The Committee on so much of the Govern r's Message as relates to a Penitentiary, resectfully submit the following Report:

The subject of the penitentiary system is no

hew one in North Carolina. It has been frequently and carnestly agitated and discussed amongst the people, and in the Legislature. The current of public opinion has seemed to run in its favor; but your committee are not advised that it has ever been presented in so distinct and tangible a form, as to elicit a clear manifestation of the public will, either for or against its adoption. Nor have they the means of knowing what that will now is in relation to this subject. It is such to be regretted, that this most important ques-has never been presented, so disconnected from all subjects involving local and political excite-ment, and accompanied with such explanations touching topological englanders. tion-its effects upon the progress of crime and the reformation of criminals, as might enable the public to arrive at a clear understand ng of its merits, and a definite conclusion as to the expediency of its adoption in this State. It will be the purpose of your committee to furnish such details and statistics, gleaned from the scan-ty stock of materials within their reach, as may contribute in some degree to the general informa-tion. Without going into an elaborate argument, a few observations on the general question of ex-Pediency, may not be deemed inappropriate.

The experience of other States, both foreign

and domestic, which have given the penitentiary system a thorough trial, furnish sufficient data for arriving at a safe conclusion as to its beneficial operation. Its history in our own country has been most favorable to the American penitentiary system. It is conclusively shown to have checked, if it has not materially diminished, the commission of crime-even amidst a population unparalleled for its rapid increase and heterogeneous character. By abrogating the barbarous punishments imposed by feudal times—which have not been touched by the meliorating influences of a more civilized age—we should but conform to, and sanction those just and benevo-lent considerations which look more to the prevention than the punishment of crime-more to the reformation than the punishment of criminals -which seek to temper justice with humanity. and to compel even the hardened culorit to regard the dispenser of justice more as a merciful judge, than a ruthless and savage avenger. The punishments of whipping, cropping and branding, sanctioned by our laws, are considered as not only impolitic, in view of their effects upon the prevention of crime and the reformation of offenders, but as uncongenial to the spirit of the age, and revolting to humani-ty. What probability—what hope is there, that the man who has become the victim of such torturing punishment, publicly inflicted in the presence of crowds usually attracted by such revolting exhibitions, ever will or can, rise above that condition of deep and irretrievable degradation into which he is sunk by so infamous a pun shhim-he bears upon his person the indelible and damning proof of his infamy. He is forced out of the circle of the reclaiming influences of per-sonal pride, and the hope of future respectability. An impassable barrier separates him from all respeciable association, and feeling that all is lost, he either sinks into the loathsome imbecility of runkenness or into a new career of crime.-Whatever palliation or excuse he might find in the audden impulses of a hasty temper-in the angovernable exasperation for great per onal in-jury or insul:—or in the frightful sufferings of penury and want-no matter how much the etter impulses of his nature, and the pride of a once konest name, might stimulate him to regain a respectable position in society, he is yet trushed beneath the consciousness, that there are no oblivious waters in public sentiment that can weeh out the scars of his lacerated flesh -no panacea in public sympathy that can heal the wounds of his mutilated person. These unhappy consequences do not so frequently or so necessarily result from the milder-better grad-

"honesty is the best policy," is fastened upon-his conscience and his judgment. On the score of economy, your committee be lieve the argument is in favor of a penitentiary. In the States of New Hampshire, Massachusetts, mont, and New Jersey, where penitentiaries Vermont, and New Jersey, where pennentiaries are established, the earnings of the convicts exceed the expenses. In Connecticut, the aggregate profits for twelve years, up to 1839, were 863,920 12. In Kentucky, to the same period, hey amounted to \$96,847 32. In Ohio, for the years 1837, 1838, 1839, to \$59,252 65. In Louisana, for the years 1837 '38 to \$16,714 94. The profits of the Auburn penitentiary for the years 1839 '39, were \$3,490 25; and of the Sing Sing State Prison, N. Y., for the years 1837, '38, 39, were \$39,007 90. In Tennessee, for 1836 '37, the profits were \$14,430 41. It is to be regretled that we have no statistical reports from the Georgia penitentiary, from which, as from those of Tennessee and Kentucky, we might be a of Tennessee and Kentucky, we might hazard some safe analogical deductions. But whilst the penitentiaries above enumerated have been profitable, those at Philadelphia, Pittsburg, Baltisnore, Washington City, and in Michigan, have not paid expenses—the deficiences ranging from \$3,700 to \$18,378, annually. Viewing this subject in its most unfavorable aspect, as to the quesion of economy, and granting that a penitentiary uld be an annual charge to the State of \$10,000 (which sum is much above the average annual charge of the five penitentiaries above enumerated) we will now enquire whether this would not be the cheaper plan of punishment, to say nothing of its reformatory tendencies.

Erom the few and imperfect returns made to the Executive department, under the Act of some facts which may be useful in this connexyear, during 14 years as taken from the Register of the Auburn Prison, N. Y. The other, marked B, exhibiting the "Progress of Crime" in the vatious for the year prior to June 1st, 1840, for That the views of the Committee, as set forth crimes and inisdemeanors, was one thousand three hundred and fifty-eight. Of this number, seventy-nine were crimes of various grades from posit dargency to murder, of which there were thery two convictions, twenty one acquittals, and twenty-two not tried. (We will here remark, ca pussant, that these returns also show, that in these thirty-five counties, there were two hun-dred and forty-nine lunaties and idiots.) Taking it for granted that the remaining thirty-five coun-ties would have furnished an equal calender of tics would have furnished an equal calender of crime, we have for that year, two thousand seven hundred and sixteen prosecutions—one hundred and fifty-eight of which would be included in a penitentiary code. Of this number, sixty-four were convictions, forty-two were acquittals, and forty-four untried. From our own observation of criminal trials, may we not conclude that of these forty four promittals, may be not conclude that of

and humanity of the jury? These returns further show that in ten counties, the same paid for the prosecution of insolvent criminals and their maintenance in jail, for the year 1839, amounted to the sum of \$4,110 97, which is an average for each county, of \$411 10. We may assume that half of this sum was incurred in the prosecution of State prison offences, and that is a fair average for each county. From these data then we have the sum of \$15,000 00 annually expended in the State of North Carolina, for the prosecution and intenance, in jail, of insolvent criminals, charged with the commission of penitentiary offences. Assuming, then, that a penitentiary would be a public charge of \$10,000 00 annually (which it probably would not be,) it would be a saving of expense in the administration of the criminal law.

As to the cost of construction, the committee do not possess sufficient information to enable them to make any estimate which they can confidently recommend as being correct. It necessarily depends upon the extent of the work, and is usually estimated by the cell. Penitentiaries built upon the Auburn system are generally preferred for their cheapness, as well as their internal arrangement and superior discipline. The buildings and ground of the Maine Penitentiary cost \$30, 000 00, while the Auburn cost over \$600,000 00the number of cells not known.

The cost of the Cherry Hill Penitentiary. Philadelphia, was 81,648 00 per cel Pittsburg. 978 00 Charlestown, Mass. Sing Sing, N. Y. 200 00 Weathersheld, Conp., do 150 00 Baltimore, Md, 146 00 From these facts we may conclude with some

ertainty that the cost of such a building in this State would not exceed \$500 per cell, and would robable fall much short of it. But we will put down at five hundred dollars. We have shown bove, the probable average number of convictions for State Prison offences, annually, to be about fixty-four. The number of prisoners, in the year 1839, in the Ohio penitentiary, was 485-in Baltimore, 328-in Kentucky, 157-in Washington City, 62-in Tennessee, in 1837, it was 122-No statistical information on the various matters considered in this report, of a later date than 1839. are within the reach of this committee. May we not assume, then, as a basis of calculation, that s ilding with two hundred cells would be suffi. ciently extensive for this State. Two hundred cells at \$500 per cell, fixes the cost of this work t \$100,000.

The question now comes up, of the ways and neans. How shall the funds be raised! We answer, by direct taxation. This is the source. and the only source from which they can come, without interfering with the arrangement of, and diverting from its great and patriotic purposes, our Common School Fund. Your Committee would most earnestly protest against such appro riation of that fund. Can this sum of one hundred thousand dollars be raised by taxation without distressing the people ? We think so. The time necessary for arranging the plan and con-structing all necessary buildings, would probably be four years. This sum, therefore, could be col-\$25,000 per year. By the Comptroller's and Treasurer's Reports, made to the present session of the General Assembly, the land and town property tax for the year 1843, amounted to \$31,-722 30, raised by a tax of six cents on the hundred dollars valuation : and the poll tax amounted to \$31,886 65, raised by a tax of twenty cents on the poll-making the aggregate sum of \$63,608 95. The calculation, then, is a very simple one, that an additional tax of three cents on land and eight cents on the poll for four years would produce a sum sufficient to build a Penitentiary at the cost estimated above. And it should be borne in mind that after the building is in a state of forwardness, the convicts themselves can be made to do the work and make such additions from time to time as may be needed. Let it not be forgotten, that this additional tax of three and eight cents, is less than is annually paid by our citizens to defray State prosecutions, &c., under the existing

laws, as shown by a preceding part of this report.

There are various subjects involved in the consideration of the Penitentiary system not now nated, and less infamous punishments of a pennecessary to be adverted to, and which will more itentiary code. Solitary confinement induces a communion with conscience: active employment appropriately become questions of discussion, inquiry and adjustment, when it shall be decided that we will build a penitentiary. The question now arises, how and by whom is this decision to gives a healthy action and beneficial direction to the mind. The convict is cut off from the temptations and opportunities of evil associations: he acquires a habit of sober industry during a length-ened confinement: he finds in a profitable trade be made! We answer by the People themselves, by a direct vote. Your committee do not feel themselves warranted, under the present and an additional security against the temptations rospective embarrassments in the finances of which might otherwise assail him upon his disthe State, in recommending that a tax be laid by charge, to seek the means of living by bis wits, by theft, robbery or musier; and not unfrequent-ly, a conviction of the very practical truth, that a penitentiary, in the absence of an unequivocal and decisive expression of the public will on the subject. Your committee are not insensible of the claims which propositions for other public institutions of perhaps equal importance, have upon the favorable consideration of the people and of the Legislature. The deaf and dumb-the blind and the insane, have claims upon the public sympathy and the legislative bounty. Their misfor-tunes, their sufferings, and their helpless condition appeal to us through urgent impulses of humanity, and the sternest teachings of public duty. Almost every civilized community has responded to these appeals in the establishment of suitable institutions and asylums. The happy results of these State charities have more than realized expectation. Hundreds have been rescued from the sufferings and horrors of insanity, and restored to reason and to society. Deaf and dumb mutes have been elevated from the mere animal existence of the brute to the sentient and moral condition of intelligent man. To the blind those whose organs of sight are closed against the ordinary modes of instruction-has been given that intellectual vision, that light of the mind, which enables them to be freed from continual dependence—to be useful in society—and to find sources of enjoyment and happiness in stores of intellectual acquirements. The committee, therefore, would not invoke exclusive attention to the special subject committed to their inquiry, excluding or postponing all others, alike entitled to public consideration, but are still deeply impressed with its great importance, and the propriety and necessity of some expression of

The Committee have annexed to this Report, and ask that they may be taken as part of it, two the Executive department, under the Act of parison: One warked A, exhibiting the number of convictions for the crimes annexed, in each tables, which may serve for reference and com-

That the views of the Committee, as set forth

these forty four acquittals, many escaped convictions on account of the severity of the punishment of the severity of the severi

Senate of North-Carolina.

REMARKS

Of Ma. Surrand, of Pasquotank and Perg on the application of Mr. Biggs and others, to spread a Protest on the Journal.

The Speaker having, asked the opinion of the Se ate, whether the paper offered by the gentleman from Martin as a protest, is such a document as comes with-in that provision of the Constitution which save, "that any member of either House of the General Assemshall have liberty to dissent from, and protest ainst, any act or resolve which he may think is ions to the public or any individual, and have reasons of his dissent entered on the Journals," shall proceed to state why I think the paper pro sented is not a protest, or such a one as the Con-

The gentleman from Warren says he will not vote upon the subject; that it is a privilege guarantied by the Constitution, and no one has a right to object to his entering any protest he thinks proper.

The gentleman is laboring under an egregious error, and one which he will perceive, when his present excitement passes away, and he is able to examine this subject coolly and soberly. If this epinion of the member from Warren be correct, hereafter every member who may be displeased with the action this House, may rise in his place, and demand grown falsehoods and vile abuse of other members to be placed on the Journals as a protest. And your Journals, instead of being a faithful record of the proceedings of the body, will present a disgusting mass of passion, ribaldry and folly. The Constitution gives the member from Warren the liberty of speech upon this floor, but does that authorize to rise in his place and abuse me? Certainly act, He has great privileges as a member on this floor. both the right of speech, and the right of protest-but he is bound to use both in such a manner as not to impair the rights of his fellow-members, who stand

here his equals and his peers. If this were not so, this Senate instead of a deliberative assembly, would soon become a dep of wild beasts, unrestrained from tearing each other to pieces. Gentlemen say they meant no reflections upon other gentlemen who differ in opinion from them, and since they disclaim it, I am bound to be lieve it. Intentions are one thing, and acts another. I have no doubt the gentlemen who offer this pro-test, never intended to accuse the Speaker of this House of prevarication, or the members of perjury they don't seem to be aware of the character of paper presented; their hearts are better than their understandings. Although the paper offered, expressly says that the Speaker changed the grounds of his , when he arrested the Counsel of the men ber from Onslow, and that the Committee of the Ser ate who were bound by their oaths to give him a fair trial, decided against him from party motives, yet the gentlemen who signed it, with a simplicity which is not to be found out of the nursery, say there is nothing dis-

The paper is unjust to the Speaker in another point says, he prevented the Counsel from proceed He did no such thing ; he called the Counsel for M Ennett to order, as he did me and other members, and old him distinctly that he must confine his speech to the subject before the Senate, which was the guilt or innocence of Mr. Ennett. Was that not what he came here for? was any injustice done him because he was told by the Speaker that he was indulging the province of the preacher, and to lecture the House. I have no doubt, Sir, we all have many sins unrepented of, and that the sooner we con mence the better; but whether that was the proper time or occasion, might create some difference opinion. If Mr. Ennett's Council could find nothing in the law or evidence before him, to urge in defer o of his client, it was his misfortune or the badness of his cause, but certainly constitutes no reason for t profest on your Journals.

The Constitution says gentlemen may enter or the Journals the reasons of their vote. Now, Sir would ask the gentlemen who signed this paper, if they voted against expelling Mr. Ennett, because his Counsel was not permitted to say what he pleased upon the floor of the Senate? If this was no one of the reasons of their votes, why have they in serted it in this protest? it must have been put there either as a reason, or with a design of insulting and misrepresenting the Speaker; the latter motive has been disclaimed; the conclusion then is irresisting. that one of the reasons why they voted against expermitted to preach to the Senate a most lame a mpotent conclusion. If it were not that this payer is unjust and insulting to the Speaker and the Senare I would have no objection to see it on the Journal.

There is much in it, that its signers will be ashamed of, when they come to understand it. I would be y again to these gentlemen suppose we were host to Mr. Ennett, and were trying to get rid of him from party motives, is that any reason or justifier tion of their vote? because we are forgetful of our oaths, and unjust to Mr. Ennett, are they justified before God and their country in sustaining him? Does our wrong make them right? The questi n before the Senate was the guilt or innocence of No. Ennett, and each member was supposed to deci-that question from the evidence before him. W it a reason which any member who voted him nocent, had a right to spread upon the Jonrnal; th it those who voted him guilty, were governed by ty motives? Certainly not. Such a motive base in those who condemned him, but could have been a reason with those who acquitted h unless they wish to bear the stigma of having be influenced by considerations foreign to the guilt

I take the ground then, Mr. Speaker, that no m ter what our motives may have been, no member! a right to spread them upon the Journal as a fence for his own conduct; they could have constituted none of the reasons of his own vote; and are alone responsible to the great searcher of hearwho will in due time proclaim whether we have violated our cathe, in condemning this man from unworthy motives. What any one was to gain by depriving the member from Onslow of his seat, am yet to learn. He is in nobody's way, nor do know of any party measure before the Senate that his presence can obstruct.

I therefore object to the paper presented by the member from Martin being spread upon the Journal as a Protest; because it is not such a document is is meant in the Constitution, but is an indictme against the Speaker, and those members who vote to expel the Senator from Onslow; because it is to just and insulting both to the Speaker and other and because it misstates and misrepresents may facts connected with the expulsein of the Senat

Had the Senator from Martin thought proper protest against the expulsion, and state his reasor for doing so, I could have no objection to their behilplaced on the journal. But, Sir, I do not think the any member, after brooding a fortnight over the subject, ought to be permitted, under the pretence of a protest, to record his griefe and his regrets upor

The gentleman and his friends have made a bit der, and they have set their wits to work to retrieve their desperate condition. They offered no arguments or reasons against the action of the Senate at the

stituting these Boards, and think it percents one from a proper construction of them, that the Gos nor is a member of the Boards and entitled to receive the per diem pay and travelling expenses, whilst tually engaged in discharging the duties of either said Boards.

Mr. C. here referred to the several acts of Assembly upon the subject, and commented upon them, and insisted that this construction was the proper one. I am borne out in this construction by the uniform practice of every Executive since the creation of these Boards. They have all received their pay—
The Finance Committee of each General Assembly have passed upon and allowed them, and never has any doubt existed about the right of the Governor to receive pay, until the present sagacious Treasurer has made the discovery. As far back as 1823, as I am informed, the Governor received pay for discharging these duties. No one objected. It was an additional labor thrown upon the Executive, requiring him frequently to leave the seat of Government and visit different parts of the State, and whilst engaged in the performance of these duties, he received same pay as other members of the board-he being by the Acts of Assembly constituted one of the board and ex officio Presieent of the same.

But the Treasurer has also attached to the same correspondence between himself and the Attorney General of the State—a sort of love affair—in which he addresses the Attorney General as "My dear Sir," and subscribes himself "Respectfully, your faithful servant, John H. Wheeler, Public Treasure Well Sir, has the Attorney General answered his nestion? What is the answer-" Having examined he Acts referred to, I am of opinion that Commis sioners alone are entitled to the pay allowed by the

Does this decide whether the Governor is a Com missioner? I would ask the Treasurer, if he did not consider this, as rather dodging the question. enquires whether the Governor is entitled to pay as Commissioner under certain Acts of Assemblystituting Commissioners of Boards and allowing them pay and travelling expenses and making the Governor President ex officio of their boards, and the answer is "Commissioners alone" are entitled. This correspondence is conducted in the official character of these high functionaries. Did the Treasurer ever inform the Governor, that he had such an opinion from the Attorney General? Did he communicate from the Attorney General? Did no communicate the fact in his official Report at the beginning of this Session of the Assembly. Not a word of it. No one has heard any thing of this subject until now, when Governor Morehead is about to retire from office—in two days from this time, his term expires and now this attempt is made to blast his fair fame by publishing a correspondence in which John H. Wheeler Public Treasurer, attempts to show that Governor Morehead has received the sum of One Thousand two hundred and thirty-eight dollars and seventy seven and a half cents, to which he is not entitled and he is backed too, as the Treasurer perhaps thinks by the opinion of the Attorney General of North Carolina—all of which would make a fine article for

a Newspaper and make some political capital.

I look upon it as an attempt to tarnish the fair fame and character of our present Governor, whe, I believe, has discharged his official duties to the entire satisfaction of the whole State and who deservedly ranks among the ablest Executive officers we have ever had.

I proceed next to examine the account, appended to this correspondence, for the purpose of showing the amount received by Gov. Morehead as President House particularly, to the letter addressed by the Treasurer to the Speaker of the Senate in which he says first, "The amount which the Governor, has received is also desired and is herewith communicated marked D. extracted from the Reports of said Board to the fast (present) Legislature," and show that the Governor has received the sum of \$1,238 77.

This account is false and deceptive, as I think I can shew to the satisfaction of every member of this House. He refors us first to the Report of these Boards. Sir, there are no such Reports from the Boards as he refers to in his statement D.

He refers to the Comptroller's Report to show the amount received by the Governor and gives us the dates. Sir, I have the Comptroller's Report before me, and have examined it, and it does not sustain the freasurer's account; and I am at a loss to conceive low any man, who knew enough about figures to keep an account of Da. and Ca., could have made such a blunder. I know that the Treasurer ought to be a better Accountant, for I have known him as Lawyer, as Clerk to a Board at Washington City, as Superintendant of the Mint, and as Treasurer of the State, and I am forced to believe there is design about this matter.

It was thought, perhaps, this account might find s way into the Newspapers, with the name of the reasurer of the State attached to it, whilst the Comproller's Report might not be very accessible to explain the transaction.

Sir, I will take up some few of these items, which nake up this account of \$1238 77, which the Treasurer says Governor Morehead has received: The first item is \$57 25. The Comptroller's Report shows it to be \$45; the sum of \$12 25 being for travelling expenses. The second item is \$205. This item includes the expenses of the Board, and Gov. Morehead's pay and expenses, to go to Pungo and Aliga-tor Canals, attend a sale, &c., all of which items are the sum of \$54, making an error of \$151, in this sindocument was before him, because he refers us to it, and so on of all the items in the account. The whole amount received by Governor Morehead for his services in these Boards for four years, is nine hundred and seventy-five dollars (\$975,) showing errors to the

The Governor has received, for attending to the duties of these two Boards, the sum of \$243 50 per ahaum. I ask, is it too much? Sir, will any one undertake to say that he is compensated, who thinks for one moment of the duties he has to perform as a member of these Boards. In the first place, he has charge of all your Literary Fund, which has not been vested in stocks amounting at this time to the sum of \$76,000, and part of the time since he has been in office, to \$150,000. He has to keep a regular set of Books, as banker, to manage this fund. He is in fact a banker. He has to loan out, receive instalments, receive interest, and he has to act as collector to get in the interest semi-annually, to distribute to your Schools. Can any honest man be found, who will undertake to manage this large fund for \$243 50 per year. I have no doubt you may find men, who would do it, for what are called the Perquisites of Office—which I expect is understood—but no honest man would be hired to do it; yet you force it upon the Governor, and our Treasurer thinks he should receive no pay for it. Sir, these are not the only duties that devolve upon the Governor as a member of these Boards. He is required to visit different por-tions of the State, when we have works going on in which either of said Boards are interested. time he received the \$54 which is charged by the Treasurer at \$205, he went to the Swamp Lands to make sale of the same, and whilst there, paid out housands of dollars, and issued warrants, and transacted business of immense importance to the State. Is he to receive nothing for this—not his travelling expenses? Yet by the Acts of Assembly constituting these Boards, if he is not entitled to pay, he is proper time, and now when the whole country per-ceives the absurdity of the course they pursued, in their vexation and ill-humor, they wish to descerate

This Mr. Dickinson was a contractor to cut some portion of the canals of Pungo and Alligator lake and the tributaries to the same; and is one of the

settlements made with him, he received the above sum of \$12,000. Of this sum, \$11,000 was for cutting canal. The residue, an account for articles furnished, and payments made to other individuals, and the sum of \$365 for the experimental farm.—
The Literary Board advised this experimental farm, for the purpose of testing the quality of the land, and with the hope and expectation that it would be successful, and thereby enhance the value of the land; and I insist that it was a proper experiment, after the State had appropriated \$200,000 for the draining of these Lands.

I have thus noticed these several attempts to assail and misrepresent the conduct and motives of Gov. Morehead, the whole, I believe, done for the miserable, contemptible purpose of destroying the character of an honest, pure, and able officer of the State, and making political capital for unscrupulous partisans. I therefore hope the motion to refer this matter to a Committee of Investigation will prevail, and I want it referred to a Committee that will vigilantly and faithfully discharge their duty. I have no fears of investigation, so far as the Governor is concerned.—
If he has received this money improperly, let him refund it. I want the law settled. My worthy friend, Mr. Graham, will soon be installed into office. Let us gettle it for his sake, that he may know how to act. Let him know whether he is required to travel over the State, to attend to the matters of these Boards, and also to act as banker in managing the Literary Fund, without pay, or whether he is entitled to pay, that there may be no attempts to destroy his character and reputation, when going out of of-fice. We owe it also to the Treasurer, to ascertain whether he is right in the position taken by him in 1843, when he refused to honor the Governor's warrant drawn for pay; although since constantly honored and paid by him; and also to ascertain whether the errors in his account proceed from inadvertence or design. I fear it will turn out to be from design. and done for the purpose of reflecting upon him who has discharged every duty of his office in such a manner as to merit the esteem of all men of all par-ties, throughout the length and breadth of the State; the Treasurer entertaining the hope that he might be of some service to his party, and make some polit-ical capital. Whatever the motive, let us have the

READ! READ!

The following Letter from Hon J. P. KERNEDT of Baltimore, to Robert G. CAMPBELL, Esq. President of the Young Men's Henry Clay Association of New York has recently been published. It will (says the " Tribune,") arrest the attention of true hearted Whigs in every quarter of the Union. As a clear statement of the causes which resulted in the defeat of Mr. Clay, and a cain review of the past and present condition of the Whig party, it is above all praise; while for puri y of sentiment, elevated patriotism, and classic elegance of style, it has been excelled by no political document that has fallen under our notice since the Election:

BALTIMORE, Nov. 21, 1844. ed an Honorary Member of the Young Men's Clay Association of the City and County of New York. - I desire that you will express my thanks to the Association for this compliment, and assure them that I set the highest value apon their esteem so kindly tendered to me by your letter.

This manifestation of the good opinion of the Young Whigs of New York, is not the less grateful

or reaching me at a moment of most unexpected disappointment to that noble party of which it is our ride to be members. We may all gather consolation u this disaster, from the generous alacrity with which every true Whig in the land renews his vows of devoion to his country in this her moment of peril. We have lost our battle, it is true. Our present hopes have been crushed in a great national calamity; but the spirit of the Whigs has not been crushe we look steadfastly forward to the dawning of a bright er day when the still persevering energy of our friends may retrieve the shattered fortunes of the Republic. The whole land, not the Whig party alone, is likely to suffer under the scoarge of the recent election. The fribe of demagogues may rejoice; a few political leaders may rejoice; some chosen seekers of office, out of the thousands who hunger and thirst for government emoluments may rejoice; the tens of thousands who have been duped may rejoice, perhaps, for a little while; but the great body of the American People, even those who have won, as well as those who have lost the victory, will mourn over a triumph that, it will eventually be found, has struck down the integrity and the prosperity of the Nation. It will turn out to be a triumph only gained by the temporary alliance of discordant factions who can come to no reckoning with each other of the true issues for which they strove, without a mutual scorn for the dissimulation by which each has deceived the other.

In the midst of this general sorrow which pervades the ranks of the Whigs, we are not withour topics of joy and congratulation. We have a joyful pride in here made out in the Comptroller's Report; and the the consciousness that the great mass of the worthy, same Report shows that Governor Morehead received the patriotic and the intelligent of the land are united. strong, and true to our cause,-the more united, stronger and truer in this its adversity, because they feel that now it invokes a still more enruest proof of their attachment to the country. Never has there been a more visible demonstration of the hazards to which popular representative government is exposed, than that exhibited in the elevation of James K. Polk, with all the impediments of his andistinguished history, and of his equivocal principles, which no zeal of investigation has been successful to explore, over Henry Clay, the most eminent of living Statesmen, the purest and brightest ornament of the Nation—that man who, of all others, has most thoroughly identified his name with whatever, in the public annals of his time, has made our Union a powerful and happy community. When such a man as the first is delib erately preferred to the latter, we may cease to boast of that distinctive excellence in our scheme of our Government which attributes to the selection by suffrage the certainty of an abler Chief than he who succeeds to Magistracy by the accident of birth. The history of this canvass has proved to us that, in an unhappy emergency, men of renown, of known service, of accumulated honors and of long avowed po-litical sentiments, must needs be thrust uside for one whose strength is found in his destitution of all these, and in the unexplored mediocrity of his faine and talents. Is the antagonism between these two oppo-nents the wiser and the better has been overthrown. What true lover of his country would not count it a greater honor to fall with Henry Clay than rise with such an adversary? To fall with all those who have seriven to promote the great American aims embla-zoned upon his banner, than rise with the shifting equivocations which on the opponent flag, have flut-tered in the not less variable breeze to which it has been flung! Ashamed of its false-preferees, its conceatments and its discords. Loco Fucuism made no proclamation to the people of its designs. Its May Convention practised the ruse of appointing a Committee to prepare an address of exposition of principles, but November came without that document.—

No committee had the hardshood to venture upon the ordest of such a proclamation. The labor of the people of the labor o ordest of such a proclamation. The labors of the canvass were found to be more profitably directed to the coinings of local tenets adapted to prevailing local opinions; and, still more effectively, to the task of enturniating, by the basest compost of falsehoods, the most illus rious man of the Republic. By such arts have we lost the day. Glorious defeat, honorable disaster! How much more proudly may we take its burden upon us, than suffer the blight of victory which has won nothing but the day!

That the views of the Committee, as set forth in this Report, may be carried out, I am instruction in this Report, may be carried out, I am instruction in the Report may be carried out, I am instruction of the subject.

HOUSE OF COMMONS.

SUDDEN DEATHS.

There were two awfully sudden deaths in this man of the Reposition to read the Massage of Gov. Morenzao, in reply to the Massage of Gov. Morenzao, in reply to the man of the Polician of the subject of the Policia Committee, the Massage of Gov. Morenzao, in reply to the Massage of Gov. Morenzao, in reply to the man of Feun, who has been for some times of the Policia Committee, to investigate the facts and report. The internal many was past to a Mr. Dictions in the subject of the Policia Common the subject of the Policia Common the Massage of Gov. Morenzao, in reply to the Massage of Gov. Morenzao durate the Section of Marchaela Common to the Massage of Home more the Governor in the Massage of Gov. Morenzao durate the Section of Marchaela Common to the Massage of Home more the subject of the Fall of the Massage of Gov. Morenzao durate the Section of Marchaela Common to the Massage of Home more the subject of the Fall of the Massage

we had chosen to represent our cause; they have made is their chief lebor to convert that name into the foulest represent which can be hesped upon the most infemous; they have essayed to strike down that precious fame which, earned in a long life of devotion to his country, has become rather the property of the na-tion than of its personal subject. The insult we re-sent and must ever resent. It is a rare compliment to the virtue of Henry Clay that they, who are so expert in the use of the weapons of stander, should find it ne-cessary to supply their magazine with so much freshly-distilled venom, and to tax their skill to such unu ly-therilled venore, and to tax their skill to such unusual efforts, as shey have employed in this contest. In less degree, the whole Whig party have been made the object of similar assaults. They, too, have been thickly assailed with skinders as poignant 'as the arrow that flieth by day,' and as insidious 'as the pestilence that walketh in darkness. Open war has been waged against every substantial interest in the nation with which the Whigs could in any manner be connected. Povery, one would inter from the many resolutions of this party, to be the only democratic test of Kepublicanism; the mothers the poor man becomes Republicanism; the moment the poor man becomes prosperous by industry, he would seem, in their philosophy, to be converted into an enemy to the State, Successful thrilt was a civic crime; capital was the badge of aristocracy; the patriotism that would cherish the labor of the American artisan was stamped with the oblogity of more monopoly and extertion; devotion to the policy of Madison was the rankest extreme of ancient Federalism—that term-comprising, in the opinion of those who intered it, the superlative in the opinion of those who attered it, the superlative of deepest infamy. Whig increhents, struggling against the supremacy of English opinions of trade, were denounced as the sgens of British corruption; those who invested money in Bank stocks, if they did not favor the Loco-Foco ticket, were derided as Rag Barons and purse-proud upstarts; Whig manufacturers were held up to public odium as Lords of facturers were held up to public odium as Lords of the Loom and the Furnace; mechanics who voted with the Whigs were taunted as slaves to a master Whig Catholics who were too manly to surrender their opinions to sulgar clamor were soofied as the allies and comrades of church-burners. Whenever men of substance, of enterprise, of industry, of thrift, of respectable aims, of honest and hudable ambition to enrich and aggrandize the country, refused to bow to the great Idol of this modern New Light which calls itself the Progressive Democracy, they have been proscribed and denounced as almost guilty of incivism—enemies of the public weal. The bonnet rouge,

Whigs by sharper sevices than arguments. They have assailed, as I have said, with unparalleled ma-

lignity, the honor and virtue of that great name whom

the American people!

Still the Whigs are not subdued. The best and purest and most patriotic party that ever blessed a nation remains in all its integrity—remains as firm, as gallant, as true, and I muy say as hopeful as when it first entered the field. The victor has nothing to boast of. An accident has given him New-York. New-York has given him the day. Even in the minority in that State, be owes his success to the fatuity of a political sect who have been expeled into a position which has deprived the Whigs of the majority and given to their opponents a base plurality. Almost every where else Locofocoism has been run to the top of its speed—beaten even in the land of the Hermitage. Our defeat is not overwhelming. The President elect and his friends have but a feeble goars anty of popular support, even if the hypocrisy and dissimulation of the canvass have not already prepared for them a Pandora's Box of deadly distempers.

The Whigs are not subdued. We have been defeated—not fairly, but by political legerdemain, by slight of oath and juggling disguises—we have been Plaquemined out of our election. We are vanquished, therefore, but sendy for more week.

I say to the Whigs—Raise again your flag. Stand firm in your present array. Go not apart into any other combinations but stand your ground as Whigs. The recent election has forced upon our adoption one addition to our old formula of principles—a great and momentous abuse calls for the aid of the

fit emblem of this molerant scheme of social master-ship, has been hung out, during the whole canvass,

from the head quarters of the Democracy in this city.

and it has been borne in procession through our streets to symbolize the opinions of the thousands of Ameri-

can citizens who marched beneath it. These are

some characteristics of the contest through which we

have just passed, and in these signs our adversaries

have conquered have won the triumph in which they now exult as so auspicious to the happiness of

great and momentous abuse calls for the aid of the Whigs to THE REINFORCEMENT OF THE PURITY OF THE BALLOT BOX. It is fundamental in this Government that the true People of America shall speak truly in their elections; that their voice shall not be suppressed by fraud or violence, and that neither shall it be ontweighed by voices un-American-I mean by that, that no man shall vote in our elections who has not a heart to feel with American people, and a mind so acclimated as to understand, at least, the difference between American and foreign interests. To compass his great end, we must have a modification of the Laws of Naturalization—such a modification of the Laws of Naturalization—such modification as shall lengthen the term of probation, exact greater care in the introduction to citizenship, and strengthen then securities against franc. We say with all our heart—all hospitality to the stranger, letterisling of holding land, full protection to property, full encouragements to his labor, but no privilege to interfere in the Government or Legislation of the nation until he has lived long enough in the Country to understand its interests, to resist the enjolery of demagogues who would make him, through his ignorance, the instrument of the basest designs; and until he has sufficiently identified himself with our people to feel that their welfare is more important to him then the that their welfare is more important to him than the welfare of all others. Our laws at present, do not give us these securities; and we may present that there is not an intelligent, honest-hearted, naturalized citizen in this Union who does not feel and acknowledge the accessity of this reform. In accomplishing this great purpose, it will be the resolve of the Whig party to stand by the cause of Religious Tolerotion, ever spurning the base attempt which has been made, and will not cease to be made again, to connect the Whig cause with the odium of Religious Per-

For these ends the Whige need no new organization no new name. That which we beer has been con secrated in misay a battle-field of Freedom, and i will, I trust, long serve to rally the brave and pure spirits who stands up for Popular Right and Free Government in time to come. Let us not assume

What trials are before us, no man can now foretell because no man can distinctly read the pledges of the party which has just been brought into power. It the been a mere imposture, a piece of supersubtle hypocrisy, a trick played off upon popular oredulity, we must have Immediate Annexation of Texas and Repeal of the Tariff How the Nation will receive these exploits we may conjecture. Its patience and its forbearance may be brought to some severe temptations. If the successful party, however—as there is good reason, to appeal of the fulfill. son to sospect—have not the nerve to dare the fulfil-ment of the premises, what thunders of indigration, what threats of Nullification, what torrents of viteperation for faith betrayed, may not await them from men whom it yet numbers in its ranks, will fly from it, and sober opinion, once more rising to the Judgment Seat of the Nation, will quell the phrenzied zeal of party and bring the people back into the path from which they have departed. All good men, is this contingency, will thank the Whige for having preserved a platform on which Patriotism may rally is votaries to save the Republic.

In view of all that is before us, then—in view of the worst—I say to the Whigs every were, stand firm apon your present organization! FIGHT ON, FIGHT EVER! until you have plucked up the drowned honor of the Country by the locks.

With sentiments of the highest respect for the Aveciation over which you preside.

I am very truly yours. In view of all that is before us, then-in view

Men's Clay Association of the City of New-York.

Neven Despate. The White know they are right and have only to adopt the motto of Crockett, " ? ahead," and they will yet win the day.

Penit

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with the

Adding to the Legis ago by the will only healthful To his to shrink take this to meet Constitution the legisla tizan, and the stricter

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