

MR. CLAY'S SPEECH.
At the Public Dinner in Kentucky, May 16, 1829.

I am aware that the late facts of administration on which it has been my disagreeable duty to administer (I hope without giving pain to any of my fellow-citizens, as I most sincerely wish to give none) were sustained upon some vague notion or purpose of reform. And it was remarkable that among the loudest trumpeters of reform were some who had lately received appointments to lucrative offices. Now it must be admitted that, as to them, a most substantial and valuable reform had taken place; but that something more extensively beneficial to the people at large was intended by that sweet sounding word. I know that, at the commencement, and throughout nearly the whole progress of the late administration, a reform in the constitution was talked of, so as to exclude from public office members of Congress, during the periods for which they were elected, and a limited term beyond them. This proposition appeared to be received with much favor, was discussed in the U. of Representatives session after session at great length, and with unusual eloquence and ability. A majority of that body seemed disposed to accede to it, and I thought for some time, that there was high probability of its passage, at least through that house. Its great clamor (Gen. Smyth of Virginia) pressed it with a resolute perseverance. But unfortunately at the last session, after the decision of the Presidential question, it was manifest that the kindness with which it had been originally received had greatly abated. Its determined patron found it extremely difficult to engage the House to consider it. When, at length he prevailed, by his frequent and earnest appeals to get it taken up, new views appeared to have suddenly struck the reformists. It was no longer an amendment, in their eyes, so indispensable to the purity of our constitution, and the majority which appeared to be so resolved to carry it, now, by a direct or indirect vote gave it the go-by. That majority, I believe, was composed in part of members who, after the fourth of March last, gave the best practical recantation of their opinions, by accepting from the new President lucrative appointments, in direct opposition to the principle of their own amendment. And now Gen. Smyth would find it even more impracticable to make among them, proselytes to his conservative alteration in the constitution than he did to gain any to his Exposition of the Apocalypse.

Reform, such as alone could interest a whole people, can only take place in the constitution, or laws, or policy of the government. Now and then, under every administration, and at all times, a faithless or incompetent officer may be discovered, who ought to be displaced. And that in all the departments of Government. But I presume that the correction of such occasional abuses could hardly be expected to fulfil the promise of reform which had been so solemnly made. I would then ask what was the reform intended? What part of the constitution was to be altered? What law repealed; what branch of the settled policy of the country was to be changed? The people have a right to know what great blessing was intended, by their rulers for them, and to demand some tangible, practicable good, in lieu of a general, vague, and undefined assurance of reform.

I know that the recent removals from office are attempted to be justified by a precedent drawn from Mr. Jefferson's administration. But there was not the most distant analogy between the two cases. Several years prior to his election, the public officers of the country had been almost exclusively bestowed upon the party to which that, at the head of which he stood was opposed. When he commenced his administration, he found complete monopoly of them in the hands of the adverse party. He dismissed a few incumbents for the purpose of introducing, in their places, others of his own party, and thus doing equal justice to both sects. But the number of removals was far short of those which are now in progress. When President Jackson entered on his administration, he found a far different state of things. There had been no previous monopoly. Public offices were alike filled by his friends and opponents in the late election. If the fact could be ascertained, I believe it would be found that there was a larger number of officers, under the government, attached than opposed to his election.

Further. In the case of Mr. Jefferson's election, it was the consequence of the people having determined on a radical change of system. There was a general belief among the majority, who brought about that event, that their opponents had violated the constitution in the enactment of the alien and sedition laws; that they had committed other great abuses; and that some of them contemplated an entire change in the character of our government, so as to give a monarchical cast. I state the historical fact, without intending to revive the discussion of deeming it necessary to examine whether such a design existed or not. But those who, at that day, believed it, could hardly be expected to acquiesce in the possession, by their opponents, the minority of the nation, of all the offices of a government, to which some of them were believed to be hostile in principle. The object of Mr. Jefferson was to break down a pre-existing monopoly in the hands of one party, and to establish an equilibrium between the two great parties. The object of President Jackson appears to be to destroy an existing equilibrium between the two parties in the late contest, and to establish a monopoly. The object of President Jefferson was, the Republic and not himself. That of President Jackson is, himself and not the State.

It never was advanced under Mr. Jefferson's administration, that devotion and attachment to him were an indispensable qualification, without which no one could hold or be appointed to office. The contrast between the inaugural speech of that great man, and that of his present successor was remarkable in every respect. Mr. Jefferson breathed a spirit of peace. He breathed a spirit of calm philosophy and dignified moderation. It treated the nation as one family. "We are all republicans, all federalists." It contained no denunciations; no reflections, upon the conduct of his great rival and immediate predecessor. What is the character of the inaugural speech of the present Chief Magistrate, I shall not attempt to sketch. Mr. Jefferson, upon the solemn occasion of his installation into office, laid down his rule for appointment to office. "Is he honest; is he capable; is he faithful to the constitution?" But capacity and integrity and fidelity, according to the modern rule, appear to count for nothing, without the all-absorbing virtue of fidelity to President Jackson.

I will not consume the time of my friends and fellow citizens with observations upon many of the late changes. My object has been to point your attention to the principle which appears to have governed all of them, and to classes: I repeat, that I would not have touched this unpleasant topic, but that it seems to me to furnish much and just occasion for serious alarm. I hope that I have treated it in a manner becoming me, without incurring the displeasure of any one now present. I believe the times require all the calm heads and sound hearts of the country. And I would not intentionally say one word to excite the passions.

But there are a few cases of recent removal, of such flagrant impropriety, as I sincerely think that I cannot forbear alluding to them. Under no administration prior to the present, from the commencement of the government, have our diplomatic representatives been called from abroad, on account of the political opinions which they entertained in regard to a previous Presidential election. Within my recollection, at this time, there has been but one instance of recall of a foreign minister, under the present constitution on account of any dissatisfaction with him. But President Washington did not recall Col. Monroe (the case referred to) from France, on his individual account, but because he was not satisfied with the manner in which he performed the duties of the mission. President Jackson ordered home two of our foreign Ministers, one filling the most important European mission, and the other the most important of our missions on the continent. In both cases, the sole ground of recall is, that they were opposed to his election as President. And as if there should be no possible controversy on this head, one of them was recalled before it was known at Washington that he had reached Bogota, the place of his destination; and consequently before he could have possibly disobeyed any instruction or violated any duty.

The pecuniary effect of these changes is the certain expenditure, in outlays of \$18,000 and perhaps more than triple that sum in contingencies. Now, it does seem to me (and I put it to your candid judgments whether) this is too large a sum for the public to pay, because two gentlemen had made a mistake of the name which they should have written on a little bit of paper thrown into the ballot boxes. Mistake! They had in fact made no practical mistake. They had not voted at all, one being out of the U. States, and the other out of his own State, at the time of election. The money is therefore to be paid because they made a mistake in the abstract opinions which they held, and might possibly, if they had been at home, have erroneously inscribed one name instead of another on their ballots.

There would be some consolation for this waste of public treasure, if it were compensated by the superiority of qualification on the part of the late appointments in comparison with the previous. But I know all four of the gentlemen perfectly well, and my firm conviction is, that in neither change has the public gained any intellectual advantage. In one of them indeed, the victor of Tippecanoe & of Thames, of whose gallantry many who are now here, were witnesses, is replaced by a gentleman who, if he possess one single attainment to qualify him for the office, I solemnly declare it has escaped my discernment.

There was another class of persons whose expulsion from office was marked with peculiar hardship and injustice. Citizens of the District of Columbia are deprived of actual participation in the elections of the United States. They are debarred from voting for a President, or any member of Congress. Their sentiments, therefore, in relation to any election of those officers are perfectly abstract. To punish them, as in numerous instances has been done, by dismissing them from their employments, not for what they did, but for what they thought, is a cruel aggravation of their anomalous condition. I know well those who have been discharged from the Department of State; and take pleasure in bearing testimony to their merits. Some of them would have done honor to any bureau in any country.

We may worship God according to the dictates of our own consciences. No man's right in that respect can be called into question. The constitution secures it. Public offices are happily, according to the theory of our constitution, alike accessible to all, Protestants and Catholics, and to every denomination of each. But if our homage is not paid to

a mortal, we are liable to a punishment which an erroneous worship of God does not bring upon us. Those public officers, it seems, who have failed to exhibit their devotion to that mortal, are to be visited by all the punishment which he can inflict, in virtue of laws, the execution of which was committed to his hands for the public good, and not to subserve his private purposes.

At the most important post of the U. S. the office of Collector was filled by Mr. Thompson, whose removal was often urged upon the late administration by some of its friends upon the ground of his alleged attachment to Gen. Jackson. But the late President was immovable in his resolution to deprive no man of his office, in consequence of his political opinions or preferences. Mr. Thompson's removal was so often and so strongly pressed, for the reason just stated, that an inquiry was made of the Secretary of the Treasury into the manner in which the duties of the office were discharged. The Secretary stated that there was no better Collector in the public service; and that his returns and accounts were regularly and neatly rendered, and all the duties of his office ably and honestly performed, as far as he knew or believed. This meritorious officer has been removed to provide a place for Mr. Swartwout, whose association with Col. Burr, is notorious throughout the United States. I put it to the candor of all who are here to say, if such a change can be justified in the part of New-York, the revenue collected at which, amounts to about \$10,000,000, more than one-third of the whole revenue of the U. States?

I will detain the present assembly no longer upon subjects of the General Government. I hope that I shall find, in the future course of the new administration, less cause for public disapprobation. I most anxiously hope that, when its measures come to be developed, at the next and succeeding sessions of Congress, they shall be perceived to be such as are best adapted to promote the prosperity of the country. I will say, with entire sincerity, that I shall be most happy to see it sustaining the American System, including Internal Improvements, and upholding the established policy of the Government at home and abroad. And I shall ever be as ready to render praise where praise is due, as it is now painful to me, under existing circumstances, to participate in the disapprobation which recent occurrences have produced.

No occasion can be more appropriate than the present, when surrounded by my former constituents, to say a few words upon the unimportant subject of myself. Prior to my return home, I had stated in answer to all enquiries, whether I should be again presented as a candidate to represent my old district in the House of Representatives, that I should come to no absolute decision until I had taken time for reflection, and to ascertain what might be the feelings and wishes of those who had so often honored me with their suffrages. The present Representative of the district has conducted himself towards me with the greatest liberality; and I take pleasure now in making my public acknowledgments so justly due to him. He had promptly declined being a candidate, if I would offer, and he warmly urged me to offer.

Since my return home, I have mixed freely as I could with my friends and fellow-citizens of the district. They have met me with the greatest cordiality. Many of them have expressed a wish that I would again represent them. Some of the most prominent and respectable of those who voted for the present chief magistrate have also expressed a similar wish. I have every reason to believe that there would be no opposition to me from any quarter or any party, if I were to offer. But if I am not greatly deceived in the prevailing feeling throughout the district, it is one more delicate and respectful towards me, and I appreciate it much higher, than if it had been manifested in loud calls upon me to return to my old post. It referred the question to my own sober judgment. My former constituents were generally ready to acquiesce in any decision I might think it proper to make. If I were to offer for Congress they were prepared to support me with their accustomed zeal and true-heartedness. I thank them all, from the bottom of my heart, whether they agreed or differed with me in the late contest, for this generous confidence.

I have deliberated much on the question. My friends in other parts of the Union are divided in opinion about the utility of any services which I could render, at the present period, in the National Legislature. This state of things, at home and abroad, left me free to follow the impulse of my own feelings and the dictate of my own judgment. These prompted me to remain in private life. In coming to this resolution, I did not mean to impair the force of the obligation under which every citizen, in my opinion, stood to the last flickering of human life, to dedicate his best exertions to the service of the Republic. I am ready to act in conformity with that obligation whenever it shall be the pleasure of the people, and such a probability of usefulness shall exist as will justify my acceptance of any service which they may choose to designate.

I have served my country now nearly thirty years. My constitution, never very vigorous, requires repose. My health, always of late years very delicate, demands care. My private affairs want my attention. Upon my return home, I found my house out of repair; my farm not in order, the fences down, the stock poor, the crop not set, and late in April the cornstalks of last year's growth yet stand-

ing in the field, a sure sign of slovenly cultivation. Under all circumstances, I think that, without being liable to the reproach of dereliction of any public duty to my country or to my friends, I may continue at home for a season, if not during the remainder of my life, among my friends and constituents, cheering and cheered by them, and interchanging all the kind and friendly offices incident to private life. I wished to see them all; to shake hands cordially with them; to enquire into the deaths, births, marriages, and other interesting events among them; to identify myself in fact as I am in feeling with them, and with the generation which has sprung up, whilst I have been from home serving them. I wish to put my private affairs to rights, and if I can, with the blessings of Providence, to re-establish a shattered constitution and enfeebled health.

It has been proposed to me to offer for a seat in the Legislature of the State. I should be proud of the selection, if I believed that I could be useful at Frankfort. I see, I think, very clearly, the wants of Kentucky. Its finances are out of order; but they could be easily put straight by a little moral courage on the part of the G. Assembly, and a small portion of candor and good-will among the people. Above all, we want an efficient system of Internal Improvements adopted by the State. No Kentuckian, who travelled in or out of it, could behold the wretched condition of our roads, without the deepest mortification. We are greatly in the rear of almost all the adjacent States, some of which sprung into existence long after we were an established Commonwealth. Whilst they are obeying the spirit of the age, and nobly marching forward in the improvement of their respective territories, we are absolutely standing still, or rather going backwards. It is scarcely credible, but nevertheless true, that it took my family, in the month of April, near four days to travel, through mud and mire, a distance of only sixty-four miles, over one of the most frequent roads in the State.

And yet our wants, on this subject, are perfectly within the compass of our means, judiciously applied. An artificial road from Maysville to the Tennessee line, one branch in the direction of Nashville, and a second to strike the mouth of Cumberland or Tennessee river. An artificial road extended from Louisville, to intersect the other some where about Bowling-Green. One passing by Shelbyville and Frankfort to the Cumberland Gap. And an artificial road extending from Frankfort to the mouth of Big Sandy, compose all the leading roads which at present need the resources of the State. These might be constructed, partly on the Mc-Adams' method, and partly, by simply graduating and bridging them, which latter mode can be performed at an expense less than \$1000 per mile. Other lateral ways, connecting these main roads might be left to the public spirit of the local authorities and of private companies.

Congress, without doubt, would aid the State, if we did not call upon Hercules, without putting our shoulders to the wheel. But without that aid, we could ourselves accomplish all the works which I have described. It would not be practicable to complete them in a period of seven or eight years, and of course not necessary to raise the whole sum requisite to the object in one year. Funds drawn from exccuted parts of the system, might be applied to the completion of those that remained. This auxiliary resource, combined with the ample means of the State, properly developed, and faithfully appropriated, would enable us to construct all the roads which I have sketched, without burdening the people.

But, solicitous as I feel on this interesting subject, I regret that I have not yet seen sufficient demonstrations of the public will to assure me that the judgment of the people has carried them to the same or similar conclusions to which my mind has conducted me. We have been, for years past, unhappily, greatly distracted and divided. These dissensions have drawn us off from a view of greater to less important concerns. They have excited bitter feelings and animosities, and created strong prejudices and jealousies. I fear from these causes, the public is not yet prepared dispassionately to consider and to adopt a comprehensive system of Internal Improvements, in this State. A premature effort might retard instead of accelerating the object. And I must add that I fear extraneous causes would bias and influence the judgment of the Legislature.

Upon the whole, I must decline according to the wishes of those who desired to see me in the Legislature. Retirement, unqualified retirement from all public employment, is what I unaffectedly desire. I would hereafter, if my life and health are preserved, be ready at all times to act on the principles which I have avowed; and whenever, at a more auspicious period, there shall appear to be a probability of my usefulness to the Union or to the State, I will promptly obey any call which the people will be pleased to make.

And now, my friends and fellow-citizens, I cannot part from you, on possibly this last occasion of my ever publicly addressing you, without reiterating the expression of my thanks from a heart overflowing with gratitude. I came among you, now more than thirty years ago, an orphan boy, penniless, a stranger to you all, without friends, without the favor of the great. You took me up, cherished me, caressed me, protected me, and honored me. You have constantly poured upon me a bold and unabated stream of innumerable favors. Time, which wears

out every thing, has increased and strengthened your affection for me. When I seemed deserted by almost the whole world, and assailed by almost every tongue, and pen and press, you have fearlessly and manfully stood by me, with unexpressed zeal and undiminished friendship. When I felt as if I should sink beneath the storm of abuse and detraction, which was violently raging around me, I have found myself upheld and sustained by your encouraging voices and your approving smiles. I have doubtless committed many faults and indiscretions, over which you have thrown the broad mantle of your charity. But I can say, and in the presence of my God and of this assembled multitude I will say, that I have honestly and faithfully served my country; that I have never wronged it; and that however unprepared, I lament that I am to appear in the Divine presence, on other accounts, I invoke the stern justice of His judgment on my public conduct, without the smallest apprehension of his displeasure.

Mr. C. concluded by proposing the following toast:

The State of Kentucky—A cordial union of all parties in favor of an efficient system of Internal Improvements adapted to the wants of the State.

State of North-Carolina.
Granville County.
Court of Pleas and Quarter Sessions,
May Term, A. D. 1829.
Howel Frazer, A.M.'s. of William Hester, dec'd.

Robert Hester (of Wm.)
Original attachment. Levied in the hands of Thos. B. Littlejohn, Esq. and he is summoned as Garnishee.

IT appearing to the satisfaction of the Court, that the defendant, Robert Hester, is not an inhabitant of this State; it is ordered that publication be made in the Raleigh Register for six weeks, giving notice to the said Robert Hester that he appear at the Court of Pleas and Quarter Sessions, to be held for the County and State aforesaid, at the Courthouse in Oxford, on the first Monday in August next, then and there reply and plead to issue, or judgment final will be rendered up against him, and the property levied on, condemned subject to the plaintiff's recovery. Witness, Stephen K. Sneed, Clerk of said Court, at office in Oxford, the first Monday in May, A. D. 1829.
73 6w pd STP. K. SNEED, Clk.

State of North-Carolina,
Granville County.
Court of Pleas and Quarter Sessions,
May Term, A. D. 1829.

Samuel S. Downy, Extr. v. Gaveat to the probate of the last Will of John G. Smith, dec'd.

IT appearing to the Court, that Jas. Nod and Wife Mary, John C. Goode, guardian of Agency and Elizabeth Goode, Chas. Smith, Sam'l Smith, of Wm. James W. Smith, Thos. Williamson, Jane Williamson, James Allford and Nancy his wife, & Smith Murphy, and Thos. Smith, thirteen of the heirs at Law, and next of kin to John G. Smith, deceased, are not inhabitants of this State; it is ordered by the Court, that publication be made for six weeks in the Raleigh Register, notifying them to be and appear before the Justices of the Court of Pleas and Quarter Sessions to be held for the county of Granville and State aforesaid, on the first Monday in August next in the town of Oxford, and show cause (if any they have) why the said paper writing, purporting to be the last Will and Testament of John G. Smith, dec'd. offered for probate, shall not be proven and admitted to record.
Witness, Stephen K. Sneed, clerk of said Court at office, the first Monday of May A. D. 1829. STEPHEN K. SNEED, Clk.
Price adv. \$3. 50. 81 6w

Notice.
I will sell, at the Court-house door in Rockford, Surry county, the following tracts of Land, or as much as will be sufficient to satisfy the taxes due thereon, for the year 1827, with costs to wit—
260 acres given in by Dickson A. Skidmore, lying on Deep creek, adjoining Samuel Speer and others.
330 acres given in by Jesse Brown, lying on Hunting creek, joining W. Talbert.
60 acres not given in, as the property of Lawson Davis, lying on Hunting creek, joining H. Johnson.
THO. B. WRIGHT, Sheriff.
May 26, 1829. 81

MIDWAY ACADEMY.

Franklin County, N. C.
THE Subscriber avails himself of the earliest opportunity to inform his friends, & the public in general, that he has declined all public pursuits, and will hereafter devote his attention entirely to the charge of this Institution. The necessity which compels him to adopt this course, is the sorest guarantee for the faithful performance of his duty. He will be assisted by his son Daniel S. Hill. Here will be taught all the studies preparatory to any class in the University of this State. The exercises of the Academy will be resumed on Monday the 29th inst. at \$40 per session for board, and \$10 per session for tuition. The subscriber is prepared to accommodate the boarders, as usual, in his own family. As at this place, there are no temptations to extravagance, the students have occasion for very little pocket money; too much of this, always leads to idleness and dissipation.
C. A. HILL, A. M.
June 12th, 1829.

The Editors of the Raleigh Star, the Tarboro' Free Press, and Halifax Minerva are requested to give the above three insertions and forward their accounts to the subscriber.

MANAGERS' OFFICE,

Richmond, Va.

New-York Consolidated No. 8.

45 Number—6 Drawn Ballots.
To be drawn 15th July.
1 of \$10,000 is \$10,000.
1 4,000 4,000.
1 2,000 2,000.
1 1,750 1,750.
4 1,000 4,000.
Besides others of \$500, \$200, &c. &c. \$2,000 of the \$4,000 paid in Albany City Lots.
Whole Tickets \$5, Halves \$2 50, Quarters \$1 25.
A package of 15 Whole, which is compelled to draw \$30, may be had for \$75.
Send your orders to
YATES & M'INTYRE,
Richmond, Va.

MANAGERS' OFFICE.

Drawing of the Grand Canal, No. 15.
16—7—19—53—46—15—37—5—47.
Union Canal, No. 6.
25—10—37—40—59—52—17—36—18.
YATES & M'INTYRE.