

The United States are in a state of prosperity or adversity? If, without prejudice to him, his own countrymen can acquire a part of the wealth which arises out of the prosecution of manufacturing industry, instead of the foreigner, ought he not to rejoice at it? Is it to him a matter of no consequence that a certain amount of wealth, created by manufactures, shall be in his own country, instead of being in foreign countries? If here, its influence and effects will be felt, directly or indirectly, in all the departments of human business, and in a greater or less degree in all parts of the country. It becomes a clear addition to the aggregate wealth of the nation, increasing its resources, and forming a basis of taxation and revenue in seasons of war or peace, if necessary.

But the advantages resulting from domestic manufactures, in producing an American competition with the European competition, augmenting the supply of manufactured articles, and tending consequently to a reduction of prices, is not the sole advantage, great as that is. A double market is produced both in the purchase of fabrics for consumption, and in the sale of productions of Agriculture. And how superior is the home to any other market in the conditions of its proximity, its being under our own control, and its exemption from the contingency of war! It has been argued, however, that we sell no more than we should do, if we were deprived of the home market. I have shown that to be otherwise. The importance of opening new markets is universally admitted. It is an object of the policy of all nations. If we could open a new market for 400,000 bales of Cotton, with any foreign power, should we not gladly embrace it? Every one owns the benefit which arises out of various markets. All who reside in the neighborhood of large cities or market towns, are sensible of the advantage. It is said that our manufactures absorb only about 400,000 bales of cotton, which is a very small part of the total crop. But suppose we were thrown upon the market of Liverpool, already overstocked and glutted? It would sink the price far below what it now is. France consumes also about 400,000 bales. If the market of Havre were closed, and that quantity were crowded into the market of Liverpool, would not the effect be ruinous to the cotton grower? Our American market is growing, annually increasing, and, if the policy of the country can only become firmly fixed, the time will come, I have no doubt, when the manufacture of cotton in the United States will exceed that of England. I do not desire to see any market closed, domestic or foreign. I think it our true interest to cherish and cultivate all. But I believe it to be our indispensable duty to afford proper and reasonable encouragement to our own.

But it must be borne in mind that, although cotton is by far the most important of our agricultural products, it is not the only one. Where should we find a market for our Indian corn, if it were not for the existence of our manufactures? We should absolutely have none. My friend, Mr. Pettigrew, who sits before me, can find no market for his corn in North Carolina, because his neighbors, like himself, are occupied in producing it. Nor can he find any in foreign countries. But he meets with a good, sure and convenient market in Boston and Providence, and other Northern capitals. Where should we seek a market for the flour, provisions, and other raw agricultural produce now consumed by our manufacturers? If their present business were destroyed, they would be employed themselves in producing cotton, corn, provisions and other agricultural produce, thus augmenting the quantity and inevitably leading to a further decline of prices.

It has been contended that the effect of affording legal encouragement to domestic manufactures is, to enhance the price of commodities, and to impose a tax upon the consumer. This argument has been a thousand times refuted. It has been shown again and again, that the price of almost every article, on which the system of encouragement has effectually operated, has been reduced to the consumer. And this was the necessary consequence of that law of supply and demand, and that principle of competition which I have before adverted. It was foretold long ago by myself and other friends of the policy. But it is in vain that we appeal to facts. It is in vain that we take up article by article, and comparing present with former prices, show the actual and gradual reduction. The free trader has mounted his hobby, and he has determined to spur and whip him on, rough shod, over all facts, obstacles and impediments that lie in his way. It was but the other day, I heard of these free trade orators addressing an audience, and depicting, in the most plaintive and delicate terms, the extreme burdens and oppressive exactions arising out of the abominable Tariff. Why, says he, fellow-citizens, every one of you that wears a shirt, is compelled to pay 6 cents a yard more for it than you otherwise would do, in order to increase the enormous wealth of Northern capitalists. An old man in the crowd, shabbily dressed, and with scarcely any thing but a shirt on, stopped the eloquent orator, and asked him how that could be? For, says he, I have a good shirt on, that cost me only 52 cents per yard, and I should like to know how I paid a duty of 6 cents?

These ingenious and indefatigable theorists, not only hold all facts and experience in contempt, but they are utterly inconsistent with themselves. At one time they endeavor to raise the alarm that the Tariff would put an end to all foreign commerce, and thus drying up our principal source of revenue in imports, it would become necessary to resort to direct taxes and internal taxation. In process of time, however, their predictions were falsified, and the system was found to produce an abundant revenue. Then, they shifted their ground; the Tariff, said they, is overflowing; the Tariff is the cause, and the system must be abandoned. If they had taken the trouble to enquire, they might have ascertained that, although England is the greatest manufacturing nation in the world, in amount, extent, and variety, she nevertheless draws a vast revenue from customs.

Allow me to present you, fellow-citizens, with another view of this interesting subject. The Government wishes to derive a certain amount of revenue from foreign imports. Let us suppose the total annual amount of imports to be \$100,000,000, and the total annual amount of revenue to be raised from it, to be \$20,000,000. Is it at all material, whether that 20,000,000 be spread in the form of duties, equally over the whole 100,000,000, or that it be drawn from some 50,000,000 or more of the imports, leaving the rest free of duty? In point of fact, such has been the case for several years. Is not a compensation found, for the duty paid upon one article by the exemption from duty of another article? Take the wearing apparel of a single individual, and suppose you have a duty of \$2 to raise

upon it; is it of any consequence to him whether you levy the whole \$2 upon all parts of his wearing apparel equally, or levy it exclusively upon his coat and his shirt, leaving the other articles free? And if, by such discriminations as I have described, without prejudice to the consumer, you can raise up, cherish, and sustain domestic manufactures, increasing the wealth and prosperity, and encouraging the labor of the nation, ought it not to be done?

We are invited, by the partisans of the doctrine of free trade, to imitate the liberal example of some of the great European powers. England, we are told, is abandoning her restrictive policy, and adopting that of free trade. England adopting the principles of free trade! Why, where are her corn laws? Those laws which exclude an article of prime necessity—the very bread which sustains human life—in order to afford protection to English agriculture. And, on the single article of American tobacco, England levies annually an amount of revenue equal to the whole amount of duties levied annually by the United States upon all the articles of import from all the foreign nations of the world, including England. That is her free trade! And as for France, we have lately seen a State paper from one of her high functionaries, complaining in bitter terms of the American Tariff of 1842, and ending with formally announcing to the world that France steadily adhered to the system of protecting French industry!

But, fellow-citizens, I have already detailed you too long on this interesting topic, and yet I have scarcely touched it. For near 30 years it has agitated the nation. The subject has been argued and debated a thousand times, in every conceivable form. It is time that the policy of the country should become settled and fixed. Any stable adjustment of it, whatever it may be, will be far preferable to perpetual vacillation. When once determined, labor, enterprise and commerce can accommodate themselves accordingly. But in finally settling it, the interests of the whole Union, as well as all its parts, should be duly weighed and considered, in a paternal and fraternal spirit. The confederacy consists of 26 States, besides territories, embracing every variety of pursuit, every branch of human industry. There may be an apparent, there is no real, conflict between these diversified interests. No one State, no one section, can reasonably expect or desire that the common government of the whole should be administered, exclusively according to its own peculiar opinion, or so as to advance only its particular interests, without regard to the opinion or the interests of all other parts. In respect to the Tariff, there are two schools holding opposite and extreme doctrines. According to one, perfect freedom in our foreign trade with no, or very low duties, ought to prevail. According to the other, the restrictive policy ought, on many articles, to be pushed, by a high and exorbitant Tariff, to the point of absolute prohibition. Neither party can hold itself up as an unerring standard of right and wisdom. Fallibility is the lot of all men, and the wisest know how little they do know. The doctrine of free trade is a concession to Foreign powers, without an equivalent, to the prejudice of native industry. Not only without equivalent, but in the face of their high duties, restrictions and prohibitions applied to American products, to foreign powers, our rivals, jealous of our growth and anxious to impede our onward progress. Encouragement of domestic industry is a concession to our own fellow-citizens, to those whose ancestors shared in common, with our ancestors, in the toils of the revolution; to those who have shared with us in the toils and sufferings of our day; to those whose posterity are destined to share with our posterity in the trials, in the triumphs and the glories that await them. It is a concession to those who are some of our bone and flesh of our flesh, and who in some other beneficial form do make and are ready to make equivalent concession to us. It is still more; it is a concession by the whole to the whole; for every part of the country possesses a capacity to manufacture and every part of the country more or less does manufacture. Some parts have advanced farther than others, but the progress of all is forward and onward.

Again, I ask what is to be done in this conflict of opinion between the two extremes which I have stated? Each believes, with quite as much confidence as the other, that the policy which he espouses is the best for the country. Neither has a right to demand that his judgment shall exclusively prevail. What, again, I ask is to be done? Is compromise or reconciliation impossible? Is this glorious union to be broken up and dissolved and the hopes of the world, which are concentrated in its fate, to be blasted and destroyed forever? No, fellow-citizens, no! The Union must be preserved. In the name of the people of this noble old State, the first to announce the independence of the United States by the memorable declaration of Mecklenburg, and which has ever since been among the most devoted and faithful to the preservation of this Union; in the name of the people of my own gallant State; and in the name of the whole people of the United States, I feel authorized to say, that this Union will not, must not, shall not be dissolved. How then can this unhappy conflict of opinion be amicably adjusted and accommodated? Extremes, fellow-citizens, are ever wrong. Truth, and justice, sound policy, and wisdom, always abide in the middle ground, always are to be found in the *juste milieu*. Ultraism is baneful, and, if followed, never fails to lead to fatal consequences. We must reject both the doctrines of free trade and of a high and exorbitant Tariff. The partisans of each must make some sacrifices of their peculiar opinions. They must find some common ground, on which both can stand, and reflect that, if neither has obtained all that it desires, it has secured something and what it does not retain has been gotten by its friends and countrymen. There are a very few who dissent from the opinion that, in time of peace, the federal revenue ought to be drawn from foreign imports, without resorting to internal taxation. Here is a basis for accommodation, and mutual satisfaction. Let the amount, which is requisite for an economical administration of the government, when we are not engaged in war, be raised exclusively on foreign imports, and in adjusting a tariff for that purpose, let such discriminations be made as will foster, and encourage our own domestic industry. All parties ought to be satisfied with a tariff for revenue and discriminations for protection. In this settling this great and disturbing question, in a spirit of mutual concession and of amicable compromise, we do but follow the noble example of our illustrious ancestors, in the formation and adoption of our present happy constitution. It was that benign spirit that presided over all their deliberations, and it has been in the same spirit that all the threatening crisis, that have arisen during the progress of the administration of the constitution, have been happily quieted and accommodated.

Next, if not superior in importance to the question of encouraging the national industry, is that of the national currency. I do not purpose to discuss the point, whether a paper representation of the precious metals, in the form of bank notes, or in other forms, convertible into those metals, on demand, at the will of the holder, be or be desirable and expedient. I believe it or could be easily shown, that in the actual state of the commercial world, and considering the amount and distribution of the precious metals throughout the world, such a convertible paper is indispensably necessary. But that is not an open question. If it were desirable that no such paper should exist, it is not in the power of the Government, under its present Constitution, to put it down or prevent its creation and circulation. Such a convertible paper has existed, does exist, and probably will always exist, in spite of the General Government. The twenty-six States which compose the Union, claim the right and exercise the right, now not to be controverted, to authorize and put forth such a convertible paper, according to their own sense, of their respective interests. If even a large majority of the States were to resolve to discontinue the use of a paper representative of specie, the paper would nevertheless be created and circulated, unless every State in the Union abandoned its use; which nobody believes is ever likely to happen. If some of the States should continue to employ and circulate such a paper, it would flow into, and be current in other States that might have refused to establish Banks. And, in the end, the States which had them not, would find themselves, in self-defence, compelled to charter them. I recollect, perhaps my friend near me, (Mr. B. W. Leigh,) if he be old enough, may also recollect—the introduction of Banks in our native State. Virginia, adopted slowly and reluctantly the Banking system. I recollect, when a boy, to have been present in 1792 or 1793, when a debate occurred in the Virginia Legislature on a proposition, I think it was, to renew the charter of a bank in Alexandria—the first that ever was established in that State, and it was warmly opposed and carried with some difficulty. Afterwards, Virginia, finding herself surrounded by States that had Banks, and that she was subject to all their inconveniences, whatever they might be, resolved to establish banks upon a more extensive scale, and accordingly did establish two principal banks, by branching powers, to secure to herself whatever benefits might arise from such institutions. The same necessity that prompted, at that period, the legislation of Virginia, would hereafter influence States having no banks, but adjacent to those which had. It follows, therefore, that there are and probably always will be local banks. These local banks are often rivals, not only acting without concert, but in collision with each other, and having very imperfect knowledge of the general condition of the whole circulation of the United States, or the state of our monetary relations with foreign powers. The inevitable consequence must be, irregularity in their movements, disorder and unsoundness in the currency, and frequent explosions. The existence of local banks, under the authority and control of the respective States, begets a necessity for a United States Bank, under the authority and control of the General Government. The whole power of Government is distributed in the United States between the States and the federal Government. All that is general and national, appertains to the federal government, all that is limited and local to the State governments. The States cannot perform the duties of the general government, nor ought they to attempt to perform, nor can it so well execute the trusts confided to the State government. We want a National Army, a National Navy, a National Post Office establishment, National Laws regulating our foreign commerce and our coasting trade, above all, perhaps, we want a National Currency. The duty of supplying these National means of safety, convenience and prosperity must be executed by the general government, or it will remain neglected and unfulfilled. The several States can no more supply a national currency than they can provide armies, and navies for the national defence. The necessity for a national institution does not result merely from the existence of local institutions, but it arises also out of the fact that all the great commercial nations of the world have their banks. England, France, Austria, Russia, Holland, and all the great Powers of Europe have their national banks. It is said that money is power, and that to embody and concentrate it in a bank, is to create a great and dangerous power. But we may search the records of history, and we shall find no instance, since the first introduction of banking institutions, of any one of them having sought to subvert the liberties of a country or to create confusion and disorder. Their well being depends upon the stability of laws and legitimate and regular administration of government. If it were true that the creation of a bank is to embody a monied power, is not such a power in the hands of the general government necessary to protect the people against the monied power in the form of banking institutions in the several States, and in the hands of Foreign Governments? Without it, how can the commerce of the United States cope and compete with the commerce of foreign Powers having national banks? In the commercial struggles, which are constantly in operation between nations, should we not labor under great and decided disadvantage, if we had no bank and they had their banks? We all recollect, a few years ago, when it was alleged to be the policy of the bank of England to reduce the price of our great Southern staple, in order to accomplish that object, the policy was adopted of refusing to discount the notes and bills of any English houses engaged in the American trade. If a bank of the United States had been in existence at that time, it could have adopted some measure of counteraction; but there was none, and the bank of England effected its purpose.

It has been asked, what, will you have banks, merely because the monarchies of Europe have them? Why not also introduce their King, Lords and Commons, and their aristocracy? This is a very shallow mode of reasoning. I might ask, in turn, why have armies, navies, laws regulating trade, or any other national institutions or laws, because the monarchies of the old world have them? Why eat, or drink, clothe or house ourselves, because monarchs perform these operations? I suppose myself the course of true wisdom, and common sense, to be to draw from their arts, sciences, and civilization, and political institutions, whatever is good, and avoid whatever is bad.

Where, exclusive of those who oppose the establishment of a bank of the United States upon constitutional ground, do we find the greatest opposition to it? You are, fellow-citizens, perhaps not possessed of information, which I happen to have acquired. The greatest opposition to a bank of the United States will be found to arise out of a foreign influence, and may be traced to the bankers and brokers of Wall Street in New York who are wielding a foreign capital. Foreign Powers and foreign capital see, with satisfaction, whatever retards the growth, checks the prosperity, or arrests the progress of this country. Those who wield

that foreign capital, and from experience, that they can employ it to the best advantage, in a disordered state of the currency, and when exchanges are fluctuating and irregular. There are no sections of the Union which need a uniform currency, sound and everywhere convertible into specie, on demand, so much as you at the South and we in the West. It is indispensable to our prosperity. And, if our brethren at the North and East, did not feel the want of it themselves, since it will do them no prejudice, they ought, upon principles of sympathy and mutual accommodation, to concur in supplying what is so essential to the business and industry of other sections of the Union. It is said that the currency and exchanges have improved, are improving, and so they have, and are. This improvement is mainly attributable to the salutary operation of the tariff of 1842, which turned the balance of foreign trade in our favor. But such is the enterprise and buoyancy of our population that we have no security for the continuation of this state of things. The balance of trade may take another direction, new revulsions in trade may take place, seasons of distress and embarrassment we must expect. Does any body believe the local banking system of the United States is competent to meet and provide for these exigencies? It is the part of a wise government to anticipate and provide, as far as possible, for all these contingencies. It is urged against banks that they are often badly and dishonestly administered, and frequently break, to the injury and prejudice of the community. I am far from denying that banks are attended with mischief and some inconvenience, but that is the lot of all human institutions. The employment of steam is often attended with most disastrous consequences, of which we have had recent melancholy examples. But does any body, on that account, think of proposing to discontinue the agency of steam power either on the land or the water? The most that is thought of, is that it becomes our duty to increase vigilance and multiply precautions, against the recurrence of accidents. As to banks, the true question is, whether the sum of the inconvenience of dispensing with them would not be greater than any amount of which they are productive? And, in any new charters that may be granted, we should anxiously endeavor to provide all possible restrictions, securities and guarantees against their mismanagement, which reason or experience may suggest.

Such are my views on the question of establishing a Bank of the United States. They have been long, and honestly, and sincerely entertained by me; but I do not seek to enforce them upon any others. Above all, I do not desire any Bank of the United States, attempted or established, unless, and until, it is imperatively demanded, as I believe demanded it will be, by the opinion of the people. I should have been glad, fellow citizens, if I had time and strength, to make a full exposition of my views and opinions upon all the great measures and questions that divide us, and agitate our country. I should have been happy to have been able to make a full examination of the principles and measures of our opponents, if we could find out what they are, and contrast them with our own. I mean them no disrespect; I would not use one word to wound the feelings of any one of them; but I am really and unaffectedly ignorant of the measures of public policy which they are desirous to promote and establish. I know what they oppose. I know that they stand in direct opposition to every measure which the Whigs espouse; but what are their substitutes? The Whigs believe that the Executive power has during the two last and the present Administrations, been intolerably abused; that it has disturbed the balances of the Constitution; and that, by its encroachments upon the co-ordinate branches of the Government, it has become alarming and dangerous. The Whigs are therefore desirous to restrain it within Constitutional and proper limits. But our opponents, who assume to be emphatically the friends of the people, sustain the Executive in all its wildest and most extravagant excesses. They go for Vetoes, in all their variety; for Sub-Treasuries, standing armies, Treasury Circulars. Occupying a similar ground with the Tories of England, they stand up for power and prerogative against privilege and popular rights. The Democrats or Republicans of 1798-'9, taught by the fatal examples of all history, were jealous and distrustful of Executive power. It was of that department that their fears were excited, and against that their vigilance was directed. The Federalists of that day, imbibing the opinion from the founders of the Constitution, honestly believed that the Executive was the weakest branch of the Government, and hence they were disposed to support and strengthen it. But experience has demonstrated their error, and the best part of them have united with the Whigs. And the Whigs are now in the position of the Republicans of 1798-'9. The residue and probably the larger part of the Federalists joined our opponents, are now in the exact position of the Federalists of 1798-'9, with this difference—that they have shut their eyes against all the lights of experience, and pushed the Federal doctrines of that day far beyond the point to which they were ever carried by their predecessors.

But I am trespassing too long on your patience, and must hasten to a close. I regret that I am too much exhausted, and have not time to discuss other interesting subjects that engage the public attention. I should be very glad to express to you my views on the public domain; but I have often, on the floor of the Senate and on other public occasions, fully exposed them. I consider it the common property of the nation and the whole nation. I believe it to be essential to its preservation and the preservation of the funds which may accrue from its sales, that it should be withdrawn from the theatre of party politics, and from the temptations and abuse, incident to it, while it remains there. I think that fund to be distributed, upon just and liberal principles, among all the States, old as well as new. It that be not done, there is much ground to apprehend, at no very distant period, a total loss of the entire domain. Considering the other abundant and exhaustless resources of the General Government, I think that the proceeds of the sales of the Public Lands may be well spared to the several States, to be applied by them to beneficial local objects. In their hands, judiciously managed, they will lighten the burden of internal taxation, the only form of raising revenue to which they can resort, and assist in the payment of their debts or hasten the completion of important objects, in which the whole Union, as well as themselves, are interested and will be benefited.

On the subject of abolition, I am persuaded it is not necessary to say one word to this enlightened assemblage. My opinion was fully expressed in the Senate of the United States a few years ago, and the expression of it was one of the assigned causes of my not receiving the nomination as a candidate for the Presidency, in December, 1839. But, if there be any one who doubts or desires to obtain further information about my views, in respect to that unfortunate question, I refer him to Mr. Mendenhall, of Richmond, Indiana.

I hope and believe, fellow citizens, that brighter days and better times are approaching. All the exhibitions of popular feeling—all the manifestations of the public wishes—this spontaneous and vast assemblage deceive us, if the scenes and the memorable event of 1840 are not going to be renewed and re-enacted. Our opponents complain of the means which were employed to bring about that event. They attribute their loss of the public confidence to the display of banners, the use of log cabins, the Whig songs, and the exhibition of coons, which preceded the event of '40. How greatly do they deceive themselves! What little knowledge do they display of human nature! All those were the mere jokes of the campaign. The event itself was produced, by a strong, deep, and general conviction pervading all classes, and impressed by a dear bought experience, that a change of both measures and men was indispensable to the welfare of the country. It was a great and irresistible movement of the people. Our opponents were unable to withstand, and were borne down by a popular current, far more powerful than that of the mighty father of waters. The symbols and insignia, of which they complain, no more created or impelled that current than the objects which float upon the bosom of the Mississippi give impetus to the stream. Our opponents profess to be great friends of the poor, and to take a great interest in their welfare, but they do not like the log cabins in which the poor dwell! They dislike their beverage of hard cider. They prefer sparkling champagne, and perhaps their taste is correct, but they ought to reflect that it is not within the poor man's reach. They have a mortal hatred to our unfeeling coons, and would prefer any other quadruped. And, as for our Whig songs, to their ears they appear grating and full of discord, although chanted by the loveliest daughters, and most melodious voices of the land! We are very sorry to disoblige our democratic friends, but I am afraid they will have to reconcile themselves, as well as they can, to our log cabins, hard cider, and Whig songs. Popular excitement, demonstrating a lively interest in the administration of public affairs, is far preferable to a stillness, of sullen gloom, and silent acquiescence, which denotes the existence of despotism, or a state of preparation for its introduction. And we need not be disturbed, if that excitement should sometimes manifest itself, in ludicrous, but innocent forms. But our opponents seem to have short memories. Who commenced that species of display and exhibition of which they now so bitterly complain? Have they already forgotten the circumstances attendant on the campaigns of 1828 and 1832? Have they forgotten the use they made of the hog—the whole hog, bristles and all? Has the scene escaped their recollection, of bursting the heads out of barrels, not of hard cider, but of beer, pouring their contents into ditches, and then drinking the dirty liquor? Do they cease to remember the use which they made of the hickory, of hickory poles, and hickory boughs? On more occasions than one, when it was previously known that I was to pass on a particular road, have I found the way obstructed by hickory boughs, strewn along it. And I will not take up your time by narrating the numerous instances of mean, low and vulgar indignity, to which I have been personally exposed. Our opponents had better exercise a little philosophy on the occasion. They have been our master, in employing symbols and devices to operate upon the passion of the people. And, if they would reflect and philosophize a little, they would arrive at the conclusion, that, whenever an army or a political party achieves a victory over an adversary, by means of any new instrument or strategy, that adversary will be sure, sooner or later, to employ the same means.

I am truly glad to see our opponents returning to a sense of order and decency. I should be still happier, if I did not fear that it was produced by the mortification of a past defeat, and the apprehension of one that awaits them ahead, rather than any thorough reformation of manners. Most certainly, I do not approve of appeals to the passions of the people, or of the use of disgusting or unworthy means to operate on their senses or their understanding. Although I can look and laugh, at the employment of hogs and coons, to influence the exercise of the elective franchise, I should be glad to see them entirely dispensed with. I should greatly prefer to see every free citizen of the United States deliberately considering and determining how he can best promote the honor and prosperity of his country, by the exercise of his inalienable privileges, and coming to the polls unimpaired by all sinister exertions, and there independently depositing his suffrage. I should infinitely prefer to see calumny, falsehood and detraction totally abandoned, and truth, sincerity, honor and good faith alone practiced in all our discussions; and I think I may venture to assure our opponents that, whenever they are prepared to conduct our public discussions and popular elections, in the manner and upon the principles which I have indicated, the Whig Party will be as prompt in following their good example, as they were slow and reluctant to imitate their bad one. The man does not breathe who would be more happy than I should be, to see all parties united, as a band of brothers, to restore our beloved country to what it has been, to what it is so capable of being, to what it ever should be, the great model of self-government, the boast of enlightened and liberal men throughout the world, and, by the justice, wisdom and beneficence of its operation, the terror and the dread of all tyrants. I know and deplore, deeply deplore, the demoralization which has so extensively prevailed in our country, during a few past years. It should be to every man, who has an American heart, a source of the deepest mortification, and most painful regret. Falsehood and treachery, in high places, speculation and fraud among public servants, distress, embarrassment and ruin, among the people, distracted and disheartened at home, and treated with contempt and obloquy abroad, compose the sad features, during the period to which I have adverted of our unfortunate national picture. I should rejoice to see this great country once more itself again, and the history of the past fifteen years shrouded, in a dark and impenetrable veil. And why shall we not see it? We have only to will it, to revive and cultivate the spirit which won for us, and bequeathed to us, the noble heritage which we enjoy; we have only to rally around the institutions and interests of our beloved country, regardless of every other consideration, to break, if necessary, the chains of party, and rise, in the majesty of freedom, and stand out and stand up, firmly resolved to dare all and do all, to preserve, in unsullied purity, and perpetuate unimpaired, the no-

ble inheritance, which is our birth-right, and sealed to us with the blood of our fathers. One word more, fellow-citizens, and I am done. I repeat that I had anticipated much gratification from my visit to your State. I had long anxiously wished to visit it, to tread the soil on which American Independence was first proclaimed; to mingle with the descendants of those who were the first to question the divine right of Kings, and who, themselves, are surpassed by none in devotion to the cause of human liberty, and to the Constitution and the Union, its best securities. Only one circumstance has happened to diminish the satisfaction of my journey. When I left my residence in December, I anticipated the happiness of meeting, among others, your GASTON, then living. I had known him long and well, having served with him more than a quarter of a century ago in the House of Representatives. He united all the qualities which command esteem and admiration—bland, pure, patriotic, eloquent, learned and pious, and was beloved by all who knew him. Whilst we bow in dutiful submission to the will of Divine Providence, who, during the progress of my journey, has called him from his family and from his country, we cannot but feel and deplore the great loss which we have all sustained. I share it largely with you, fellow-citizens, and it is shared by the whole Union. To his bereaved family and to you, I offer assurances of my sincere sympathy and condolence.

We are about, Fellow-citizens, finally to separate. Never again shall I behold this assembled multitude. No more shall I probably ever see the beautiful City of the Oaks. Never more shall I mingle in the delightful circles of its hospitable and accomplished inhabitants. But you will never be forgotten in this heart of mine. My visit to your State is an epoch in my life. I shall carry with me every where, and carry back to my own patriotic State a grateful recollection of the kindness, friendship and hospitality which I have experienced so generously at your hands. And whatever may be my future lot or destiny, in retirement or public station, in health or sickness, in adversity or prosperity, you may count upon me, as an humble but zealous co-operator with you, in all honorable struggles to replace the Government of our Country, once more, upon a solid, pure and patriotic basis. I leave with you, all that is in my power to offer, my fervent prayers that one and all of you may be crowned with the choicest blessings of Heaven, that your days may be lengthened out to the utmost period of human existence, that they may be unclouded, happy and prosperous, and that, when this mortal career shall terminate, you may be translated to a better and brighter world.

Farewell, Fellow-citizens, ladies and gentlemen—an affectionate farewell to all of you!

#### TERMS OF THE WATCHMAN.

Two dollars in advance, and two dollars and fifty cents at the end of the year.  
No subscription received for a less time than one year, unless paid in advance.  
No subscription discontinued (but at the option of the Editors) until all arrears are paid.  
TERMS OF ADVERTISING  
One dollar per square for the first insertion and twenty five cents for each continuance, (printed on fine paper.)  
Court notices and Court orders will be charged 25 per cent. higher than the above rates.  
A deduction of 33 1-3 per cent will be made to those who advertise by the year.  
All advertisements will be continued until forbid and charged for accordingly, unless ordered for a certain number of times.  
Letters addressed to the Editors must come post paid to ensure attention.

#### THE PROPRIETORS

OF THE  
**WATCHMAN OFFICE,**  
J. J. BRUNER & S. W. JAMES.

Respectfully inform the Business Public, that they are now prepared to execute at the shortest notice.

#### LETTER PRESS

#### JOB PRINTING

OF EVERY DESCRIPTION, AND IN THE VERY BEST STYLE.  
Their assortment of TYPE for large Posting-Bills, Blankets and Cards, is perhaps superior to any in the State—and we flatter ourselves that we know as well how to use them as any Printer or Printers in the Southern Country.

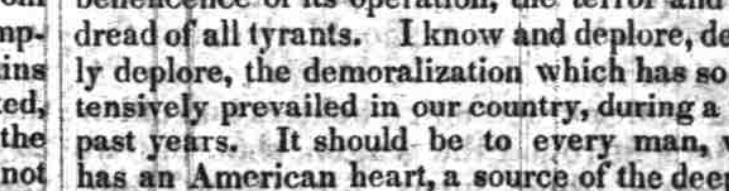
#### BLANKS.

They keep constantly on hand a large and handsome supply of BLANKS of almost every variety used by Sheriffs, Clerks and Constables, (printed on fine paper.)  
—SUCH AS—  
Marrriage Licences, Subpoenas, e. & c. Courts, Ca. Sa. Bonds, Bail, do. Letters Testamentary, Ca. Sas, Excutions for e. & c. Courts, Delivery, do. Warrants, Constable, do. Jurors tickets, e. & c. Courts.

BESIDES OTHER VARIETIES, among WHICH ARE A QUANTITY OF EQUITY BLANKS.  
All orders of Job Printing, or for Blanks, with which they may be favored, shall receive punctual attention; and no effort on their part shall be spared to merit the favor and patronage of the public.

Any BLANKS that they may not have on hand, will be printed to order without delay.

#### COPPER, TIN-PLATE & SHEET



#### IRON WARE MANUFACTORY.

THE SUBSCRIBERS  
Respectfully announce to the public that they continue the above business in all its various branches at the old stand, one door above W. B. Boyette, and opposite Thomas L. Cowart's Brick Row, where they are ever ready to execute all jobs with despatch—Also, constantly on hand a choice supply of WARES, WHICH CONSIST IN PART OF  
Plain Japan, and Britania Wares, Bathing Tubs, Stills and Worms, Brass and Copper Kettles, Stoves and Pipes, and a stock of  
**TIN-PLATE,**  
SHEET COPPER, SHEET IRON, ROD IRON and IRON WIRE.  
Besides a variety of other articles which we deem unnecessary to mention, and which we are disposed to sell as low wholesale or retail as can be afforded.  
J. D. BROWN & Co.  
Salem May 25, 1844.  
N. B. The highest prices will be allowed for old copper and pewter.