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TEXAS.

H. CLAY'S SIX MANIFESTOES.

MANIFESTO I.

To the Editors of the National Intelligencer.

RALEIGH, April 17, 1844.

Gentlemen:—Subsequent to my departure from Ashland, in December last, I received various communications from popular assemblages and private individuals, requesting an expression of my opinion upon the question of the Annexation of Texas to the United States. I have forborne to reply to them, because it was not very convenient, during the progress of my journey, to do so, and for other reasons: I did not think it proper, unnecessarily, to introduce at present a new element among the other exciting subjects which agitate and engross the public mind. The rejection of the overture of Texas, some years ago, to become annexed to the United States, had met with general acquiescence. Nothing had since occurred, materially to vary the question. I had seen no evidence of a desire being entertained, on the part of any considerable portion of the American people, that Texas should become an integral part of the United States. During my sojourn in New Orleans, I had, indeed, been greatly surprised, by information which I received from Texas, that, in the course of the last Fall, a voluntary overture had proceeded from the Executive of the United States to the Authorities of Texas, to conclude a Treaty of Annexation; and that, in order to overcome the repugnance felt by any of them to a negotiation upon the subject, strong, and, as I believed, erroneous representations had been made to them of a state of opinion in the Senate of the United States, favorable to the ratification of such a Treaty. According to these representations, it had been ascertained that a number of Senators, varying from thirty-five to forty-two, were ready to sanction such a Treaty. I was aware too, that holders of Texas lands, and Texas scrip, and speculators in them, were actively engaged in promoting the object of Annexation. Still, I did not believe that any Executive of the United States would venture upon so grave and momentous a proceeding, not only without any general manifestation of public opinion in favor of it, but in direct opposition to strong and decided expressions of public disapprobation. But it appears that I was mistaken. To the astonishment of the whole nation, we are now informed that a Treaty of Annexation has been actually concluded, and is to be submitted to the Senate for its consideration. The motives for my silence, therefore, no longer remain, and I feel it to be my duty to present an exposition of my views and opinions upon the question, for what they may be worth, to the public consideration. I adopt this method as being more convenient than several replies to the respective communications which I have received.

I regret that I have not the advantage of a view of the Treaty itself, so as to enable me to adapt an expression of my opinion to the actual conditions and stipulations which it contains.—Not possessing that opportunity, I am constrained to treat the question according to what I presume to be the terms of the Treaty. If, without the loss of national character, without the hazard of a foreign war, with the general concurrence of the nation, without any danger to the integrity of the Union, and without giving an unreasonable price for Texas, the question of Annexation were presented, it would appear in quite a different light from that in which, I apprehend, it is now to be regarded.

The United States acquired a title to Texas, extending, as I believe, to the Rio del Norte, by the Treaty of Louisiana. They ceded and relinquished that title to Spain by the Treaty of 1819, by which the Sabine was substituted for the Rio del Norte, as our Western boundary.—This Treaty was negotiated under the Administration of Mr. Monroe, and with the concurrence of his Cabinet, of which Messrs. Crawford, Calhoun, and Wirt, being a majority, all Southern gentlemen, composed a part. When the Treaty was laid before the House of Representatives, being a member of that body, I expressed the opinion, which I then entertained, and still hold, that Texas was sacrificed to the acquisition of Florida; we wanted Florida, but I thought it must, from its position, inevitably fall into our possession; that the point of a few years, sooner or later, was of no sort of consequence, and that in giving five millions of dollars and Texas for it, we gave more than a just equivalent. But if we made a great sacrifice in the surrender of Texas, we ought to take care not to make too great a sacrifice in the attempt to re-acquire it.

My opinions of the inexpediency of the Treaty of 1819 did not prevail. The country and Congress were satisfied with it, appropriations were made to carry it into effect, the line of the Sabine was recognised by us as our boundary, in negotiations both with Spain and Mexico, after Mexico became independent, and measures have been in actual progress to mark the line, from the Sabine to the Red river, and thence to the Pacific Ocean. We have thus fairly alienated our title to Texas, by solemn national compacts to the fulfilment of which we stand bound by good faith and national honor. It is, therefore, perfectly idle and ridiculous, if not dishonorable, to talk of resuming our title to Texas, as if we had never parted with it. We can no more do that than Spain can resume Florida, France Louisiana, or Great Britain the thirteen colonies now composing a part of the United States.

During the Administration of Mr. Adams, Mr. Poinsett, Minister of the United States at Mexico, was instructed by me, with the President's authority, to propose a re-purchase of Texas; but he forbore even to make an overture for that purpose. Upon his return to the United States, he informed me, at New Orleans, that his reason for not making it was, that he knew the purchase was wholly impracticable, and that he was persuaded that, if he made the overture, it would have no other effect than to aggravate irritations, already existing upon matters of difference between the two countries.

The events which have since transpired in Texas are well known. She revolted against the Government of Mexico, flew to arms, and finally fought and won the memorable battle of San Jacinto, annihilating a Mexican army and making a captive of the Mexican President. The signal success of that Revolution was greatly aided, if not wholly achieved, by citizens of the United States, who had emigrated to Texas.—These succors, if they could not always be prevented by the Government of the United States, were furnished in a manner and to an extent which brought upon us some national reproach in the eyes of an impartial world. And, in my opinion, they impose on us the obligation of scrupulously avoiding an imputation of having instigated and aided the Revolution, with the ultimate view of territorial aggrandizement. After the battle of San Jacinto, the United States recognised the Independence of Texas, in conformity with the principle and practice which have always prevailed in their councils of recognising the Government "*de facto*," without regarding the question *de jure*. That recognition did not affect or impair the rights of Mexico, or change the relations which existed between her and Texas. She, on the contrary, has preserved all her rights, and has continued to assert, and so far as I know, yet asserts, her right to reduce Texas to obedience, as a part of the Republic of Mexico. According to late intelligence, it is probable that she has agreed upon a temporary suspension of hostilities; but, if that has been done, I presume it is with the purpose, upon the termination of the armistice, of renewing the war and enforcing her rights, as she considers them.

The narrative shows the present actual condition of Texas, so far as I have information about it. If it be correct, Mexico has not abandoned, but perseveres in the assertion of her rights by actual force of arms, which, if suspended, are intended to be renewed. Under these circumstances, if the Government of the United States were to acquire Texas, it would acquire along with it all the incumbrances which Texas is under, and among them the actual or suspended war between Mexico and Texas. Of that consequence there cannot be a doubt. Annexation and war with Mexico are identical. Now, for one, I certainly am not willing to involve this country in a foreign war for the object of acquiring Texas.—I know there are those who regard such a war with indifference, and as a trifling affair, on account of the weakness of Mexico, and her inability to inflict serious injury upon this country.—But I do not look upon it thus lightly. I regard all wars as great calamities, to be avoided, if possible, and honorable peace as the wisest and truest policy of this country. What the United States most need, are Union, peace and patience. Nor do I think that the weakness of a power should form a motive, in any case, for inducing us to engage in or to depreciate the evils of war. Honor and good faith and justice are equally due from this country towards the weak as towards the strong. And, if an act of injustice were to be perpetrated towards any power, it would be more compatible with the dignity of the nation, and, in my judgment, less dishonorable, to inflict it upon a powerful, instead of a weak foreign nation. But are we perfectly sure that we should be free from injury in a state of war with Mexico? Have we any security that countless numbers of foreign vessels, under the authority and flag of Mexico, would not prey upon our defenceless commerce in the Mexican Gulf, on the Pacific Ocean, and on every other sea and ocean? What commerce, on the other hand, does Mexico offer, as an indemnity for our losses, to the gallantry and enterprise of our countrymen? This view of the subject supposes that the war would be confined to the United States and Mexico as the only belligerents. But have we any certain guaranty that Mexico would obtain no allies among the great European powers? Suppose any such powers, jealous of our increasing greatness, and disposed to check our growth and cripple us, were to take part in behalf of Mexico in the war, how would the different belligerents present themselves to Christendom and the enlightened world? We have been seriously charged with an inordinate spirit of territorial aggrandizement; and, without admitting the justice of the charge, it must be owned that we have made vast acquisitions of territory within the last forty years. Suppose Great Britain and France, or one of them, were to take part with Mexico, and, by a manifesto, were to proclaim that their objects were to assist a weak and helpless ally to check the spirit of encroachment and ambition of an already overgrown Republic, seeking still further acquisitions of territory, to maintain the independence of Texas, disconnected with the United States, and to prevent the further propagation of slavery from the United States, what would be the effect of such allegations upon the judgment of an impartial and enlightened world?

Assuming that the annexation of Texas is war with Mexico, is it competent to the Treaty-making power to plunge this country into war, not only without the concurrence of, but without deigning to consult Congress, to which, by the Constitution, belongs exclusively the power of declaring war?

I have hitherto considered the question upon the supposition, that the annexation is attempted without the assent of Mexico. If she yields her consent, that would materially affect the foreign aspect of the question, if it did not remove all foreign difficulties. On the assumption of that assent, the question would be confined to the domestic considerations which belong to it, embracing the terms and conditions upon which annexation is proposed. I do not think that Texas ought to be received into the Union, as an integral part of it, in decided opposition to the wishes of a considerable and respectable portion of the Confederacy. I think it far more wise and important to compose and harmonize the present Confederacy, as it now exists, than to introduce a new element of discord and distraction into it.—In my humble opinion, it should be the constant and earnest endeavor of American Statesmen to eradicate prejudices, to cultivate and foster concord, and to produce general contentment amongst all parts of our Confederacy. And true wisdom, it seems to me, points to the duty of rendering its present members happy, prosperous, and satisfied with each other, rather than to attempt to introduce alien members, against the common consent, and with the certainty of deep dissatisfaction. Mr. Jefferson expressed the opinion, and others believed, that it never was in the contemplation of the framers of the Constitution to add foreign territory to the Confederacy, out of which new States were to be formed. The acquisitions of Louisiana and Florida may be defended upon the peculiar ground of the relation in which they stood to the States of the Union. After they were admitted, we might well pause awhile, people our vast wastes, develope our resources, prepare the means of defending what we possess, and augment our strength, power, and greatness. If hereafter further territory should be wanted for an increased population, we need entertain no apprehensions, but that it will be acquired by means, it is to be hoped, fair, honorable, and constitutional.

It is useless to disguise, that there are those who espouse, and those who oppose, the annexation of Texas, upon the ground of the influence which it would exert, in the balance of political power, between two great sections of the Union. I conceive, that no motive for the acquisition of foreign territory would be more unfortunate, or pregnant with more fatal consequences, than that of obtaining it for the purpose of strengthening one part against another part of the common Confederacy. Such a principle, put into practical operation, would menace the existence, if it did not certainly sow the seeds of a dissolution of the Union. It would be to proclaim to the world an insatiable and unquenchable thirst for foreign conquest or acquisition of territory. For, if to-day Texas be acquired to strengthen one part of the Confederacy, to-morrow Canada may be required to add strength to another. And, after that might have been obtained, still other and further acquisitions would become necessary to equalize and adjust the balance of political power. Finally, in the progress of this spirit of universal dominion, the part of the Confederacy which is now weakest, would find itself still weaker from the impossibility of securing new theatres for those peculiar institutions which it is charged with being desirous to extend.

But would Texas, ultimately, really add strength to that which is now considered the weakest part of the Confederacy? If my information be correct, it would not. According to that, the territory of Texas is susceptible of a division into five States of convenient size and form. Of these, two only would be adapted to those peculiar institutions to which I have referred, and the other three, lying West and North of San Antonio, being only adapted to farming and grazing purposes, from the nature of their soil, climate, and productions, would not admit of those institutions. In the end, therefore, there would be two slave and three free States probably added to the Union. If this view of the soil and geography of Texas be correct, it might serve to diminish the zeal, both of those who oppose, and those who are urging annexation.

Should Texas be annexed to the Union, the United States will assume, and become responsible for the debt of Texas, be its amount what it may. What it is I do not know certainly; but the least I have seen it stated at, is thirteen millions of dollars. And this responsibility will exist, whether there be a stipulation in the Treaty or not, expressly assuming the payment of the debt of Texas. For I suppose it to be undeniable, that if one nation becomes incorporated in another, all the debts, and obligations, and incumbrances, and wars of the incorporated nation, become the debts, and obligations, and incumbrances, and wars of the common nation, created by the incorporation.

If any European nation entertains any ambitious designs upon Texas, such as that of colonizing her, or in any way subjugating her, I should regard it as the imperative duty of the Government of the United States to oppose to such designs, the most firm and determined resistance to the extent, if necessary, of appealing to arms to prevent the accomplishment of any such designs. The Executive of the United States ought to be informed as to the aims and views of foreign powers, with regard to Texas, and I presume, that if there be any of the exceptionable character which I have indicated, the Executive will disclose to the co-ordinate departments of the Government, if not to the public, the evidence of them. From what I have seen and heard, I believe that Great Britain has recently formally and solemnly disavowed any such aims or purposes—has declared that she is desirous only of the independence of Texas, and that she has no intention to interfere in her domestic institutions. If she has made such disavowal and declaration, I presume they are in the possession of the Executive.

In the future progress of events, it is probable that there will be a voluntary or forcible separation of the British North American possessions from the parent country. I am strongly inclined to think that it will be best for the happiness of all parties, that, in that event, they should be erected into a separate and independent Republic. With the Canadian Republic on one side, that of Texas on the other, and the United States, the friend of both, between them, each could advance its own happiness by such constitutions, laws, and measures, as were best adapted to its peculiar condition. They would be natural allies, ready, by co-operation, to repel any European or foreign attack upon either. Each would afford a secure refuge to the persecuted and oppressed, driven into exile by either of the others. They would emulate each other in improvements, in free institutions, and in the science of self-Government. Whilst Texas has adopted our Constitution as the model of her's, she has, in several important particulars, greatly improved upon it.

Although I have felt compelled, from the nature of the inquiries addressed to me, to extend this communication to a much greater length than I could have wished, I could not do justice to the subject, and fairly and fully expose my own opinions in a shorter space. In conclusion, they may be stated in a few words to be, that I consider the annexation of Texas at this time, without the assent of Mexico, as a measure compromising the national character, involving us certainly in war with Mexico, probably with other foreign powers, dangerous to the integrity of the Union, inexpedient in the present financial condition of the country, and not called for by any general expressions of public opinion.

I am, respectfully, your obedient servant,

H. CLAY.

MANIFESTO II.—*Or first Alabama Letter.*

[*From the Tuscaloosa (Ala.) Monitor*]

LETTER FROM MR. CLAY.

Believing that Mr. Clay had been misunderstood or grossly misrepresented, in regard to a portion of this Texas letter, we noticed the subject in the Monitor of the 19th June:—We then said:

It has been falsely charged by his opponents, that Mr. Clay addressed himself, for support, to the Abolitionists of the North, in the following passage of his letter:

"I do not think that Texas ought to be received into the Union, as an integral part of it, in decided opposition to the wishes of a *considerable* and respectable portion of the confederacy."

After alluding to another part of his letter, which, taken in connexion with the above, showed that he referred to the States, and not to the people of the confederacy, we stated that Mr. Clay's meaning was "that if any considerable and respectable number of States were to assume an attitude, threatening the integrity of or likely to dissolve the Union, rather than admit Texas—then, with such prospects, annexation ought to be abandoned to preserve the Union."

We forwarded to Mr. Clay a copy of the Monitor containing the article, and also a notice, respectfully calling his attention to it. His reply puts an end, at once, to all speculation on the subject.

ASHLAND, July 1, 1844.

My Dear Sir: I received and thank you for your friendly letter, and the copy of the Monitor. You have justly conceived my meaning, when I referred, in my Texas letter, to a considerable and respectable portion of the *Confederacy*. And you might have strengthened your construction of the paragraph, by reference to the fact, that at the date of my letter, the States of Ohio, Vermont and Massachusetts, had, almost unanimously, declared against annexation; the Legislature of Georgia had declined to recommend it, and other States were believed to be adverse to the measure. As to the idea of my courting the Abolitionists, it is perfectly absurd. No man in the United States has been half so much abused by them as I have been.

I consider the Union a great political partnership; and that new members ought not to be admitted into the concern at the imminent hazard of its dissolution. Personally, I could have no objection to the annexation of Texas; but I certainly would be unwilling to see the existing Union dissolved or seriously jeoparded, for the sake of acquiring Texas. If any one desire to know the leading and paramount object of my public life, the preservation of this Union will furnish him the key.

From developments being made in South Carolina, it is perfectly manifest, that a party exists in that State seeking a dissolution of the Union, and for that purpose employing the pretext of the rejection of Mr. Tyler's abominable treaty. South Carolina, being surrounded by slave States, would, in the event of a dissolution of the Union, suffer only comparative evils; but it is otherwise with Kentucky. She has the boundary of the Ohio extending five hundred miles on three free States. What would her condition be in the event of the greatest calamity that could befall this nation?

In Kentucky, the Texas question will do the Whig cause no prejudice. I am glad to perceive, in the proceedings of the Clay Club of Tuscaloosa, a similar belief expressed as to Alabama. It was a bubble, blown up by Mr. Tyler, in the most exceptionable manner, for sinister purposes, and its bursting has injured nobody but Mr. Van Buren.

Retaining an agreeable recollection of the pleasure which I derived from forming your acquaintance last spring, I remain your friend and obedient servant,

H. CLAY.

STEPHEN F. MILLER, Esq., Tuscaloosa, Ala.

MANIFESTO III—*Or, Second Alabama Letter.*

ASHLAND, 27th July, 1844.

Gentlemen: I have received your favor informing me that my views, as disclosed in my letter from Raleigh, on the question of the Annexation of Texas, are misconceived, if not misrepresented, in your quarter; and that it is supposed that I have changed my opinion from what it was in 1819. I endeavored to express myself in that letter as explicitly as I could, and I do not think now, that it can be fairly misinterpreted.

In 1819, when I addressed the House of Representatives, the Executive had negotiated the treaty with Spain, by which Texas was ceded to that power, but Congress had not then given any sanction to the cession. I believe now, and I thought then, that the treaty-making power is not competent, without the concurrence of Congress, to cede away any territory belonging to the United States. But Congress, by repeated acts, subsequently manifested its approbation of the treaty; and these acts rendered it as valid and obligatory upon the United States, as if Congress had given its assent, prior to the conclusion of the treaty.—At that period of 1819, Texas, as claimed by us, was unpeopled. No hostile incursions had been made into it, by citizens of the United States. In 1825 and 1827, there were but few inhabitants of Texas, consisting of some colonists, planted there under the authority of Mexico.

At neither of the three periods above mentioned, had any State, or section in this Union, manifested any opposition to Texas composing a part of it. It has been said, that Mr. Adams's administration offered to negotiate with Mexico for Texas, notwithstanding the existence of a war between Spain and Mexico, and that it could not, therefore, have believed that the acquisition of Texas, at that time, would have involved the U. States in war with Spain. Hence, it is argued, that the ratification of the late treaty could not have compromitted our peace.

Mr. Adams thought it desirable to obtain Texas. Two foreign powers claimed it. Mexico was in possession, and Spain was doing nothing to assert and enforce her claim. Her representative had even gone so far as to stipulate in a Convention, to acknowledge the Independence of Mexico, although that Convention was not ratified by Spain.

Mr. Adams had a right to authorize the negotiation of a treaty for the acquisition of Texas with both or either of the powers claiming it. It was natural that he should begin with that power which had the possession of Texas. Spain had interposed no obstacle. She had made no declaration, that she would regard the acquisition of Texas as an act of war. In point of fact, no overture was formally made to Mexico to purchase Texas, no negotiation was opened, no treaty was concluded. If a negotiation had commenced, or if a treaty had been signed, and Spain had protested, the prudent and cautious policy which characterized Mr. Adams's administration, would undoubtedly have prompted him to quiet Spain, and accommodate the matter, previous to the annexation of Texas to the U. States, and without plunging them in war with Spain. How totally different are all the circumstances under which, with Mr. Adams's authority, I authorized the overture to Mexico, from those which attended the recent treaty of Mr. Tyler!

So far from Mexico being silent, she repeatedly and solemnly declared, that she would consider annexation as war with her. Texas was no longer an uninhabited country. It had been wrested from the dominion of Mexico by citizens, many of whom went armed from the U. States. The war between Mexico and Texas had not been terminated by any treaty of peace. Mr. Tyler not only did not consult Mexico, but he announced that her assent to the annexation was altogether unnecessary; as he proceeded to conclude a treaty, embracing a large extent of territory, and a numerous population, not comprehended in the Texas which the U. States ceded to Spain in 1819.

In the mean time, too, a powerful opposition had arisen in the United States against the annexation of Texas to them. Several States had declared, through their Legislatures, against it, and others, if not whole sections of the Union, were believed to be adverse to it. This was the opposition to the measure, to which, in my Raleigh letter, I alluded, when I spoke of a "considerable and respectable portion of the *Confederacy*." I did not refer to persons, but to States or sections.

Under such circumstances, I could not but regard the annexation of Texas, at this time, as compromitting the honor of my country, involving it in a war, in which the sympathies of all Christendom would be against us, and endangering the integrity of the Union. I thought then, and still believe, that national dishonor, foreign war, and distraction and division at home, were too great sacrifices to make for the acquisition of Texas.

But, gentlemen, you are desirous of knowing by what policy I would be guided, in the event of my election as Chief Magistrate of the United States, in reference to the question of the annexation of Texas. I do not think it right to announce, in advance, what will be the course of a future Administration in respect to a question with a foreign power. I have, however, no hesitation in saying, that far from having any personal objection to the annexation of Texas, I should be glad to see it—without dishonor, without war, with the common consent of the Union, and upon just and fair terms.

I do not think that the subject of slavery ought to affect the question, one way or the other. Whether Texas be independent, or incorporated in the United States, I do not believe it will prolong or shorten the duration of that institution.—It is destined to become extinct, at some distant day, in my opinion, by the operation of the inevitable laws of population. It would be unwise to refuse a permanent acquisition, which will exist as long as the globe remains, on account of a temporary institution.

In the contingency of my election, to which you have adverted, if the affair of acquiring Texas should become a subject of consideration, I should be governed by the state of fact and the state of public opinion existing at the time I might be called upon to act. Above all, I should be governed by the paramount duty of preserving the Union entire, and in harmony; regarding it as I do as the great guarantee of every political and public blessing, under Providence, which as a free people we are permitted to enjoy.

I am, gentlemen,
Respectfully, your ob't serv't,

H. CLAY.

Messrs. Thomas M. Peters and John M. Jackson.

MANIFESTO IV.

ASHLAND, Sept. 23, 1844.

Gentlemen: Since my nomination at Baltimore in May last, by the Whig Convention, as a candidate for the office of President of the United States, I have received many letters propounding to me questions on public affairs, and others may have been addressed to me which I never received. To most of those which have reached me, I have replied; but to some I have not, because either the subjects of which they treated were such as that, in respect of them, my opinions, I thought, had been sufficiently promulgated, or that they did not possess, in my judgment, sufficient importance to require an answer from me. I desire now to say to the public, through you, that, considering the near approach of the Presidential election, I shall henceforward respectfully decline to transmit for publication any letters from me in answer to inquiries upon public matters.

After my nomination, I doubted the propriety, as I still do, of answering any letters upon new questions of public policy. One who may be a candidate for the Chief Magistracy of the nation, if elected, ought to enter upon the discharge of the high duties connected with that office, with his mind open and uncommitted upon all new questions which may arise in the course of its administration, and ready to avail himself of all the lights which he may derive from his Cabinet, from Congress, and, above all, from the public opinion.

If, in advance, he should commit himself to individuals who may think proper to address him, he may deprive the public and himself of the benefit of those great guides. Entertaining this view, it was my intention, after my nomination, to decline answering, for publication, all questions that might be propounded to me. But, on further reflection, it appears to me, that if I imposed this silence upon myself, I might, contrary to the uniform tenor of my life, seem to be unwilling frankly and fearlessly to submit my opinions to the public judgment. I therefore so far deviated from my first purpose as to respond to letters addressed to me, making inquiries in regard to subjects which had been much agitated. Of the answers which I so transmitted, some were intended exclusively for the satisfaction of my correspondents, without any expectation, on my part, of their being deemed worthy of publication. In regard to those which have been presented to the public, misconceptions and erroneous constructions have been given to some of them, which I think they did not authorize, or which, at all events, were contrary to my intentions.

In announcing my determination to permit no other letters to be drawn from me on public affairs, I think it right to avail myself of the occasion, to correct the erroneous interpretation of one or two of those which I had previously written. In April last, I addressed to you, from Raleigh, a letter in respect to the proposed treaty, annexing Texas to the United States, and I have since addressed two letters to Alabama upon the same subject. Most unwarranted allegations have been made that those letters are inconsistent with each other, and, to make it out, particular phrases or expressions have been torn from their context, and a meaning attributed to me which I never entertained.

I wish now distinctly to say, that there is not a feeling, a sentiment, or an opinion expressed in my Raleigh letter, to which I do not adhere. I am decidedly opposed to the immediate annexation of Texas to the United States. I think it would be dishonorable, might involve them in war, would be dangerous to the integrity and harmony of the Union, and, if all these objections were removed, could not be effected, according to any information I possess, upon just and admissible conditions.

It was not my intention, in either of the two letters which I addressed to Alabama, to express any contrary opinion. Representations had been made to me, that I was considered as inflexibly opposed to the annexation of Texas, under any circumstances; and that my opposition was so extreme, that I would not waive it, even if there were a general consent to the measure, by all the States of the Union. I replied, in my first letter to Alabama, that personally I had no objection to annexation. I thought that my meaning was sufficiently obvious, that I had no personal, private, or individual motives for opposing, as I have none for espousing the measure; my judgment being altogether influenced by general and political considerations, which have ever been the guide of my public conduct.

In my second letter to Alabama, assuming that the annexation of Texas might be accomplished without national dishonor, without war, with the general consent of the States of the Union, and upon fair and reasonable terms, I stated, that I should be glad to see it. I did not suppose that it was possible I could be misunderstood. I imagined every body would comprehend me as intending, that, whatever might be my particular views and opinions, I should be happy to see what the whole nation might concur in desiring under the conditions stated. Nothing was further from my purpose than to intimate any change of opinion as long as any considerable and respectable portion of the Confederacy should continue to stand out in opposition to the annexation of Texas.

In all three of my letters upon the subject of Texas, I stated that annexation was inadmissible, except upon fair and reasonable terms, if every other objection were removed. In a speech which I addressed to the Senate of the U. States more than three years ago, I avowed my opposition, for the reasons there stated, to the assumption, by the General Government, of the debts of the several States. It was hardly, therefore, to be presumed that I could be in favor of assuming the unascertained debt of a foreign State, with which we have no fraternal ties, and whose bad faith or violation of its engagements can bring no reproaches upon us.

Having thus, gentlemen, made the apology which I intended, for my omission to answer any letters of inquiry upon public affairs, which I may have received, announced my purpose to decline henceforward transmitting answers for publication to any such letters I may hereafter receive, and vindicated some of those which I have forwarded against the erroneous constructions to which they have been exposed, I have accomplished the purpose of this note, and remain, respectfully, your obedient servant,

H. CLAY.

MESSRS. GALES & SEATON.

MANIFESTO V.

ASHLAND, Sept. 18, 1844.

Dear Sir—I have received your favor of the 9th inst., and appreciate and thank you for the friendly motives which prompted it. I take pleasure, in compliance with your request, in saying that I adhere to every feeling, sentiment, and opinion expressed in my Raleigh letter upon the subject of the annexation of Texas, and that it was far from my intention to vary in the smallest degree from them by either of my two letters addressed to Alabama. It is only by a gross perversion of their contents that any discrepancy with the Raleigh letter is made out. It was my purpose, among other things, to say, in my Alabama letters, that I had no private or individual motives to object to Annexation; that my objections were founded altogether upon public and political considerations; and that if the United States, by common consent, desired Annexation, and it could be effected without national dishonor, without war, and upon just terms, I should be glad to see the people of the U. S. gratified. These letters were written in consequence of statements at the South being boldly put forth that I would stand out in opposition to Annexation, although the whole people of the U. States might desire it. Parts of paragraphs and expressions in my Alabama letters have been torn from the context, and a color attempted to be given to my meaning, which I never intended. Some of our opponents are constantly treating me with the greatest unfairness. They have gone the length even of forging for me language which I never used, and of garbling and shamefully perverting that which I did employ. I am, with great respect, your ob't serv't,

H. CLAY.

EDGAR ATWATER, Esq.,
Portage County, Ohio.

MANIFESTO VI.

ASHLAND, Sept. 19, 1844.

Gentlemen—I have received your favor, and am obliged to you for the friendly motives which induced you to address me. I think a deliberate and candid view of my two Alabama letters would lead to the conclusion, that there was no departure in them from the grounds taken in my Raleigh letter. Most certainly none was intended. When I spoke of having no personal objection to annexation, I meant that my opinion was formed altogether upon public and general grounds, and did not proceed from any private or individual motives. So, in the other letter to Alabama, when I said that if the annexation of Texas could be effected with the common consent of the Union, without national dishonor, without war, and upon fair and just terms, I meant that I did not wish to be considered, as standing in opposition to the general will. I am opposed to immediate annexation. I am opposed to it whilst a war is raging between Texas and Mexico. And I should be opposed to it, at all times and under all circumstances, unless there was a degree of concurrence among the States composing our Union, amounting to or approximating towards unanimity.

Heretofore there has been considerable opposition to the Protective Policy in the Slave States, but at this time I regret to be obliged to say, that I think that Policy is more in danger in the Free States than in the Slave States. And this favorable result in the Slave States has been brought about by the Whigs. It is for example much more secure in Kentucky, Tennessee, Georgia, North Carolina and Virginia, than it is in Indiana, or I fear even Pennsylvania.

I am your friend and
Obedient Servant,

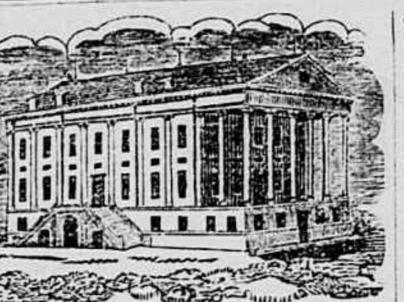
H. CLAY.

Messrs. John Purdue and Godlove S. Orth, Indiana.

Hurricane at the Havana.

An Extra from the New Orleans "Tropic" Office, of the 15th, gives a most distressing account of an almost unparalleled Hurricane which visited the Island of Cuba on the night and morning of the 4th instant. The destruction to houses, public and private, to the streets, to the wharves and shipping, is beyond calculation. Several lives were lost during the Storm. It swept across the whole Island. Matanzas has also suffered much—and great destruction has been done to the country. "A great many dwellings, molasses and sugar houses, are blown down, and there is scarcely a roof in the place that has escaped the effects of the gale." Several vessels of war have been injured at the Havanna—and the American vessels in the harbor have all suffered, more or less, from $200 to $2,000.

☞ The Presidential Election in this State takes place on Monday, the fourth day of November next.



RICHMOND, VA.

Thursday Morning, October 24, 1844.

ELECTIONS.

ARKANSAS.—*Recall that Shout! Hallooing before they are out of the Woods!*—We learn that on Monday night the Club House was thrown into ecstacies by a flying rumor in the Cincinnati Gazette of the 17th inst., that Arkansas had elected a Whig Governor. The welkin rang with the repeated huzzahs of the delighted Coons. The Feds seemed to be as exultant, as if they had been engaged in a triumphant procession up Pennsylvania Avenue, bearing on their "conquering hero" to the White House. Why is it that the Feds suffer themselves to be carried away by the slightest gleam or the faintest floating rumor of success? Are they so little accustomed to victory, that they know not how to enjoy it in moderation? Are they contented with such little favors, that they seize upon every street-rumor or equivocal newspaper paragraph, to raise the maddening cry of *Io Bacche?*

In the present case, they have hallooed before they are out of the woods! They have enjoyed a victory which they have not won! Let them take back their deafening huzzahs! The *next* time, let them not mistake the breath of Rumor for the voice of Truth. Let them be sure of their facts, before they again huzzah and exult! Even had the report been true, that a Whig Governor had been elected in Arkansas, it should be considered as very far from a Whig victory—for the Wheeling Argus assures us that *two* Democrats and only *one* Whig ran for the office. But we are not willing to let the Whigs have this crumb of comfort. We do not believe that a Whig Governor is elected in Arkansas, though our friends were divided between two candidates. By yesterday's Southern mail, we received the New Orleans Republican of the 16th, which says:

"We verbally learn from a passenger on the steamer Douglas that touched at Columbia, (Ark.) that Reeves, (Democrat) Senator from Desha County, had been elected, as had also the Democratic ticket for that county. She also touched at the mouth of Arkansas, where it was reported the Democratic party had succeeded."

GEORGIA.

"We give this morning (says the Savannah Georgian of the 18th) all the returns of the recent election, (unofficial,) with the exception of Rabun County, from which it will be seen that the Democrats have gained 6,520 votes.

DEMOCRATIC GAINS.

1st District	369
2d District	166
3d District	595
4th District	1303
5th District	2369
6th District	1043
7th District	450
8th District	225
	6520
Whig majority 1843	3552
Democratic majority so far	2968

If we add Rabun County to the above, and it gives the same majority to the Democrats it did in 1843, our majority will be 3,109."

In the 5th District, Lumpkin's (D.) majority is 2,893! He beat Miller (W.) in *every* county.

"Let Texas, and the safety of the South, and the unity of the States, be their watchword for November; for, without the former to strengthen us, our country will be exposed to the most deadly aggressions from the Governments of Europe.

"A party is too apt to feel secure, when the victorious eagle has perched on their banner.

"Let not Georgia's Democrats reproach themselves for lukewarmness in the approaching contest, for their opponents, although whipped, are not to be despised.

"We promise them in old Chatham, 160 to 180 votes more in November, for Polk and Dallas, than were polled here in October. We have gained in every district. Increase those gains. Let 5th and banner district of Georgia, excite you to the great contest which approaches. One more effort, Democrats—once more 'up and at them,' brethren in a noble cause, and the coon banner will trail in the dust, while the eagle of Democracy will soar aloft in the skies, surveying with exultation the fields where the Coons have been vanquished by superior skill."

SOUTH CAROLINA.—We see in the Whig, that, at the breaking up of the *enthusiastic, Mammoth* Whig Convention at York, on parting with the distinguished Coon Orator and Songster, one Richard Yeadon, the crowd raised a shout of "three cheers for South Carolina." We were a little surprised at this high compliment to a gallant State by a party, whose leaders, hereabouts, have denounced her, in the most violent terms, for disunion, and every species of treason. Perhaps on this, as on other occasions, the Whig Party do not concur with their rabid leaders in believing the charges of disunion, &c., so lavishly hurled at South Carolina. However it may be, we cordially respond to them "three cheers for South Carolina." She has fought the good fight of the Constitution, and will nobly rally to the support of Polk, Dallas and Texas.

For Congress—In Marion District—Darlington, Major A. D. Sims 1,040; General John McQueen 304—In Prince George, McQueen's majority—in Marion, Sims 817; McQueen 668.—We presume Sims is elected, though we do not know how many parishes there are in the district.

It is useless to specify the returns for the Legislature. They seem to be *all one way*—Democratic.

"*The Tariff, or Direct Taxation? That is the Question.*"

Under this head, Tuesday's National Intelligencer has written a most disingenuous article, attempting to show, that the Democratic party is in favor of Direct Taxation. In the name of the Democratic party, we unqualifiedly deny any such inference. We know not of a single Democrat who is in favor of Direct Taxation. We go for a Tariff for Revenue, the fruits of which will be sufficient to defray the expenses of an economically administered Government. Such a Tariff will forever prevent a recourse to internal taxes.

But are not the Whigs chargeable with pursuing a policy, which, in the end, must lead to Direct Taxation? Yielding to the clamorous demands of the manufacturers, they seem to be willing to impose any duties, however prohibitory, which will cut off importation, and, with it, the necessary revenue. Shall we not, *then*, be reduced to the necessity of laying internal taxes?

But the Intelligencer forgets that its *Magnus Apollo*, Henry Clay, is almost the only American statesman who has left on record his deliberate opinion, that *direct taxation* is expedient for this country. From Mallory's collection of Clay's speeches, vol. i., page 411, we make the following extract. Speaking of a revenue Tariff system, Mr. Clay says:

"On such a system, the Government will not be able much longer exclusively to rely. *I was opposed to the repeal of the internal revenue.* By the encouragement of home industry, you will lay a basis for *direct taxation*, when it gets strong, that will be steady and uniform."

Moreover, did not Henry Clay oppose the payment of the national debt, because he did not wish to endanger the protection of the manufacturers, by introducing a *revenue* Tariff?

We leave it to "an intelligent and thinking people" to decide between the two parties. "We cannot suffer ourselves to doubt" that they will choose the Democratic party, who is in favor of a revenue Tariff, and of course against direct taxation, in preference to the Whig party whose prohibitory policy and the avowed principles of whose leader, must lead us, inevitably, to a system of *direct taxes*.

THE BRAN-NEW HUMBUG.

It appears from the following extract of a letter in Monday night's Globe, from Mr. Sengstack one of the Democratic Committee of Washington, that the pauper bread is in a course of distribution. People of Virginia! what do you think of this shameless and infamous trick, so insulting to the understandings of every freeman? Mr. Sengstack says:

"If you desire to know the opinions which these sappers of your morals entertain of those who labor for their support, just go to the railroad depot, and ask for those barrels of coarse bread, made of bran and saw-dust, which were consigned from Baltimore to Willis Green, under the pretence that they were imported from England, or as some say from Germany. Would you know for what purpose this vile stuff was brought here, you will learn, or most probably you have already learned, that it is to be sent to Virginia and North Carolina, and certain parts of Maryland, to operate, as your Coon leaders say, on the ignorance of the people. This bread is to be held up by the Coon orators as emblematical of the poverty of Europe; and the voters are to be told by these fellows that, if they elect James K. Polk, such will in the end be the living of the poor people of this country. Improbable as all this may seem, it is nevertheless strictly true, for this saw-dust bread has already been exhibited, for the purposes I have mentioned, at the Whig gathering at Leesburg, Virginia, and in the clapboard club house of this place. Indeed it was but a few days ago that, at the erection of an ash pole, or Coon pole, near the Long bridge, one of our lawyers, who holds a prominent place at the bar of this city—one that I have known from boyhood, and who was raised under the exemplary care of the best of parents; one who has, ever since I first knew him, always professed to walk in the paths of the strictest moral rectitude, and who, I believe, has honestly carried out his professions till within the last five years past—this same lawyer, at the pole raising I have referred to, held up a loaf of this saw-dust bread, and declared to his hearers that to such, (worse than horse provender,) they would be reduced, if Mr. Polk should be elected to the Presidency. When such debased, as well as stupid expedients are resorted to by the Whig leaders, well may the Intelligencer exclaim, "THE LAST EXTREME OF PARTY PROFLIGACY!" God grant, I say, that it may be the last resort of Whiggery, which has infested this country with its nefarious plots and devices for the last twenty years.

C. P. SENGSTACK."

SIGNS OF PUBLIC SENTIMENT.

Monday's Globe contains two letters, one from Clarksville, Tennessee, of the 10th, and the other from one of the most prominent men in Ohio, at Columbus, of the 15th. The Tennessee letter says:

"I have just finished a tour through the Western district of Tennessee, speaking almost every day, and occasionally to very large crowds. The best possible spirit prevails there—an enthusiasm and energy which never can be conquered. In the procession to a barbacue at Dresden, I was assured by several of the most intelligent and respectable citizens, that there was over one hundred men, who had been Whigs, and would now vote the Democratic ticket. We were beaten in the last elections, west of the Tennessee River, over two thousand votes—I think the chances now are, that we will have the majority. In middle Tennessee our majority will probably exceed five thousand. In east Tennessee our friends claim the majority—certainly there will not be a thousand against us. In my judgment, our majority in the State will be near 5,000. The Whig leaders are evidently alarmed, and know not which way to turn. Senator Foster published his appointments in the Western District for two or three weeks in September, met Crittenden at Jackson, gave up his appointments in the District, and started with Crittenden in his carriage, as his friends said, for east Tennessee, passing by a large meeting in Clarksville on the 12th. There, Crittenden received such intelligence as induced him to return immediately to Kentucky. Foster and Henry, it is now understood, are there, whilst Bell is in the Western District, and Senator Jarnagin in Middle Tennessee. Time, labor, or money will not be spared to defeat us; but you may rely on it, their exertions will be met and overcome, and Tennessee will be regenerated. The bank, bankrupt law, the tariff, distribution, broken promises, violated pledges, taxes, and debt, have opened the eyes of the people, and they judge them by *their acts*, and not *their promises*, as in 1840."

The Ohio Correspondent says—"There are still some small counties in Ohio, from which returns have not been received. The Whig Candidate for Governor is, however, elected by a majority of about 1200 or 1500 votes! The popular vote has been unusally large—say 310,000. The result has satisfied all our friends here, that we can carry the State for Polk and Dallas in November. We are now all busily engaged here, in effecting a thorough organization of the party. If we can have a fair race, I have scarcely a doubt of our success here. The Whig leaders are awfully alarmed at the prospect, and well they may be. We go into the fight in high spirits, and, although all our speakers are worn out, we will dispute every inch of ground.

"In Indiana, our friends speak with great confidence of the result."

IMPORTANT TO VOTERS OF BOTH PARTIES.

"It is necessary, in order to entitle a man to vote in November, that he shall have paid his taxes under the assessment of 1843. *He is not qualified to vote upon a tax assessed and paid in* 1844.—Those tax-payers who have not paid taxes under the assessment of 1843, are reminded that it is still in time to pay them to the First Auditor in Richmond, (to whom they can be sent,) and thereby secure the privilege of suffrage, if they are otherwise qualified.—[*Lynchburg Virginian.*

"What is sauce for the goose, (they say,) is sauce for the gander." We recommend the above suggestion, from a Whig press, to our Democratic friends. *Let them too hear and heed.* We are glad to find, from so authentic a paper as the Lynchburg Virginian, that it is not in contemplation to *change the rule of assessment*, although the very extraordinary resolution of the Clay Committee of Monday last, proposed by Mr. John H. Pleasants, proposes to submit the *whole of the Constitution "involving the subject of suffrage,"* to Mr. Attorney General Baxter, and this, too, on the very eve of the election, when there is not time to send his opinion to the remotest borders of the Commonwealth. A curious mode this is, indeed, to produce uniformity of construction, and from a quarter too, which the Clay Committee confess "would not be binding and authoritative." A more effectual mode of producing confusion in the coming election, excitement, discord, a want of uniformity, and a sentiment of discontent, could not have been devised, if the Whig Central Committee had set their wits to work to throw the election into a state of chaos. For one, we, in the name of the Democratic party, protest against Attorney General Baxter's meddling with this subject, *at this time, and in this manner, if in any manner at all.*—The Whigs have had time enough to consult *him*, if they pleased—and to draw out his oracular opinions, as they may hold them; but at this eleventh hour, we protest against his interference, or the paying of the slightest respect to any opinion, which he may now put forth. But will Mr. Baxter answer them, upon interrogatory?—Will he give the Clay Committee, or would he give our Democratic Committee, any opinion in this way? We say, without hesitation, NO. Mr. B. has too much respect for the dignified office which he holds, for his own respectability of character, for his own consistency, to give any extra official opinion, which the Attorney General of the State is not called upon to give.

IMPORTANT TO THE DEMOCRACY OF NEW YORK.

The last New York Morning News publishes the following important warning from a gentleman of high character in the State of Ohio, under date of the 12th inst.:

"My main object in writing now, is to advise you that since our election the Whig leaders of this State have been in council here, and resolved to abandon Pennsylvania and Virginia, and throw their whole force into Ohio and New York. Without both of these States they admit Clay stands no chance whatever of an election. To effect this, of course they will endeavor to pipe-lay in New York. In this State we have a law, which we will use every effort to have enforced, and if we succeed, no great impression can be made upon us in that way. But I am afraid our friends in New York are not fully advised of the means now used to defeat them. On the sea board vast numbers of sailors will be found, thrown from every section on your extended coast. On the public works an additional number of hands will be employed and the manufactories and workshops an accession of operatives.

"To effect this, money has in part been raised, and the balance will be forthcoming. This, my dear sir, is no mere conjecture. I am no alarmist, but we have the best evidence in the world that the most stupendous frauds are to be practised. To defeat such a combination will require the efforts of all our friends, and I sincerely hope that the Democrats in each county will adopt such an organization as to preserve the purity of the ballot box, and give us an honest expression of the popular will. Let me then entreat you to set yourselves at work to head these men in their efforts to defraud you. The time is short, and requires immediate action."

The "News" calls upon every Democrat of N. York to rouse up—and says it is aware of the designs of the Whigs upon New York—from the vast sums of money which have been raised, and the arrangements that have been made to pipelay the State. But it says, at the same time, that with proper organization, the Republican party can completely baffle their corrupt intrigues. "With fair play, we can give a majority of at least 20,000. We gave nearly 22,000 in both the years 1842 and 1843. We shall have to overcome the odds of a great deal of foul play. But overcome it must be—*And overcome it will be. We have, indeed, no fear for the vote of the State.* But that is not enough. New York—the State that gave the last President to the Union, and which is ready any day to give another—must not contribute any thing short of her just proportionate majority to the common triumph. Silas Wright must not be suffered to stand on a platform of popular strength, *at home*, less broad and deep than a fair round figure of 20,000 majority."

We have not yet received any description of the Meeting at Southampton. We regret it the more, because in the very hasty account we gave of it in our last, we were incorrect in stating, that Mr. Millson of Norfolk spoke. We understand, he did not. We omitted also the names of those noble Champions of the Faith, Richard Kidder Meade of Petersburg, and Wm. W. Crump of the Spartan Band of Richmond. Messrs. Davezac and Meade spoke on the first day, and Messrs. Seddon and Crump, on the second day, on the side of the Democracy. Fearful odds they were against the Whig speakers—Whitfield of Virginia and Cherry of N. Carolina.

The Lynchburg Republican counts upon a majority of 100 in Franklin county. It says of Amherst, that "This wholesouled Democratic county is moving in the proper spirit. Her Democracy is thoroughly aroused, and will give a heavy Democratic majority." And no wonder; for the Democracy of Amherst, true to themselves, have, through their Central Committee, (thanks be to them!) arranged their Committees of Vigilance in large numbers in every important precinct in the county. The Committees are very large, and will no doubt be very active. We regret that we cannot republish all their names.

THE "GREAT EMBODIMENT"

And his Six Letters!

We throw ourselves upon the good sense of our readers—in devoting a very large portion of this morning's paper to one particular subject. We dedicate it to Henry Clay and his six letters—and to the powerful Commentator, who has taken them in hand—to expose his double-dealings—his shameless Protean versatility of character—his stooping so disgracefully to conquer—his abandonment of the South to the fanaticism of the Abolitionists. Our great object is not so much to show, what position he now occupies in relation to the great question of Texas, but to expose, in the *variety of positions* he has assumed, the shifting, dodging, cunning, and electioneering character of Henry Clay. Before ambition corrupted him, and betrayed him into that contemptible infirmity of purpose which now marks his course, Mr. Clay had the character of being a firm, strong-minded, determined politician—a man who "would not flatter Neptune for his trident;" but *tout cela est change*—all is gone. A change "has come over the spirit of his dreams." Is this the man whom his friends hold up to us, as so lofty in his character, and so firm in his purposes? Is this the candidate who is worthy of the support of an enlightened people? Read well his letters!—There are six of them. The epistles of "the Complete Letter-writer" upon the subject of Texas have never been all collected before. Read them all, we request of the people—then read the commentaries of "A Virginian," and judge for yourselves. We wish to judge him by his own works; and therefore we submit all the evidence at once, along with the argument. Let no man say we have garbled it. Take it all in all, and decide upon the portrait from the lineaments he has drawn of himself.

For the Enquirer.

A Review of the Letters of Henry Clay upon the subject of the Annexation of Texas.

It is not believed, that the annals of party strategy can present a more palpable instance of the sacrifice of principle, for the purpose of acquiring power, or a case of more shameless and open bidding for the support of a particular faction or interest, than is furnished in the course of Henry Clay in relation to the question of the Annexation of Texas to this Union. If there was one man in the whole Confederacy, who, from his position, his residence, and all the sympathies which he might be fairly supposed to entertain, and from his course in relation to this question upon several former occasions, stood committed to embrace the cause of the Annexation of Texas, that man was Henry Clay. A Southern man by birth, and identified with her in interest, and all would naturally suppose in feeling and sympathy, no inference could have been fairer or more consistent with the ordinary motives of human action, than that he would have been found the advocate of a measure which would strengthen that part of the Confederacy in which he resided, while, at the same time, it promised incalculable benefits to the whole country. Motives of the most ordinary self-respect, and that desire so common to all, to preserve a course of consistency, would have all seemed to second the natural suggestions of duty and propriety. His indignant denunciation of the Treaty of 1819, by which Texas was ceded to Spain, as without warrant in the provisions of the Constitution, and equally at war with the best interests of the nation—his subsequent attempts in 1825 and 1827, while Secretary of State, to reacquire this lost domain, are yet fresh in the memory of the country. And yet we have beheld him regardless alike of the suggestions of patriotism, consistency and self-respect, surrendering his own former well-considered opinions to the dictates of self-interest and the supposed exigencies of the occasion. Nay more, we have seen him, first attempting the bold experiment of holding different opinions upon this great question in different sections of the Union, and when satisfied afterwards that this course of double-dealing would probably in the end lose him more votes than a bold and open course upon one side or the other of the question, we have seen him guilty of the most shallow quibbling in his attempts to reconcile the palpable inconsistencies into which he had been betrayed by his desire to please both the advocates and the opponents of Annexation.

It is confidently believed, that a brief review of the course of Mr. Clay on this question, will establish, to all candid minds, the truth of the foregoing charge against him.

And first, it is worthy of note, that Mr. Clay has written no less than six letters, and some of them of considerable length, for the *apparent* purpose of "defining his position" upon this question, and it will be seen that this gentleman, who has been held up by his friends as distinguished for the bold and fearless frankness with which he promulgates his sentiments, and as one who always expressed himself upon all public questions, with a candour and clearness which forbade all doubt or hesitation as to his real opinions, has established his title to the high character which his advocates would have awarded to him by writing six letters upon the same subject—all to different parts of the Union, and all of them subject to and actually receiving from his friends different constructions!

A brief recurrence to the circumstances under which they were written, will probably account as well for their *number* as for the *variety* of the sentiments which they contain.

It is in the memory of all, that Mr. Clay, during the course of the last fall, winter and spring, paid a protracted visit *upon business* to the Southern States. He had business in Louisiana, [illegible] business in Mobile, and then in Georgia, and then in South Carolina, and then most important business in North Carolina, and you well remember, Messrs. Editors, that he, by the merest accident in the world, happened to drop into Old Virginia just before her last Spring elections, also doubtless *on business*. The character of that business has to this day, remained somewhat enveloped in mystery, though as this very busy gentleman occupied a portion of his time at least in making electioneering speeches, it might not perhaps be very uncharitable to suppose that it had possibly a remote reference to the Presidency, for which he was then a prospective if not an actually declared candidate. Great curiosity, it will be remembered, existed during a portion of this period as to the opinions of Mr. Clay, upon the question of the annexation of Texas, and sundry attempts were made to get at his views upon this subject during his pilgrimage through the South; but, as you well remember, for a long time without success. His *business* possibly had prevented his bestowing that reflection upon the subject which its importance demanded; or, was it *possible* that he wished to see how far the *feelings* of the Southern portion of the Confederacy were enlisted in behalf of this great measure, with a view of enabling *himself* to take such ground upon the subject, as they would probably sustain, while at the same time he might hope to reconcile that "considerable and respectable portion of the Confederacy," whom Mr. Clay seems to have foreseen from the first, would be found in bitter hostility to this question, and whose votes might be of service, in a closely contested election? After a deliberate survey of the whole ground, and a full consultation with his Southern friends, reinforced during his sojourn in Raleigh, with deputations from other places, he finally determined upon his course, and accordingly, Manifesto No. 1, was issued from that place, communicating to the expectant country the views of the great oracle of Whiggery, upon this important question. Whatever constructions may have been put on that letter, by those of his friends with whose "peculiar opinions" on the subject his views did not happen to coincide, there was no rational doubt on the public mind generally that his Raleigh epistle placed him in a position of uncompromising opposition to annexation, both *personally* and *politically*. For, a perusal of the letter will show, that not only did Mr. Clay oppose annexation, because, to use his own language, it would be "a measure compromising the national character, involving us certainly in war with Mexico, probably with other foreign powers, dangerous to the integrity of the Union, inexpedient in the present financial condition of the country, and not called for by any general expression of public sentiment;" but he went further, and so far from then exhibiting any personal inclination to annexation, on the contrary, is found arguing in effect against it, even if these difficulties were removed. We find him using this strong language, that "in the future progress of events it is probable there will be a voluntary or forcible separation of the British North American possessions from the parent country"—and he declares, that he was "strongly inclined to think, (personally of course,) that it will be best for the happiness of all parties, that in that event they should be erected into a separate and independent Republic. With the Canadian Republic *on the one side and Texas on the other*, the United States, the friend of both, between them, each would advance its own happiness by such laws as were best adapted to its peculiar condition." It is not believed, that even the most anxious investigation can extract from this letter any expression whatever of a personal inclination to the annexation of Texas. On the contrary, the personal inclination of his mind is evidently in favor of the existence of Texas in a state of perpetual separation from this country, for, he contemplates its existence as such, even in that far distant period which Mr. Clay has, in imagination, assigned as the epoch of the liberation of Canada from British control. But by far the most remarkable position of this celebrated letter, and the one which, considering the purpose for which it was evidently written, is the very pith and marrow of the whole production, is that in which he announces his opinion that Texas "ought not to be received into the Union as an integral part of it, in decided opposition to the wishes of *a considerable and respectable* portion of the confederacy." It is not believed that the records of political history can furnish an example of a Statesman, who has heretofore announced in advance, as the rule of his public conduct, deference to the wishes of a minority of the country, whether large or small. Still less can an instance be found of one, who has declared the intention of sacrificing a question of high national importance to the wishes of a minority [illegible] *considerable and respectable*. It would be [illegible]