

is expected to stand by his party at all hazards, though in so doing, he should act in opposition to the best interests of the country. In turn, the party will stand by him, and protect him from the consequences of any crime he may commit, provided it be done for the benefit of the party. A thousand instances might be given, to establish the truth of this conclusion. I will refer, however, only to a single one, of recent occurrence, in my own state. When our Legislature, now in session, assembled, there was a tie between the parties in the Senate. Each party was of course desirous of electing a Speaker and other officers. According to the old and well-settled law of the state, each member elect was bound to produce, before his qualification, the certificate of the Sheriff of his having been elected. But one, who claimed to be a Democratic Senator, was not provided with such certificate, and the fact became known through the indiscretion of those friends that he consulted in his dilemma. When the time came for the opening of the first day's session, this individual, much to the surprise of his political adversaries at least, presented a forged certificate in the usual form, which was signed by a Senator, and took his seat. It was five days before the body was organized by the election of a Speaker, &c. A Committee was raised to investigate the affair. They, upon evidence of the most conclusive character, reported that the certificate had been forged either by the Senator or by his procurement, and knowingly used by him to impose on the Senate, and recommended his expulsion. The vote of the Senate was unanimous on the first resolution, declaring the certificate a forgery; but upon the second, declaring that he ought to be expelled, every member of his party voted in the negative, thereby saying that, though he had committed forgery, he was not in their opinion unworthy to sit with them. After his expulsion by the casting vote of the Whig Speaker, his party, taking advantage of the accidental absence of two or three Whigs, within a few days, moved and carried a proposition to strike from the journals the report, proceedings, &c., that had taken place, with a view of inserting in their stead the speech of his counsel made in his defence at the bar of the Senate. A stranger would perhaps be surprised to learn that many of these individuals, in the relations of private life, are esteemed honest and honorable men. Nothing could show more conclusively their devotion to their party, than that they should thus be able to overcome their natural aversion to crime, and thus endeavor to countenance and protect the criminal, because that crime had been committed for the benefit of the party. Sir, it gives me no pleasure to refer to this occurrence. We formerly flattered ourselves, that however mischievous Locofocoism might become in other sections, there was in North Carolina and other parts of the South, a regard for public opinion, and a feeling of personal honor among its leading members, which would keep it somewhat within the bounds of decency. But it is a tree which bears the same fruit in every climate. Its late exhibitions will arouse the indignation of the virtuous yeomanry of the Old North state. But, sir, I shall pursue this illustration no further. I wished simply to call your attention to the nature of the bond which connects this so-called Democratic party. To show the extent to which its organization has been carried, I refer you to the secret "Circular from the Executive Committee of the Democratic Association of Washington city," issued last September. I would read the whole of it if I did not know that its contents were well understood by most if not all on this floor. Its first four sections, as you know, provide for the organization of a Democratic Association, by whatever name they choose to call it, in every county, city, ward, town, and village throughout the Union; the appointment of Executive Committees, captains, lieutenants, and Democratic minutemen—that is, "men who are willing to serve the Democracy at a minute's warning." Their first class of duties is prescribed in sections five and six, in the following words—

"5. That the captains and lieutenants, with such minute-men as may be detailed for the service, proceed forthwith to make out two lists—one of all voters in the company bounds, designating the Democrats, Whigs, and the Abolitionists, putting into a separate column, headed 'doubtful,' the names of all whose opinions are unknown, and all of every party who are easily managed in their opinion or conduct; the other list to embrace all minors approaching maturity, and all men not entitled to vote."

"6. That a copy of these lists be furnished to the Executive Committee of each Democratic Association within the election precinct."

Section seven directs these officers and minute-men to circulate all papers that may influence the doubtful men. Section eight makes it the duty of the minute men to get all the doubtful men to their meetings. Sections nine, ten, eleven, and twelve, are as follows—

"9. That the captain of the Democratic minute-men appoint a time and place of rendezvous, early on the first morning of election, and detail minute-men to wait upon, and if possible bring with them every doubtful voter within the company bounds."

"10. That, if practicable, some suitable refreshments be provided for the company at the place of rendezvous, and their arduous labors be rewarded by patriotic conversation; that each man be furnished with a ticket with the name of the Democratic electors; that it be impressed upon them that the first great business of the day is to give their votes; that they are expected and required to march to the polls in a body, and in perfect silence; to avail themselves of the first opportunity to vote, and never separate until every member of the company has voted."

"11. That if any Democrat be absent from the rendezvous, the captain dispatch a minute-man forthwith to bring him to the polls."

"12. That the captains and lieutenants provide beforehand means for conveyance for such Democrats as cannot otherwise get to the polls."

Without going further with this matter, Mr. Chairman, I have read enough to afford the accurate idea of this system of organization. That it would be most effective in practice is obvious, when it is remembered that there are in every county some who, from indolence of character, may be persuaded—some who, from honest credulity and want of political knowledge, can be imposed upon by artfully framed documents or verbal misrepresentation; while others may be overcome by the influences of what are called "refresh-

ments" or other means. This or some similar plan of organization was adopted in many parts of the country. In the state of Tennessee, as I have been informed by what I regard as first-rate Democratic authorities, the following was the mode relied on: There are about fifteen hundred civil districts in that state, in each of which there is a precinct for voting. In each one of these districts the Democratic party selected five individuals, who were, by their combined exertions prior to and on the election day, to endeavor to change two voters in each district, which in the whole state would amount to three thousand, and taken from the Whig to the Democratic side, would make a difference of six thousand in the result. By this means they hoped to overcome the majority of four thousand which had been cast against Mr. Polk the year previous. That this scheme failed is solely owing to the fact that in that state the Whigs were more zealous, more active, and better organized than they were in other states. Nothing gives such confidence and spirit to an individual, as the knowledge that his efforts will be seconded and sustained by all of the members of his party. It is a similar thought which gives courage to a soldier going into battle in the ranks of veterans, whom he knows and confides in, that he would not feel in the midst of a body of raw militia.

The leading members of the Democratic party, being in the late canvass well aware that the system of Whig policy was approved by a majority of the people of the Union, and that their nominees had also a vast personal superiority in the estimation of every body over Mr. Polk, felt that the issue, if determined with respect to their success or non-success, would be decided against them. They therefore called into exercise to the fullest extent their system of party organization, to obtain as many votes as possible for their candidate, and showed themselves devoid of all scruples as to the mode in which these votes were to be procured.

But, Mr. Chairman, our opponents did not content themselves with merely obtaining the votes of individuals. They also courted and won over all the various smaller factions of the Union. It is the natural tendency of these in every country to array themselves against the strongest party. The Whig party was, as all will concede, the stronger, and it stood firmly on well-known and fixed principles. With these principles none of the factions of the country harmonized. But the Democratic party avowedly stood on no general system of principles with respect to the administration of the Government. It enlisted in its body men who professed opposite opinions on every political question. Its broad and catholic spirit could receive in its bosom the members of every faction without obliging them to sacrifice or modify any of their professed opinions. In short, it was a fit receptacle for the fragments of all factions, and it wooed them in the manner best calculated to win.

The abolition party had nominated as its candidate for the Presidency James G. Birney; but the Democratic party likewise afterwards nominated him for the Legislature of Michigan. He accepted this nomination, and by that means, or perhaps by more solid appliances, he was induced to use his influence with his party in behalf of Mr. Polk. In his published letters before the election—I allude not to the spurious, but to his genuine ones—he declared that, though opposed both to Mr. Clay and Mr. Polk, yet he much more deprecated the election of Mr. Clay, because, being a man of greatly superior abilities, he was always able to lead his party, and would do much more to retard and overthrow abolition principles than Mr. Polk, who he spoke of as a man of no talent, incapable of controlling his party, and powerless as against abolition. Mr. Speaker, when I first read these letters, I saw that they were so ingeniously framed that they would have the desired effect with the abolition party. Nay, sir; they take the precise view of the matter which a sagacious sincere abolitionist would. Nothing surely could be more fatal to the progress, and even existence of that faction, than the administration of a man of the lofty patriotism, splendid abilities, vast personal popularity, moderation and firmness of Henry Clay; giving, as such an administration would do, that confidence, repose, and prosperity which the country so much needs. On the contrary, all little factions vegetate and thrive under the weak, vacillating administration of a feeble man. Rightfully or wrongfully, however, as it may be deemed, it is certain that these views of Birney, and like efforts on the part of the Democratic party, had the desired effect on the masses of the abolition party. The states of New York, Pennsylvania, and perhaps others, were carried for Mr. Polk, and, as our candid political adversaries admit, the abolitionists have made the President.

So strong, however, sir, was the Whig party in the country that even this manoeuvre would not have defeated us had it not been for other similar artifices. Nearly one hundred thousand foreigners are estimated to arrive annually in the United States; of this number a very large proportion are Roman Catholics. By means, which time does not permit me to recount, but the most ingenious and unjustifiable, the Democratic party succeeded in inducing them to band themselves together and rally to the support of Mr. Polk. Some of them avowed their preference for him because his free trade policy was more favorable to the interest of the number countries from which they came than was Mr. Clay's. Others openly proclaimed on their banners that they would not be ruled by Americans. As evidence of the sort of feeling which has been inculcated into the minds of the most ignorant of them, I may be pardoned for mentioning a little incident that occurred in the room of a friend to whom I chanced to be making a visit. While making his fire, the Irish porter inquired when Mr. Polk would come on to the city. "I am told," he added, "that he is a great friend to our poor foreigners; we elected him, and we can do most anything when we all try." Sir, had the foreign Catholics been divided in the late election, as other sects and classes generally were, Mr. Clay would have carried by a large majority the state of New York, as also the states of Pennsylvania, Louisiana, and probably some others in the Northwest. Not only did we have to contend against the influence of foreigners here, but British gold was openly and profusely used to promote Mr. Polk's election, professedly with a view of breaking down the tariff and promoting the sale of his manufactures in this country. All the world may interfere in our domestic matters. With one hand Great Britain stim-

ulates the abolitionism of the North, with a view of desolating the South, or forcing a dissolution of the Union; and with the other, under the influence of motives equally selfish, she seeks to array the planting and farming interest of the country against the tariff, and thereby break down the manufacturing establishments of the North. And we, as a nation, sit stupidly quiet while she foments for her own advantage our domestic dissensions.

Our political opponents, likewise, derived accidentally great advantage from the official patronage of the present Administration. Usually the opponents of the acting President have, as a compromise to his direct influence, the advantage of holding his Administration responsible before the country for its errors or crimes. But in the present instance the acts of the Executive, through heart and soul completely identified with the Democratic party, because he had not been elected by them, were, wherever it suited their purpose, disavowed. He thus occupied a position of seeming neutrality between the two parties, and was able to turn to account the power in his hands. He accordingly exerted to the utmost the power which he possessed over them, going even to the odious extent practised in Mr. Van Buren's time, of compelling them, on pain of dismissal from office, to contribute a part of their salaries to create a fund to be used in favor of Mr. Polk's election. At three several assessments of 1 per cent. each of salary in the custom house, \$15,000 is said to have been raised. One of the officers there, John Orser, is said to have presented to the Empire Club several hundred hickory clubs to enable them to best away from the polls the Whig voters, for which he had no claim, and which he had received a vote of thanks from the Empire Club.

To ascertain the extent of this influence on the whole country is not easy, but the number of office-holders in the state of New York alone is such as to account for a greater number of votes than Mr. Polk's actual majority there.

From Mr. Clay's character, political experience, and associations, it was known that his selections for office would be made from the best men in the country. All of the old defectors, therefore—all mere needy adventurers, without character to support their claims for office, having nothing to hope from him, naturally arrayed themselves on the other side.

Without doubt, too, they are right, to some extent, who attach weight to another influence, not properly political, to wit, the gambling portion of the community finding, at the beginning of the canvass, that they could not get persons to bet against Mr. Clay, did so themselves, with large odds in their favor, and afterwards devoted a portion of the many millions staked to effect the result desired by them.

Yet, with all the acquisitions and advantages which I have been recounting, our adversaries were too prudent to rest secure. They knew that the Constitution had provided no mode by which the fairness of a Presidential election could be contested; no means of purging the polls of illegal votes. If a vote were received by the inspectors of the election at each precinct, and by them returned, it mattered not whether the person professing to give it were qualified to vote or not at that place. They, therefore, by means of the system already described, deliberately formed a widely extended plan for the purpose of procuring a sufficient number of illegal votes to carry states enough to secure the election of Mr. Polk. Their first demonstration seems to have been made in the city of Baltimore in the October election. There it was that they gave a vote so much larger than was ever polled at any preceding election, as to satisfy all persons that fraud had been practiced. Investigations since then have made it manifest that the increased vote was owing, not only to the fact that many persons voted not authorized to do so, but like those who qualified had, in some instances, voted two, three, or more times, at different precincts in the city. About fifty persons have already been convicted and sentenced to punishment for this offence by the courts, not one of whom is a Whig, though they have been pardoned from time to time by the Democratic Governor there. The fraud here was but the precursor of what followed.

The great state of New York claims the first notice. During the past year there were naturalized there not less than seven thousand foreigners. This was effected entirely by the Democratic party, the Whigs having no office provided for that purpose, because, as I learn, there is not one of these foreigners out of fifty who will vote the Whig ticket. Of this large number a great proportion, not having been five years in the country, could not be legally naturalized, and their votes, therefore, when given, were illegal.

Men who had not been one month in the country from the penitentiaries of Europe, unacquainted even with the language in which they were sworn, voted for what they knew not.

But the principal frauds were practiced by what is called double voting. The city of New York was the great theatre where this was consummated. As the Empire Club bore such a prominent part in these transactions, I must devote a remark or two to it. It was organized in July last, and it consisted of gamblers, pickpockets, droppers, burners, thimble riggers, and the like, and its association seems to have been there mainly for the purpose of carrying on successfully these and similar trades. Most of its members had been repeatedly indicted for crimes. Its general character, however, may be sufficiently inferred from that of some of its officers. Its President was Isaiah Rynders, once arrested for thimble-riggering and similar offences. He and Joseph Jewell, being indicted for murder, fled from New York to New Orleans. By the way, I may here mention that this Jewell, who has indictments for murder in two different cases hanging up against him, was the standard bearer of the Club, and figured as the bearer of the Texas banner in the procession. These wretches had not been long in New Orleans before they found it convenient to leave, being charged with stealing Treasury notes. They came to this city, and were arrested and sent back in iron by order of Captain Tyler. Frequent this circumstance, to show the misgivings of the times; for since the election, this man Rynders, having been a short time among the Democracy, has not only sided with Benjamin F. Butler, when the electoral vote was given to Mr. Polk at Albany; but not only has he received a complimentary bill from the chairman of the Democratic General Committee of the city of New York, but having come on with his friend Jewell to this place for an office, as I am told,

if the papers are to be relied on, he has been cordially received at the White House. Whether President Tyler or President Rynders then remembered the ironing, is not, however, chimerical. But I am displeased with John J. Austin, Vice President of the Club, who has likewise pending against him an indictment for murder, and was likewise implicated in the charge of stealing Treasury notes. Woolridge, its secretary, but recently came out of the penitentiary. William Ford, one of its directors, in the short interval of time which elapsed between the publication of a notice of one of its proceedings and the arrival of the day of parade, was indicted by the grand jury in seven cases, rape and burglary being among the offences. Being put in the Tombs, he unfortunately lost the opportunity of figuring on this occasion. Soon after he was tried and convicted of the first named crime, he was sent to the penitentiary, but his services being valuable to the party, he was immediately pardoned and turned out by his Democratic Excellency Governor Bouck. I may remark, too, that this official dignity, a short time before the election, restored to their political rights all the criminals in the state, and pardoned a great number who were in the penitentiary.

This Empire Club, constituted, as I have related, for some time devoted its energies to the prosecution of the laudable objects for which it had been originally organized. Several weeks, however, before the election, the Democratic leaders thought it could be effectively employed in the political canvass; and they thereupon took its members into pay. These gentry being furnished with money thus given them, abandoned for a time their peculiar avocations, and some of the neutral papers of the city made the subject of remark, the disappearance of these particular classes of crime. Their numbers rapidly increased from one or two hundred to not less than eight hundred; in fact they boasted that they had three thousand men enrolled. This Club, with other members of the Democratic party, perfected the most extensive system of fraudulent voting ever known. Sir, in what I have been stating, and what I am now about to state, I speak from information derived in part from public sources, but mainly from private ones; sources, however, on which I fully rely. I have taken great pains to get accurate information. If there be error in any of my statements, which I am not prepared to admit, I desire to be contradicted. One of my objects is to provoke investigation into this matter. If any thing I can say or do here, should induce this House to order an investigation into this whole transaction, I shall think I have done the country much service. Let gentlemen meet me on this ground. In the city of New York there are more than seventy places at which votes are given in. I understand, sir, that one prominent feature of this plan was, that in each of the seventeen wards into which the city is divided, there were one hundred and twenty picked men, each of whom was to leave his own ward and go to one where he was least known, on the evening before the election. Staying one night there, enabled him to make out that he resided in that ward, and he was permitted to vote there. He then returned to his own ward, and voted there without being questioned. But these two thousand and forty persons, however, framed but a part of those who voted more than once. From the information which I have received, I think that an investigation will show that there were companies of men who voted in some instances, as much as sixteen times each. It was the calculation of the managers to give fourteen thousand illegal votes in the city, and they admit that they got in eleven thousand. A portion of these votes were excluded at some of the boxes, by the Whigs requiring them to state, on oath, if they had not already voted. This being an unusual question, offended many of them, and they retired with dignified disdain. The Workingman's Advocate, a Democratic paper of the city, has admitted that the party agreed to give five dollars for every vote after the first one, which any individual could get in. Many of the gamblers profited what occurred afterwards with wonderful accuracy. One of them, who happened to be a Whig, informed a prominent individual in the city, from whom I received the statement, long before the election of the plan, and likewise notified him that on a future day, before the election, how ever, this matter would be published in a Democratic paper, (the Phœnix, I think,) and charged on the Whigs their plan, so as to divert suspicion; and, in the event of discovery by the Whig press, to anticipate such charges, and thus break his force. When the day came on, as predicted, the publication appeared in the Phœnix.

There is said to have been an incident, of no great consequence in itself, which for a particular reason is worth a notice. I understand that the North Carolina line-of-battle ship was moored at the Brooklyn wharf, and it had been arranged that the men on board of her were to go ashore and vote for the gentleman who represents on this floor the Brooklyn district; and their votes, if received by him, would have been sufficient to elect him. But on the morning of the election, by some singular freak of that legerdemain which was practiced on so extensive a scale on that day, these men were in a body spirited across the river into the city, and voted mostly in the 7th ward, but partly in the 6th and 11th, for the Democratic member there, (I mean the only one of the present city delegation returned, Mr. Macley.) These votes were just enough to save him. Now, I have no doubt but that the gentlemen from Brooklyn, (Mr. Murphy,) though he was overthrown by having the staff on which he was about to lean thus suddenly jerked from under him, by a brother Democrat, his public spirit and party devotion enough to be quite as well satisfied by a result which gives the party a successful individual. But the object I had in view, sir, in alluding to this incident, is to ascertain what is the standard of party morals as it respects the members themselves. What is their mode of dealing with Whigs I understand very well; but I had supposed, and that is the old proverb, that among its members there was honor in every profession. Will not some one enlighten the country as to this part of their code?

Sir, you remember that when the Whigs were in power, they passed a registry law that would have prevented most of these frauds, but it was repealed by the Democratic party, and we see the fruits of that repeal. From the best information I can obtain, I am fully satisfied, that under the existing laws, provided by the Democratic party of that state, frauds enough can be perpetrated in

the way above, to determine the vote of that great state—in fact, I may say, the result of the Presidential election; for it will perhaps generally be close enough for its thirty-six electoral votes to decide the matter.

But it was not in the city alone that these things were done. Similar frauds were practiced at Albany, by voters, some of whom were even carried from Philadelphia, it is said. Even in the interior, there are facts which furnish strong evidence of illegal voting. I should like for the gentleman (Mr. Preston King) who represents the district in which I sit, Lawrence, (Mr. Wright's county, I think,) to inform us how it happened that that county gave sixteen hundred and twenty-seven votes more than it did at any preceding election! The Whigs were stronger than it was when we carried the county, and yet we are beaten by about fifteen hundred. How comes it that that county has given nearly 2,000 more votes than some with about the same population!

It is charged and believed by the Whigs, that a number of persons who had already voted elsewhere, were run across the line into that county and voted a second time, and that a similar fraud was practiced in Jefferson, an adjoining county. Our friends believe, that in those two counties, there were given some thirteen hundred illegal votes in that way. That the state of New York gave Henry Clay a majority of her legal votes cannot be doubted. Similar frauds were practiced in the State of Pennsylvania, with the like result, as I could show if I had time to go into the details. We lost Louisiana in the same way. At the precinct in the parish of Plaquemine there were eleven hundred votes, being seven hundred more than were given before an election; a vote larger, I believe, than its whole population at the last census, including women and children. This case is an extraordinary one to require explanation. If this excess of votes above the usual amount were illegal, as I have no doubt they were, then their exclusion, to say nothing of frauds committed elsewhere, would have given Mr. Clay the vote of the state. Even in Georgia we have strong reason to believe that we were defeated by fraud. In that state I understand that voters under sixty years of age pay by law a poll-tax; all over that age, who possess property, are likewise obliged to pay a tax; so that the tax books kept and returned would give all the voters except the paupers above sixty. Taking these books as a guide, there were 15,944 more votes than there appear to be voters. But the census shows that the number of males above sixty is a little more than three per cent. of the population. Deducting four per cent. for those, there would still remain 5,502 votes that cannot be accounted for. Most of this excess occurs in the Democratic counties. As an example, I will read an extract from a highly respectable journal in that state—the *Mill-pond Journal*:

"MORE FACTS CONNECTED WITH THE ABOVE. The counties of Forsyth, Lumpkin, Habersham, and Franklin, are all nearly in a line connected with each other. Habersham joins Franklin, Lumpkin joins Habersham, and Forsyth joins Lumpkin. These four counties return to the Comptroller General's Office 3,880 voters. Add to this four per cent. (which is a large estimate) for men over sixty years of age, and not liable to be returned, but authorized to vote, and there would be 3,203 voters. At the late election, the same counties gave Mr. Polk 3,014, and Mr. Clay 1,821—his all 5,835 voters, and a majority for Polk of 2,193. Deduct from the aggregate vote of 5,835, 3,203, the number of voters returned on the tax book, and you are left with 2,632 voters of which no account is or can be given, and who are not legally entitled to vote!"

But let us pursue this line a little further. Madison and Elbert join Franklin, Lincoln joins Elbert, and Columbia joins Lincoln. These four counties return to the Comptroller General's Office 2,986 voters. Add to this, as above, four per cent. for men over age, and there would be 3,105 voters. At the late election these same counties gave Mr. Clay 2,124, and Mr. Polk 999—in all 3,123 voters; and a majority for Clay of 1,125. Take the voters returned by the Tax Receiver with the per cent. for men over 60, and the votes given, and it will be seen, that while the first four counties have given two thousand six hundred and thirty-two votes more than can be accounted for, by the same information and estimate, the last four have only given eight hundred more than they are entitled to. Elbert county, which gave 813 out of 1,125 majority for Clay, and which gave the largest majority of any county in the state, voted only thirty-seven more than is returned on the tax book; add the four per cent. for men over age, and it will be seen that she voted five less than she was entitled to."

The last mentioned counties are Whig counties—the first are Democratic—which makes the fairest showing! No one can hesitate in his answer. Neither shall we hesitate to say that, in our opinion, Henry Clay has received a majority of the legal votes of the state of Georgia."

If this result was produced by the voting of men under age, or other frauds in the Democratic counties, it is sufficient, without looking any further, to account for our defeat in that state, for the majority against us was only two thousand.

The four states of New York, Pennsylvania, Louisiana, and Georgia, give eighty-eight electoral votes. Added to Mr. Clay's vote of one hundred and five, and he would have one hundred and ninety-three votes, while James K. Polk would be left with only eighty-two. It is not strange, therefore, that our opponents should appear so moderate after the victory. It is not strange that they should not rejoice. No wonder some of them seem astounded at the result. Too many of them know by what means this result was achieved. Did Macbeth rejoice when he looked at the crown and sceptre of the murdered Duncan? They look to the past with pain, to the future with dread.

This examination, Mr. Speaker, brings us irresistibly to the conclusion, not merely that the Whig measures of policy are approved by a vast majority of the people of the Union, but that, as a party, the Whigs are greatly the strongest in the country. So strong are they, that nothing but a combination of all these adverse influences could have defeated us. Yes, sir, if any one of several of them had been wanting, we should still have triumphed, and had the election been conducted as our form of Government presupposes, that is, fairly and honorably, Mr. Clay's majority would have been overwhelming.

Why, then, is it, sir, since the past cannot be recalled, do I recur to these things? It is because I am satisfied, after a survey of the

battle-field, that in future a different result may be produced. Yes, sir, if we do our duty to the country, these evils may be averted, sufficiently at least for all practical purposes. A century may pass away before the country is afflicted with such another accident as the present Executive.

The course of the abolition party has stripped them of much of their influence by bringing them into general contempt, even at the North. Besides, their late movements will array a strong influence against them in other quarters, more than enough to counterbalance their strength. And if the foreign Catholics, or foreigners generally, continue banded together, with a view of controlling the elections of the country, there will be around us antagonistic feelings in the hearts of all true Americans, which will sweep away the party to which they have attached themselves. But, sir, I wish distinctly understood, that I am not for native American party; I care not whether a man may have been born under the icy zone that girds the pole, or in the torrid climate; where the morning sun is first seen, or at the place of his going down, if he comes to this land, and after the residence prescribed by law, and in the manner provided, takes an oath to support the Constitution, and adopts with it an American heart, American feelings, determining them to uphold and defend the rights and interests of this country against all others, that man will I take by the hand and welcome as an American citizen should be by his fellow-citizens. I wish, however, to see no British Whig, no French Whig, no man, in short, who places the interest or honor of another nation in the scale against that of this, or who yields among us with feelings alien to our Government or its institutions. I desire to see the destinies of this country controlled in future, as they have in the main been heretofore, by the great American Whig party. By this party, and its genuine republican principles, am I willing to stand or fall.

It is our duty, as far as it may be in our power, by wise legislation, to prevent fraudulent naturalization and illegal voting. But this alone, will be insufficient to ensure its success. Even though we should be able to see that the combination of circumstances, to which our defeat was owing in the present instance, will not occur again, yet it must be remembered, that there are not few factions to be moved, and new humbugs invented. It is absolutely necessary that the Whigs should be completely organized as a party, not to deceive the confiding, the credulous, or the ignorant, but to protect them from imposition; not to practice frauds, but to prevent their commission by our adversaries. Had we adopted a proper system of organization, we should have triumphed in despite of all the adverse influences referred to. To accomplish this, will, I know require more labor than many are willing to undergo. It was a frequent complaint of Cicero, that in his day the republic was always attacked with more zeal than it was defended; and, with us, it is a common boast of our adversaries, that while the Whigs are talking they are working. But unless we make up our minds to undergo the necessary exertion, our political system will soon become the most corrupt and, by consequence, the most despotic on earth. Such a Government will, by its heavy taxation, wars, &c., impose on us burdens much more intolerable than would be the effort necessary to preserve our liberties. By a proper system of organization, we shall always triumph, because our principles are those upon which this great Republic has heretofore been successfully and prosperously governed; and the great mass of our population, being honest and patriotic, will, with proper lights, sustain them.

What, then, Mr. Chairman, is the prospect before us? Your party having come into power, your situation is altogether different from what it was in the late contest. You must show your hand by your acts, not by mere words. Why, sir, we never could have beaten Mr. Van Buren in 1840 if we had not had his declarations of principle to contend against. Your situation is doubly embarrassing from the duplicity which, as a party, you practiced to obtain power. As far as measures alone are concerned, you might, I grant, unite. But there it is to be a struggle for pre-eminence of place, and measures will turn. Ostensibly, the contest will be about the annexation of Texas and the tariff, because certain prominent men are connected in public estimation with particular sides of these questions.

Inasmuch, therefore, as the action of the majority on these questions will be regarded as the index of the rising or sinking of the fortunes of particular classes, great importance may be attached to the decision on these questions of a party whose members are known generally to have a decided partiality for the strongest side. The Northern portion of the party is the more numerous, the stronger in the country, and by far the most skillful in party tactics. But then it is solely owing to exertions of the Southern section that Mr. Van Buren was set aside and Mr. Polk nominated; and can be so ungrateful as to turn his back on those to whom he owes his elevation? If the Northern wing can get the offices, their consciences will be quieted as to the extension of slavery, and they will go for the annexation of Texas. But, in that event, the tariff will become intolerable to the South, and Mr. Calhoun's going out of office will be the signal for another nullification agitation, for which Mr. Polk has very little appetite, not being considered reasonable for nerve in trying times.

As I have had occasion to allude to J. C. Calhoun, I take it upon myself to say, that, looking at his course for more than twelve years, with the exception of a few years after 1837, when he hoped from his new connection with the Democratic party that he might become President of all the United States—I say, sir, that his course, whether considered with reference to the tariff and nullification, to agitation on the subject of abolition and slavery, or to his mode of managing the Texas question, is precisely that which a man of ordinary sagacity would use who designed to effect a dissolution of the Union. And that such is his object can only be denied by those who hold him insane. As it was said that Julius Cæsar went forward soberly and steadily to the ruin of the Republic, so has John C. Calhoun gone on coolly and deliberately to break up the Union and substitute a Southern Confederacy. If his being kept in office by Mr. Polk should have the effect of inducing him to abandon those views, instead of using his official station and influence to promote them, then for the sake of the repose of the country, I should be