

From the National Intelligencer.  
**THE COMPROMISE ACT.**

Our opponents, having become satisfied that the American people are determined to support their own interests by extending protection to home industry, are using "might and main" to make a tariff man of Mr. Polk in the Tariff States, at the same time unfairly and falsely accusing Mr. Clay of having shamefully abandoned protection to American industry by his compromise act. This will not avail them: facts are stubborn things, and old documents too.—Mr. Polk is a cotton grower himself, and has always sustained interests allied to his; has never voted for an increase, but always for a diminution of duties, and Verplanck's bill, before alluded to, will stick to him like the shirt of Nessus. His friends in Pennsylvania have succeeded in frightening him into an acknowledgement of a willingness to go for a duty of 20 per cent., (horizontal) established, he says by the compromise act. Now, as that act established no such thing, and as they have aimed a vital blow at the great father of the American system in asserting that he abandoned it, it may not be time misspent to review the history of that act, at least so far as to examine what the views were of those of all parties who were engaged in its establishment. I am aware that this subject has been ably discussed, and a clear history lately given it, by the Hon. John M. Clayton, of Delaware, who was himself one of the principal agents in its arrangements, and who nobly stood by Mr. Clay in that dark hour when foes were rallying and friends were falling off; when the political firmament grew blacker, and the small number of true patriots who were gathered around their leader stood in hourly dread of the bursting of the storm, which would have convulsed our beloved country, and from which probably it would never have recovered. South Carolina had, by her ordinances, decreed that no revenue should be collected within her borders; that all the acts of Congress upon that subject were null and void; declared her determination to resist their execution, and required all her officers to take an oath to enforce her ordinance; in view of this the President had ordered instructions, which were given by the proper departments, to proceed to collect such revenue, and a sufficient military and naval force was ordered to South Carolina to ensure obedience. This was the attitude of the parties; a bill was brought forward by Mr. Verplanck to reduce the duties, an illustration of the character of which bill has been given before. At this juncture, to avoid giving way too much, as would have been done by this bill, and on the other hand of the law deemed to be so oppressive, and to be attended by such consequences in its execution, Mr. Clay introduced his celebrated compromise act. As to his understanding of this, let him speak himself: "When I survey, sir, the whole face of our country, I behold all around me evidences of the most gratifying prosperity; a prospect which would seem to be without a cloud upon it, were it not that through all parts of the country there exist great dimensions and unhappy distinctions, which, if they can possibly be relieved and reconciled by any broad scheme of legislation adapted to all interests, and regarding the feelings of all sections, ought to be quieted; and leading to which object any measure ought to be well received." "My first object looks to the tariff." "If it should even be preserved during this session, it must fall at the next session." "Again, having read the third section of the bill, he says: "Until otherwise directed, and in default of provision being made for the wants of the Government in 1842, a rule was thus provided for the rate of duties thereafter; Congress being in the time authorized to adopt any other rule which the exigencies of the country or its financial condition might require. That is to say, if, instead of the duty of 20 per cent., proposed, 15 or 17 per cent. of duty was sufficient, or 25 per cent. should be found necessary to produce a revenue to defray the expenses of an economical administration of the Government, there was nothing to prevent either of those rates or any other from being fixed upon, whilst the rate of 20 per cent. was introduced to guard against any failure on the part of Congress to make the requisite provision in due season." "This section of the bill contained also another clause, suggested by that spirit of harmony and conciliation which he prayed might preside over the councils of the Union at this trying moment. It provided (what those persons who are engaged in manufactures have so long anxiously required for their security) that duties shall be paid in ready money." Having read the fourth section, he said that one of the considerations strongly urged for a reduction of the tariff at this time was, that the Government was likely to be placed in a dilemma by having an overflowing revenue, and this apprehension was the ground of an attempt totally to change the protective policy of the country. The section which he had read was an effort, he said, to guard against this evil by relieving altogether from duty a portion of the articles of import now subject to it." "Is another part of the debate he said: "The object of the measure was to conciliate conflicting interests and to preserve the manufacturer till that period." "He was inclined to think that at that time (1842) specific duties would in certain cases be found necessary. In the original draught in his

bill he had left cotton free after the year 1842, and, in doing this, his object was to get the South to adopt a system that would be beneficial to all." "Again: "He had cherished this system (protection to home industry) as a favorite child, and he still clung to it, and should still cling to it. Why had he been reproached? He had come to the child, and found it in the hands of the Philistines, who were desirous to destroy it.—He wished to save and cherish it, and to find for it better and safer nurses. He did not wish to employ the sword, but to effect his object by concession and conciliation." "What say others of that distinguished Senate on this subject, without regard to party—for this was a time in which patriotism rose superior to all other considerations, and happily impelled those who held the destinies of our country at their disposal to the adoption of pacific measures. Mr. SMITH, of Maryland, said: "In this bill there was nothing but protection from beginning to end." Mr. CALHOUN said: "Entirely approving of the object for which this bill was introduced, he should give his vote in favor of the motion for leave to introduce it. He who loves the Union must desire to see this agitating question brought to a termination." "The general principles of this bill received his approbation." "But he looked upon these minor points of difference as points in the settlement of which no difficulty would occur, when gentlemen met together in that spirit of mutual compromise which he doubted not would be brought into their deliberations, without at all yielding the constitutional question as to the right of protection." "It was not his wish that there should be a feeling of victory on either side." Mr. BELL, of New Hampshire, said: "Much as I desire to see harmony and fraternal feelings between the different sections of our country restored, I would not purchase it by a surrender of the principle of protection, or by the prostration of any one of the important interests of our country. I do not believe that either can result from the passage of this bill." Mr. SPRAGUE, of Maine, gave his opinion as follows: "It has been vehemently urged that this bill abandons the principle of protection and impairs the constitutional powers of the Government of that principle, it is preserved throughout, and in every section provides for cash duties and home valuation, with a view to protection." Mr. EWING, of Ohio, asked: "Does this bill abandon this principle of protection? Satisfy me that it does, and no consideration will induce me to yield it my assent. But, sir, no idea can be more erroneous. Even after the year 1842, when all the proposed reductions of articles, nearly one hundred in number, introduced duty free for the express object of protecting and sustaining the manufactures of our country." "So far, then, from the principle of protection being yielded by this bill, it is distinctly recognized." The Senator from Georgia, Mr. FOZVICK, regarded it, "confessedly a bill of protection (protection its great and only end) for nine years;" he voted for the bill as a "compromise." The Senator from North Carolina, Mr. MANNING, asked: "does any one wish to see a sudden and total destruction of manufactures by a single blow? This bill kept them alive for ten years, and after that time will enable all honest pursuits to live and thrive. The honorable gentleman (alluding to Mr. Dallas, of Pennsylvania, one of its most violent opponents, as abandoning protection) seemed to suppose that the bill derived its origin from some sudden and great panic in the public mind. It becomes not me (said Mr. M.) to trace the motives of those who brought forward this measure, but I have no doubt that they are in an eminent degree honorable. He felt deep gratitude to those who had come to those who had come to our deliverance in the hour of our deepest gloom, when we saw no light save the sparkles which gleamed from the steel of the enemy. If I were tenfold more ambitious than I am, I would not desire more glory than he has who restores peace to an empire like this. His laurels will grow green, and be forever cherished by a grateful people." Mr. CLAYTON, of Delaware, "agreed with the Senator from South Carolina (Mr. Calhoun) that in this bill there is no abandonment of principle on either side; and I again say (he continued) that 20 per cent. is not an adequate protection, and that the time will come when gentlemen will find it to their own interest to take up this tariff and make the protection sufficient. Every civilized nation on earth has found it indispensable to her interest to protect her own industry by commercial regulations. England, the most civilized of all, has found in her interest to adopt the very principle of the amendment, (home valuation.) France, and even Turkey, have done the same." "If Southern gentlemen will not accept this measure in the spirit in which it was tendered, I have no reason to vote for it." "The protective system never can be abandoned and I, for one, will not now or at any time admit the idea." "I said I would go for this bill only for the sake of concession. The Senator from South Carolina (Mr. Calhoun) can tell whether it is likely to be received as such, and to attain the object proposed; if not, I have a plain course to pursue. I am opposed to the bill. Unless I can obtain from the manufacturers the assurance that the principle of the bill will not be disturbed, and that it will be received in the light of a

concession, I shall oppose it." The present head of the Treasury (Mr. BABB, of Kentucky) "regarded the bill as a peace-offering; so offered and so accepted for the purpose of conciliation—"

"Now is the winter of our discontent—  
"Made glorious summer by the son of—  
not of Old New York, but a son of the Old Dominion, from the *Slashes of Hanover*; he did not care by what hand it was offered, he would willingly take it."

Thus we see this bill offered and accepted as a peace offering—taken by the South as a concession from the stronger to the weaker; as a means of relief, saving them from the necessity (which, as brave men, they would have been under of maintaining the ground they had taken, and which must have eventuated in disunion; for it must be before in mind that there is no mode by which a State may peaceably withdraw from the Union. The Government being made by a surrender, by the people, of their sovereignty finally to the Government created by them—being clothed by them with certain powers and certain ones reserved to the States, these latter being such as have not been given to the General Government, and the power to "lay and collect taxes, duties, imposts, and excises" having been expressly given to the former, it must be obvious to every sensible person that the attempt on the part of South Carolina must have led to civil war, revolution, and anarchy. To avoid this dreadful calamity, Mr. Clay and his friends offered their bill—no principle being abandoned, but its maintenance intended for; the preservation of the principle of protection avowed on their part, and acknowledged as preserved by Mr. Calhoun and his friends. By some, to be sure, the opinion was expressed that there was abandoned; amongst these, none were so violent as the present nominee (Mr. Dallas) for the Vice Presidency of the Locofoco party, who styled it a "disgraceful abandonment of the principle of protection," and calculated to bring ruin on his State, and sealed his opinion by his vote against its passage; he was for "war to the knife, and the knife to the hilt." That Gen. Jackson would have proceeded to have executed the laws, no one who knew his temper would doubt, and the record will show what arrangements had been made with that view. Was this not a time to hesitate, to see if no arrangement could be made to avoid the shedding of a brother's blood? Was this the last resort of kings to be taken in a republic founded on mutual concession for general good? No, the true path of patriotism was open, and was boldly trod by the man to whom this was not altogether new. It was the true path of patriotism, which manifested on the Missouri question, and by a similar course. With his proverbial disregard of personal consequences, amidst foes opposing and friends deserting, he saw his duty to his country before him and performed it. It was not without regret that he felt himself bound to differ with many, and his remarks are so touching so handsome that I will quote them, at the risk of being thought tedious. Speaking of a distinguished friend of the tariff, to whom he found himself opposed on this occasion, he said: "I have not a particle of doubt as to the pure and elevated motives which actuate him. Under these circumstances, it gives me deep and lasting regret to find myself compelled to differ from him as to a measure involving vital interest, and perhaps the safety of the Union. On the other hand, I derive great consolation from finding myself, on this occasion, in the midst of friends with whom I have long acted in peace and in war and especially with the honorable Senator from Maine (Mr. Holmes), with whom I had the happiness to unite in a memorable instance. It was in this very chamber, that Senator presiding in the committee of the Senate and I in the committee of twenty-four of the House of Representatives, on a Sabbath day, that the terms were adjusted by which the compromise was effected of the Missouri question. Then the dark clouds that hung over our beloved country were dispersed, and the thunders from others, not less threatening, and which have been longer accumulating, will, I hope, roll over us harmless, and without injury." "This bill was passed by a vote of 29 to 16; was no party vote, but was offered by Mr. Clay and received by the South as a healing measure—a settlement of difficulties by compromise; in his own language, to "save the country, save the Union, and save the American system." Have the evils occurred which were predicted in consequence of its passage? By none was it denounced so severely as Mr. Dallas. We see the country prospering under the influence of the tariff of 1842. This Mr. Clay predicted would be established, and only to provide for a failure on the part of Congress to make such protection at the proper time, he established the rate of 20 per cent., which, with the home valuation, if fairly applied, made it equal to from 26 to 30 per cent., and would have protected American interests.

SCAEVOLA.

SENATORIAL VACANCY.

The lamented death of Mr. Sanders leaves a vacancy which will greatly interest the Democratic missionaries.—The Johnson people may look out for an irruption of oratorical Goths and Vandals from our City, who have a precious concern for the political interests of that feeble folk. Being beheaded heathens in politics, the

land is destined to be a grand field for missionary labors. Those two gentlemen whose efforts were so conspicuous, and so eminently successful as Democratic missionaries a few weeks ago, will scarcely renew their efforts. But the party will now bring out their big guns—their baby-wakers—their Brigadiers. We shall see them nankens streaking it down to Kirby's and O'Neal's; *pre kaps to Coonsboro*. They will be greasy enough before they reach the Meadow. At Stevens, they will *smoke and fry*, and no mistake. The State Treasurer, that ominous man, will do some tall croaking. The powerful efforts of "the gentleman who has a negro quarter" down there, will also be made to tell. He is specially great upon "shaving shops and swindling shops," and a caution to "Bank robbers;" great also is he in exemplifying how the Tariff taxes the poor; as for instance, on his own looking glass, which would have cost only \$100 under the old Tariff, but which actually cost \$130 under the new. Therefore poor people are taxed *amazing*. Let the good people of Johnston make up their minds for large doses of foreign physic; good gilded Democratic pills, fresh from the Capitol. They have to be physicked; so they may as well make no wry faces, but take it. There is on hand here, a good supply of holy Amos's tracts, from No. 1 to No. 12 inclusive. The Post Master in Smithfield, will have large quantities sent to him to distribute. They will work wonders. Admirably calculated to scare weak sisters with omens, signs and wonders. Johnston is to be the battle ground. The freemen of that County will say—"Let the war come! We are ready. We know our own rights, and dare to maintain them. We seek no foreign aid, and least of all, such aid as they would give us."—*Clarion*.

Correspondence of the Whig Standard.  
**THE GREAT MASS CONVENTION  
AT NASHVILLE.**

NASHVILLE, TENN., Aug. 22, 1844.  
MY DEAR SIR: You will be a little surprised to receive a letter from me dated at this place. I came, of course, to witness the Young Men's Mass Convention, with a few friends, from the Upper Mississippi, and it was indeed "A MONSTER MEETING." The city of Baltimore was once famed for the splendor of her civic and military processions; but no exhibition of the kind, in her palmiest days, surpassed this of the noble Whig youths of Tennessee. The operation of the mechanic arts was carried on beautifully; the press throwing off perfectly printed forms, and the looms its magnificent pageant would be worse than foolish for I have neither the time nor the talent; and I sincerely deplore my utter incapacity to give you even a faint idea of the great beauty and sublime effect of the part which the ladies, God bless them, so gallantly bore—I say gallantly, for they bore aloft, on satin banners, fine and chaste and lovely as themselves, and white as the driven snow, the full array of all the States of this grand confederacy. Twenty-six open carriages, drawn by fifty-two horses, bowing the neck and champing the bit, were crowded with passengers, the noble matrons and pretty maidens of this beautiful land. The meeting of the clans, all in their own fancied costume, armed to the teeth, was grand and sublime in a high degree. The people are here, truly *en masse*—the hearty voters, the hard-fisted bone and sinew, the genuine hardy yeomanry of the republic. After "the three days" of Tennessee, who will doubt its perpetuity. Every county is here represented. They appear to have come in battalions, in companies, in platoons, two deep and singly, solitary and alone.—Of all things pleasing to the sight, (except the dear ladies) the company from Robinson took my eye. Coming in, almost the first from the county, ascending a sharp grade around the beautiful diamond square of Nashville, astonishing even the natives. I addressed the captain, a tall, straight, old revolutionary looking man, asking him from whence he came, and the number of his troops. From old Robinson, he promptly replied: "a leetle over four hundred, and left boys enough behind to strip the fodder." These nubby-hill coon hunters, so called, are dressed in neatly trimmed hunting shirts of the common aronetta dye, and apparently dipped in the same kettle. The head gear is ludicrous enough—consisting of white three-cornered cocked hats of the true seventy six stamp, and seemingly casually "knocked" into that fashion. The accoutrements are efficient and formidable, some of them fearful, and in hands that might prove dangerous to the enemy. All at once, and suddenly, the welkin was filled with an awful sound, appalling to the soul, and louder than the blast of Robin Hood's horn in the hands of Wamba, the merry jester. Only think! such a sound from four hundred great bullocks horns, hung to the sides of the Coon Hunters of the Nubby Ridge.

I have always been a little skeptical about the achievement of the rams' horns, but now no longer. If these are not the same horns, the martial blasts are, most assuredly, the same that knocked down the walls of Jericho. There are innumerable other companies yet, deserving of a better account. Gov. Jones's county poured forth 2,700 of her spirited Whig population, and Maury

county a proportional force. This is Mr. Polk's own. A mass meeting is to come off at his residence (Columbia) in a few days. Mr. Clay once made a visit to this city when it was said he came to beard the old Lion in his den, and now they say these mischievous Whigs are going to beard his young Jackall. Mr. Prentiss, in his brilliant speech of yesterday, drew this comparison between the parties litigant. Hon. Mr. Rayner and Hon. Mr. Clingman, from the old North State, spoke yesterday. Mr. Randall Hunt, from New Orleans, speaks to day, and others to morrow. The Hon. Messrs. Preston, of S. C., and Crittenden, of Kentucky, did not come. The latter was prevented by the sudden death of his wife's mother, just upon the eve of his departure.

It is admitted by some of the honest Locofocos here that their procession, all counted, did not amount to more than 3,700, the Whigs to more than double that number—8,500 carefully polled and fifty thousand on the ground. There was one fete, however, a most happy conceit, in which the Locofocos beat out all the coon fooleries of which they complain. There appeared in the grand parade about 80 men, looking like filthy paupers, all in fancy costume slashed to rags, some of them in women's garb—all personating, as they say, Henry Clay's suffering land pirates and squatters—poor wretches, driven from their claims upon the public lands by that hard-hearted critter, Henry Clay.

The Locofocos affect to believe all this, and heaven help their digestive organs if they can swallow a monstrosity so abhorrent to the feelings of every honorable man. Than this noble State of Tennessee, rest assured there is not one more O. K.

**THE VALUE OF THE MANUFACTURING  
TO THE AGRICULTURAL STATES.**

FROM THE NORFOLK HERALD.  
In an article in our last paper we stated that Virginia shipped to the Northern States during the first year after the "black tariff" upwards of 116,000 barrels of flour, being 48,000 more than she shipped to all the world besides in the same year. We did not perceive till it was too late to make the alteration that these shipments were from James river alone; of the number of barrels of Virginia flour shipped to the northern parts of the United States or to foreign countries from the Rappahannock and Potomac we have no account. The quantity shipped from these rivers would, however, increase the proportion in favor of the shipments to the North very considerably. We also stated that there was annually shipped from the port of Norfolk alone nearly a million of bushels of corn. For this statement we have good authority; there are some six or eight of our merchants who ship corn to the North, and we know of one house which has shipped during the last twelve months to the New England ports upwards of three hundred thousand bushels. Verily this does not look much like a "grinding oppression of the South." It is more like a "grinding" of southern wheat and an "oppression" of the northern market with southern corn! But, to be serious, what are the "burdens" of the protective tariff on the South in comparison with the ability to bear them which the South receives from that measure? Less than nothing. Strike down the manufactures of the North—destroy the home market—and where will the Virginia farmer find purchasers for his surplus produce? Not in England; for although we would be compelled to buy her manufactures, she would not, so long as she could supply her own wants, permit it to be brought into competition in her market with the productions of her own farmers. Not in other countries, for they all cultivate the soil while they protect their farming and manufacturing industry, and are independent of us "for their victuals and clothes." The home market, after all, is the best market in the world, and we should never give it up for the false policy of free trade, which is anti-American in its length, breadth, height, and depth. It was the doctrine of the Federalists, from Alexander Hamilton down to James K. Polk, and has been resisted by the Republican party, and by Henry Clay from the time he entered into public life up to the present moment.

Extract of a letter dated  
New York, September 3, 1844.  
I attended a great Whig meeting the other night, which was so large that they had to adjourn to the street. Speeches were delivered by Reverdy Johnson and other Southern gentlemen, and the utmost enthusiasm prevailed. At every mention of CLAY's name, even incidentally, the most deafening huzzas went up from thousands. There is no more doubt of the Whigs carrying the State of New York, than of their success in Massachusetts or Kentucky. The Locofocos will not be straws on the result. The vote of Pennsylvania is looked upon as equally certain for Clay. The price of North Carolina is in every Whig's mouth, and I find that even the Merchants and Traders prefer customers in the Old North to almost any other State, because they say she never repudiates, or cuts capers of any kind.—*Salvage Register*.