MR. CLAY'S SPEECH. Delivered in the City of Raleigh April 13, 1844.

Friends and Fellow-Citizens, Ludies and Gen tlemen of North Carolina:

A long cherished object of my heart is ac complished. I am at your Capitol and in the midst of you. I have looked forward to this my first visit to North Carolina, with anxious wishes, and with high expectations of great gratification; and I am happy to say that my fondest anticipations have been more than realized. Wherever I have passed on my way to your city, where I have stopped, at the depots of rail roads, in country, town or village, it has been my good fortune to recoive the warmest demonstrations of respecand kindness, from all parties, from both sexes, and from every age; but no where have I met, no where had I expected such a distinguished reception, and such enthusiastic greetings as those with which my arrival here has been attended. I am rejoiced to be with you this day, to stand surrounded by you in the shade of this magnificent Capitol, a noble monument of your public liberality and taste; and while my grateful heart has been warmed, by the thrilling grasp of each outstretched hand, and my eye chocked by the smiles and beauty of the fair daughters of North Carolina, who have honored this occasion by their presence, I cannot but rejoice, and I do reolce, that I am an American citizen; and feel that, though far removed from my immediate home and friends, yet I tread here the soil of my country, am in the millst of my friends and countrymen, and can exclaim in the language of the Scottish bard, that this, "this is indeed my own, my native land."-I own that I have been truly and greatly, but agreeably surprised. I had expected to find some hundreds, perhaps a few thousand assembled here to meet and greet me. I did not expect to witness such an out pouring. I did not expect to see the whole state congregated together; but here it is! From the mounme the sons and daughters of the good old of the two great parties of the country. I and efficiency of its institutions-by its uniand by its stendy and firm attachment to the tween the two parties, which eminently dis-Union, of which it is one of the surest, props linguishes them, and which, if there were cause it was known, from the general characit is not proud, because it is not in its nature judgment. And hat is, the respect and deyou all. I thank my fair country women for public authority. In a country where a free came up in the House, and the members from gracing this meeting by their countenance and self-government is established, it should the four states were admitted to their seats.he has represented your hospitality. I thank stitution and laws, and support the public au. most extraordinay result was brought about attention which I have received at their

zens, have brought me in your presence. 1 I seek to change no man's opinion, to shake the people. In that species of government. own opinions upon all matters of public con- soldiery. exercise the rights, appertaining to us, may parties which I have done, I am fully borne ly assumed, that Congress could not execute exert, reciprocally, an influence upon each out by facts, to some of which, only, on this a part of the granted power, without the new government. In the mean time, the leof considering fairly, fully, and disinter. a recent nature.

ton in the movement of Door. If has been of peace and of war. If it were true that

and contented with the opinions which I have obedience to the law. With a free people. formed upon public affairs, after thorough the fact that the laws are their laws, ought to

the whole people, but to advance the purpo. regulations, except as to the places of choosing ses, and selfish aims of itself, or rather of its Senators." With that reasonable, equal, and leaders, then is such a party, whatever may just act of Congress, every Whig state, whose be the popular name it may assume, highly Legislature assembled in time after its pasdetrimental and dangerous. I am a Whig, sage, strictly complied, and laid off their rewarmly attached to the party which bears spective states into districts accordingly .that respected name, from a thorough per- But the four states, with Democratic Legis suasion that its principles and policy are best latures, of Georgia, Mississippi, Missouri, calculated to secure the happiness and pros. and New Hampshire refused to conform to perity of our common country; but, if I be. law, treated it with contemptuous neglect, lieved otherwise, if I were convinced that it and suffered the elections for members of the sought party or individual aggrandizement. House of Representatives to proceed, in total of members to that body, limiting their choice this occasion. If the systems and measures and not the public good, I would instantly and disregard of its provisions. This was a new forever abandon it, whatever might be the species of nullification, not less reprehensible territory. Michigan, without the sanction of trasted, and compared, the result will be not consequences to myself, or whatever the re. than that which was attempted formerly in a previous act of Congress, undertook, upon less favorable to the Whig party. With the grets which I might feel in separating from another State, though admitting of a more her sole authority, to form a Constitution, and Whig party there prevails entire concurveteran friends. My opinions upon great and easy and peaceful remedy. That remedy demanded admission into the Union. In apprence as to the principles and measures of this estimable title by the purity, simplicity, by a full consideration, and fair comparison, before they assembled, confidently predicted, form patriotism and inflexible virtue; by its measures, conduct and views. There is one states, would be allowed to take their scats. quiet, unobtrusive, and unambitious demeanor, prominent and characteristic difference be- the constitution and the laws not with standing. and pillars-a noble title, of which although no other, would be sufficient to decide my ter and conduct of the dominant party in the House, that it would not hesitate to trample to be proud, its sister states may well envy ference uniformly displayed by the one, and under foot both law and constitution, if necesand emulate her. For these hearty manifes- the disregard and contempt exhibited by the sary to the accomplishment of a party oband presence. I thank your worthy Chief be the pleasure, as it is the bounden duty, of And what, fellow citizens, do you suppose Magistrate for the generous manner in which every citizen to stand by and uphold the con- was the process of reasoning by which this the various Committees for the kindness and thority; because they are his constitution -- Congress you have seen is invested with unhis laws, and the public authority emanates limited power to make regulations as to the hands, and particularly the Committe who from his will. Having concurred, by the times, places, and manner of holding elecdid me the honor to meet me on the bor- exercise of his privileges, in the adoption of tions for representatives, or to after those ders of your state, and escort me to this the constitution, and in the passage of the which might have been previously made by laws, any outrage or violation attempted of the State Legislatures. There is nothing in I am here, fellow citizens, in compliance either ought to be regarded as an offence the grant of the power, which enjoins upon with your own summens. Warm and repeat. against himself, an offence against the majesty Congress to exercise the whole of it, or none. ed invitations to visit this state and my own of the people. In an arbitrary and absolute Considerations of obvious convenience conardent desire to see it, to form the acquain- government, the subject may have some ex- cur in leaving to the several states themselves. tance and to share the hospitalities of its citi- cuse for evading the edicts and ukases of the the fixation of the times and places of holdmonarch, because they are not only promul- ing these elections. In that, each state may have come with objects, exclusively social and gated, without consulting his will, but some- be governed by its sense of its own conveand friendly. I have come as a propagandist. times against the wishes and the interests of nience, without injuriously affecting other states. But it is different with the manner general ticket or by the district system. If Congressional legislation. If Congress had freedom in exercising it for themselves. But, opposed; but I think that in asserting the case. But the dominant party, in the press were pretended to have voted, and thus seen foreign countries. inasmuch as the manner in which we may characteristic difference between the two ent House of Representatives, have strange. ring a heterogeneous majority, he proceeded. In considering the policy of introducing

ties, public measures, and the principles his suffrage. An elector, residing is one ex. and elected members of the flower of Representation. Any unprinciples which ought to guide us, I will state my own. treme of the State, cannot be presumed to sentatives, by the regular authorities, and ac-In respect to political parties, of which I have know a condidate living at a distance from cording to the law of the State of New Jersey, around him a mostly majority, black and soldiers bore, what enterprizes we seen many, in this country, during a life him, perhaps at the other extreme. By the Agreeably to the uniform usage, which had white, aliens and citizens, young and old, or paralyzed. Even, during the last war, which is now considerably protracted. I be general ticket, the mitority in a state is prevailed in that House from the commence. Inthe and female, overturn existing govern. of us, who are old enough to remember it lieve in the main, most of them think, or have completely smothered. From these, and ment of the Government, and according to ments and set up new ones, at his pleasure or know what difficulties, and, at what great persuaded themselves to believe, that they are other views of the subject, it has been long a the usage which prevails in every represent caprice ! What carthly security for life, lib. cost, the necessary clothing and means of deaiming at the happiness of their country.— patriotic wish entertained that there should tailve body, they had a right to demand to be erty, or property, would remain, if a proceed. Sence were obtained. And who does not feel their duties and their interests, well under be some uniform mode, both of electing mem. admitted to their sents, and to hold and occurring to their sents. stood, must necessarily arge them to pro- bers to the House of Representatives and py them, until any objections which might subordination, were tolerated and sanction- these sufferings, in any future war, will be mote its welfare. They are it is true, often choosing electors of President and Vice Pres- exist against them should be subsequently in. ed! deceived, deceived by their own passions and ident. I recollect well, some twenty years vestigated. In the case of the four states Then there is Repudiation—that dark and gress which our infant manufactures have alprejudices, and still more by interested, dem. ago, when public opinion appeared to be al- already noticed, it was important to the in- foul spot upon the American name and char- ready made. If the policy of encountries, and still more by interested, dem. ago, when public opinion appeared to be alagogues, who clock and concent their sinister most unanimous upon this subject. Well, the terest of the dominant party, in order to swell actor-how came it there? The stain has them wisely, moderately, and certainly, be designs. Political parties, according to my last Whig Congress, in order to prevent the their majority, that the members returned been put there by the Democratic majority of persevered in, the day is not distant when humble opinion of their legitimate sphere of abuses, and to correct the inequality, arising should be allowed to take their seats, although the Legislature of Mississippi. Under spe. resting upon our own luternal resources, we action, ought to be regarded as nothing more out of the divers modes of electing members elected contrary to law. In the New Jersey cial pleas, and colorable pretexts, which any may be perfectly sure of an abundant supply than instruments, or means, subordinate, but of the House of Representatives, passed an case, it was important to the dominant party private man of honor and probity would scorn of all our necessary wants and, in this re important instruments or means, in effecting act requiring that it should be uniform and by to enable it to retain its majority to exclude to employ, they have refused to pay the debts spect, put foreign powers and foreign wars at the great purpose of wise administration of districts. This act was in conformity with the Whig members, although returned accor. of the State-debts contracted by the receipt defiance. I know that, from extreme suffer government; highly useful when not factious an express grant of power contained in the ding to law. The decision in both cases was of an equivalent expended within the State! ing and the necessity of the case, manufactured in the ding to law. and controlled by public virtue and patriot. constitution of the United States, which de. adopted to the exigency of party interests, in The Whigs of that State, who are the princi- tures, in the long run, would urise and susism; but, when country is lost sight of, and clares that "the times, places, and manner of utter contempt, both of constitution and law; pal tax-paying portion of the population, tain themselves, without any encouragement the interests of the party become paramount holding elections for Senators, and Repre- and it is worthy of observation that, in the with remarkable unanimity, are in favor of from Government, just as an unaided infant to the interests of the country, when the gov. sentatives, shall be prescribed in each State decision against the Whig members of New preserving its honor and good faith, by a re- child would learn to rise, to stand, and to ernment is seized by a party and is not ad. by the Legislature thereof, but, the Congress Jersey, members, who boast of being emphat- embursement of the debt; but the Democratic walk; but, in both instances, great distress ministered for the benefit of the people, and may, at any time, by law, make or alter such ically the patrons and defenders of State majority persists in refusing to provide for it. may be avoided, and essential assistance do rights, concurred in trampling under foot the I am far from charging the whole of the Dem. rived, from the kindness of the parental h laws and authorities of that State.

uniformly prevailed, prior to the admission of ble exceptions, among the Democrats. all usage, without the authority of Congress, Whigs are opposed to it. and that contrary to the Constitution and laws to share in that great and inestimable privilege. But all objections were unavailing; the dominant party under the hope of strengthening their interests, in spite of all irregularity, and in contravention of law, admitted Michigan ns a State, into the Union.

In intimate connection with this case the subject of Darrism may be noticed. Rhode Island had an existing government of long duto form a new Constitution and to set up a and establishing manufactures in our country, her, for good or evil, we owe the mutual occason, can I refer and these shall all be of whole. According to their logic the major gitimate and regular greenment proceeded in take a broad and extensive view, looking to does not include the minor. In their view operation and prepared to sustain itself and seasons of war, as well as peace, and regard. change and those who might embark in it, as all measures of public policy which The first, to which I shall call your atten. Government cannot execute a part of a power put down the insurrectionary proceeding. — ing the future, as well as the past and the tion, has occurred during the present session with which it is entrusted without it executes Dorr flew to arms and collected a military present. National existence is not to be of cotton, would be both benefited by mutual though, fellow-citizens, I have truly of Congress. The variety in the mode of the whole of a power vested in it. If this force, as irregular and heterogeneous as his measured by the standard of individual life. exchanges. The day will come and is not said that I have not come to your State with electing members to the House of Represent principle be true, when applied to a part of the civil majority had been. But it is equally true, both of nations and in. nitical alms or purposes, I am aware tatives of the United States, some being cho. Constitution, it would be equally true in its proach of military force, on the part of the dividuals, that, when it is necessary, we must of the general expectation, entertained here, sen by whole states, and others by separate application to the whole constitution; but legitimate and regular government, Dorr took submit to temporary and present privations, that, when it is necessary, we must submit to temporary and present privations, sion of a portion of its labor. Considering the districts, was long a subject of deep and genme exposition of my sentiments and views eral complaint. It gave to the states unequal never have been and probably never will be his mostly confederates to fare as they might. Even if it were true, as I think I shall be able manufacturing, now wasting and uner pect to public uffice. I do not feel at power in the councils of the nation. Missis. executed. And, if the doctrine of the domappl or New Hampshire, for example, by a limit party, in the House of Representatives duct of the two parties in respect to his insur- domestic minufactures would produce some general tacket, securing the election of its be sound, all the laws enacted by Congress rection which, at one time, seemed to be so succinices, they would be compensated, and the day will come when the colton region will

occutic party with this shameful public fraud, The advantages arising from the In connextion with the subject on which I perpetrated by their brethren in the State of the labor of the population of a co am now addressing you, the manner of the ad. Mississippi. Without the State, to their too manifest to need being dwell upon. mision of Michigan into the Union is worthy henor be it said, most of them disapprove it; think the advantage of a home, as well

the States of Michigan and Arkansas, a previ- Other examples might be cited to prove ous act of Congress was passed, authorizing the destructive and disorganizing tendency of the sense of the people of the territory to be ta- the character, tendency and principles of the to citizens of the United States residing in the of public policy of the two parties are con-

to partake of the elective franchise: The dan- happily now prevailing among the Whigs, which may exist in Europe; but it would be ger was pointed out, of allowing alians unnat- throughout the whole Union, a degree of still restricted to that competition. By the tations of your respect and esteem, I thank other to the constitution, to the laws, and to ject? Accordingly, the question recently unalized, and without renouncing their alle- unanimity as unprecedented as it is gratifying. existence of manufactures in the United giance to foreign sovereigns and potentates, From New Orleans to this place, I have con. States, an additional competition is created an audience in the State of Kentucky. I there is no greater consumption in co ration, under which her population had lived have long given to this subject the most im. quence of the home manufacture than would happily and prosperously. It had carried her partial and deliberate consideration, of which exist without it; and that it is impartial to the triumphantly through the war of the revolu- my mind is capable. I believe that no great consumer whether the theatre of manufaction, and borne her into the Union, as one of nation ever has existed, or can exist, which ture be Europe or the United States. But I the original thirteen independent sovereign does not derive within itself, essential supplies think this is an extremely contracted and fal-States. Under the operation of it, the people of food and raiment and the means of de. licious view of the subject. Consumption is of no State in the Union, in proportion to her fence. I recollect no example to the contra. greater in consequence of the existence of population, had displayed more valor, patriot. ry in ancient or modern times. Although It. manufactures at home. They create a deism, and enterprize. Dorr'did not find his am- aly did not itself afford all those supplies to mand for labor, which would not exist without bitious aspirations sufficiently gratified under ancient Rome, the deficiency was drawn them, and the employment of labor creates no man's allegiance to his party. Satisfied the power of the bayonet enforces a reluctant of holding elections, that is whether it be by this venerable government, and he undertook from her subjugated provinces. Great Brit. an ability to consume, which would not exist to subvert it. Asserting the principle that ev- air, although her commerce encompasses the some states elect by a general ticket, it gives ery people have a right to alter, modify and world, supplies herself mainly from the little investigation and full deliberation, I am wil- supply, in a prompt and voluntary rally to the to them an unduc advantage over those states change their gvernment whenever they think island under her immediate dominion. Limling to leave every other man in the undisturb- support of the public authority, a force more which elect by the district system. The man- proper -- an abstract principle which with cau- ited and contracted as it is, it furnished her ed possession of his opinions. It is one of our peaceful, more powerful, and more rea- ner, therefore, of holding elections was a fit tious limitations, may be true-without consult- with bread and other provisions for the whole means of purchase would it possessed. It is great privileges, in a free country, to form our sonable than any derivable from a mercenary subject contained in the grant of power, for ing the established government and the public year, with the exception only of a few days; in vain to point to agriculture; for every deauthorities, he undertook to beat up for recruits, and her manufactures, not only supply an partment of that is already producing supercern. Claiming the exercise of it for enyself It is far from my intention or desire to do legislated beyond that, it would have over- to hold irregular elections, at which persons abundance of raiment and means of defence, abundantly. It cannot be questioned that the I am ever ready to accord to others equal the least injustice to the party to which I am reached the convenience and necessity of the qualified, dead and living, but afford a vast surplus for exportation to

prevented, or greatly alleviated, by the pro-

of notice. According to the usage which had and within the State there are many honora. foreign markets, is equally manifest; but the home market can only be produced by diversified pursuits, creating subjects of exchanges. at home as well as abroad. If one portion of the population of a country be engaged in the ken, in convention, and regulating the election Democratic party, but these will suffice for business of manufacturing, it must derive its means of subsistence, from the agricultural products of the country in exchange for their fabrics. The effect of these mutual exchanges is beneficial to both parties and the whole

The great law, which regulates the prices leading measures of public policy have be was to refuse to allow the members, returned pointing members to that convention, a great public policy which it espouses. In the other of commodities, is that of supply and demand come settled convictions, and I am a Whig from the four States, to take their scats in the number of aliens, as well as citizens of the paty we behold nothing but division and dis. If the supply exceed the demand, the price tains and from the sea board-from the ex. because that party seeks the establishment of House of Representatives, which they had no United States, were allowed to vote, against traction-their principles, varying at different falls; if the demand exceed the supply, the hose measures. In determining with which constitutional or legal right to occupy. That the carnest remonstrances of many resident times and in different letitudes. In res. price rises. This law will be found to be inquestion the present House of Representatives citizens. Under these circumstances, she pect to the tariff, whilst in some places, they variably true. Any augmentation of supply North State! A state which has earned ought to be connected, I have been governed had to decide. But it was predicted, long applied to the consumer; but, by esta-Union. No one questioned or doubted that Democratic doctrine, and the encouragement blishing manufactures in the United States, and of the tendency of their respective principles, that the members from the four refractory she was entitled to be received, whenever she of domestic industry federal heresy, in other additional supply is created. Again, another presented her self, regularly and according parts of the Union, they insist that the Dem. principle, universally admited to be beneficial to law. But it was objected against her ad. ocrats are alone to be relied upon to protect to consumption, is the principle of competition. Why was it so predicted? Was it not be- mission, that she had assumed to act against the industry of the country, and that the If Europe alone supply the American consumption of manufactures, Europe will enjoy That is a great practical and administra. a monopoly in that supply. That monopoly of the United States, she had permitted aliens tive question, in respect to which there is it is true, will be subject to the competition versed with hundreds of them, and I have not and this new competitor enters the American met with a solitary one, who does not assent market, contonding for it with the previous to the justice and expediency of the principle European competitors. The result is, an inof a tariff for revenue, with discriminations crease in the aggregate of supply and a consefor protection. On this interesting question, quent reduction in price. But it has been arfellow-citizens, it is my purpose to address gued, that the fabrics manufactured in Ameyou, with the utmost freedom and sincerity, rica take the place only of so many which and with as little reserve as if I were before had been before manufactured in Europe; the without it. How could the American labor, employed in manufactures, at home, supply its consumption of European commodities, if it were deprived of that employment? What chief cause of the reduced price of cotton is the excess of production. The price of it would rise, if less were produced, diverting a portion of the labor employed in its cultivation to some other branch of industry. This

atives, since the commencement of the Government threatening? The Whigs, every where, I more than counterbalanced, by ultimate ad, be the greatest manufacturing region of cot, a more are null and void, because Coogless has not believe to a man, have disapproved and son: vantages secored, combining together seasons ton in the world.

of the choice of the taw ma

new pursuit would furnish new subjects of ex-