

"Ours are the plans of fair delightful peace, unwarp'd by party rage, to live like brothers."

JOSEPH GALE & SON, EDITORS AND PROPRIETORS.

TERMS. Subscription, three dollars per annum—one half in advance. Persons residing without the State will be required to pay the whole amount of the year's subscription in advance. RATES OF ADVERTISING. For every 16 lines (this size type) first insertion one dollar; each subsequent insertion, 25 cents. Court Orders and Judicial Advertisements will be charged 25 per cent. higher; and a deduction of 33 per cent. will be made from the regular prices, for advertisers by the year. Letters to the Editors must be post-paid.

THE GREAT DEBATE.

The controversy between Messrs. CLAY and CALHOUN has excited so much interest, that we give a very full and faithful sketch of it below, taken from the Washington Correspondence of the Baltimore Chronicle.

Rarely has the Senate chamber of the U. States presented a scene of greater and more exciting interest than on this very day. Mr. Calhoun gave notice yesterday, that he should address the Senate at its next meeting; and, as he had thrown down the gauntlet to Mr. Clay, two or three weeks before, and as that gauntlet was on the instant taken up by Mr. Clay, much expectation was excited every where throughout the District (and even in your City it would seem) and, at an early hour, every place, from whence hearing was at all practicable, in and about the Chamber, was densely packed with people of all ages, sexes and conditions.

At one o'clock, the House was obliged to adjourn, not being able to keep a quorum, even by a call of the roll—members coming in and answering to their names, on the call, and immediately leaving the Hall again, for the point of general attraction.

Mr. Calhoun, in commencing, said that he had risen in fulfillment of his promise, on a former day, to settle, in his own good time, his account with Mr. Clay. That Senator's speech, he said, had been as remarkable for its omissions to reply to the stronger parts of his own argument, as it was for its tissue of misstatements and misrepresentations, from beginning to end. And he went into an exposition of some of these alleged misrepresentations in a brief and concise manner. He seemed impatient to come to the personal part of his undertaking.

Arriving at that point, he deprecated personality. Senators were not sent to that chamber, he remarked, to wrangle with each other. They came for a different purpose—to take care of the common weal, and to represent the interests of the States which sent them. He was always averse to, and never would indulge in personality, if he could avoid it.

[I could not help casting back my thoughts upon that day, when, as this very Senator stood in the very place he now occupied, he poured out such a tremendous philippic against Mr. Van Buren—by far the most severe and abusive piece of personality I ever listened to, even in Congress. And that too, against the President of that very body to which he was then addressing himself. How men will forget themselves occasionally!]

Mr. Calhoun then came to the consideration of some of Mr. Clay's charges against him. And first that of having gone over to the enemy. All that had been said by Mr. Clay on that subject, and in regard to his (Mr. Calhoun's) having expected and called for aid from his former allies, he called misrepresentation. He would not designate it as personal abuse, because that the high character of the Senator from Kentucky forbade, nor could he believe that it was done to intimidate him; for that Senator and he had served long and intimately together, and he well knew that [Mr. Calhoun] could not be intimidated. What then was the cause?

Mr. Calhoun expressed great abhorrence of egotism. Yet he must necessarily speak of himself with some particularity upon the present occasion, in self defence. He could find but one plausible solution of this difficulty; the cause of such an attack was, he thought, to be attributed to the fact, that the Senator was unable to answer his arguments and so had striven to create a prejudice against his motives and his character, by way of lessening the effect of those arguments. And it would be the object of the remarks he was about to make, to show that the charges against himself were groundless, as the arguments of the Senator were feeble and inconclusive.

If he should succeed, in the attempt to show that, four years before, his written, recorded, and uttered opinions upon the matter in hand were identically the same as those he now entertained; all the charges as to motive, he contended, must of necessity, fall to the ground. And he asked the Secretary of the Senate to read, in a clear, loud, and distinct voice,—and the Senate to listen attentively to the extracts from his speeches on the Removal of the Deposites. [And Mr. Dickens turned like an index instantly to the passage desired, the whole thing having been arranged beforehand, with much form and circumstantial particularity. Occasionally, Mr. Bedford Brown, one of Mr. Calhoun's former deriders, but now

near neighbor and privy consessor, played the part of reader to the Senator from South Carolina.]

From these extracts he undertook to make out that he had never belonged to the Whig party—that he had changed no one of his opinions, or principles—that now, as then, and then, as now, he was opposed to a National Bank—that as to the "strong box" system, he had not altered a hair, but that it was the question, and the circumstances of the case, that had changed—that he was now as before, opposed to the league of deposit banks—and said, that had his guardian angel whispered him, at that time, (in 1834) that in four years, things would possibly take a very different turn—that it behooved him to be consistent, and act then as thereafter he would wish he had done—he could not have acted with more perfect consistency than he had! And yet the Senator from Kentucky had accused him of inconsistency.

[Mr. Calhoun, elate with the clear demonstration of his perfect consistency, then lifted up his voice, and told Mr. Clay, that thus he should go on, step by step, and demolish his positions, with blows just as decisive and victorious as his last had proved! Mr. Clay nodded his entire assent.]

Mr. Calhoun then adverted to what Mr. Clay had said in relation to the celebrated Edgefield letter, in which Mr. Calhoun had given as a reason for separating from the opposition that the victory must "enure, not to us [the nullifiers] but to our allies [the Whigs.]" Mr. Calhoun presumed that the remarks of the Senator were intended to apply to that letter—and Mr. Clay responded in the affirmative.]

Mr. Calhoun went on. That letter was written to his old friends—his own immediate constituents—and was in reply to an invitation which he could not accept. His object in taking the step indicated in that letter was not to obtain power or place.—His object was more humble, and more honest because it was more humble. It was to save, unharmed and uncompromised, "Our principles." The suspension of specie payments by the banks was an event he had anticipated long before it occurred. Before he came to Washington, at the called session, he was in ignorance of what the administration meant to do. When he saw the Message of the President of the United States, and that it recommended the "Divorce," he did not hesitate an instant as to the course he should pursue—not an instant! The great body of the party with which he had before been acting, in opposition, were marching under the banner of a National Bank. Had he, with his friends, joined that march, what would have been the sure and necessary result but a National Bank? This would have been the very first fruits of such a union. And was he to abandon all his principles—and pursue a course which must inevitably lead to the production of all the evils he had so strenuously opposed? High duties! Illegal appropriations! He—who had been all his life fighting against all these things, as parts of a system, to join in such an attack upon the party in power, proposing the very end, which had ever been also his own aim!—And it was these principles of action that were detailed in the Edgefield letter, a passage from which, in proof, he would be obliged to his friend, Mr. Brown, to read to the Senate for him. [And his friend, Mr. Brown, very cheerfully and eloquently did so!]

This being done, Mr. Calhoun triumphantly demanded [with all the air of one who stands upon the neck of a vanquished foe,] "and now, what becomes of the Senator's charges of lack of patriotism, consistency and purity of motive?" He then went on. The Senator from Kentucky had briefly alluded to his motives; he had charitably left them to time for development. And this to him,—to him—who had stood still, upon his old, long occupied ground—changing in nothing, but finding circumstances changed, so as to make his own principles applicable to that change—for him to be charged with sinister motives! Sir, said he, such imputations, I know must fall; they have already fallen to the dust! I stamp them there! I pick up the impotent dart that has dropped harmless at my feet, and hurl it back at him who threw it!—What that Senator had accused him of, unjustly, was applicable to himself. He had "gone over"—and had not "left it to time to develop his motives!"

[Here Mr. Clay asked Mr. Prontiss for a pinch of snuff.] Mr. Calhoun said that the Senator from Kentucky had formerly awarded to him the characteristic of stern fidelity. That characteristic, he hoped, had not been yet forfeited, if it were ever possessed. That it had been so forfeited in this or in any other case, and if so, how,—it was upon that Senator to show: and to do that, he ventured to assert, would prove an Herculean task. If he ever had exhibited that characteristic, he had adhered to it, and strengthened his title to it in this very instance. He could not select another, in the whole course of his career, which could more fully sustain his character for stern fidelity. He professed to have foreseen all that had occurred, in consequence of the step he had taken—he saw the whole, in its length and breadth—that he should have arrayed against him a strong, perhaps the strongest party in the country; that in favor of banking institu-

tions, as public depositories—that he should be exposed to the very imputations which had, indeed, been heaped upon him—and what grieved him yet more, that he should estrange himself from many of that party with which he had so long been allied—men with whom, side by side, he had been contending, as with brethren, for want of time to explain his motives, so sudden was the advent of the crisis, and so little time was afforded for deliberate decision. But it was the path of duty which opened itself before him, and he boldly trod in it, fearless and regardless of the consequences!

Having made up his mind to take this step, he had been asked (he said) by a friend, if he had not reflected, that perhaps his own State would not go with him upon this question? He had admitted that this was possible. But he would ask pardon of the people of that gallant State, for thus underrating, even for a moment, their intelligence and patriotism! But even had their decision been otherwise, he could not, as their representative, have violated his own conscience and principles.

[If (continued Mr. Calhoun) by the "fidelity" for which the Senator from Kentucky has complimented me, he means fidelity to the party of which he himself is so distinguished a member, my reply is, I never belonged to that party. I owe it no allegiance. True, we have been acting together in a common cause, and he had formed associates and acquaintances, in whom he had found much to admire and to esteem, and whom he should be the last to abandon. He then alluded to the fact that, although acting with the opposition, he nor his State had ever gone for their candidates—and instanced the case of Judge White, and Mr. Clay himself. They had acted together only for particular ends—He owed the party no allegiance—nor owed he allegiance to any thing, but his God and his country!—He belonged to the old Republican party, the maxims and policy of which were well and widely known. He would support all who supported these—and all who opposed them he would oppose!]

Mr. Calhoun then went on to indicate the question at issue, and to promise that in this there was no danger,—that it would triumph, and would be found to work well.—The danger was on the other side, he contended: and the friends of this measure had every thing to hope, and nothing to fear, as the result of their efforts. He then came to what he alleged Mr. Clay had said against his intellectual faculties, upon which to use his precise words, that Senator had made a general attack, and had represented him as possessed of a judgment neither sound nor practical. There was nothing, he contended, of which those possessed of high intellect should be more careful than of indulging in reflections upon those less bountifully gifted. Intellect and judgment were gifts from Providence, and it was not for man to judge his fellow-man harshly for the lack of either. Yet they, who did this, provoked a reply in kind, and critics should not complain, if they, in their turn, are criticised.

Mr. Calhoun said that he could not retort upon the Senator from Kentucky the epithet "metaphysical," which that Senator had preferred, as a reflection on himself. He could not award to him the possession of those higher qualities of mind, the power of generalization, and, as it were, of chemical analysis, which they, who do not possess them, and who envy those who do, are wont to denominate "metaphysical." It was the absence of these very qualities (he contended) which had, in a remarkable manner, characterized the whole public course of the Senator from Kentucky. That Senator had ever seemed to prefer the specious to the solid—the plausible to the true. And thus it happened that he was always mounted upon some favorite measure, which he would ride till dismounted by the popular voice: it was the fault of the Senator's mind,—his characteristic failing. Thus, in the case of the National Bank. He was able to see, as the consequence of that measure, the advantages of a settled, and well regulated currency, but overlooked the fact, that such an institution and the government must inevitably run together, and tend to each other's consolidation.

As to the defects of his mind, it was not for himself, but for others, (said Mr. Calhoun,) to dwell upon them. The divine author of all things had endowed him with such intellectual gifts as he had seen fit,—and such as they were,—he was well content with them. He would be judged by his TWENTY-SEVEN YEARS OF PUBLIC SERVICE,—during which he had participated in the discussion of almost all the prominent questions of public policy that had arisen—and upon them had expressed his opinions freely, and had acted on those opinions.—[And here he went into a sketchy history of the most prominent incidents in his political career; his advocacy of the Navy, in the time of Mr. Madison, his opposition to the restrictive measures of a subsequent period, and afterwards to the celebrated bank of Mr. Dallas,—his conduct in the War Department, which was better managed, he contended, by him, than it had been before, or has been since,—his Vice Presidency and Presidency of the Senate, and then, his State Rights, or Nullification career.] His conduct in all these positions, whatever was now said of it, he would fearlessly leave to

be judged of by posterity—fearless of the verdict that after times would render.

He trusted that he had now fully cancelled the debt due the Senator from Kentucky, and which he had promised, in his own good time, to discharge, defensive throughout; and thus, if this struggle were destined to go on, he should continue to act. He should be as ready, hereafter, as he had now shown himself to be, to meet and to repel any attack, come whence it may.

Mr. Clay rose immediately. Indisposition, under which he had labored for some time, would have prevented him from taking his seat to-day, (he said) but that the interesting occasion seemed to demand his attendance, at almost any sacrifice. But even as it was, (he continued,) he did not ask for two or three weeks delay, to prepare himself to reply to any speech which the Senator from South Carolina, who had just resumed his seat, might see fit to make, for his own particular benefit. He came to this contest, self cased and self protected, and fearless of the result.

[Mr. Clay was alluding to some of the opening remarks of Mr. Calhoun as to the omissions in his speech. Presuming that the Senator referred to the printed report of that speech, he was about to show that there were no such omissions, when

Mr. Calhoun rose and said, that his allusion was to the omissions of the Senator from Kentucky, in the speech itself, as delivered—omissions to answer parts of his own arguments.

Mr. Clay remarked that he had given way for once, for an explanation. He should not do it again. He had refrained from interrupting the Senator from South Carolina, throughout his remarks. That Senator would have an opportunity of replying hereafter, if he chose.

Such as that report was (said Mr. Clay) it was a correct report of his remarks. He would never deny any thing that it contained.

The Senator from (S. C.) said Mr. Clay had not been satisfied with alleging that I omitted to reply to his arguments, but has also accused me of being inexplicit in my replies to those, I did undertake to answer. [Mr. Clay then recapitulated some portions of what, upon a former day he had said,—by way of disproof of these allegations: and having shown, as before, some of Mr. Calhoun's inconsistencies, he borrowed from that Senator an expression, which he thus happily applied:] "These inconsistencies arise Mr. President, out of 'the peculiar construction of the Senator's mind.'—he is too apt to confound expediency with constitutionality." [And after showing that the bill itself under consideration embodied the very principle, which, as being comprised in the Deposit Bank system of Mr. Rives, was repudiated by Mr. Calhoun, as unconstitutional, Mr. Clay remarked:] "Thus his thunder is always right—that of others, always wrong." He then went on to show, from the same speech of 1834, already so often quoted, (and read so loudly and clearly, by Messrs. Dickens and Brown of the Senate,) that at that time, Mr. Calhoun was decidedly opposed to the "strong box" system, which he was now zealously advocating.

But both the arguments of the Senator, and himself, (he said,) were before the Senate and the world. It was vain to retrace the arguments already gone over, so extensively. There they were before the world. Whatever was in his own, had been deliberately put there, and he was willing to abide by it.

As to the personal part of the speech of the Senator from South Carolina, Mr. Clay remarked, that no man was more averse than himself to personal controversies; and he would refer, fearlessly, to his long public course, in proof of this. The duty he had felt himself called upon to perform with regard to the Senator from South Carolina, was one of the most painful of his life. He had served with him for many years; had admired his genius, and respected his talents. Even after the extraordinary summer he had made, at the Extra session, he (Mr. Clay) had defended his motives against the severe attacks of others. But when he had seen this letter, (holding it up) he had been compelled, very reluctantly, to think differently of that Senator from what he had endeavored to think.—When he had read such avowals, such unmerited reproaches heaped upon those, with whom that Senator had been acting so lately, he could not but think of those avowals,—as he would not, in that place speak. And he had, in view of those reproaches been compelled, from a deep and solemn sense of duty, to say what he did. A man so distinguished in the public eyes as the Senator from South Carolina,—the writer of that letter,—was not to hope that he could be permitted thus to cut in and out, to balance and chasser, among parties and principles, without animadversion.

And what says he, (asked Mr. Clay,) in this celebrated letter, dated Fort Hill, Nov. 3d, 1837? That though he had been acting with us for years, "in our patriotism and wisdom he had no reason to confide!" And is he to expect that he will be permitted to place himself in the defensive, after the promulgation of such opinions as these, of us? No longer ago than when he was addressing the Senate upon this bill, did he not say that it was unpatriotic not to support this measure? And yet he would

not be considered as acting only on the defensive!

Mr. Clay then alluded to that part of "the Edgefield Letter, in which the Tariff Compromise was attributed to "State interposition."—that is, (said Mr. Clay,) to Nullification. And can the Senator [said he,] knowing what he knows, and what I know, too, assert such an opinion as that, here?—He then went on say, that in the commencement of the session of 1832, he had seen that the American System,—so much derided, he knew not why, except that it was the American System,—was threatened with destruction, by the broad flood of Jacksonism, which was then beginning to sweep over the land;—and he saw that the only way to save the manufacturing interest of the country, was to procure an allowance to them of some years. He feared no Nullification; by no means! No more than a regiment of grenadiers, six feet high, might fear a mimic army of boys, armed with their wooden guns, and decked with tall plumes and gaudy array. And he could not but remember, in that connection, an anecdote, which, but for this passage in the letter of the Senator, he would not have alluded to. At the time of the Tariff contest, when the Senator from South Carolina was coming daily to the Capitol, with haggard countenance, deeply interested in this exciting controversy, a friend [Mr. Clayton, of Delaware,] alluding to the threatened consequences of an outbreak in South Carolina, had said to him, (Mr. Clay,) that "it would be a pity to let such a clever set of fellows be hanged by Old Jackson!" [Laugh, from all the audience but two or three Senators.]

Nullification! continued Mr. Clay,—and this, it was probably to be presumed, was yet another instance of the great discrimination and metaphysical power of analysis, so highly boasted by the Senator from South Carolina. No! the proposition which he (Mr. Clay,) had offered, for compromise, was not made, for fear of Nullification; but from a regard to the interest of Manufactures. And that principle of protection, (which in the 'Edgefield letter' is repudiated) Mr. Clay showed, pervaded the whole of that very bill, from beginning to end, which the author of that letter had, in 1832, supported.

How, then, could the Senator, in that letter, have attributed the effecting of the compromise to "State interposition?" [Mr. Clay went on to show that, like other prophets, Mr. Calhoun was wonderfully accurate in describing what had happened—and to prove the general fallacy of the deductions, contained in the letter alluded to.]

Mr. Clay then proceeded. But the Senator from South Carolina says that he has left no party and joined no party! No! None! He votes, and counsels, and associates, and allies himself, with the opposite side from that on which he has been hitherto acting, and then taxes our credulity by asserting that all the world has changed, while he stood firm. And what are some of the reasons for this change contained in this Edgefield letter? One is that the party he had left, were in favor of a National Bank. And so has the Senator himself been, 24 out of the 27 years, which he tells us, he has been in public! And a high tariff, too! Now on which side is there, he would ask the Senator, the most danger of a high tariff? On the side of his old allies, or on that of the new ones? The Senator has always contended for a strict adherence to the Compromise Act. How often had he been heard to say, upon that floor, that his side in that compromise was the weaker side, and that their safety was in the strict and faithful observance of that act? It had so happened that, at the last session, there had been a test vote upon this very question when all the opposition, (excepting Judge White, who was in favor of the principle, but could not go for the resolution, for special and peculiar reasons,) were found to be unanimously in favor of the Compromise, while the friends of the Administration, (the Senator's new allies,) were opposed to that principle. [And he read the vote alluded to, with the Yeas and Nays. And showed by other data, that Mr. Van Buren was also in favor of relinquishing that principle.] And so the Senator from South Carolina, friendly to the Compromise, leaves the party which sustains it, and goes over to a party which, he knows, would no more hesitate to-morrow, to lay a high tariff, if it could aid to keep them in power, than they have ever hitherto done, in regard to any measure, calculated to produce that result.

Mr. Clay then alluded to that part of the "Edgefield letter," in which the writer had said the "victory was to enure to the benefit of the Senator's allies and cause,"—that is, to the Whigs, if he and his party should still adhere to those "allies." And this is the Senator, [said Mr. Clay,] who speaks with such complaisance and satisfaction of the uniform disinterestedness of his public course! The objection is that he was apprehensive his party would be absorbed by ours! And so he goes over to what he had hitherto denounced "the spoils party," either to absorb, or to be absorbed by, that party! Thus it would seem, that let the Senator turn which way he might, that absorption was his inevitable fate!

And now, [continued Mr. Clay,] does the Senator from South Carolina expect to make such charges as these, in a published letter, with regard to myself and to the friends who act with me, without reply or animadversion? Sir, I choose to animadvert upon these remarks, and while doing so, I do it under all the responsibility which such animadversion imposes upon me. The letter in question goes on to treat of the "entire union of the South"—a phrase, of the meaning of which Mr. Clay would be most happy to be informed. What was the political geography, [he would like to be informed,] of the gentleman? He was afraid that, if fairly ascertained, it would be found to include only South Carolina, perhaps only "Fort Hill" itself, in the term "the South."

Mr. Clay then came to the imputation thrown out by Mr. Calhoun, as to his having gone over, and not having left his motives to time to disclose, &c. If that Senator meant to revive the exploded slander of George Kremer, about a bargain with Mr. Adams—if he could find in that rent banner any thing with which to cover up his own nakedness, in this argument, he was welcome to all the use he could make of it. (And here, Mr. Clay ably confuted (by an appeal to facts, before, at that time, and since,) this shallow allusion of Mr. Calhoun.)

The Senator, (Mr. Calhoun,) thinks it to be my misfortune, (said Mr. Clay,) that I am ever riding a hobby. That Senator's fault is Mr. President, that he does not stick long enough to any one hobby, but is always changing them, as post-boys do very gay horses, without riding either any very great distance. For himself, Mr. Clay could say, that he never changed his sentiments upon any public measure, but one; and that was 22 years ago,—as to the power of Congress, constitutionally, to establish a Bank of the United States. He changed his views on that point, at the same time with Mr. Madison, when the necessity of the cause, as well as its constitutionality, were perfectly demonstrated.

But the Senator from South Carolina does not stick long to his hobby. He was a friend of a Bank of the United States in 1815,—nay, the author of one! And never expressing, all the time, a doubt of its Constitutionality. And so again, in 1834, when he was in favor of the extension of its charter for 12 years. No matter with how many qualifications the Senator might surround his advocacy of such an institution, he had advocated it,—and strenuously.

No sir! He changes his hobby too often! He was in favor of the Protective system in 1816—but, mounting his favorite "hobby" of Nullification, he discovered that the system is altogether unconstitutional! And thus, in former days, he has been a main advocate of Internal Improvement, and projected, as is well known, a splendid line of such improvements, to pervade the whole country. Where is he now, upon this point?

But the Senator does not ride his hobbies long enough! We are anxious to reduce Executive patronage. That Senator, judging from his speeches, here, was as strenuously bent upon this result as any Senator, if not more so. And now we find him going over to the very party he had thus been so long condemning: and was sustaining the very measure by which, it was now conceded, that party must sink or swim! A measure which, if adopted, would give to the Administration a vast accession of Executive power,—and would place the whole money power of the country at the feet of the Executive.

Mr. President, continued Mr. Clay, when the Senator from South Carolina undertakes to prove himself consistent, he does indeed assume a Herculean task, vast and stupendous as his intellectual abilities are. The Secretary of the Senate might read, "in a loud and clear voice," and the Senate might "listen carefully and attentively," to all the speeches of that Senator from 1816 to the present day, and yet that task will remain unperformed. The Senator would never be consistent, [he hoped to be excused for saying,] until he should profess to be inconsistent.

The Senator had allowed himself to use epithets which were not very usual in deliberative bodies. He would not repeat those epithets; but would content himself with expressing to that Senator his most perfect reciprocity, as to the application of any of all of them.

The Senator has undertaken to rally his party upon the Bill under consideration—and had promised them that its adoption would settle the whole question, and produce quiet and prosperity, once more.

But let not the Senator "lay that flattering unction to his soul." The people of this country were too enlightened to sanction the attainment of such ends, by such means and by such majorities. The principle upon which the Bill would be passed, if passed at all, would be in spite of the people's will,—their declared will,—the substitution of the will of the Senate for that of the people—and this would be most clearly demonstrated, when these unfaithful servants shall return to their constituents to receive the award at their hands which their public actions had won for them.

I have thus given you a rapid but tolerably faithful sketch of this combat between the South Carolinian and Kentuckian. I have done it hastily, because I was desirous to lay it speedily before your readers.