cure by a supplemental bill, if the Veto had not been exercised. That charter contained two new, and I think admirable features; one was to separate the operation of issuing a circulation from that of banking, confiding these faculties to different boards; and the other was to limit the dividends of the bank, bringing the excess, beyond the present prescribed amount, into the public treasury. In the preparation of the charter, every sacrifice was made to accommodate it, especially in regard to the branching power, to the reputed opinions of the President. But instead of meeting us in a mutual spirit of conciliation, he fired, as was aptly said by a Virginia editor, upon the flag of truce from the capitol.

Congress, being anxious to fulfil the expectations of the people, a Bank bill was prepared, in conformity with the plan of a bank sketched by the acting President in his Veto message, after a previous consultation between him and some distinguished members of Congress, and two leading members of his cabinet. The bill was shaped in precise conformity to his views, as communicated by those members of the Cabinet, and as communicated to others, and was submitted to his inspection after it was so prepared; and he gave assurances that he would approve such a bill. I was no party to the transaction, but I do not entertain a doubt of what I state. The bill passed both Houses of Congress without any alteration or amendment whatever, and the Veto was again employed.

It is painful for me to advert to a grave occurrence, marked by such dishonor and bad faith. Although the President, through his recognized organ, derides and denounces the Whigs, and disowns being one; although he administers the Executive branch of the Government in contempt of their feelings and in violation of their principles; and although all whom he chooses to have denominated as ultra Whigs, that is to say the great body of the Whig party, have come under his ban, and those of them in office are threatened with his expulsion, I wish not to say of him one word that is not due to truth and to the country. I will, however, say that in my opinion, the Whigs cannot be justly held responsible for his administration of the Executive department, for the measures he may recommend, or for his failure to recommend others, nor especially for the manner in which he distributes the public patronage. They will do their duty, I hope, towards the country, and render all good and proper support to Government; but they ought not to be held accountable for his conduct. They elected him, it is true, but for another office, and he came into the present one by a lamentable visitation of Providence.—There had been no such instance occurring under the Government. If the Whigs were bound to scrutinize his opinions in reference to an office which no one ever anticipated he would fill, he was bound in honor and good faith to decline the Harrisburg nomination, if he could not conscientiously co-operate with them in sustaining the principles that brought him into office. Had the President who was elected lived, had that honest and good man, on whose face, in that picture, we now gaze, been spared, I feel perfectly confident that all the measures which the principles of the Whigs authorized the country to expect, including a Bank of the United States, would have been carried out.

But it may be said that a sound currency, such as I have described, is unattainable during the administration of Mr. Tyler. It will be, if it can only be obtained through the instrumentality of a Bank of the U. States, unless he changes his opinion, as he has done in regard to the land bill.

Unfortunately, our Chief Magistrate possesses more power, in some respects, than a King or Queen of England. The crown is never separated from the nation, but is obliged to conform to its will. If the Ministry holds opinions adverse to the nation, and is thrown into minority in the House of Commons, the crown is constrained to dismiss the Ministry, & appoint one whose opinions coincide with the nation. This, Queen Victoria has recently been obliged to do; and not merely to change the Ministry, but to dismiss the official attendant upon her person. But here, the President holds opinions adverse to that of Congress and the nation upon important public measures, and there is no remedy but upon the periodical return of the rights of the ballot box.

Another remedy, powerfully demanded by the necessities of the times, and requisite to maintaining the currency in a sound state, is a Tariff, which will lessen importations from abroad, and tend to increase supplies at home from domestic Industry. I have so often expressed my views on this subject, and so recently in the Senate of the U. States, that I do not think there is any occasion for my enlarging upon it at this time. I do not think that a high tariff is necessary, but one that shall insure an adequate revenue and reasonable protection; and it so happens that the interests of the Treasury and the wants of the people now perfectly coincide. Union is our highest and greatest interest. No one can look beyond its dissolution without horror and dismay. Harmony is essential to the preservation of the Union. It was the leading, although not the only motive, in proposing the compromise act, to preserve that harmony. The power of protecting the interests of our own country can never be surrendered to foreign nations, without a culpable dereliction of duty. Of this truth, all parts of the nation are every day becoming more and more sensible. In the meantime, this indispensable power should be exercised with a discretion & moderation, and in a form least calculated to revive prejudices, or to check the progress of reform now going on in public opinion.

In connexion with a system of remedial measures, I shall only allude without stopping to dwell on the distribution bill, that just and equitable settlement of a great National question, which sprung up during the Revolutionary War, which has seriously agitated the country, and which it is deeply to be regretted, had not been settled ten years ago, as then proposed. Independent of all other considerations, the fluctuation in the receipts from sales of the public lands is so great and constant, that it is a resource on which the General Government ought not to rely for revenue. It is far better that the advice of a Democratic land Committee of the Senate, at the head of which was the experienced and distinguished Mr. King of Alabama, given some years ago, should be followed, that the Federal Treasury be replenished with duties on imports, without bringing into it any part of the land fund.

I have thus suggested measures of relief adapted to the present state of the country, and I have noticed some of the differences which unfortunately exist between the two leading parties into which our people are unhappily divided. In considering the question whether the counsels of the one or the other of these parties are wisest, and best calculated to advance the interests, the honor, and the prosperity of the nation, which every citizen ought to do, we should discard all passion and prejudice, and exercise, as far as possible, a perfect impartiality. And we should not confine our attention merely to the particular measures which those parties respectively espouse or oppose, but extend it to their general course and conduct, and to the spirit and purposes by which they are animated. We should anxiously enquire whither shall we be led by following in the lead of the one or the other of those parties—shall we be carried to the achievement of the glorious destiny, which patriots here, and the liberal portion of mankind everywhere, have fondly hoped awaits us? or shall we ingloriously terminate our career, by adding another melancholy example of the instability of human affairs, and the folly with which self-government is administered?

I do not arrogate to myself more impartiality, or greater freedom from party bias, than belong to other men; but unless I deceive myself, I think I have reached a time of life, and am now in a position of retirement, from which I can look back with calmness, and speak, I hope, with candor and justice. I do not intend a general contrast between the two parties, as to their course, doctrines and spirit. That would be too expensive and laborious an undertaking for the occasion, but I purpose to specify a few recent instances, in which, I think, our political opponents have exhibited a spirit and bearing, disorganizing and dangerous to the permanency and stability of our institutions, and I invoke the serious and sober attention to them, of all who are here assembled.

The first I would notice is the manner in which Territories have been lately admitted, as States, into the Union. The early and regular practice of the Government was for Congress to pass previously a law authorizing a Convention, regulating the appointment of members to it, specifying the qualification of voters, &c. In what way most of the States were received. Of late, without any previous sanction or authority from Congress, several Territories have proceeded of themselves to call Conventions, form Constitutions, and demand admission into the Union; and they were admitted. I do not deny that population and condition entitled them to admission; but I insist that it should have been done in the regular and established mode. In the case of Michigan, aliens were allowed to vote, as aliens have been allowed to become preemptioners in the public lands. And a majority in Congress sanctioned the proceeding. When foreigners are naturalized and incorporated, as citizens, in our community, they are entitled to all the privileges, within the limits of the Constitution, which belongs to a native born citizen; and, if necessary, they should be protected, at home and abroad—the thunder of our artillery should roar as loud and effectually in their defence, as if their birth were upon American soil. But I cannot but think it wrong and hazardous, to allow aliens, who have just landed upon our shores, who have not yet renounced their allegiance to Foreign potentates, nor sworn fidelity to our constitution, with all the influences of monarchy and anarchy about them, to participate in our elections, & affect our legislation.

2. The New Jersey Election;—the great seal of the State and the decision of the local authorities were put aside by the House of Representatives, & a majority thus secured to the Democratic party.

3. Nullification, which is nothing more or less than an assumption by one State to abrogate within its limits a law passed by 26 States in Congress assembled.

4. A late revolutionary attempt in Maryland to subvert the existing Government, without any authority of law.

5. The refusal of a minority in the Legislature of Tennessee to co-operate with the majority (their Constitution requiring the presence of two-thirds of the members,) to execute a positive injuction of the Constitution of the U. S. to appoint two U. S. Senators. In principle, that refusal was equivalent to announcing the willingness of that minority to dissolve the Union. For if 13 or 14 of the 26 States were to refuse altogether to elect Senators, a dissolution of the Union would be the consequence. That minority, for weeks together, and time after time, deliberately refused to enter upon the election. And, if the Union is not in fact dissolved, it is not because the principle involved would not lead to a dissolution, but because 12 or 13 other States have not like themselves refused to perform a high constitutional duty. And why did they refuse? Simply because they apprehended the election to the Senate of political opponents. The seats of the two Tennessee Senators in the U. States Senate are now vacant, and Tennessee has no voice in that branch of the general legislation. One of the highest compliments which I ever received was to have been appointed, at a popular meeting in Tennessee, one of her Senators, in conjunction with a distinguished Senator from South Carolina, with all the authority that such an appointment could bestow. I repeat here an expression of my acknowledgments for an honor, which I most *ambitiously* resigned when I gave up my dictatorship and my seat as a Kentucky Senator. [A general laugh.]

6. Then there is repudiation, that foul stain upon the American character, cast chiefly by the Democrats of Mississippi, and which it will require years to efface from our bright escutcheon.

7. The support given to Executive usurpation, and the expunging the records of the Senate of the U.S.

8. The recent refusal of State legislatures to pass laws to carry into effect the Act of Distribution. An Act of Congress, passed according to all the forms of the constitution, after ample discussion and deliberate consideration, and after the lapse of ten years from the period it was first proposed. It is the duty of all to submit to the laws regularly passed. They may attempt to get them repealed; they have a right to test their validity, submission to them is not merely a constitutional and legal, but a moral duty. In this case it is true that those who refuse to abide by them only bite their own noses. But it is the principle of the refusal to which I call your attention. If a minority may refuse compliance with one law, what is to prevent minorities from disregarding all law? Is this any thing but a modification of nullification? What right have the servants of the people (the legislative bodies) to withhold from their masters their assigned quotas of a great public fund?

9. The last, though not the least, instance of the manifestation of disorganization which I shall notice, is the recent convulsion in Rhode Island. That little but gallant and patriotic State had a Charter derived from a British King, in operation between one and two hundred years. There had been engrafted upon it laws and usages, from time to time, and altogether a practical Constitution sprang up, which carried the State as one of the glorious thirteen, through the Revolution, and brought her safely into the Union. Under it her Greens and Perrys and other distinguished men, were born and rose to eminence. The Legislature had called a Convention to remedy whatever defects it had, and to adapt it to the progressive improvements of the age. In that work of reform the Dorr party might have co-operated; but, not chosing to co-operate, and in wanton defiance of all established authority, they undertook, subsequently, to call another Convention. The result was two Constitutions, not essentially differing on the principal point of controversy, the right of suffrage.

Upon submitting to the people that which was formed by the regular Convention, a small majority voted against it, produced by a union, in casing votes, between the Dorr party and some of the friends of the old Charter who were opposed to any change. The other Constitution being also submitted to the people, an apparent majority voted for it, made up of every description of votes; legal and illegal, by proxy and otherwise, taken in the most irregular and unauthorized manner. The Dorr party proceeded to put their Constitution in operation, by electing him as the Governor of the State, members to the mock Legislature, and other officers. But they did not stop here; they proceeded to collect, to drill and to marshal a military force and pointed their cannon against the Arsenal of the State. The President was called upon to interpose the power of the Union to preserve the peace of the State, in conformity with an express provision of the Federal Constitution. And I have as much pleasure in expressing my opinion that he faithfully performed his duty in responding to that call, as it gave me pain to be obliged to animadvert on other parts of his conduct. The leading presses of the Loco Foco party at Washington, Albany, New York and Richmond and elsewhere, came out in support of the Dorr party, encouraging them in their work of Rebellion and Treason. And when matters had got to a crisis & the two parties were preparing for civil war and every hour it was expected to blaze out, a great Tammany meeting was held in the City of N. York, headed by the leading men of the party, the Cambrelengs, the Vanderpoels, the Allens, &c. with a perfect knowledge that the military power of the Union was to be employed, if necessary to suppress the insurrection, and, notwithstanding, they passed resolutions tending, to awe the President & to countenance & cheer the Treason. Fortunately, numbers of the Dorr party abandoned their Chief; he fled and Rhode Island, unaided by any actual force of the Federal authority, proved herself able alone to maintain law under the government within her borders.—I do not attribute to my fellow-citizen here assembled from whom I differ in opinion any disposition to countenance the revolutionary proceedings in Rhode Island. I do not believe that they approve it. I do not believe that their party generally could approve it, nor some of the other examples of a spirit of disorganization which I have enumerated; but the misfortune is, in time of high party excitement that the leaders commit themselves and finally commit the body of their party, who perceive that unless they stand by and sustain their leaders, a division and perhaps destruction of the party would be the consequence. Of all the springs of human action party ties are perhaps the most powerful. Interest has been supposed to be more so, but party ties are more influential, unless they are regarded as a modification of imaginary interest. Under their sway we have seen not only individuals, but whole communities abandon their long cherished interests and principles and turn round and oppose them with violence. Did the rebellion in Rhode Island find for its support a precedent established by the majority in Congress, in the irregular admission of Territories as States into the Union, to which I have heretofore alluded? Is there not reason to fear that the example which Congress had previously presented encouraged the Rhode Island rebellion?

It has been attempted to defend that rebellion upon the doctrines of the American Declaration of Independence, but no countenance to it can be fairly derived from them. That declaration asserts, it is true, that whenever a government becomes destructive to the ends of life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness, for the security of which it was instituted, it is the right of the people to alter or abolish it and institute a new government; and so undoubtedly it is. But this is a right only to be exercised in grave or extreme cases. 'Prudence indeed will dictate,' says that venerated instrument, 'that Government long established should not be changed for light and transient causes.' 'But when a long train of abuses and usurpations, pursuing invariably the same object, evince a design to reduce them under an absolute despotism, it is their right, their duty, to throw off such government.' Will it be pretended that the actual Government of Rhode Island is destructive of life, liberty or the pursuit of happiness? That it has perpetrated a long train of abuses and usurpations, pursuing the same invariable object, to reduce the people under absolute despotism? Or that any other cause of complaint existed but such as might be peacefully remedied, without violence and without blood? Such as, in point of fact, the legitimate Government had regularly summoned a Convention to redress, but for the result of whose deliberations the restless spirit of disorder and rebellion had not the patience to wait? Why, fellow-citizens, little Rhody (God bless and preserve her!) is one of the most prosperous, enterprising and enlightened States in the Union. Nowhere is life, liberty and property more perfectly secure.

Fellow-citizens: I have enumerated these examples of a dangerous spirit of disorganization & disregard of law, with no purpose of giving offence or exciting bitter and unkind feelings here or elsewhere; but to illustrate the principles, character and tendency of the two great parties into which this country is divided. In all these examples the Democratic party, as it calls itself, (a denomination to which I respectfully think it has not the least just pretension,) or large portions of that party, extending to whole States, united with apparent cordiality. To all of them the Whig party was constantly and firmly opposed. And now let me ask you, in all candor and sincerity, to say truly and impartially to which of these two parties can the interests, the happiness and the destinies of this great people be most safely confided? I appeal especially and with perfect confidence, to the candor of the real, the ancient and long-tried Democracy—that old Republican party with whom I stood side by side during some of the darkest days of the Republic, in seasons of both War and Peace.

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 climate 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, amidst the conflicting billows of contending parties, without a rudder and without a faithful pilot. But that Ship is our country, embodying all past glory, all our true hopes. Its crew is our whole people, by whatever political denomination they are known. If she goes down, they all go down together. Let us remember the dying words of the gallant Lawrence—"Don't give up the Ship!" The glorious banner of our country, with its Stars and Stripes, still proudly floats at its mast head. With stout hearts and strong arms, we can surmount all difficulties. Let us all—all—rally around 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! You have been disappointed, deceived, betrayed, shamefully deceived and betrayed. But will you therefore also prove false and faithless to your country, or obey the impulses of just and patriotic indignation? As for Captain Tyler, he is a mere snap—a flash in the pan; pick your Whig flints and try your rifles again!