## LOVING AND FORGIVING.

Oh, loving and forgiving-Ye angel-words of earth, Years were not worth the living If ye too had not birth ! Dhiloving and forbearing-How sweet your mission here; The grief that ye are sharing Hath blessings in its tear.

Oh, stern and unforgiving-Ye evil words of life, That mock the means of living With never ending strife. Oh, harsh and unrepenting-How would ye meet the grave, If Henven, as unrelenting, forbore not nor forgave !

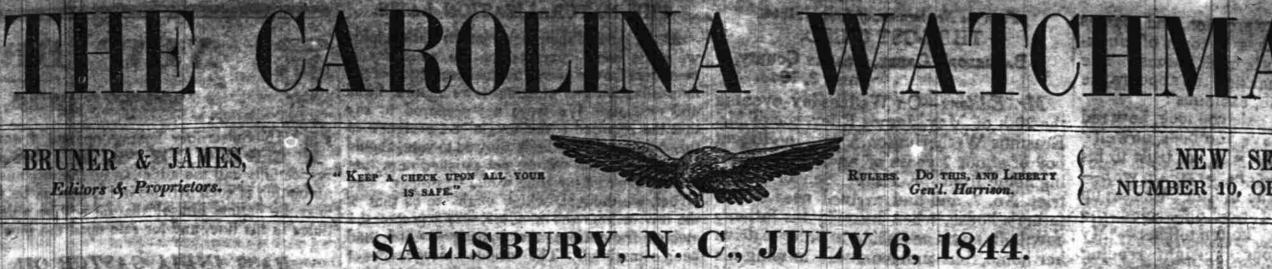
Oh Boying and forgiving-Sweet sisters of the soul. In whose celestial living The passions find control Still breathe your influence o'er us Whene'er by passion crost, And, Angel-like, restore us The paradise we lost. CHARLES SWAIN.

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

13th, 1844.

Friends and Fellow-Citizens, Ladies and Gentlemen of North Carolina .

A long cherished object of my heart is themselves to believe, that they are aimaccomplished. I am at your Capitol and ing at the happiness of their country .--in the midst of you. I have looked forward to this my first visit to North Caro- derstood, must necessarily urge them to ina, with anxious wishes, and with high promote its welfare. They are, it is true, expectations of great gratification; and often deceived, deceived by their own am happy to say that my fondest antici- passions and prejudices; and still more by pations have been more than realized .- interested demagogues, who cloak and Wherever I have passed on my way to conceal their sinister designs. Political our city, wherever I have stopped, at the parties, according to my humble opinion lepots of rail roads, in the country, town of their legitimate sphere of action, ought or village, it has been my good fortune to to be regarded as nothing more than ineccive the warmest demonstrations of re- struments, or means, subordinate, but imspect and kindness, from all parties, from portant instruments or means, in effecting both sexes, and from every age; but no the great purposes of a wise administrawhere have I met, no where had I expec- tion of government; highly useful when ted such a distinguished reception, and not factious and controlled by public virsuch enthusiastic greetings as those with which my arrival here has been attended. lost sight of, and the interests of the party am rejoiced to be with you this day, to become paramount to the interests of the stand surrounded by you in the shade of country, when the government is seized his magnificent Capitol, a noble monu- by a party and is not administered for the public liberality and taste; and while my grateful heart has been warmed, by the thrilling grasp of each utstretched hand, and my eye cheered by he smiles and beauty of the fair daughers of North Carolina, who have honord this occasion by their presence, I cannot but rejoice, and I do rejoice, that I am n Ameican citizen; and feel that, though far removed from my immediate home and friends, yet I tread here the soil of my own country, am in the midst of my friends and countrymen, and can exclaim in the anguage of the Scottish bard, that this, this is indeed my own, my native land." own that I have been truly and greatly, ut agreeably surprised. I had expected o find some hundreds, perhaps a few thousands assembled here to meet and greet I did not expect to witness such an outpouring. I did not expect to see the whole State congregated together; but because that party seeks the establishment ere it is From the mountains and from of those measures. In determining with he sea board from the extremities and from the centre, I see around me the sons and the daughters of the good old North State! A State which has earned this estimable title by the purity, simplicity, and efficiency of its institutions-by its aniform patriotism and inflexible virtue; by its quiet, unobtrusive, and unambitious lemeanor, and by its steady and firm attachment to the Union, of which it is one of the surest props and pillars—a noble title, of which although it is not in its naure to be proud, its sister States may well envy and emulate her. For these hearty manifestations of your respect and esteem, thank you all. I thank my fair countrywomen for gracing this meeting by their should be the pleasure, as it is the bouncountenance and presence. I thank your worthy Chief Magistrate for the generous uphold the constitution and laws, and supmanner in which he has represented your nospitality. I thank the various Commitees for the kindness and attention which have received at their hands, and particularly the Committee who did me the honor to meet me on the borders of your State, and escort me to this City. I am here, fellow-citizens, in compliance of your own summons. Warm and repeated invitations to visit this State and my own andent desire to see it, to form the acquaintance and to share the hospitalities of its citizens, have brought me in your presence. I have come with objects, exclusively social and friendly. I have come upon no political errand. I have not come as a propagandist. I seek to change no man's opinion, to shake no man's allegiance to his party. Satisfied and contented with the opinions which I thorough investigation and full delibera-tion. I am willing to leave every other man more reasonable than any derivable from the grant of power, for Congress had legis-up for recruits, to hold irregular elections in the undisturbed possession of his opinlons. It is one of our great privileges, in a free country, to form our own opinions do the least injustice to the party to which upon all matters of public concern. Claiming the exercise of it myself I am ever ready to accord to others equal freedom the two parties which I have done, I am in exercising it for themselves. But, in- fully borne out by facts, to some of whichexercise the rights, appertaining to us, may exert, reciprocally, an influence upon each other, for good or for evil, we owe the mutual duty of considering fairly, fuland disinterestedly, all measures of pub- mode of electing members to the House policy which may be proposed for adop- of Representatives of the United States, n. Although, fellow-citizens, I have truly others by separate districts, was long a id that I have not come to your State subject of deep and general complaint. It with any political aims or purposes, I am gave to the States unequal power in the ware of the general expectation, enterained here, that I should embrace the oc- Hampshire, for example, by a general tickfairs. I do not feel at liberty to disap- political party, might acquire more pow-



gument, adapted to its attainment.

most of them think, or have persuaded

Their duties and their interests, well unbenefit of the people, and the whole people, but to advance the purposes, and selfish aims of itself, or rather of its leaders, then is such a party, whatever may be the popular name it may assume, highly detrimental and dangerous. I am a Whig, warmly attached to the party, which bears that respected name, from a thorough persuasion that its principles and policy are best calculated to secure the happiness and prosperity of our common country; but, if I believed otherwise, if I were convinced that it sought party or individual aggrandizement, and not the public good, I would instantly and forever abandon it, whatever might be the consequences to myself, or whatever the regrets which I might feel in separating from veteran friends. My opinions upon great and leading measures of public policy have become settled convictions, and I am a Whig which of the two great parties of the country, I ought to be connected, I have been governed by a full consideration, and fair comparison, of the tendency of their respective principles, measures, conduct and views. There is one prominent and characteristic difference between the two parties, which eminently distinguishes them, and which, if there were no other, would be sufficient to decide my judgment. And that is, the respect and deference uniformly displayed by the one, and the disregard and contempt exhibited by the other to the constitution, to the laws and to public authority. In a country, where a free and self-government is established, it den duty, of every citizen to stand by and port the public authority; because they are his constitution-his laws, and the publie authority emanates from his will .---Having concurred, by the exercise of his privileges, in the adoption of the constitution, and in the passage of the laws, any outrage or violation attempted of either ought to be regarded as an offence against the majesty of the people. In an arbitrary and absolute government, the subject may have some excuse for evading the edicts and ukases of the monarch, because they are not only promulgated, without consulting his will, but sometimes against the wishes and the interests of the people. In that species of government, the power of the bayonet enforces a reluctant obedience to the law. With a free people, the fact that the laws are their laws, ought to supply, in a prompt and voluntary ralhave formed upon public affairs, after ly to the support of the public authority,

has been public speaking, in which there not possess the same opportunity, under them the highest credentials, under the readily comprehend and feel what would ly, be persevered in, the day is not distant was a precise and well defined object to the one system as under the other, of be- great seal of their State, demonstrating be the effects and consequences of Dorr- when, resting upon our own internal rebe pursued, by a train of thought and ar- coming acquainted with and ascertaining their right to occupy them. They had the capacity and fidelity of the candidate been regularly declared and returned Without presuming to prescribe to any for his suffrage. An elector, residing in elected members of the House of Reprebody else the course which he ought to one extreme of the State, cannot be pre- sentatives, by the regular authorities, and pursue in forming his judgment upon po- sumed to know a candidate living at a according to the law of the State of New litical parties, public measures, and the distance from him, perhaps at the other Jersey. Agreeably to the uniform usage, principles which ought to guide us, I will extreme. By the general ticket, the mi- which had prevailed in that House from governments and set up new ones, at his long run, would arise and sustain themstate my own. In respect to political par- nority in a State is completely smothered. the commencement of the Government, pleasure or caprice! What earthly se- selves, without any encouragement from ties of which I have seen many, in this From these, and other views of the sub- and according to the usage which prevails curity for life, liberty or property, would Government, just as an unaided infant country, during a life which is now con- ject, it has been long a patriotic wish en- in every representative body, they had a remain, if a proceeding so fraught with child would learn to rise, to stand, and to siderably protracted, I believe in the main, tertained that there should be some uni- right to demand to be admitted to their form mode, both of electing members to seats, and to hold and occupy them, until of choosing Senators." With that reason- and authorities of that State.

able, equal, and just act of Congress ; every Whig State, whose Legislature assem-

try, or before the tribunals of justice. It der the district system. The elector can- Washington, to take their seats, bore with see what they will do with it. You can the House of Representatives and choos- any objections which might exist against ing electors of President and Vice Presi- them should be subsequently investigated. dent. I recollect well, some twenty years In the case of the four States already noago, when public opinion appeared to be ticed, it was important to the interests of almost unanimous upon this subject. Well, the dominant party, in order to swell their tic majority of the Legislature of Missisthe last Whig Congress, in order to pre- majority, that the members returned should vent the abuses, and to correct the ine- be allowed to take their seats, although ble pretexts, which any private man of of a home, as well as foreign Markets, is quality, arising out of the diverse modes | elected contrary to law. In the New Jerof electing members of the House of Rep- sey case it was important to the dominant resentatives, passed an act requiring that party to enable it to retain its majority to it should be uniform and by districts. This exclude the Whig members, although react was in conformity with an express turned according to law. The decision in The Whigs of that State, who are the of the population of a country be engaged grant of power contained in the constitu- both cases was adapted to the exigency principal Tax-paying portion of the pop- ed in the business of manufacturing, i tion of the United States, which declares of party interest, in utter contempt, both that "the times, places, and manner of of constitution and law; and it is worthy in favor of preserving its honor and good the agricultural products of the country holding elections for Senators, and Repre- of observation that, in the decision against faith, by a re-imbursement of the debt; in exchange for their fabrics. The effect sentatives, shall be prescribed in each the Whig members of New Jersey, mem-State by the Legislature thereof; but, the bers, who boast of being emphatically the Congress may at any time, by law, make or patrons and defenders of State rights, conalter such regulations, except as to the places curred in trampling under foot the laws ty with this shameful public fraud, per-

In connexion with the subject on which am now addressing you the manner of admission of Michigan into the Union is worthy of notice. According to the usage which had uniformly prevailed, prior to the admission of the States of Michigan and Arkansas, a previous act of Congress was passed, authorizing the sense of the people of the territory to be taken, in convention, and regulating the election of members to that body, limiting their choice to citizens of the United States residing in the territory. Michigan, without the sanction of a previous act of Congress, undertook, upon her sole authority, to form a Constitution, and demanded admission into the Union. In appointing members to that convention, a great number of aliens, as well as citizens of United States, were allowed to vote, against the earnest remonstrances of many resident citizens. Under these circumstances, she applied to Congress to be admitted into the Union. No one questioned or doubted that she was entitled to be received, whenever she presented herself, regularly and according to law. But it was objected against her admission, that she had assumed to act against all usage, without the authority of Congress, and that contrary to the Constitution and laws of the United States, she had permitted aliens to partake of the elective franchise. The danger was pointed out, of allowing aliens unnaturalized, and without renouncing their allegiance to foreign sovereigns and potentates, to share in that great and inestimable privilege. But all objections were unavailing; the dominant party under the hope of strengthening their interests, in spite of all irregularity, and in contravention of law, ad mitted Michigan as a State, into the Union. In intimate connection with this case the subject of Dorrism may be noticed. teen independent sovereign States. Unpopulation, had displayed more valor, patriotism and enterprize. Dorr did not find and he undertook to subvert it. Assertreached the convenience and necessity of fied, dead and living, were pretended to and establishing manufactures in our counthe case. But the dominant party, in the have voted, and thus, securing a hetero- try, it has always appeared to me that we present House of Representatives, have geneous majority, he proceeded to form a should take a broad and extensive view, strangely assumed, that Congress could not new Constitution and to set up a new go- looking to seasons of war, as well as peace, execute a part of the granted power, with- vernment. In the mean time, the legiti- and regarding the future, as well as the out the whole. According to their logic mate and regular government proceeded past and the present. National existence asmuch as the manner in which we may only, on this occasion, can I refer, and the major does not include the minor. In in operation and prepared to sustain itself is not to be measured by the standard of their view Government cannot execute a and put down the insurrectionary procee- individual life. But it is equally true, both part of a power with which it is entrust- ding. Dorr flew to arms and collected a of nations and of individuals, that, when ed without it executes the whole of a pow- military force, as irregular and heteroge- it is necessary, we must submit to tempoer vested in it. If this principle be true, neous as his civil majority had been. But rary and present privations, for the sake when applied to a part of the Constitu- on the first approach of military force, on of future and permanent benefits. Even tion, it would be equally true in its appli- the part of the legitimate and regular go- if it were true, as I think I shall be able to cation to the whole constitution ; but there vernment, Dorr took to his heels and ig- show it is not, that the encouragement of are many parts of the constitution that nominiously fled, leaving his motly confed- domestic manufactures would produce never have been and probably never will erates to fare as they might. Now fellow some sacrifices, they would be compensabe executed. And, if the doctrine of the citizens what has been the conduct of the ted, and more than counterbalanced, by dominant party, in the House of Repre-sentatives be sound, all the laws enacted which, at one time, seemed to be so threat-threat-to be so threat-to be so t asion to make some exposition of my et securing the election of its members to by Congress since the commencement of ening? The Whigs, every where, I be-it were true that the policy of protection the Government are null and void, because lieve to a man, have disapproved and con-enhanced the price of commodities, it Congress has not executed all the powers demned the movement of Dorr. It has would be found that their cheapness, pre-The doctrine, applied to the enjoyment of Without meaning to assert that the whole eign supply might be open to us, would be nd never had any taste for these public by districts, might return an equal or private property, would restrain a man of them countenanced and supported Dorr, no equivalent for the dearness in a period and any taste for these public of these public of the dearness in a period of the dearness in the subject into the period of the dearness in the subject into the period o

were tolerated and sanctioned !

NEW

SERIES.

NUMBER 10, OF VOLUME I.

and foul spot upon the American name rental hand. and character-how came it there? The stain has been put there by the Democrarefusing to provide for it. I am far from to both parties and the whole Country. charging the whole of the Democratic parpetrated by their brethren in the State of demand. If the supply exceed the demand Mississippi. Without the State, to their the price falls; if the demand exceed the honor be it said, most of them disapprove.

tion tell us what they were ; they inform us what lives were sacrificed, what dis-comforts existed, what hardships our un-clad and unshod soldiers bore, what enter-prizes were retarded or paralyzed. Even during the last war, all of us, who are old enough to remember it, know what difficulties, and, at what great cost, the neces sary clothing and means of defence were obtained. And who does not feel conscious pride and patriotic satisfaction that these sufferings, in any future war, will be prevented, or greatly alleviated, by the progress which our infant manufactures have already made. If the policy of encouraging them wisely, moderately, and certainism here at the South, if Dorrism were sources, we may be perfectly sure of an predominant. Any unprincipled adven-turer would have nothing to do but to col-lect around him a mosaic majority, black and Foreign wars at defiance. I know and white, aliens and citizens, young and that, from extreme suffering and the neold, male and female, overrun existing cessity of the case, manufactures, in the confusion, disorder and insubordination, walk; but in both instances, great distress may be avoided, and essential assist-Then there is Repudiation-that dark ance derived, from the kindness of the pa-

The advantages arising from the division of the labor of the population of a country are too manifest to need being sippi. Under special pleas, and colora- much dwelt upon. I think the advantage honor and probity would scorn to employ, equally manifest; but the home market they have refused to pay the debts of that can only be produced by diversified pur-State-debts contracted by the receipt of suits, creating subjects of exchanges, at an equivalent expended within the State! home as well as abroad. If one portion ulation, with remarkable unanimity, are must derive its means of subsistance, from but the Democratic majority persists in of these mutual exchanges is beneficial The great law, which regulates the

prices of commodities, is that of supply and ly the price rises. The law will be

bled in time after its passage, strictly complied, and laid off their respective States into districts accordingly. But the four States, with Democratic Legislatures, of Georgia, Mississippi, Missouri, and New Hampshire refused to conform to the law, treated it with contemptuous neglect, and suffered the elections for members of the House of Representatives to proceed, in total disregard of its provisions. This was a new species of nullification, not less reprehensible than that which was attempted formerly in another State, though admitting of a more easy and peaceful remedy. That remedy was to refuse to allow the members, returned from the four States, to take their seats in the House of Representatives, which they had no constitutional or legal right to occupy. That question the present House of Representatives had to decide. But it was predicted, long before they assembled, confidently predicted, that the members from the four refractory States, would be allowed to take their seats, the constitution and the law notwithstanding. Why was it so predicted ? Was it not because it was known, from the general character and conduct of the dominant party, in the House, that it would not hesitate to trample under foot both law and constitution, if necessary to the accomplishment of a party object? Accordingly, the question recently came up in the House, and the members from the four States were admitted to their seats. And what, fellow citizens, do you suppose was the process of reasoning by which this most extraordinary result was brought about? Congress you may have seen is invested with unlimited power to make regulations as to the times, places and manner of holding elections for representatives, or to alter Rhode Island had an existing government those which might have been previously of long duration, under which her popumade by the State Legislatures. There lation had lived happily and prosperously is nothing in the grant of the power, which It had carried her triumphantly through enjoins upon Congress to exercise the whole the war of the revolution, and borne her of it, or none. Considerations of obvious into the Union, as one of the original third convenience concur in leaving to the several States themselves, the fixation of the der the operation of it, the people of no times and places of holding those elections. State in the Union, in proportion to her In that, each State may be governed by its sense of its own convenience, without injuriously affecting other States. But it his ambitious aspirations sufficiently gratis different with the manner of holding ified under this venerable government, election, that is whether it be by general ticket or by the district system. If some ing the principle that every people have States elect by general ticket, it gives to a right to alter, modify and change their them an undue advantage over those States government whenever they think proper which elect by the district system. The -an abstract principle which, with caumanner, therefore, of holding elections was tious limitations, may be true-without a fit subject, and the only fit subject con- consulting the established government and lated beyond that, it would have over- at which persons qualified and unquali-

it; and within the State there are many honorable exceptions, among the Demo-

Other examples might be cited to prove the destructive and disorganizing tendency of the character, tendency and principles of the Demogratic party, but these will suffice for this occasion. If the systems and measures of public policy of the parties are contrasted, and compared, the result will be not less favorable to the ply. That monopoly, it is true, will be sub Whig party. With the Whig party there | ject to the competition which may exis prevails entire concurrence as to the prin- in Europe ; but it would be still restricted ciples and measures of public policy which to that competition. By the existence o it espouses. In the other party we behold manufactures, in the United States, an adnothing but division and distraction-their ditional competition is created, and this principles, varying at different times and in different latitudes. In respect to the ket, contending for it with the previous tariff, whilst in some places, they are pro- European competitors. The result is, an claiming that free trade is the true Dem- increase in the aggregate of supply and a ocratic doctrine, and the encouragement | consequent reduction in price. But it ha of domestic industry federal heresy, in been argued, that the fabrics manufactur other parts of the Union, they insist that ed in America take the place only of se the Democrats are alone to be relied upon many which had been before manufac to protect the industry of the country, and tured in Europe; that there is no greate that the Whigs are opposed to it.

That is a great practical and administrative question, in respect to which there is happily now prevailing among the Whigs, throughout the whole Union, a degree of unanimity as unprecedented as it this is an extremely contracted and fallais gratifying. From New Orleans to this place, I have conversed with hundreds of them, and I have not met with a solitary one, who does not assent to the justice and expediency of the principle of a tariff for ist without them, and the employment of revenue, with discriminations for protection. On this interesting question, fellow citizens, it is my purpose to address you, with the utmost freedom and sincerity, and with as little reserve as if I were before an audience in the State of Kentucky. I have long given to this subject the most impartial and deliberate consideration, of vain to point to Agriculture ; for every dewhich my mind is capable. I believe that no great Nation ever has existed, or can exist, which does not derive within itself, essential supplies of food and raiment and of Cotton is the excess of production. The the means of defence. I recollect no example to the contrary in ancient or mod- ced, by diverting a portion of the labor ern times. Although Italy did not itself employed in its cultivation to some other afford all those supplies to Ancient Rome, branch of industry. This new pursuit the deficiency was drawn from her subju- would furnish new subjects of exchange gated provinces. Great Britain, although and those who might embark in it, as well her commerce encompasses the world, as those who would continue in the growth supplies herself mainly from the little is- of Cotton, would be both benefited by muland under her immediate dominion. Li- tual exchanges. The day will come and mited and contracted as it is, it furnishes is not distant, when the South will feel an her with bread and other provisions for imperative necessity voluntarily to make the whole year, with the exception only such a diversion of a portion of its labor. of a few days; and her manufactures, not | Considering the vast water power, and only supply an abundance of raiment and other facilities of manufacturing, now means of defence, but afford a vast sur- wasting and unemployed, at the South plus for exportation to foreign countries. In considering the policy of introducing

found to be invariably true. Any augmentation of supply is beneficial to the consumer ; but, by establishing manufactures in the United States, an additional supply is created. Again, another principle, universally admitted to be beneficial to consumption, is, the principle of competition. If Europe alone supply the American consumption of manufacture Europe will enjoy a monopoly in that sup new competitor entersthe American Marconsumption in consequence of the hom manufacture than would exist without it: and that it is immaterial to the consumer whether the theatre of manufacture be Europe or the United States, But I think cious view of the subject. Consumption is greater in consequence of the existence of manufactures at home. They create a demand for labor, which would not exlabor creates an ability to consume, which would not exist without it. How could the American labor, employed in manufactures, at home, supply its consumption of European commodities, if it were deprived of that employment? What means of purchase would it possess? It is in partment of that is already producing super-abundantly. It cannot be questioned that the chief cause of the reduced price price of it would rise, if less were produ-

a mercenary soldiery.

It is far from my intention or desire to I am opposed ; but I think that in asserting the characteristic difference between these shall all be of a recent nature.

The first, to which I shall call your attention, has occurred during the present session of Congress. The variety in the

councils of the nation. Mississippi or New elare, with perfect truth, that I have not New York, which, electing its members

and its possession, at home, of the choic of the raw material, I believe the day will come when the Cotton region will be the the greatest manufacturing region of Cotton in the world.

The power of consuming manufactured articles being increased, in consequence of the domestic establishment of manufactures, by the wages of labor which they employ, and by the wealth which they create, there is an increase also in the use and consumption of Cotton and other raw materials. To the extent of that increase, the Cotton grower is directly and positively benefited by the location of manufactures at home instead of abroad. But suppose it were true that the shifting to a certain extent, of the theatre of manufactures, from foreign countries to our own, did not increase consumption at all, and did not augment the demand for Cotton, there would be no just ground of complaint with the Cotton planter and the most that he could say is, that it would be a matter of indifference to him. All that would happen to him would be, a substitation of a certain number of American customers, for an equal number of Euro-