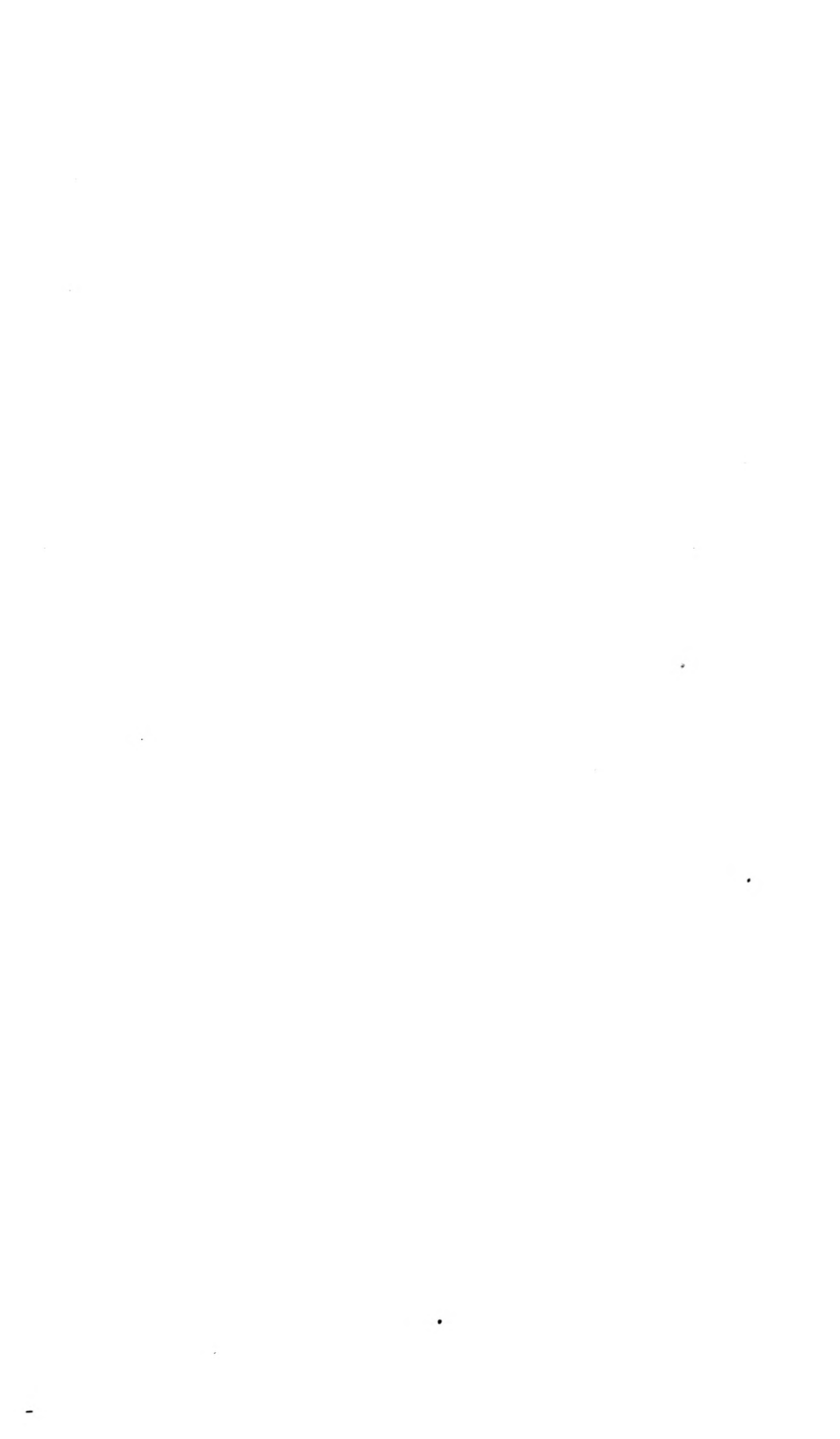


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AN

ADDRESS,

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TO

THE PEOPLE OF MARYLAND,

FROM

THEIR DELEGATES

IN THE LATE

NATIONAL REPUBLICAN CONVENTION:

MADE

IN OBEDIENCE TO A RESOLUTION OF THAT BODY.



in **Baltimore:**

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TO THE PEOPLE OF MARYLAND.

Fellow-Citizens:

In compliance with a resolution of the National Republican Convention lately held in Baltimore, requesting its Delegates to address the people of their relative states on the subject of the next Presidency, we ask leave most respectfully, to offer you our views on this all-important question.

It is a pleasing reflection for every American mind, that under our happy form of government, every citizen is entitled to equal political rights. In the body politic of the United States, the owner of thousands can exercise no larger voice at the polls, than the labourer, who honestly maintains his family by the sweat of his brow. Our social compact is based on the purest principles of human liberty, and our laws in recognising the equal division of property, secure to us a guaranty of free government, in opposition to the odious primogeniture system of the mother country, which legalizes an exclusive right to estate, and impoverishes every man's family in the kingdom, that his first born in the male line, may support the pomp and pride of a court. We have had the good fortune to be born under the wisest government, and the freest institutions, that have ever been devised by the capacity of man through the lapse of ages, and while the innocence of our character has won the hearts of all nations in our favor, the political blessings we enjoy in our own land, are unexampled in the history of the world. Our constitution, laws and principles, are admired abroad

and revered at home, and while they constitute the richest treasures of a great and flourishing people, they seem destined by the force of example, to effect a political regeneration among the nations of the old world. France in imitation of our history, has expelled a tyrant from her throne, and she has since determined on a step of equal importance to her liberties—the necessity of abolishing hereditary peerage from her government, or the odious injustice of making one man superior to another by law. England in obedience to the force of the same moral and political truths, is still engaged in the good work of national reform, and her monarch in lending his assent to its necessity, has admitted the important truth, that the voice of the people is every where superior, to the sceptre and the diadem.

But although the American people may justly boast of their national blessings, they cannot be too careful of their political purity. Innovations dangerous to human liberty, have crept imperceptibly into the freest and wisest governments, and have swept away their boasted institutions, and their sternest patriots. It is true our political principles are firmly implanted in the hearts of our countrymen, but let it be remembered, that the governments of Rome, and Greece, and Sparta and Venice, once the pride and boast of a people as brave and as free as ours, have all past away and perished, after deeds of glory and valour, that almost astonish the modern patriot.

Happily for us, we live under a government of pure and virtuous contrast to the tottering monarchies of Europe; a government founded by the wisdom and patriotism of our forefathers; sustained by the devotion of a free and enlightened people after half a century of successful experience, and securing to all its citizens, equal political, civil, and religious rights. To maintain these blessings in their original purity, to guard them as the choicest gifts of Heaven, and to bequeath them as a rich and unsullied inheritance to their

children, are the imperious duties of the American people individually and collectively.

In connection with the great principles upon which our government is formed, and in reference to the political institutions derived from it, there is no one subject of equal importance with that of the Presidential election. The great power which our Chief Magistrate derives from the charter of our liberties, enables him if he be not wise and virtuous, to exercise an authority, in direct opposition to the wishes of a majority of the people, without, strictly speaking, violating the express letter of the constitution. Our government is worthy of every eulogy ; but purely republican as it is, the President is clothed with vast and extensive powers, and his individual will and opinion, are superior to the voice of the whole people, as expressed through their constitutional representatives in both houses of the National Legislature. Every appointment, therefore, of our first Executive officer, is of deep and vital importance to the country—it furnishes to the nation, and to the whole world, a clear and undeniable evidence of the moral and political character of our people. If the head of the nation be high-minded, just and honorable ; if he be a republican in principle and a true patriot at heart ; if he be wedded not only to the form of our government, but to the true policy of its administration ; if he be wise, enlightened and experienced ; and above all, if he be devoted to the public interest, to the exclusion of every other consideration, it may with justice be affirmed, that the American people in placing their government under his auspices, have done their duty to themselves, to their country and to their posterity. But if the chief magistrate thus regularly appointed by the sovereign power of the country, should prove recreant to these great principles, and destitute of those exalted traits both of character, and mind, which alone are worthy the respect and confidence of the American nation, it may with equal truth be advanced, that the appoint-

ment of such an officer to the Executive department of the government, is not only dangerous to our liberties as a nation, but is a direct reflection upon our character as a people. In a country like ours, party and personal prejudices should be avoided; and the elective franchise should be exercised, with the strictest inspection, into the character, capacity and principles of men. No people have ever been free from the machinations of ignorant and unprincipled spirits, and though still in the purity of our infancy, trials even for high treason, have already been recorded in the history of our own. It is, therefore, that the American people cannot be too watchful of their liberties, least a false or mistaken confidence in their rulers, or even in themselves, may endanger their political existence, and ultimately place them on a level with the fallen nations of the earth.

The great questions which now agitate the American public are these: has Gen. Jackson, the present incumbent of the presidency, fulfilled the expectations and promises of his friends; has he administered the federal government upon just, enlightened and national principles; and should he again be exalted to the high station which he now fills? For ourselves, after the most deliberate and unprejudiced enquiries, we solemnly declare our sincere belief in the truth, and justice of the following opinions.

We believe that Gen. Jackson has administered the government upon unjust, anti-republican, and dangerous principles—that he has sacrificed the national interest, and with it both moral and political justice, in removing from public employment, the most experienced and meritorious civil officers, for the purpose of bestowing official rewards, on his own personal and political friends. That he has by this act of injustice violated the true spirit, if not the express letter of the constitution. That his conduct and practice as chief magistrate of the Union, being in direct opposition to his own opinions as publicly avowed, previously to his elec-

tion, indicate a dereliction of moral and political honesty, unworthy the President of the United States, and derogatory to the character of a disinterested patriot. That his unqualified opposition to internal improvement in 1829, after having supported both the expediency and constitutionality of the principle, through the whole course of his public life, denotes a wayward and unsettled condition of political opinion, or an uncandid and deceptive concealment of sentiment, unbecoming the reputation of an enlightened and virtuous statesman, and subversive of one of the most important objects of our domestic policy. That his opposition to the Bank of the United States, an institution founded and approved by the purest patriots, and the wisest statesmen of the country, is calculated to do much injury to our commercial and fiscal regulations, to destroy our circulating medium, and to embarrass the pecuniary and business transactions, of every individual in the United States. That his absurd and monstrous project of a Government, or Treasury Bank, is calculated to alarm the friends of free government of all parties, and in every section of the Union. And that the discord which prevailed in his cabinet, and the peculiar circumstances of its dissolution, unexampled in the history of refined and enlightened nations, have mortified the virtuous pride of all parties, inflicted a deep stain on the innocence of our national character, and diminished the high respect, which the American people, have heretofore cherished for those at the head of their government.

In giving this public expression to our opinions, it is but right and proper, that we should lay before you, the reasons which have impelled us to these conclusions; and while we invoke your patience in adverting to many facts, which must of necessity be familiar to many of you, we neither ask or claim for these opinions any further respect or influence, than is due to their truth, sincerity and justice.

In 1816 Gen. Jackson professed in the warmest terms, to

deprecate the evil tendency of party animosity in a government like ours. It was his opinion then, that the exercise of party spirit in our national councils, was calculated not only to weaken the administration of the Federal Government, but to circumscribe the operation of its utility and justice. In exhibiting his views upon this subject, he thus writes to Mr. Monroe on the 12th of November 1816: "Every thing depends on the selection of your ministry. In every selection, *party and party feelings should be avoided.* Now is the time to *exterminate that monster called party spirit.* By selecting characters most conspicuous for their probity, virtue, capacity, and firmness, *without any regard to party,* you will go far to, if not entirely eradicate those feelings, which on former occasions, *threw so many obstacles in the way of government:* and perhaps have the pleasure of *uniting a people* heretofore politically divided. *The chief magistrate of a great and powerful nation should never indulge in party feelings.* His conduct should be liberal and disinterested, always bearing in mind, *that he acts for the whole, and not for a part of the community."*

Mr. Monroe in the patriotic feeling which characterised his whole life, promptly assented to the correctness of these sentiments, and reduced them to practice, during the eight years of his peaceful and enlightened administration. In 1824 and '28 the friends of Gen. Jackson, very properly contended for the honorable and patriotic character of this celebrated correspondence, and in recommending him to the people as a proper candidate for the presidency, the liberality and soundness of his opinions, in regard to the administration of the national government, as illustrated in this correspondence, constituted one of the principal themes of their discourse. The whole of his letters to Mr. Monroe in testimony of the political doctrines we have quoted, were paraded before the people, and it is well known, that thousands supported his election, from impressions received from this correspondence alone.

Political parties are either real or personal,—real when entertaining different opinions on the form of a government—or opposite views as to the best mode of administering it—and personal, when characterized by a blind devotion to a man, or any combination of men. Gen. Jackson in his correspondence with Mr. Monroe had reference to the old Federal and Democratic parties, whose political wars, were almost co-existent with our government. The contest between these parties, involved many urgent questions of principle, connected with the general and state governments, and with the domestic and foreign policy of the country. While one of these great parties was at the head of the general government, the power of the other prevailed in many of the states. What the great body politic enacted from principle, and with a sincere regard for the public interest, a constituent part with equal patriotic feeling, in many instances attempted to oppose, till in the end so bitter became the contest, and so nearly balanced its relative forces, as not only to embarrass the operations of the government, but almost to endanger our national union. Yet still it was a struggle for principle and not for men, and many important questions of difference connected with it, remain unsettled even to this day. But although these parties were real, and from the origin of our government, had contended for great fundamental principles, it was still Gen. Jackson's opinion, at the epoch of his letters to Mr. Monroe, that they were "monsters that ought to be exterminated," and that the President of the United States, for the good of the country, should appoint his cabinet, and fill all the great offices of the government, without regard to political distinctions or party prejudices. It was then Gen. Jackson's opinion, that the President by "*consulting no party, would exalt the national character, and acquire for himself a name as imperishable as monumental marble.*"

The liberal and patriotic sentiments professed by Gen.

Jackson, in these celebrated letters were sources of triumph to his friends. It was publicly declared by his personal and political advocates, that his election to the Presidency, would secure to the nation, an able, honest and enlightened Executive; it was every where asserted upon the evidence of this correspondence, that the bold disinterestedness of his character, would draw into our national councils, the wisest and purest patriots of the land, without regard to party politics or sectional prejudices; it was universally proclaimed by the friends of Gen. Jackson, that his elevation to the executive chair, would secure to the people a President of the whole nation; and it was as confidently advanced, that under his auspices, the government would be administered upon liberal and magnanimous principles. So thoroughgoing were his friends, and so fruitful were their promises, as almost to convince an impartial observer, that they had actually discovered in the character of Gen. Jackson, the Philosopher's stone in politics, or the true and infallible secret of successful government. To make room for this *rara avis in Terris*, this incomparable statesman of the age, in the language of his partizans in Congress, the administration of his opponent must be put down, "even tho' it were as pure as the angels in Heaven." For this object it was necessary to expel Mr. Adams, the wise, the patriotic and the good, for the same reason, we presume, which induced the Athenian burgher to vote for the banishment of Aristides, because he was "tired of hearing him called the Just." But how far Gen. Jackson was sincere and honest, in the expression of his opinions to Mr. Monroe, and how far his theory coincides with his practice, are easily ascertained by a reference to his conduct as Chief Magistrate, and to the principles upon which he has administered the government.

In the Fall of 1828, Gen. Jackson was elected to the Presidency, and on the 4th of March following we find this liberal, disinterested and anti-party president, taking his official oath,

and almost in the same breath in his inaugural speech, impeaching the political integrity of those, who had preceded him in the administration of the government. It was a novel spectacle, and the first instance in the history of the nation, of the President of the United States being arrayed in the attitude of public accuser. The cabinet ministers of Mr. Adams, a part of whom had served under Mr. Monroe, retired like broken troops before a conquering despot, and on the 26th of March following, by public annunciation in the official paper of the government, the President in violation of his expressed principles, filled his cabinet exclusively with his own personal and political friends, and thus, in direct opposition to his own declarations, and to the solemn promises of his friends, his administration went into operation.

But the entire change of the cabinet on party grounds, did not satisfy the political animosity of Gen. Jackson. Immediately on his elevation to the Executive chair, he who would "consult no party" commenced a cruel warfare against all those in public office, who had by the expression of their opinions at the ballot-box, or in any other manner opposed his election. In entering on his official duties, Gen. Jackson seemed to act upon the principle, that no one who had merited respect or received appointment from his predecessor, was worthy of his confidence. In the first quarter of his administration, three of our foreign ministers were recalled, leaving unfinished their respective missions, and in one instance, before the government of the United States had received any information, of the minister's arrival at the place of his destination. We make particular reference to the case of Gen. Harrison, who had been appointed minister to Colombia, and of whose arrival at his post, General Jackson had received no official intelligence, and consequently it was impossible he could have taken any umbrage at his ministerial conduct, when he was recalled so early as

the middle of March, and Mr. T. P. Moore of Kentucky, a violent political friend of the President, was appointed to succeed him.* Gen. Harrison was distinguished for eminent worth, both in private and public life. He was well known as one of the most gallant officers in the army. Upon various occasions, but especially at the battle of Tippecanoo, that dreadful contest where civilized man was opposed to the merciless savage, without screen or shelter, Gen. Harrison, in the midst of blood-shed and slaughter, himself severely wounded, led on his countrymen to honor and to glory. It was true, the minister was not attached to the political party of the President, but when we remember that Gen. Jackson in his letter to Mr. George Kremer of May, 1824, expressed the opinion, that "*names were mere baubles,*" and that "*he who would abandon his fire-side and the comforts of home, and continue in the defence of his country through war, merited the confidence of the government let him bear what name of party he might,*"—we cannot resist the conclusion, that Gen. Jackson, in recalling this distinguished soldier, not only sacrificed his own character for honor and consistency, but some of the best interests of the country.†—Next followed the executive mandate, recalling Mr. James Barbour our minister at the court of St. James, and almost simultaneously with it, that of Mr. Alexander H. Everett from the representation in Spain. Each of these gentlemen, as in the case of Gen. Harrison, had opposed the election of Gen. Jackson; but they stood high in the estimation of the country for talents and patriotism. They had each been distinguished in their respective States—and the

*Better known as "Free Tom Moore", which was the minister's manner of franking his letters—all in the same line.

†We notice from the official Gazette of Bogota, the following complimentary communication of Gen. Harrison's arrival in that capital—"We congratulate Colombia on beholding the interest, which is manifested by the government of the United States, to cultivate the most friendly relations with this republic, by sending among us so distinguished a citizen as Gen. Harrison. The government has a full confidence, that his permanent residence in this capital, will contribute generally to strengthen the harmony and good understanding which happily exist between the two nations." Could there be a more favorable augury than this of the success of Gen. Harrison's mission?

former gentleman had filled with honor to himself the Executive chair of Virginia.—As politicians they were well known to be devoted to the republican principles of our government, and to the foreign and domestic policy upon which it was administered, and upon their nomination as national Envoys, they had but recently received the marked confidence of the American Senate. Yet all these claims to public respect, were insufficient to conciliate the good opinion of Gen. Jackson. Without even an intimation of any dereliction of official duty,—or any reason whatever being assigned to justify their recall, they were abruptly displaced, and two of the president's most influential political friends, Mr. Louis McLane, of Delaware, and Mr. Cornelius P. Van Ness, of Vermont, were appointed to supersede them. Among the candid and enlightened throughout the United States, there was but little difference of opinion as to the motives of the president in making these appointments, and however we may respect both Mr. McLane and Mr. Van Ness, a sense of common honesty and justice, and a due regard for the political character of the country, will not permit us to allow, that they were appointed in conformity with the true principles of political justice, or that they have made us abler or better representatives abroad, for the simple reason of their being attached to the person, to the fortunes, or to the party of Gen. Jackson.

Next followed the recall of Mr. Middleton, our worthy and efficient Minister at St. Petersburg, and to the astonishment of the whole nation—the appointment of Mr. John Randolph of Virginia, to succeed him at that court.* Happily for the president, the voluntary retirement of Mr. Brown, our minister to France, opened for his use a fifth diplomatic

* John Randolph, Esq. of Roanoke, the advocate of common sense, and political consistency; the opponent of all parties, men, and measures.—The politician who thought “Mr. John Adams’ administration the lowest state of degradation;”—but that Mr. Adams “was a good set off against Mr. Madison.”—These gentlemen, in the opinion of Mr. Randolph in 1814, “were of such equal weight, that the trembling balance” reminded him

field, and immediately succeeded the appointment of Mr. Rives of Virginia, another of his political friends.

It cannot be too forcibly impressed on the public mind, that these foreign emissaries thus unjustly and abruptly re-

“of that passage in Pope, where Jove weighs the beaux’s wits against the lady’s hair :”

“The doubtful beam, long nods from side to side,
At length the wits mount up, the hairs subside.”

The democrat who pronounced Mr. Jefferson’s embargo, “unconstitutional and oppressive, an engine of tyranny, fraud and favoritism,” and that “Then was the time to resist.” Who declared in reference to Mr. Jefferson’s administration, that “Atheists and madmen had been our lawgivers.”—The republican, who in 1812, thought Mr. Madison’s war, “contrary to the interests and honor of the American people, and an idolatrous sacrifice of both, on the altar of French rapacity—perfidy and ambition.” Who gave it as his opinion, that the nation under the auspices of Mr. Madison “was cursed with a weak and wicked administration;” that “its luck was in the inverse ratio of its better judgment,” and that Mr. Madison himself “was the destroyer of his country.” The shrewd representative who thought Mr. Monroe “unfit for a Statesman;” that “his administration was feeble and distracted;” that he had “attempted a conscription on the model of Bonaparte;” and that “he sat as an Incubus on the State.” See Mr. Randolph’s appeal, “To the Freeholders of Charlotte, Prince Edward, Buckingham, and Cumberland;” of May 30th, 1812, published in Niles’ Register, vol. 2d. page 258.—And also his letter addressed “To a gentleman in Boston, late a member of the Senate of the United States, from Massachusetts,”—dated, Philadelphia, Dec. 15th, 1814, and published in the United States Gazette, and in Niles’ Register, vol. 7, p. 288.

Mr. Randolph—the consistent opponent, in whose estimation the administration of the late President, Mr. Adams, was superlatively contemptible. Who “would not touch the present Secretary of State, (Mr. Livingston) even with a pair of tongs.” The champion of strict republican principles, yet the sworn enemy of free suffrage. Who, when his native State in 1824, desired to alter her constitution, and establish the elective franchise upon the free white basis, wrote to his constituents that “the people of Virginia would be mad to call a convention,” and that for himself, “he had lived and hoped to die a *freholder*, and when he lost that distinction, he should no longer have any motive in being their faithful servant.” The disinterested minister to St. Petersburg, who was for 14 months in the pay of the government, for sojourning 11 days only, at the court of his destination, and who, on his return to the United States, most studiously avoided an interview with the government. Mr. Randolph, the sagacious patriot, who in 1823 denounced Mr. Calhoun as “the army candidate” for the Presidency; who implored his constituents on that account “to look to it or they were lost forever,” and the consistent Senator, who in 1828 declared on the floor of Congress that “he should vote for Andrew Jackson for President” even “if he were a profligate—because he was the first military man in the country.” See Mr. Randolph’s letter of a later date addressed “To the freeholders of the counties of Charlotte, Buckingham, Prince

called by Gen. Jackson, were known to have been opposed to his election,—while, it was a matter of equal notoriety, that all those appointed to succeed them, were among the number of his personal and political friends. Such a system of proscription for opinion's sake, very clearly established the partizan character of the administration.—The system itself was new in the history of our country, and no candid and intelligent mind will hesitate to admit, that it furnished a sad commentary, on the memorable sentiment expressed by Gen. Jackson to Mr. Monroe, “that the president in the selection of his ministers should consult no party.” In the character of an upright and virtuous statesman, there is no difference between his theory and his practice. Duplicity is incompatible with private or official honor.—The path of political honesty, is like the bridge from Earth to Heaven in the Mahometan creed, if you once deviate from the right line, you merit the fatal consequences of human error.

This total change, however, in the foreign representation of the country, and the president's determination to indulge in party and personal feelings, to the exclusion of the great national policy he had so recently recommended, have given rise to many estimates of the probable expence, to which the country has in consequence been subjected. Taking into view the outfits of the newly appointed ministers, the amounts

William, and Cumberland, and commonwealth of Virginia,” dated May 17th, 1824—and also his speech in the Senate in 1820, on the bill for adding to the number of Circuit Judges, in which he spoke for two hours without ever touching the subject in debate. If any one wishes to see a stale collection of worn-out adages—a satire on Internal Improvement—a dissertation on slavery and the slave trade—scraps from Miss Edgeworth, and the Waverly Novels—a lamentation on the worn-out condition of the Virginia lands—an account of English magnificence—a eulogy upon Lord Londonderry—a glance at the Panama mission—a history of Irish misery, and altogether, a collection of *wretched puns*, such as “the tariff, tarified the South,” and a hodge podge, run mad, rhodomontade, let him refer to this speech, delivered on the floor of the United States Senate by Mr. J. Randolph, of Roanoke, the Hon. gentleman whom the President of the United States selected to represent the American people near the court of the most extensive empire in Europe.

allowed by the usage of the government for the return of their predecessors, the necessary delay in the public business, consequent upon a change of representatives, and the expense of employing national ships in conveying the favorite envoys to their respective points of destination, and under the fairest estimates the nett loss to the government must exceed the sum of \$250,000. But all this squandering of the public treasure, was done in the name of "reform," and the popular term translated from the president's inaugural speech, became an apology for every species of injustice, till the official dismissals practised in its name, became too numerous for the belief of the most prejudiced and credulous. Of all parties the most dangerous to free and enlightened government is that, which appropriates exclusive excellence to itself, and persecutes its opponents as unworthy and impure. Political intolerance has been the enemy of the human family from the earliest ages of the world, and General Jackson's administration is entitled to the peculiar distinction, of being the first to introduce this evil into the American Republic.

Next on the catalogue of executive persecution, followed the removal of a host of foreign Consuls, and an indiscriminate discharge of such government officers at home, who in the exercise of the elective franchise, and the rights and privileges of free government, had refused in the recent contest for the presidency, to record their votes in favor of Gen. Jackson. All this was done, under the specious necessity of "rotation in office," and the pretext was every where advanced by the government presses, in justification of these persecutions. But this plea too, like that of "reform," was soon after abandoned by the perpetrators of injustice; for it soon became manifest to the intelligent of all parties, that these removals from office were invariably restricted to those who had opposed the president's election—while his private and political friends—unmolested and secure, without a sol-

itary exception, were still retained in the public service. "Rotation in office" was defined by its practice, to be an expulsion of the president's opponents, in favor of his party friends. Personal or political attachment to Gen. Jackson, was made the sole test of merit or unworthiness. The government became administered exclusively on personal and party principles, and in all the attempts to excuse the injustice which followed as a natural consequence, not even an allusion was made, to any difference of opinion upon the great political questions of the country.

The government of the United States was established for the good of the whole nation. It was organized to secure the rights of independent opinion, political justice, and civil and religious liberty to all its citizens, and the administration of the government in the language of Mr. Jefferson* "should dispense equal and exact justice to all men, of whatsoever state or persuasion, religious or *political*." When, therefore, the organs of this government originally constituted for the benefit of the whole, are prostituted to subserve the interests of a party, it amounts to a violation of the most sacred principles upon which it was formed. When a government is successfully established, and a party arises under it adverse to the principles upon which it is formed, or to the policy by which it is administered, we admit that it then becomes justifiable, both in morals and politics, for the majority to exclude from their public councils, all those whose political sentiments upon these points, differ from those of the constituted authorities—and who, if placed in official stations might operate to the prejudice of the prevailing government. But happily for the United States, no such political parties exist among us now. We are all equally attached to the great principles of our government; and although a partial contrariety of opinion may prevail as to some particular points of its domestic policy, the President,

* Mr. Jefferson's Inaugural Address.

so far from allowing these differences of opinion to influence his appointments, has himself upon several occasions advocated the distinct interests of each. These facts are familiar to every enquiring mind, and since all the President's party friends are still retained in the public service; since none others have received political favor at his hands; since no intimation of any official dereliction has been advanced against one in five hundred of the repudiated officers, and since it is well known that all those who were dismissed, were opposed to the election of the President, we cannot resist the conclusion that every one must believe, they were discharged for refusing to support him, and consequently that Gen. Jackson and his minions, in the exercise of such a system of tyranny and injustice, have violated the true spirit, intentions and principles of the Constitution.

The party presses devoted to the President, did not hesitate to acknowledge the career of political injustice we have attempted to expose; the public offices were compared to the "Augean stable," and those who were not true to Gen. Jackson, were to be swept out by this political Hercules—and the official paper of the government, in openly justifying the practice, contended that the national good required at the hands of the President, to use his own language, such a system of "rewards and punishments." For a while, however, the General Post-office seemed to be exempt from the fell influence of persecution. Mr. McLane, a man alike distinguished for talents and for the purity of his public and private character, was at the head of that department. Under his official sagacity and industry, the general Post-office had reached a condition of prosperity unexampled in the previous history of the country; and this able and practical officer would still have remained at its head, could he have consented to the odious practice of proscription, which had polluted the various other departments of the government, and was now required to be enforced in the high office subject

to his controul. Between injustice and persecution, and the prospect of future honor to himself, from the further success of the post-office department, Mr. McLean did not hesitate for a moment. He promptly and indignantly refused his acquiescence, and signified a desire to relinquish his high trust, while the whole nation was still resounding his praise, rather than be the foul organ of persecuting honest and capable men, for the sake of personal or political opinions, entertained towards the President of the United States.

The flourishing and prosperous condition to which the general post-office had attained, under the auspices of Mr. McLean, could not stay the hand of the President and his party, in their system of "rewards and punishments."—Mr. McLean's wish to retire was promptly complied with, and he was immediately translated to the bench of the Supreme Court, where the honesty of his principles could not affect the patronage of appointment, and Mr. Wm. T. Barry, a gentleman of more orthodox political creed, and fresh from the gubernatorial contest in Kentucky, as the Jackson candidate, was placed at the head of the post-office department. So far as regards Judge McLean's motive in wishing to retire from the general post-office, and the indignation and abhorrence with which he contemplated the causes, that rendered his withdrawal necessary, we entertain no kind of doubt, as to the correctness of this statement.

Mr. Barry being now installed in the general post-office, the work of proscription commenced its operation there without let or hindrance. The Messrs. Bradley's were among the most capable and meritorious officers of the department; they had served with judge McLean, during the whole course of his administration; and that officer, foreseeing the iniquitous system that was about to be enforced, in retiring from the department, expressed a hope in writing, that the Messrs. Bradley's might be retained; for such in the opinion of Judge McLean were their experience, industry and integri-

ty, to use his own language, he did not think the "department could get on as well without them."* But the President and Mr. Barry discovered in less than a month, that this opinion of Judge McLean, though it was deliberately formed after seven years of arduous and successful association with the Bradley's in office, was unworthy of their respect or confidence, and with too true a knowledge of the political sentiments of all,—the Bradley's were among the first to be discharged, from the post-office department. Next followed the dismissal of Mr. Monroe, the post-master of Washington; and immediately after, a host of clerks and minor officers, for the same mean and nefarious purpose of making room for party and personal friends. Nearly every post-master† in the Union, whose office was worth holding, and who had not declared for General Jackson, was expelled, without regard to merit or capability,—and even the petty patronage of advertising dead letters, was taken from such newspapers as refused to advocate his cause, and given to others, more devoted to his service. There was no department of the government that was not ransacked in search of political victims. Even the national Librarian,‡ Mr. Waterson, who was amenable to congress for the faithful discharge of his duty, was abruptly dismissed by the President, without any cause being assigned for his removal: and an underling clerk from the print-shop of the government paper at Washington, was

* See Judge McLean's letter.

† By the Post Master General's official report, in the 1st year of Gen. Jackson's administration 491 dismissals were made from the Post Office Department alone

‡ The law it is true, gives the appointment of the Librarian to the President, but the Library was purchased "for both houses of Congress," and, therefore, they were the proper judges of the propriety of its management. Mr. Waterson was highly esteemed by all parties in Congress, and his dismissal regretted. He has informed the public that during the whole time he was national Librarian, only one book was lost; but he had opposed by an honest vote the election of Gen. Jackson, for which sin, his faithful discharge of an important public trust, could not atone. The late Gen. Harper, in his reply to certain interrogations, in a case wherein Aaron Burr was plaintiff, and James Cheatham defendant, tried at New York, touching the famous presidential election in 1801, gave it as his opinion, that if Aaron Burr would have consented to pay off his political supporters, by the bestowment of public office, he would have been elected in preference to Mr. Jefferson.—It seems by Gen. Harper's answers to the interrogatories in this case, that Burr would not consent to use such means, and therefore in this respect, he was more honest than Gen. Jackson. See Gen Harper's answers as furnished by himself—Niles' Register, vol. 23, page 282.

appointed to succeed him. Wherever political service had been rendered in aid of General Jackson's election, the official patronage of the government has been lavishly scattered. Thirty odd editors of newspapers, who supported his cause, no matter how shamelessly, have been appointed to public office,* and in some instances the double duty of Jackson editor and government officer, is performed by the same

* Mr. Noah, editor of the New York Enquirer, in announcing his own appointment to the office of Surveyor of the Port, says—"Our new duties not interfering with the duties and obligations we owe to the party, will not abate the attention hitherto paid to the columns of the Enquirer, which we hope to improve in every department." Should not the knowledge of this fact, and a thousand others like it in principle, bring a blush on the cheek of the Hon. Senator, Mr. Marcy—who but lately declared on the floor of the Senate, that the officers dismissed from the public service, had been too zealous in the cause of the preceding administration. In the Senator's own words the proscribed were "partizans in the struggle, paragraph writers for newspapers, distributors of political handbills;" and therefore the President is justified by the Hon. Senator in his monstrous course of injustice and persecution. We ask these simple questions, and appeal to the honesty and justice of the people:—Has the President dismissed any of his own "partizans" who "took part in the struggle?" Has he proscribed any "paragraph writers" who advocated his election? Has he "punished" any "distributors of political handbills:" in aid of his cause? But on the contrary, does he not hold them all "sug" in office; and has not an increase of salary, in many instances, been asked for them? And have not thirty odd or forty editors of newspapers, wholesale "writers of paragraphs" been appointed to office? And has not the public printing throughout the Union, been taken from such newspapers as had not supported Gen. Jackson's election and given to such as did? In our own State and in the District of Columbia, was it not taken from the National Intelligencer and given to the United States Telegraph, and again taken from this latter press, when it became too independent to be Van Burenized, and awarded to the Globe; and likewise was it not transferred from the Baltimore Patriot to the Baltimore Republican, a press got up avowedly for the purpose of supporting Gen. Jackson's election? The removals and appointments are now estimated at about three thousand. The dismissed were "punished" for being the friends of the late administration; the appointed rewarded, for being the "partizans" of Gen. Jackson. What was infamous in the friends of the late administration, is political virtue in those of the present. What a man does for Gen. Jackson is all right and proper; but if he does the same thing for any one else it is downright treason—and yet such political logic as this is gravely advanced in the American Senate. O tempora! O mores!

It is true, while Mr. Clay was in the State Department the public printing was taken from one or two papers, but the reasons were boldly and honestly avowed.—It was taken for example from that just, enlightened and gentlemanly press, the National Intelligencer, because it could not, or did not afford room for all the public printing. Not so with the present administration; no reasons are given—all is veiled in darkness, for injustice loaths the light. Even on the application of a United States Senator, politely enquiring of the Post Master General, the reasons why an officer, whose character stood high in the State he represented, had been dismissed from the department,—an abrupt answer was returned by Mr. Barry, stating that the Senator, "was not permitted to know the reasons." Upon one occasion indeed, Major Eaton did condescend to explain the cause of one of his dismissals.—Major Nourse was informed by letter from the Secretary—"that the chief clerk in his department must be a confidential friend"—and for this reason he must leave the office; and in the same letter of dismissal, Mr. Nourse was informed by Major Eaton—"that nothing had transpired to which he could take the slightest objection to him, nor had he any to suggest." This was a pretty barefaced avowal of the Jackson principle, that the government was made for him and his friends and the friends of his friends. Upon this ground a most meritorious officer was discharged and his place filled by one of Major Eaton's "confidential friends" Doctor Randolph—the same gentleman whom Mr. Ingham charges with an attempt to assassinate him as he passed to and from his official duties—If these things are to be excused on the floor of the Senate, God save the Republic.

individual. "Rewards and punishments" are openly and shamelessly dispensed, wherever the public business requires agency. Partizan wrath lights its torch from the firebrand of the furies. In the first eighteen months of General Jackson's administration, fourteen hundred and seventy-one officers were dismissed from the public service on party grounds.* A pretty good beginning indeed, for a President who had preached a crusade against political parties, and held them up to public detestation, as "monsters that ought to be exterminated!" We do not make a comparison between the men, but never did Nero, in his prodigal despotism, deal out to his prætorian guards, more bountiful rewards and honors, than General Jackson has done to his personal and political partizans.† With the virtues and ta-

* See the estimate of removals in Mr. Holmes' speech in the Senate, never contradicted.

† The following is a list of the removals under the several administrations of the government:—

WASHINGTON'S ADMINISTRATION

commenced 23th May, 1789—ended 3d March, 1797—number of removals 11—as follows:—

13th Nov. 1792.—John Armistead was nominated Surveyor of Plymouth, North Carolina, vice Thomas Davis Freeman, *superseded*.

6th March, 1794.—Lawrence Muse, of Virginia, nominated Collector of Tappahannock, vice Hudson Muse, *superseded*.

21st Nov. 1794.—Joseph Pitcairn, N. Y. nominated Vice Consul at Paris, vice Alexander Duvernet, *superseded*.

10th Dec. 1794.—Win. Reynolds, Va. Collector of Hampton, vice Abraham Archer, *superseded*.

24th Feb. 1795.—Constant Somers, Collector at Egg Harbor, N. J. vice Daniel Benzal, *superseded*.

25th June. 1795.—Dudley Atkins Tyng, Collector at Newburyport, Mass. vice Edward Wigglesworth, *superseded*.

10th Dec. 1795.—Joseph Grayson, Collector at Beaufort, S. C. vice Andrew Agnew, *superseded*.

21st Dec. 1796.—Charles C. Pinckney, S. C. Minister to France, vice James Monroe.

25th Jan. 1797.—David Russell, Vt. Collector at South Hero, Vermont, vice Stephen Keyes, *superseded*.

JOHN ADAMS' ADMINISTRATION

commenced 4th March, 1797, ended 4th March, 1801—number of removals 11—as follows:—

19th May, 1797.—Joshua Sands, Collector at New-York, vice John Lamb, *dismissed—defaulter*,

24th Nov. 1797.—Ebenazer Storer, Mass. Inspector, vice Leonard Jarvis, *dismissed*.

30th Nov. 1797.—Chauncey Whittlesey, Collector at Middletown, Conn. vice George Phillips, *superseded*.

4th Dec. 1797.—Thomas Crafts, Mass. Consul at Bordenux, vice Joseph Fenwick, *dismissed*.

Tench Coxe, of Philadelphia, Commissioner of the Revenue, was dismissed about this time.

14th Feb. 1798.—Nathaniel Rogers, N. H. Supervisor of the Revenue, vice Joshua Wentworth, *dismissed*.

21st May, 1798.—Anderson McWilliams, Surveyor, &c. at Fredericksburg, Va. Vice Thomas Moffat, *superseded*.

1st March, 1799.—Joshua Head, Mass. Collector at Waldoborough, vice Waterman Thomas, *superseded*.

lents of many of the repudiated officers, some of you are familiar; and we invoke you all in the name of our common country, to reflect on the dreadful consequences, of allowing the great offices of the nation, to be prostituted to purposes

3d March, 1800.—Andrew Bell, Collector at Perth Amboy, N. Jersey, vice John Halstead, *removed*.
12th May, 1800.—John Marshall, Va. Secretary of State, vice Timothy Pickering, *removed*.

JEFFERSON'S ADMINISTRATION

commenced 4th March 1801, ended 4th March 1809—number of removals 36.—Four of these appointments were to fill vacancies created by Mr. Adams.—Six were public defaulters, and one a removal of his own appointment—the following is the list:

William Gardner of New-Hampshire, Commissioner of Loans, vice John Pierce, *removed*. Gardner had been removed by Mr. Adams, and Pierce appointed.

Joseph Whipple of New Hampshire, Collector at Portsmouth, vice Thomas Martin, *removed*. Whipple had been removed by Mr. Adams, and Martin appointed.

Joseph Scott, Marshal Eastern District of Virginia, vice David M. Randolph, *removed*. Randolph was appointed by Washington in December 1795, and re-appointed by Mr. Adams, December 1799.

John Smith, Marshal Eastern District of Pennsylvania, vice John Hall, *removed*. Hall was appointed by Mr. Adams in December 1799.

Joseph Crockett, Marshal of Kentucky, vice Samuel M'Dowell, *removed*. M'Dowell was appointed by Washington, September 1789, re-appointed in December 1793 re-appointed January 1798.

David Fay, District Attorney for Vermont, vice A. Marsh, *removed*. Marsh was appointed by Washington June 1794, and re appointed by Mr. Adams.

Daniel Marsh, Collector, &c. at Perth Amboy, New-Jersey, vice Andrew Bell, *removed*. John Halstead was removed 3d March 1800, and Bell appointed.

James Lynn, of New-Jersey; Supervisor; vice A. Durham, *removed*. Durham was appointed by Washington 4th March 1791.

Mount Edward Chisman, Collector at Hampton, Virginia, vice Kirby, *removed*. Kirby was appointed by Washington, 21st December 1796.

Thomas de Mattos Johnson, Collector, Savannah, Georgia, vice James Powell, *removed*. Powell was appointed by Adams, 27th December 1797.

Isaac Smith, Collector Cherrystone, Virginia; vice Nathaniel Wilkins, *removed*. Wilkins was appointed by Washington, 25th May 1790.

George W. Irwin, of Massachusetts, Consul at London, vice Samuel Williams, *removed*. Williams was transferred from Hamburg to London, 5th December 1797.

Joseph Hook, Collector at Penobscot, Massachusetts, vice John Lee, *removed*. Lee was appointed by Washington, 3d August 1789.

Reuben Etting, Marshal of Maryland, vice David Hopkins, *removed*. Hopkins was appointed by Adams, 5th December 1800.

John Heard, Marshal of New Jersey, vice Thomas Lowry, *removed*. Lowry had been twice appointed by Washington, and last by Adams, on the 10th January 1793.

John Swartwout, Marshal District New York; vice Aquilla Giles, *removed*. Giles was twice appointed by Washington, and once by Adams, 22d December 1800.

Ephraim Kirby, Connecticut, Supervisor, vice J. Chester, *removed*. Chester was appointed by Washington, 4th March 1791.

Alexander Wolcott, Collector, Middletown, Connecticut, vice Chauncey Whittlesey, *removed*. Whittlesey was appointed by Adams, 30th November 1797, vice George Philips, *superseded*.

Samuel Osgood, Supervisor, New-York, vice Nicholas Fish, *removed*. Fish was appointed by Washington, 27th Dec. 1793.

David Colston, Collector at New York, vice Joshua Sands, *removed*. Sands was appointed by Adams 19th May 1797, vice John Lamb, *dismissed*.

Peter Muhlenberg, Supervisor of Pennsylvania, vice Henry Miller, *removed*. Miller was appointed by Washington, 10th December 1794.

of vindictive persecution and indirect bribery; or of permitting them to be used as a species of political currency, in which the President pays off his partizans, according to the quantum of service they had brought in aid of his election.

January 11th 1803. Joseph Farley, Collector at Waldoborough, Massachusetts, vice Joshua Head, *removed*. Head was appointed by Adams, March 1st 1799, vice Waterman Thomas, *superseded*.

John Gibaut, Collector at Gloucester, Massachusetts, vice William Tuck, *removed*. Tuck was appointed by Washington, 12th March 1795.

Joseph Wilson, Collector at Marblehead, Massachusetts, vice Samuel R. Gerry, *removed*. Gerry was appointed by Washington, 2d August 1790.

Ralph Cross, Collector at Newburyport, Massachusetts, vice Dudley A. Tyng, *removed*. Tyng was appointed by Washington, 25th June 1795, vice Edward Wigglesworth, *superseded*.

John Shore, Collector at Petersburg, Virginia, vice William Heth, *removed*. Heth was appointed by Washington and Adams.

Robert A. New, Collector at Louisville Kentucky, vice James M'Connel, *removed*. M'Connel was appointed by Adams, 8th December 1800.

11th January 1803. Daniel Bissol, Collector at Massac, vice William Chribs, *removed*. Chribs was appointed by Jefferson in the recess of 1801, and nominated to the Senate 6th January 1802, and confirmed.

4th February 1803. Isaac Halsey, Jun., Collector at Portland, Massachusetts, vice Nathaniel F. Fosdick, *removed*.

Zacariah Stevens, Surveyor and Inspector at Gloucester, Massachusetts, vice Samuel Whittemore *removed*. Whittemore was appointed by Washington, 3d August 1789.

Joseph Story, Naval officer, Salem and Beverly, Massachusetts, vice William Pickman, *removed*. Pickman was appointed by Washington, 3d August 1789.

Jabez Pennyman, Collector, &c. at Allburgh, Vermont, vice David Russel, *removed*. Russel was appointed by Washington, 25th January 1797, vice Stephen Keys, *superseded*.

11th November 1803. John M. Goetshins, of New York, Consul at Genoa, vice Frederick H. Walloston, *superseded*. Walloston was appointed by Adams, 7th July 1797.

Jared Mansfield, Connecticut, Surveyor General, &c. vice Rufus Putnam, *removed*. Putnam was appointed by Washington, 21st January 1796.

Henry Warren, Collector, &c. Plymouth, Massachusetts, vice William Watson, *removed*. Watson was appointed by Washington, 3d August 1789.

Samuel Osgood, Naval Officer, New-York, vice Richard Rogers, *removed*. Rogers was appointed by Washington, 17th February 1797.

Jeremiah Bennet, Jun. Collector, &c. at Bridgetown, New-Jersey, vice Eli Elmer, *removed*. Elmer was appointed by Washington, 3d August, 1789.

November 11th 1803. H. B. Trist, Collector for Mississippi, vice John F. Carmichael, *removed*. Carmichael was appointed by Adams, 4th January 1800.

MADISON'S ADMINISTRATION

commenced on the 4th March 1809, and ended 4th March, 1817—number of removals 5. It will be remembered that Mr. Clinton very fiercely contested Mr. Madison's second term, and obtained about 80 electoral votes,—so that he came into office with pretty much such an opposition to his election as Gen. Jackson has done. The following is the list of Mr. Madison's removals—

18th December 1809. John Epänger, Marshal of Georgia, vice Benjamin Wall, *removed, a defaulter*.

13th November 1811. Lemuel Trescott, Collector at Passamaquoddy, vice Lewis Federick de Lesdiener, *removed, a defaulter*.

Nathan Sage, Collector, &c. at Oswego, New-York, vice Joel Burt, *removed, a defaulter*.

23d March 1814. Oliver Chaplain, Surveyor at New-London, Connecticut, vice N. Richards, *removed*.

13th Feb. 1807. Jonathan Richmond, Collector of direct taxes, New-York, vice Roswell Touseley *removed*.

The sublime moral spectacle of a great and virtuous people, selecting their first executive officer, by the exercise of enlightened judgment, and independent opinion, has heretofore been contemplated with pride and gratification, wherever the blessings of free government were known or appreciated; but if ever the American people shall deliberately sanc-

MONROE'S ADMINISTRATION

commenced 4th March 1817, and ended 4th March 1825—number of removals nine—of these the causes of the removal of seven are ascertained—

Two Foreign Consuls failed as merchants and therefore forfeited their consular offices.

Another Consul, Auldjo, for insanity.

The removal of the Consul at Glasgow was demanded by the British Government.

Another Consul was recalled on the complaint of American merchants.

A District Attorney for Florida was removed for abandoning his office, and staying in Maryland.

D. R. Mitchell, Creek agent, was removed on a charge of conniving at an illegal transportation of slaves.

12th December 1817. George G Barroll, Consul at Malaga, vice Wm. Kirkpatrick, *removed*.

Wm. Crawford, Receiver of Public money, Mississippi Territory, vice Samuel Smith, *removed*.

26th January 1819. John Nicholson, Marshal Louisiana, vice Michael Reynolds, *removed*.

20th February 1821. John Crowell, Indian agent, Creek Nation, vice David B. Mitchell, *removed*.

21st December 1821. Henry Janson, Jun. Consul at Christiansand, Norway, vice Peter Isaacson, *removed*.

3d January 1823. Robert R. Hunter, New-York, Consul at Cowes, England, vice Thomas Auldjo, *removed*.

22d February 1824. David Walker, of Pennsylvania, Consul at Glasgow, Scotland, vice Harvey Strong, *removed*.

16th December 1824. Wm McKee, Surveyor of Public Lands in Illinois and Missouri, vice William Rector, *removed*.

26th February 1825. Albert J. Claggett, of Maryland, District Attorney, West Florida, vice William P. Steele, *removed*.

JOHN QUINCY ADAMS' ADMINISTRATION

commenced 4th March, 1825, and ended 4th March 1829—number of removals two. One of these was on a charge of violation fifteen years ago, of the embargo laws.

ANDREW JACKSON'S ADMINISTRATION

commenced on the 4th March 1829, and in the first eighteen months of his administration fourteen hundred and seventy-one public officers were dismissed!—of these two hundred and thirty-nine were expelled directly by the President, chiefly in the recess, more than three times the number removed by all the former Presidents for forty years. Four hundred and ninety-one were removed from the post office department—as officially reported. Likewise one hundred and fifty-one subordinate officers from the customs, and deputy clerks and collectors; deputy marshals; private secretaries of foreign ministers; clerks in land and other offices; surveyors and others; estimated at six hundred—as was asserted in the Senate of the United States and never contradicted. See *Mr. Holmes Speech in the Senate*.

It would be almost impossible to arrive at the whole number of removals since Gen. Jackson came into office. The inquisitive reader may form some idea of the corrupt system by referring to Niles' Register—vol. 36. pages 34. 67. 119. 133. 149. 163. 181. 199. 234. 377. 410, and vol. 37. pages 67. 87. 149. 164. 275. 327. 412. 433. vol. 38. pages 8. 49. 50. 97. 105. 112. 142. 216. 229. 254. 270. 301. 325. 355. vol. 39. pages 121. 188. 218. 217. 301. 332. 333. vol. 40. pages 26. 55. 59. 63. 95. 131. 230. 222. 223. 254. 294. 337. 394. 401. 433. etc.

There is no end to the private distress which the party animosity of Gen. Jackson and Mr. Van Buren has brought upon the country—General Jackson's administration has been compared with Mr. Jefferson's, but with what truth, let the reader decide by reference to the facts we have stated.

tion the system of favoritism and corruption, which has marked the administration of General Jackson, it will effectually destroy the political purity, freedom of opinion, and national security of the country. In two instances, out of the whole number of dismissals we have enumerated, the administration has attempted to excuse its injustice, by prosecuting its innocent victims as public defaulters; but to the honor of our nature and to the political institutions of the country, in each instance the triumph of the accused has been signal and complete.*

But so much for the President's practical commentary upon his theory in regard to appointments; and such has been the fulfilment of his solemn pledge, that if he were chief magistrate he would put in practice the advice he had recommended to others.

Yet there was a time in the history of Gen. Jackson when he was peculiarly sensitive on the subject of appointments. Since he has been President he has forced an appointment on the Senate contrary to the expressed opinions of a majority of that body.† But in former times, if a government

*Mr. Nourse, chief clerk of the Treasury department, and Mr. Phillebrown, were prosecuted by the government as public defaulters; the former to a heavy amount. The cases were brought to trial, and a court and jury on their oaths, gave verdicts in favor of the defendants--to wit: that the government owed Mr. Nourse 12000 and odd dollars, and Mr. Phillebrown 400 and odd dollars. It is rather strange that Gen. Jackson should wage war against presumed defaulters, when it is known he has appointed many to office, knowing them to be such--Mr. Livingston the present Secretary of State, was for twenty-five years a public defaulter--and prosecuted Mr. Jefferson for ordering the Marshal to seize his property for the debt--It has been stated that his account stands settled with the Treasury, but how and whether the government has received the whole of the original debt, amounting to \$50,000 with interest for more than twenty years, is not ascertained--Mr. Barry was appointed to the General Post office, owing the government, as admitted in the defence published in the Globe \$10,000, but it was not recoverable, owing to some chicanery in the law--the prosecution was not legally conducted, and Mr. Barry escaped by law and not by justice, as the criminal sometimes does, from an error in the indictment. Major Lee who was appointed Consul General to Algiers, was a defaulter for \$3500--and unless the amount has been retained out of his pay it is now lost to the government.

There is a very singular circumstance connected with the present administration--When General Washington was retiring from the Presidency, it was proposed in Congress to transmit him a vote of thanks, in testimony of the high respect which the co ordinate departments of the government entertained for his zealous and patriotic public services. Three distinguished members of Congress voted against the proposition--Andrew Jackson of Tennessee, Edward Livingston of New York and Wm. B. Giles of Virginia. It is still more surprising, that the only two survivors who opposed this affectionate proceeding, in reference to the father of his country--He, of whom it has been justly said "his fame was whiter than it was brilliant," are now at the head of the government--Gen. Jackson and Mr. Livingston.

† Noah was nominated and rejected, again nominated during the absence of dissenting Senators and

agent was disagreeable to himself or his friends, Gen. Jackson was the most infuriate complainant in the United States. We have reference particularly to the General's far-famed philippic against Silas Dinsmore, who was agent of the Choctaw Indians, under the administration of Mr. Madison. Mr. Dinsmore it seems, became obnoxious to the Hero, and his friends; he had refused a passage to a family through the Indian nation, who came unprovided with a passport, and for this exercise of his duty, Gen. Jackson became so enraged, as to write immediately to the government, (through the Hon. G. W. Campbell) in a style, and temper, and grammar, which we hesitate not to say, would do but little credit to one of the Chiefs themselves. Lest you may have forgotten something of the manner and matter of this famous epistle, and in order to show Gen. Jackson's extreme impatience, and violent temper, under appointments that did not please him, we would refer you to his letter to the Hon. G. W. Campbell, indirectly addressed to the Secretary at War, and which is now on file in the Department.*

“When I received your letter of the 10th of April,” says Gen. Jackson, “I, nor the citizens of West Tennessee, hesitated not to believe, that, Silas Dinsmore would cease to exercise, over our citizens, such lawless tyranny, as he had been in the habit of.” And speaking of the detention of the family by the agent, the writer continues: “*And for what? the want of a passport: and my God is it come to this? are we freemen, or, are we slaves? is this real: or is it a dream?* for what are we involved in a war with Great Britain? is it not for the support of our rights as an independent people and a nation, secured to us by nature, and nature's God, *as well as solemn treaties, and the law of*

the nomination confirmed. This is Gen. Jackson's democracy, making the minority superior to the majority.

* See Niles' Register, vol. 34, page 112.

nations? and can the Secretary at war for one moment retain the idea, that we will permit this petty tyrant to sport with our rights, secured to us by treaty, and which by the *law of nature we do possess?* and sport with our feelings, *by publishing his lawless tyranny exercised over a helpless and unprotected female?* Were we base enough to surrender our *independent rights* secured to us by the bravery and the blood of our forefathers, we would be unworthy the name of *freemen*. The indignation of our citizens *are* * only restrained by assurances that government, so soon as *they are* notified, of this unwarrantable insult, added to many injuries that Silas Dinsmore has heaped upon our honest citizens, that he will be removed. Should we be deceived in this, be *frank* with the Secretary of War, that *we are freemen*, and that we will support the supremacy of the laws, and *that the wrath and indignation of our citizens will sweep from the Earth the invader of their legal rights, and involve Silas Dinsmore in the flames of his agency house.*” And again, “Should not the source of the evil be removed, our right secured by treaty restored to our citizens, the agent and his house will be demolished.” The General thus concludes : “this may be thought strong language, but it is the language that *freemen*, when they are claiming a fulfilment of their rights, ought to use: it is the language that they ought to be taught to lisp from their cra-

* In this beautiful specimen of diction and punctuation, we find the President of the United States indulging himself in repeated attacks on the King's English.—In addition to the examples above, we would refer the curious to the following from the same letter—We have made these quotations with great care, giving the wording, pointing, &c. precisely as they were published from the original: “Neither can we the citizens of Tennessee, believe, without better proof, that the *hair of the head* of one of the murderers of Manley's family, and Crawley's, at the mouth of Duck river, *are* disturbed by the Creeks, when we have proof that they have lately passed near Huskashia, fifteen in number to join the Prophet.” Again, “pardon the trouble I have given you in this long letter; it relates to the *two subjects that has* for some time irritated the public mind, and *is* now ready to burst forth in vengeance.” These are examples of the grossest violation of the plainest and simplest rule in grammar; and yet there are those who *profess* to believe that the late messages to Congress were dictated by the same head. We should like to know the political legerdemain by which this wonderful transformation is effected.

bles, and never when they are claiming rights from any other nation ever to abandon."*

Pretty language this, truly, and most discreet sentiments from one who has since been chosen President of the United States. The agency houses of the government were to be set on fire, and the agent himself burnt to death in them, and the whole "swept from the Earth," and yet the government was gravely informed, that all this outrage was "supporting the supremacy of the laws." The friends of General Jackson cannot excuse this coarse and incendiary attempt to bully the government. He was then upwards of fifty years of age—quite too old to learn. Indeed, we may with truth apply to Gen. Jackson, what Napoleon said of the Bourbons---he has "learnt nothing, he has forgotten nothing."

In every instance where we can arrive at a written expression of General Jackson's opinions, no two principles in all nature are more diametrically opposed, than his professions and his practice. In that very remarkable document of inexplicable opinion, and most ridiculous composition, his letter of resignation to the legislature of Tennessee, of Oct. 1825, we find the following grave and formal announcement of his sentiments in relation to the appointment of members of Congress to office. "I would impose," says Gen. Jackson, "a provision rendering any member of Congress ineligible to office under the general government, during the term for which he was elected, and for two years thereafter, except in cases of judicial office. The effect of such a constitutional provision is obvious. By it Congress in a considerable degree would be free from that connexion

* We wonder if the President was governed by this rule when he insisted on the late instructions being given to our minister at the English court. Perhaps the same magic wand which could convert arson and murder into "a support of the supremacy of the laws" might transform a rash and furious demand, into a fawning, penitent, supplicating prayer, and make them mean the one and the same thing. The temper and ignorance of Gen. Jackson are so manifest it seems like an act of supererogation to attempt to expose them.

with the executive departments which at present gives strong ground of apprehension and jealousy to the people. Members instead of being liable to be withdrawn from legislating on the great interests of the nation, through prospects of executive patronage, would be liberally confided in by their constituents, while their vigilance would be less interrupted by party feelings and party excitement. Calculations from intrigue or management would fail, nor would their deliberations or their investigation of subjects consume so much time. *The morals of the country* would be improved, and virtue uniting with the labours of the representatives, and with the official ministers of the law, *would tend to perpetuate the honor and glory of the government.* *But if this change in the Constitution should not be obtained, and important appointments should continue to devolve on the representatives in Congress, it requires no depth of thought to be convinced that corruption will become the order of the day, and evils of serious importance to the freedom and prosperity of the republic must arise. It is through this channel that the people may expect to be attacked in their constitutional sovereignty,—and where tyranny may well be apprehended to spring up in some favorable emergency.”*

Now had any one predicted at the epoch of these solemn assurances, that in 1829, when Gen. Jackson should be elected to the Presidency, the very first of his official acts would be to fill his cabinet, and the great diplomatic offices of the country almost exclusively with members of Congress, we venture to assert that his most prejudiced political opponent, would scarcely have credited the prophecy. No one would then have believed, that regardless of the perilous consequences that were likely to result from the odious practice he pretended to deprecate, and in violation of the solemn pledge given on the same occasion, declaring he felt it “as due to himself to practice on the maxims recommended to others,” that in two years after his election, Gen. Jackson would

have appointed nineteen members of Congress to office. Taking this letter in connexion with those to Mr. Morroe, no one would have supposed, that the writer so soon as he became President himself, would have sacrificed our best and wisest agents for party purposes, and with the view of increasing the very system of appointments, the practice of which, in his opinion, "made corruption the order of the day, and was an evil of serious importance to the freedom and prosperity of the Republic." In a government like ours no difference should be admitted between moral and political honesty. The man whose character is not fair and upright in public life, is rarely ever esteemed in his private associa-

*Martin Van Buren, Senator from N. Y., Secretary of State.

John H. Eaton, Senator from Tennessee, Secretary of War.

John Branch, Senator from North Carolina, Secretary of the Navy.

Samuel D. Ingham, Member of the House of Representatives, from Pennsylvania, Secretary of the Treasury.

J. M. Berrien, Senator from Georgia, Attorney General.

Louis McLane, Senator from Delaware, Minister to England.

Wm. E. Rives, Member of the House of Representatives from Virginia, Minister to France.

Thos. P. Moore, Member of the House of Representatives from Kentucky, Minister to Colombia.

George W. Owen, Member of the House of Representatives from Alabama, Collector at Mobile.

John Chandler, Senator from Maine, Collector at Portland.

Jeromus Johnson, Member of the House of Representatives from New York, Appraiser of Goods.

Mr. Stower, Member elect from New York, U. S. District Attorney for Florida.

Levi Woodbury, Member of the Senate from New Hampshire, Secretary of the Navy.

Edward Livingston, Member of the Senate from Louisiana, Secretary of State.

James Buchanan, Member of the House of Representatives from Pennsylvania, Minister to St. Petersburg.

P. P. Barbour, Member of the House of Representatives from Virginia, Judge of District Court of Va.

John Randolph, Member of the House of Representatives from Virginia, Minister to St. Petersburg.

Lerah L. Hobbie, member of the House of Representatives from New York, Assistant Post Master, N. Y.

Jonathan Harvey, Member of the House of Representatives, appointed Navy Agent at Portsmouth, N. H.—declined.

tions. But such has been the theory and such the practice of Gen. Jackson ; in precept a saint, in practice a political puritan.

We candidly admit we never did concur with the President, as to the danger or impropriety of giving appointments to members of the National Legislature. In filling the great offices of the nation, it was always our opinion, that the best talents and the purest virtue of the country, should be commanded without restriction, and if those whom the people have chosen to represent them, are to be considered (ex officio) unworthy of public confidence, it would be a stain upon our national character, which a senator ought never to have admitted. But if in denouncing the practice of appointing members of Congress to office, as being fraught with fatal consequences to the "freedom of the republic," Gen. Jackson was not sincere in the expression of his opinion, we ask, is he worthy the confidence of the American people? And if he was sincere, after violating his own sense of propriety, and in his opinion, the most sacred interests of the country, we again ask is he worthy of further confidence?

Upon the important subject of internal improvement, Gen. Jackson's inconsistency has been equally gross and absurd. Almost from the origin of our political existence, the expediency and constitutionality of opening post-roads, military roads, and the exercise of the power of internal improvement upon its broadest principles, have received the sanction of our government. So early as 1784 an ordinance was passed, making provision for a grant of lands to the states, with 5 per cent. of the money arising from the sale of those lands, for the purpose of constructing high-ways within the old states, and for the further object of connecting them more intimately with the new states, by the establishment of public roads, and other means of intercommunication. In 1809 Congress passed an act in confirmation of the same principle; and in 1811, another act received its sanction, for the opening

of public roads from Nashville in Tennessee, to the town of Natchez, in Mississippi, and from the rapids of the river Miami, to the western line of the Connecticut reserve. In 1826, President Madison, upon his own executive authority, without the sanction of Congress, or even the assent of the State through which it was to pass, caused a military road to be constructed from Plattsburg, or its immediate vicinity, to Sackett's harbour.

In 1817, the question as to the power of the general government under the Constitution, to engage in works of internal improvement, was discussed in Congress by the ablest and most brilliant statesmen of the nation, and after the most elaborate investigation, and a debate that would have done honor to the wisest and brightest age of the world, it was "resolved" by a vote of 90 to 75, "that Congress had the power under the Constitution, to appropriate money for the construction of post-roads, military and other roads and canals, and for the improvement of water courses." The great principle being thus settled, the government continued to appropriate its surplus funds, to objects of internal improvement, in almost every State in the Union. Under its wise and benign auspices, the great Cumberland road on its rout to St. Louis, was commenced; harbors were deepened; the beds of rivers cleaned out; break waters were constructed; light-houses erected; and every effort was made consistent with prudence and propriety, to connect and improve every part of the country. Upon this all-absorbing question, Gen. Jackson upon every occasion up to 1825, while he was a member of the national legislature, voted in favor of the expediency of internal improvement, the constitutional power of Congress to engage in it, and invariably supported in its broadest sense, the most liberal construction of the constitution. If there was any subject upon which the General's opinions seemed to be firm and conclusive, it was on this interesting question. But that you may form a more accurate

estimate of his sentiments, and understand how thoroughly he advocated the principle in its most extended application, we insert from the public records an extract of his votes in Congress touching this particular question.

EXTRACT.

1824—APRIL 23.—The Senate resumed the bill “to procure the necessary surveys, plans, and estimates, upon the subject of Roads and Canals.”

Mr. SMITH, of Maryland, moved that there be inserted, at the end of the first section, the following proviso :

“*Provided*, That nothing herein contained, shall be construed to affirm or *admit* a power in Congress, on their own authority, to make Roads or Canals within any of the States of the Union.”

Mr. VAN DYKE moved to add to this amendment the following :

“*And provided, also*, That previous to making any of the aforesaid surveys, the consent of the States through which the said surveys are to be made, shall first be obtained by the President, from the Legislatures of the States respectively, agreeing that such surveys may be made.”

The question upon agreeing to this motion of Mr. Van Dyke, was decided as follows :

Yeas—Messrs. Barbour, Bell, Chandler, Elliott, Gaillard, King of N. Y., Lloyd of Mass. Macon, Mills, Palmer, Taylor of Va. Van Buren, Van Dyke, Ware—15.

Nays—Messrs. Barton, Benton, Branch, Brown, Clayton, D’Wolf, Eaton, Edwards, Findlay, Hayne, Holmes of Me. Holmes of Miss. JACKSON, Johnson of Ky. Henry Johnson, Josiah S. Johnston, King of Ala. Knight, Lanman, Lloyd of Md. Lowrie, Melvaine, Ruggles, Seymour, Talbot, Taylor of Ind. Thomas, Williams—28.

The question was then taken upon agreeing to the amendment of Mr. SMITH, as above stated, and decided as follows :

Yeas—Messrs. Barbour, Bell, Branch, Chandler, Clayton, D’Wolf, Elliott, Findlay, Gaillard, Holmes of Me. King of Ala. King of N. Y. Lloyd, of Mass. Macon, Mills, Palmer, Smith, Taylor of Va. Van Buren, Van Dyke, Ware—21.

Nays—Messrs. Barton, Benton, Brown, Dickerson, Eaton, Edwards, Hayne, Holmes of Miss. JACKSON, Johnson of Ky. Henry Johnson, Josiah S. Johnston, Kelly, Knight, Lanman, Lloyd of Md. Lowrie, Melvaine, Noble, Ruggles, Seymour, Talbot, Taylor of Ind. Thomas, Williams—25.

Mr. HOLMES of Maine, then moved to add to the first section the following :

“Provided, And the faith of the United States is hereby pledged, that no money shall ever be expended for Roads or Canals, except it shall be among the several States, and in the same proportions as direct taxes are laid and assessed by the provisions of the constitution.”

And the question being taken upon said motion, it was decided as follows:

Yeas—Messrs. Barbour, Bell, Branch, Chandler, D’Wolf, Elliott, Findlay, Gaillard, Holmes of Me., King of N. Y., Knight, Lanman, Lloyd of Mass. Macon, Mills, Palmer, Taylor of Va. Van Buren, Ware—19.

Nays—Messrs. Barton, Benton, Brown, Clayton, Dickerson, Eaton, Edwards, Hayne, Holmes of Miss. JACKSON, Johnson of Ky. Henry Johnson, Josiah S. Johnston, Kelly, King of Ala. Lloyd of Md. Lowrie, McIlvaine, Noble, Ruggles, Seymour, Smith, Talbot, Taylor of Ind. Thomas, Van Dyke, Williams—27.

No farther amendment being proposed, the question upon the third reading of the bill was decided as follows:

Yeas—Messrs. Barton, Benton, Brown, Dickerson, Eaton, Findlay, Hayne, Holmes of Miss. JACKSON, Johnson of Ky. Henry Johnson, Josiah S. Johnston, Kelly, Lanman, Lloyd of Mass. Lloyd of Md. Lowrie, McIlvaine, Noble, Ruggles, Smith, Talbot, Taylor of Ind. Thomas, Williams—25.

Nays—Messrs. Barbour, Bell, Branch, Chandler, Clayton, D’Wolf, Edwards, Elliott, Gaillard, Holmes of Me. King of Ala. King of N. Y. Knight, Macon, Mills, Palmer, Seymour, Taylor of Va. Van Buren, Van Dyke, Ware—21.

1824—May 19—On the question of passing to a third reading the bill “To improve the navigation of the Ohio and Mississippi rivers,” the votes were as follows:

Yeas—Messrs. Barton, Benton, Brown, D’Wolf, Dickerson, Eaton, Findlay, Holmes of Miss. JACKSON, Johnson of Ky. Henry Johnson, Josiah S. Johnston, Kelly, Lanman, Lloyd of Mass. Lowrie, McIlvaine, Noble, Parrott, Ruggles, Smith, Talbot, Taylor of Ind. Thomas, Williams—25.

Nays—Messrs. Barbour, Bell, Branch, Chandler, Clayton, Edwards, Elliott, Gaillard, Hayne, Holmes of Me. King of Ala. King of N. Y. Macon, Mills, Palmer, Seymour, Taylor of Va. Van Buren, Van Dyke, Ware—20.

1826—Feb. 24—On the passage of the bill authorising a subscription of stock in the Chesapeake and Delaware Canal Company, the votes were as follows:

Yeas—Messrs. Barton, Boulogny, Brown, D’Wolf, Dickerson, Eaton, Edwards, Findlay, JACKSON, Johnson of Ky. Johnston of Lou. Kelly, Lanman, Lloyd of Mass. Lowrie, McIlvaine, Noble, Parrott, Ruggles, Smith, Talbot, Thomas, Van Dyke, Williams—24.

Nays—Messrs. Barbour, Bell, Benton, Branch, Chandler, Clayton, Elliott, Hayne, Holmes, of Me. Holmes of Miss. King of Ala. King of N. Y. Knight, McLean, Macon, Seymour, Tazewell, Van Buren---18.

But General Jackson by the sanction of his vote, has carried the principle of internal improvement still further than his, and has exceeded the limit of prudence and propriety, advocated by many of the warmest friends of the measure. In 1824—'25, an extraordinary bill was submitted to Congress for the purpose of opening a national road through the State of Missouri, and for three hundred miles into the Mexican territory. The propriety and constitutionality of this bill, were very vehemently opposed by many of the firmest friends of internal improvement; but Gen. Jackson in opposition to the wisest admonitions, and the most conclusive reasoning, gave his deliberate vote in favor of appropriating the public funds, for the opening of a government road through the territory of an adjoining nation.*

In further illustration of Gen. Jackson's opinions on the subject of internal improvement, the legislature of Indiana in 1828 passed a resolution, requiring to be informed as to the General's sentiments, in regard to the expediency and constitutionality of constructing roads and canals, out of the funds of the United States; and desiring to know, in the event of his being elected President, if he would foster and encourage a system of internal improvement. Gen. Jackson in reply to Gov. Ray, who addressed him in virtue of this resolution, thus expresses his opinion: "I pray you, Sir, respectfully to state to the Senate of Indiana, that my opinions at present are precisely what they were in 1823 and '24, when I voted for the present tariff, and appropriations for internal improvements." And in another part of this reply the General continues: "I will further observe to

* Upon this bill the following were the yeas:—Messrs. Barton, Benton, Bouligny, Brown, De Wolfe, Eaton, Edwards, Elliot, Holmes of Mississippi, Jackson, Johnson of Kentucky, Johnston of Louisiana, Kelly, Knight, Lanman, Loyd of Massachusetts, Lourie, Melville, McLane, Noble Palmer, Parrott, Ruggles, Seymour, Smith, Talbot, Taylor, Thomas, Van Buren, Van Dyke.

your excellency, that my views of constitutional power, and American policy, were imbibed in no small degree, in times and from the sages of the Revolution; and that my experience has not disposed me to forget their lessons, and in conclusion I will repeat, my opinions remain as they were in '23 and '24."

In 1829 we have continued evidence of Gen. Jackson's attachment to the wisdom of the policy, as well as to the constitutionality of internal improvement. At this epoch of his administration he gave his sanction to various bills, involving the principle in its fullest extent—for example, the bills appropriating \$25,688 for the improvement of the navigation of Cape Fear river, in the State of North Carolina; 8000 and odd dollars for removing bars at or near the mouth of Black river, in the State of Ohio; \$15,000 for removing obstructions at or near the mouth of Big Sodus bay, in the State of New York; \$6000 for improving the navigation of Conneaut creek, in the same state; and \$500,000 for the purpose of surveying the Indian lands, and in furtherance of the views of Georgia, in connexion with this afflicted and persecuted race.

But for these historical facts, it would be difficult to imagine, how any man, who has the honor of presiding in the Executive chair of the United States, could in the short period of a year from the date of these bills, throw aside opinions which he had maintained for half a century, and which he gravely declares, he had "imbibed from the sages of the Revolution." But extraordinary as it may seem, the revolution at Washington which followed upon the election of Gen. Jackson, produced a correspondent change in his opinions. The whole principle of internal improvement was then abandoned, and the entire system stigmatized as an assumption of power, by the wise and consistent statesman, who had learned to support its constitutionality from the spirits of '76; who had but recently advocated the propriety of constructing a national road for

three hundred miles beyond the limits of the United States; and who, only two years before, in his letter to the Governor of Indiana, had expressly declared, that "internal improvement and the tariff, embraced the leading objects of any system which aspired to the name of American."

Notwithstanding all this public evidence of Gen. Jackson's previous opinions, on this great national question, we find him in the spring of 1830, in opposition to a large majority of the people's representatives in both houses of Congress, putting his veto on the bills making appropriations for the Rockville and Maysville roads, and for the Louisville and Portland canal.* The first of these great works would have connected the seat of government with paved roads to the town of Cincinnati in the State of Ohio. The Maysville road, if we credit the report of the United States' Engineers, Col. Long and Major Trimble, was one of the greatest thoroughfares in Kentucky, being the route of the great mail between the Atlantic States, through Kentucky, Tennessee, Alabama, and on to New Orleans, while such was the wretched condition of this road, at the time of the Engineers' report, that the government was paying \$80 per mile for the transportation of the mail upon it. The Louisville and Portland Canal was the only obstruction, in the great high-way of the West, which in its course traverses more than 2000 miles, and is directly connected with the commerce of thirteen States, and territories large enough for several more. Yet Gen. Jackson, who had been the inveterate advocate of internal improvement for more than fifty years, rejected these important works on the ground that his

* It has always been customary with our Presidents to sign any bill which passed both houses of Congress, and the propriety of this acquiescence upon the part of the Chief Magistrate has never been doubted, and such has heretofore been considered as his bounden duty, unless the case was an extreme one and involved dangerous principles—Will Gen. Jackson contend that a bill for Internal Improvement is such a case? Louis Philippe, King of the French, has lately put his Veto on some bill which passed both Legislative Chambers. The refusal of the Royal assent has produced great commotion in France, and may have an influence on the monarchies of Europe—yet in the United States, General Jackson has taught his supporters to regard the rejecting privilege as one of trifling importance

opinions had undergone a change, and that the works themselves were not of a national character,—but with what claim to wisdom or consistency, let every intelligent and reflecting mind determine, from a reference to his former opinions, and with a knowledge of the fact, that only a year before, he had given his sanction to bills embracing the same principle, and making appropriations for comparatively diminutive and local objects. But Gen. Jackson's consistency does not stop here. In the following Spring of 1831, forgetful of his own declaration but a year before, that his opinions had undergone a change as to the power of the government to engage in works of internal improvement, we find him taking another political somersets, and signing various bills making appropriations for internal improvement to the full extent of the principle, without regard to the location or nationality of the works, till the executive sanction to bills for this object, exceeded the sum of one million of dollars. With all due deference to the opinions of our fellow citizens who differ from us, as to the character and qualifications of Gen. Jackson, we ask, with all these facts before them, have we ventured too far in saying, that his wayward, contradictory and ignorant notions, and follies, totally disqualify him for the office of President of the United States?

Yet we must pursue Gen. Jackson's duplicity and inconsistency still further. In his first message to Congress we find him with every show of sincerity, recommending an amendment to the constitution of the United States, so as to restrict the presidential service to one term, and in his letter of resignation to the Legislature of Tennessee, in reference to this change, he says that it involved "great interests with the people of the United States, on which the security of our republican system may depend." In the same letter too, Gen. Jackson declares, while he was in the very act of violating the sentiment, by surrendering his appoint-

ment, that it had ever been a rule with him, "neither to seek after, or to *decline* office." And we recollect also, upon the strength of these assurances, it was every where admitted by Gen. Jackson's friends, previously to his election, and seldom, if ever, contradicted by his opponents, that his executive service would be restricted to one term. Upon the faith reposed in common honesty, and with a due regard for the declarations of men, it seemed to be conceded by all, that the president was not again to be a candidate for public office. But at the very time when this disinterested patriot was flattering the credulity of a sovereign State, by professions of independence and political virtue, he and his major domo, Gen. Eaton, as has been proved by the publication of their own letters to their very particular friend, Mr. *Stephen Simpson*, were engaged in schemes of petty electioneering, that would mortify the pride, and disgrace the character of a county Sheriff. And however incredible it may seem, scarcely was Gen. Jackson seated in the presidency, when we find him in the midst of political intrigue and stratagem, with the view of helping Mr. Van Buren to the presidency, or of securing his own re-election. From the mansion of the disinterested patriot, who never "sought after office," a private letter was written by his Secretary, franked by the President's own hand, and dispatched on a political pilgrimage to Mr. Kreps, a member of the Pennsylvania legislature, urging him to induce that body to nominate Gen. Jackson for re-election. An application from a member of the President's family, under the sanction of his own franking privilege, asking such a boon of a whole state, may be proper and natural to him who never "seeks after office," but surely it can never be worthy of the high office which he fills. But even this political ruse de guerre, did not place Gen. Jackson sufficiently before the public for re-election, and consequently in 1831 we find the editor of the *United States' Telegraph*, pompously announcing to the country, by the per-

mission of the President, "that if it should be the will of the nation, to call on him to serve a second term as the Chief Magistrate, he will not decline the summons." Such an annunciation was new and unprecedented in the history of the government; but such was Gen. Jackson's theory, and such is his practice.

But of all the opinions now entertained by Gen. Jackson, there are none that promise greater injury to the true interests of the country, than his inveterate hostility to the Bank of the United States. There is not an individual in the whole community, who either buys or sells, no matter to how small an amount, but has a deep and permanent interest in the continued existence, and success of this institution. Every one remembers the deplorable inconvenience and distress, to which the country was subjected by the suspension of specie payments, and the consequent refusal of the banks to discount, or to throw their funds into public circulation, produced a scarcity of money that was severely felt by the commercial and working classes, of moderate means, and particularly by the poor, in every part of the United States. The absence of metallic currency produced a depreciation of bank notes, and a correspondent embarrassment, in our fiscal, commercial, and business operations, unknown to the country since the memorable revolution in our continental money. We possessed no means of equalizing our domestic exchange, or even the taxes and duties necessary for the operations of the government. In Boston, for example, where the Banks paid specie, paper currency was twenty per cent. more valuable, than in Baltimore where they did not, so that in the payment of duties, and taxes, in the nominal medium of the latter city, one-fifth might be said to be saved by the payer. The difference of exchange between Philadelphia and Boston was 17 per cent.—with New York $9\frac{1}{2}$ per cent.—with Baltimore $4\frac{1}{2}$ per cent.—with Washington 7 per cent.—with Charleston $6\frac{1}{2}$ per cent.; and in 1817,

before the Bank of the United States went into operation, bills of exchange on Europe were 10 per cent. above par in Philadelphia, and 20 per cent. in Baltimore. Nothing could exceed the distracted state of our currency as it rested on the monied institutions of the states, which were obliged to resort to heavy and immediate curtailments as a means of self-defence. The whole nation felt the evil in common with individuals. During the last war, when the country was invaded by the most powerful nation in Europe, the difficulty of obtaining loans for the maintenance of the strife, was unexampled in the history of well-established governments. In 1814 a tender of loans, exceeding five millions of dollars, was made by capitalists of New York and Baltimore, to Mr. Secretary Campbell, "receiving one hundred nett per cent. stock for eighty dollars paid in." The only persons benefitted by a wretched depreciated currency, are money changers, money-lenders and stock-jobbers.*

Every part of the country and particularly the southern, middle, and western states, suffered under the oppressive evils arising from an inconvertible paper currency. The commercial exchanges between different states, and even different neighbourhoods, were embarrassed by the evils of an unsound and fluctuating representative of money, and even the government of the United States, in the midst of its nominal revenue, was severely harrassed by the great difficulty of converting its funds, received in one section of the country, into available means in another. The public lost all confidence in the adulterated currency of the state banks, the only monied institutions in the country, commerce languished, and universal distrust and embarrassment prevailed.

To remedy all these evils, and a thousand others too nu-

* The poor are always most oppressed by a depreciated nominal currency—for example, the laborer receives the amount of his weekly wages in a representative of money, subject to discount—he sustains the loss, and not the wealthy who pay it.

merous for this appeal, Mr. Madison in his message of December, 1815, recommended to Congress the propriety of establishing a national bank, and Mr. Secretary Dallas of the treasury department, one of our ablest financiers, proposed at the same time, the incorporation of the present institution. Congress, in a manner highly honorable to the wisdom, and patriotism, of that body, promptly granted the charter, and the first step of the bank in going into operation, was the importation of seven millions of specie, and by an immediate and extensive issue of its notes, which, upon the faith of the government, were every where equal in value to the solid coin, the bank by great exertions succeeded in restoring specie payments, in establishing a fair and uniform system of exchange between every section of the union, in furnishing throughout the whole country a sound circulating medium, and in less than eighteen months after its establishment, foreign bills were down to one and a half per cent. in all our commercial cities. The institution immediately acquired a high character abroad, and by its foreign credit, it was enabled in a great measure to sustain the state banks, by taking a large share in the foreign exchanges of the country, without exporting its own specie. Our trade to China and India where we could send no product in exchange, frequently required several millions of dollars in specie annually, and it was in a great degree owing to this cause, that the state banks in order to preserve their metallic treasure, were often compelled to enforce sudden and extensive curtailments of their issues, which never failed to produce great embarrassment to our commercial and business transactions. The Bank of the United States from its high credit abroad, frequently substituted its own bills on Europe, for these ruinous shipments of coin, and in the China and India markets, these bills were often more valuable than the specie itself. Our trade to India has declined of late years, but within the last twelve months, the Bank of the United States

has furnished bills to the amount of a million of dollars, for the China, India, and South American trades.*

The effects of the Bank of the United States have been, to throw into active circulation a sound and responsible currency, amounting to twenty odd millions of dollars. It transports funds to any part of the United States in most instances free of all expense, and at all times, not exceeding one half per cent. It affords the surest means of collecting the public funds, and is the only safe depository of the revenue of the government. It furnishes throughout the United States a healthful circulating medium, every where equal, if not superior to specie, and by receiving freely the notes of the solvent state banks, and requiring frequent settlements from them, it holds a beneficial check over all those monied institutions, and by preventing them from making improvident issues of paper currency, it purifies every where the circulating medium, and by making it a safe representative of the precious metals, public confidence is restored, to the great benefit of our commercial and business operations, and to the successful advancement of the industry, enterprise, and general prosperity of the country.

But in the face of all the public evidence of benefit, derived from this invaluable institution, Gen. Jackson pretends to have discovered, that the bank has failed to accomplish the objects for which it was established, and that the institution itself is unconstitutional. To enter into the full reasoning as to the constitutionality of the question, would far exceed the limits of this appeal. In 1790 and 91, the Bank question was most ably and thoroughly discussed in Congress, and a decision given in favor both of its utility and constitutionality, by the purest and wisest statesmen of that day. Gen. Washington after the most mature and deliberate investigation, with a full consultation with Jefferson, Madison,

* See the late Report of the Bank.

and Hamilton, and other worthies of ancient and distinguished renown, after viewing the subject in all its relations and bearings, and with a full knowledge of all the arguments, advanced in favor of, and against the propriety of the measure, gave his unequivocal sanction, to the expediency and constitutionality, of establishing a national bank. Subsequent laws were enacted in favor of the same principle, approved of by Mr. Jefferson, and sanctioned by the decisions, both of the Supreme and the State Courts. In 1817, the Bank of the United States received the approbation, of Madison, Lowndes, Clay, Calhoun and the entire democracy of that day, and after forty years of public sanction, and successful operation, is it not a late hour for Gen. Jackson, who is not himself a very profound constitutional lawyer,* to be incommoded by doubts and scruples, on this great national question, which has been so often decided, by the wisest lawgivers of the country, and by some of the framers of the constitution itself. In the debate upon the constitutionality of the bank to which we have made reference, great stress was laid by Congress, on the last clause of the 8th section of the 1st article of the constitution, empowering Congress “to make all laws, which shall be necessary and proper for carrying into execution all the express powers, and all other powers vested by this constitution in the government of the United States, or in any department or office thereof.” The wisest and most cautious statesmen of the nation, were of opinion, that this clause gave to Congress every incidental power “necessary and proper” for executing the powers more strictly expressed in the constitution. The implication was not considered as clothing Congress with new powers, but merely as a declaration, that it possessed the means of executing those expressly included in the old grant. The decision was one of deep and vital interest to the country, for unless it be

* See Gen. Jackson's letter to Mr. Monroe, in which he says he would have hung all the members of the Connecticut Convention, under the 2d section of the Rules and Articles of war.

understood, that Congress does possess certain implied powers under the constitution, the government in establishing a military school, in appropriating the public funds for objects of internal improvement, in laying an embargo, in imposing duties and prohibitions for the protection of American industry, in the acquisition of Louisiana, in the purchase of a National library, or paintings for the capital, or even in the employment of a chaplain, has usurped the most unlawful powers, and every administration, from the adoption of the government to the present day, has grossly violated the constitution; for in the whole instrument, there is no direct expression of any such power being given to Congress. Unless indeed Congress does possess certain implied or incidental powers under the constitution, it would reduce our whole scheme of government to a dead letter, and the people would be divested of more than half the blessings derived from a pure and enlightened constitution. If we judge from past events, Gen. Jackson is the friend of all the other implied powers of the constitution, and yet his political conscience, is sorely troubled about the bank. In a national point of view, the bank had clearly developed its public benefits, and from the administration of Washington, to the election of Gen. Jackson, the purest patriots of the country, had given evidence in favor of its constitutionality; but all this was not enough to allay the deep rooted hostility of Gen. Jackson. At the instance of the Secretary of State* the bank was severely attacked in three repeated communications to Congress, while the official paper of the government at Washington, a press established under the auspices, and subject to the immediate controul of the President, was employed in a perpetual political cannonade against the propriety of re-chartering the bank. In order to destroy the well earned popularity of this institution, the grossest misstate-

* The Secretary had set New York all in commotion with his ridiculous schemes about banks, during his quarter's service as governor, &c.

ments and falsehoods have been promulgated by the administration presses, in every part of the United States. Among the political artifices of the day, to excite the popular indignation against the bank, it is publicly declared to be an aristocratic institution, while other electioneering tricks, equally low and dishonest, are resorted to, in order to justify the President in his crusade against the best interests of the country. The Bank of the United States, was created by Congress, is responsible to that body, and is dependent on the government for the renewal of its charter, we therefore can scarcely understand what is meant by the charge of its being an aristocratic bank, unless it is intended to convey the idea that its stock is held principally by the affluent. But in order to show how little reliance ought to be placed on the political statements of the administration presses, we have informed ourselves fully on this point. The following is the true statement of the domestic and foreign interests in the Bank of the United States, and the division of its stock.

DOMESTIC.		FOREIGN.	
Holders of 1 share, 128, owning 128		Holders of 1 share, 5, owning 5	
2	159, 318	2	0, 0
3	111, 333	3	1, 3
4	121, 484	4	2, 8
5	235, 1,175	5	6, 30
between 5 & 10,	656, 5,685	between 5 & 10,	25, 209
10 & 20,	688, 10,978	10 & 20,	37, 614
20 & 30,	336, 8,838	20 & 30,	32, 854
30 & 40,	207, 7,494	30 & 40,	34, 1,291
40 & 50,	224, 10,583	40 & 50,	51, 2,415
50 & 100,	435, 32,689	50 & 100,	104, 7,403
100 & 200,	194, 29,075	100 & 200,	72, 10,730
above 200,	185, 93,061	above 200,	97, 55,597
	<hr/>		<hr/>
	3679, 200,841		466, 79,159
Of these are—Domestic—	Females, 832, holding	22,896 shares.	
Foreign—	“ 69, “	6,117 “	
	<hr/>	<hr/>	
	901	29,013	
Domestic trusts, executors for orphans, &c.	315, holding	17,081 shares	
Foreign “ “ “ “	14, “	3,365 “	
	<hr/>	<hr/>	
	329,	20,446	
Domestic Societies, Corporations, &c.	126, holding	14,309 shares.	
Foreign “ “ “ none.	none.	none.	

From this it appears that out of 3,679 domestic stockholders, 598 are holders of shares of from 100 to 300 dollars; 766 are holders of shares of and under 500 dollars—that 1447 are holders of sums of and under 1000 dollars—and that 2865 are holders of sums of and under 5000 dollars, amounting among these small stockholders to the sum of \$4,601,600, being nearly one-fourth of the whole domestic stock of the bank.

It further appears that 54,286 shares, being upwards of one-fourth of the whole domestic stock of the bank, are owned by females, trustees, executors, orphans, and by religious, benevolent, and other associations.

The bank has stockholders in every state in the union, and its capital is divided among twenty-five branches, in different parts of the United States, so that its benefits, may be every where impartially dispensed.

But in lieu of this great national institution, Gen. Jackson would establish on its ruins, a government bank at Washington, without branches, in which the whole revenue of the country is to be deposited, under the immediate controul of the President, and subject we presume to his exclusive authority in the appointment of its officers. A more visionary and dangerous scheme has never yet been proposed, for the consideration of Congress, but to the honor of that enlightened body it has thus far refused even to consider it.

In relation to the unfortunate Cherokees, the President in his decision, has violated all the compacts and treaties, which the government of the United States has heretofore made with the Indian tribes, and which we as a just people, were bound to respect. In every part of the United States we have hunted down this wretched remnant of uncivilized humanity, taken possession of the territory which God and nature seemed to have consigned to their use, and now when they are almost banished from the face of the earth, we refuse to adhere to the most solemn compacts made

in the spirit of national forbearance, to guard them from ruin, and inevitable extinction. It is not for us to moralize on the offended justice of Providence; but it is surely a singular spectacle, to see a whole people in tears about the Greeks, sending their money abroad in aid of the Poles, and even to France, in relief of the families of those, who fell in the *glorious cause*, of exchanging a *legitimate monarch*, for a *citizen king*, while their own government at home, is waging a system of persecution and oppression, against a poor miserable race of beings, dependent upon our mercy, neglected by nature, without friends or advocates, and while we are turning them into the wilderness, in violation of law, justice, and humanity, to perish in savage warfare, with their brethren of the desert.

The next objection to the administration of Gen. Jackson which we shall urge, is the unprecedented and sudden dissolution of his cabinet. At the outset of his administration, all will remember, the great public benefits that were expected to result, from the judicious selection of men, whom the President in his wisdom, had associated with him in the administration of the government. Official harmony among the heads of department was every where promised. To use a bright idea of Gen. Jackson himself, his cabinet came into office as a "unit," and among the partizans of the day, every eulogy which heated zeal could invent was bestowed upon its wisdom, patriotism and purity. Political hosannas were every where chaunted by the government presses, in praise of the People's President, and in honor of the virtue and unanimity of his public ministers. But scarcely was this immaculate cabinet inducted into office, when discord and dissention prevailed in its councils. The President though at the zenith of human honor, was not content with his high office. He must needs imitate the example of some of the British kings, and resort to political contrivances, with the hope of reigning hereafter in the person of a successor.

Mr. Van Buren, the President's prime minister,^o had conciliated his warmest regard, and that high functionary, who "never sought after office" himself, was soon detected in the deepest plans for securing the Executive chair to his favorite minister.* In his imprudent zeal to accomplish this object, Gen. Jackson seemed to have forgotten, that it was promoting, in the cant phrase of his party, the very "Secretary Dynasty" which he and they had so recently, and so furiously denounced. But the court favorite was desirous of political advancement, and to effect his objects, the President of the United States descended from his high official dignity, to dabble in a paltry scheme of cabinet electioneering, in favor of Mr. Martin Van Buren. To the honor of the country, however, there was still some public virtue left in the cabinet, a portion of its members could not brook this interference on the part of the Chief Magistrate, and on boldly refusing to permit his dictatorship, an open quarrel was the consequence between the President and his ministers. But this was not all, Gen. Jackson conceiving, that the high esteem in which the Vice-President was held, by a portion of his cabinet, and probably a disposition on their part to advance him to the Presidency, had alienated their good opinions from his intended successor, he commenced an angry attack on Mr. Calhoun, raking up some antiquated tittle-tattle, connected with Mr. Monroe's administration, as an apology for this disgraceful rupture. Yet this was not the worst, matters of a private character, connected with the family of one of the cabinet ministers, and touching the private opinions, and social intercourse, prevailing among the families of the entire cabinet, were next attempted to be controlled and regulated, by the President of the United States. It was indeed an office worthy of the high agent. But this petty interference on the part of the President, failing likewise,

* Gen. Jackson's first object was to secure the Presidency to Mr. Van Buren, failing in this, he determined to keep it himself.

the variance between him and his ministers became too bitter for endurance, and the entire dissolution of the cabinet, resulted as a natural consequence. The whole nation was astonished, but the President was consoled.—As a “unit” his cabinet was born, and as a “unit” it died.

The public is in possession of the plainest evidence of the truth of this statement, and yet we have the President’s assurance, that his ministers had all done their duty, that he had every thing to compliment, and nothing to complain of in such men,—and even at the moment when he was commanding them to leave him, he pretended to lament their departure. The cabinet ministers, we were told, were the best and the wisest.—They had served the country most faithfully and eminently, and yet while we were gravely informed, that neither discord or dissention, had prevailed among them, one of its own members, was actually publishing to the world a contrary statement, and publicly declaring that in the exercise of his official duties, a party of the President’s friends, some of them connected with the government itself, had made an attempt to assassinate him.* But the President by his own admission, stands convicted of the grossest absurdity.—He tells us, the whole of his cabinet ministers, had executed their official duties to his entire satisfaction; but his Secretary of State chose to retire, and for this reason, it was necessary to dismiss all his ministers. The country could not furnish abler or better men. But Mr. Van Buren, the Aurora Borealis of the cabinet, did not choose to remain, and for this reason, and the still more idle one, of having a cabinet “as a unit,” the President deemed it expedient, to dismiss all the heads of department, re-organize an entire new cabinet, recall a foreign minister, appoint another in his place, and convulse the whole nation. The plain truth is, stripped of all its official mystery, Gen.

* See the President’s letter to his dismissed Secretary, and Mr. Ingham’s statement.

Jackson and Mr. Van Buren entered into a deep and artful scheme, by which the latter gentleman, was to be made President of the United States. Mr. Van Buren to ingratiate himself with the President, consented to acquiesce with him in all his prejudices and partialities in relation to an important question at Court, connected with the family of his personal friend in the cabinet. A dark and cunning contrivance was arranged by the Hero, and the "Magician," by which the dealer in the black art, was to be elevated to the Presidency. But there were members in the cabinet who would neither concur in this scheme of political intrigue, or constrain their families at the command of the President, to visit where their inclination or sense of propriety did not prompt.* And thus the President and his Secretary being foiled in their plans, the latter with an understanding from the President, that he was to receive a foreign embassy, † threw up his commission, which by a further political bargain, was to be made an apology for the immediate dismissal of all the rebellious members of the cabinet, who would not voluntarily withdraw. Such a system of petty manœuvering, political shuffling, and degrading artifices, were perhaps never practiced before, by the government of any refined and enlightened people. But what errors and vices will not military fame, and a blind popularity forgive and excuse.—All these things were done by Gen. Jackson, and passion and official interest combined, have given him apologists in every part of the United States. Unfortunately for the country, the facts we have detailed have become a part of our national history.—They are too broad for concealment; but it is yet hoped, they may be remembered as a lesson, and avoided forever as an evil example.

The next and last objection we shall make to Gen. Jackson is this:—Notwithstanding the developements at Wash-

* See Mr. Ingham's letter.

† In addition to other testimony now public on this subject, see Mr. Van Buren's letter to Mr. Ritchie of the Richmond Enquirer, in which the Secretary tells *his friend*, the publisher of the East Room falsehood, "that he was tired of the slang about intrigue and management, and to get rid of it—*there was no other way than by going for the usual period of four years out of the country.*"

ington, and the national dishonor, which many of his best friends admit they have brought upon the country, he still continues the sworn friend and political partizan of Mr. Van Buren.—Evidence has been brought to light sufficient to convince the oldest supporters of the President, that the late Secretary of State was principally instrumental, in advising the great system of political injustice, we have attempted to expose, and which we sincerely believe, every national American heart most sincerely deploras—yet still Gen. Jackson and Mr. Van Buren, are inseparable friends. And then the disgraceful instructions, given to Mr. McLane, our minister to England, so new in the history of our own country, so unprecedented in the annals of any other. Even the friends of Mr. Van Buren in the Senate, under all the excitement of debate, have not ventured a single word, in justification of these instructions, and therefore we hope to be thought sincere, in condemning them as being incompatible with the genius of our government, as unworthy the high character of our people, and injurious to the reputation of the whole country. And yet for all, Gen. Jackson is still devoted to Mr. Van Buren, and by taking on himself the responsibility of his offence, he would excuse this artful politician, not only at the hazard of his own character, but of the honor and independence of the Republic.

Our minister to England whose duty it was, respectfully yet boldly and inflexibly, to represent the national honor and republican character of our people, was instructed to inform the British King, that our claims upon the justice of his government, which we had zealously contended for, from the origin of our own, were, mere empty “pretensions”—that our government was “assailable upon three grounds”—that we had “too long and too tenaciously resisted the right of Great Britain to lay duties”—that in order to prevent “unfavorable impressions” being made upon the British King, our minister was instructed to “possess himself of all the ex-

planatory and mitigating circumstances," which were to be laid before his majesty in extenuation of our offence, and it was urgently hoped that "the past pretensions of our government would have no adverse influence upon the feelings and conduct of Great Britain." A shrewd politician, like a wise lawyer, should never make an admission. But the late Secretary was not content with assuring the British King that England was right, and America was wrong, that her claims were just and proper, and that ours were "pretensions," only—that the late administration of the country was not a popular one, and that political parties had distracted our national councils; but it seems it was fondly expected, that these humiliating admissions, were to operate as "mitigating circumstances" and by extenuating our offence, it was hoped they might appease the wrath of an offended monarch, and incline him to forgive us. Yet the advocates of the President in the Senate, saw nothing in all this, to object to Mr. Van Buren's nomination as minister to England.

It is true, one of the Senators* from Maryland, (a warm and intrepid advocate of the administration, yet representing an appointing power, with nearly four to one, heart and soul opposed to it) did admit in his speech that the exceptionable items we have quoted, "might as well have been left out," or in other words, it was a matter of no material consequence, it was just as well they should be there. Now, in the name of common honesty we ask, if Mr. Van Buren's friends see nothing reprehensible in these instructions, why were they not boldly justified; and if they could not be sustained upon correct principle, we again ask, why was the nomination supported? The dilemma is a very difficult one, but the advocates of Mr. Van Buren, have sought to evade

* Gen. Smith, a democrat of the old school.—What would the democracy of 1812, '13, and '14, have said, if one of their representatives in Congress, had refused to support Mr. Madison's administration, yet still retained his seat—or what would they have said, had Mr. Monroe, the Secretary of State, given to our minister to England, such instructions as those of Mr. Van Buren to Mr. McLane, and which our Senator thinks "might as well have been left out?"

it, by attempting to throw the odium, which their own silence admitted, on the Atlas shoulders of the President. And do they indeed, think the less of Gen. Jackson for committing an act, which their consciences could not excuse in Mr. Van Buren? By no means, he is still as worthy as ever, equally good and great, harm cannot reach him; like the Grecian hero, he is invulnerable from the crown of his head to the sole of his foot.

The instructions given to Mr. M'Lane could not be excused by Mr. Van Buren's own friends in the Senate, but the distinguished Secretary had been appointed by the President who was willing to assume the responsibility—he had been most graciously admitted to the table of the British monarch, and therefore he was worthy to represent the high character of the American people, near the very court at whose feet, through the cringing subserviency of Mr. Van Buren, the American people had fawned and supplicated. It is true the Secretary had affixed his own name to these disgraceful instructions; yet still it was gravely contended by his friends in the Senate, that they had emanated exclusively from the President, and therefore, the Secretary was in no respect responsible for them. We will not say that such reasoning as this, is unworthy the dignity of the American Senate, but if it should ever prevail as an established principle of the government, let the President command, and there is nothing which the Secretary may not do, without the fear of odium or responsibility. In committing an act which brought dishonor upon the nation, it was no apology for the Secretary of State, that the President required it. Mr. Van Buren was no vassal of the crown, and therefore under no obligation to obey any requisition which threw a stain upon the high character of the country. Upon an occasion like this, a high-minded and patriotic Secretary would have suffered political martyrdom, rather than have been the means of degrading the pure and independent character

of the republic. He would have said to the President, "if your excellency desires to transmit such instructions as these, you must seek some other agency than mine. I had rather relinquish my high office, than surrender to a foreign potentate the unsullied honor of my country." A position like this, would have given Mr. Van Buren a just claim to the affection and confidence of the whole nation; but there were selfish objects to attain, and the Secretary was found to be the ready and willing means of prostrating "the American Eagle at the foot of the British Lion," and so was Mr. M'Lane, the minister, for he stands in the same relative attitude, and however ingenuity may attempt to evade or divide the responsibility, even under its own construction, it is after all a family concern, in which the whole and each, are equally and alike involved, and amenable, to the American people.

If it were true indeed, that the Secretary at the command of the President, was justified in transmitting instructions to our minister, which tended to compromit the honor and dignity of the country, it would only serve to show, that Gen. Jackson has an influence in the government incompatible with our republican principles, and it would add another reason to the thousand already advanced against the propriety of his re-election. Mr. Van Buren's friends may attempt to shuffle the odium from him, with the hope of placing it on the shoulders of the President, where they believe it can do no harm—the great magician too, may summon his host of spirits from the vasty deep, but it all will not do, the exceptionable character of these instructions is now a matter of record, the confirming power of the government has set the indelible seal of national disapprobation upon it, and the public stigma will follow Mr. Van Buren through life, inseparable and indivisible.

But divest this matter of all the political machinery which obscures the light, and the plain truth is this. The publication of the instructions to Mr. M'Lane, produced such a

general burst of indignation, as convinced Mr. Van Buren's friends, that his popularity could not be sustained under the oppressive burthen. It was therefore essentially necessary to give a different direction to the public disapprobation.— Fortunately for the cause, Gen. Jackson was strong enough, and willing to bear the responsibility, which he well knew was too great for the reputation of his Secretary. The friends of Mr. Van Buren seized with avidity the only alternative to save his expiring popularity. The Secretary was declared to be innocent, and the President solely accountable, for the instructions to Mr. M·Lane. All this was in strict conformity with the bold attempt now in operation, to make Mr. Van Buren Vice President, that he may take his chance of the death, resignation, or ignorance of Gen. Jackson, to be virtually the President. Mr. Van Buren is now held up to the nation as the persecuted victim of the Senate, and efforts are every where making by his party, to enlist the sympathy of the whole country, and particularly of Pennsylvania, in his cause, by exciting ancient prejudices and predilections, and by such doleful lamentations and incitements, as Mark Antony declaimed over the body of Cæsar. Wiles and stratagems and every species of political manœuvering, are resorted to, to gratify the ambition of Mr. Van Buren.* The in-

*This is the age of error in the politics of the United States. Never until Gen. Jackson became president, was the purity of the American Senate, and its patriotic devotion to the true interests of the country, ever doubted by any one professing American principles. By the constitution under which we exist as a nation, the Senate is a co-ordinate branch of the executive power of the government. In public appointments its authority is co-equal and co-existent with that of the President, and the head of the nation cannot make appointments in conformity with the constitution, save and except, by and with the advice and consent of the Senate. The members of the United States' Senate in connexion with the public appointments, stand in the same moral and political obligation to the American people with the President himself, and they are bound by the same solemn oath for the strict performance of their duties. Heretofore the high and patriotic claims of this body to the esteem and confidence of the American people were universally admitted, and whenever in the history of the government, from its origin to the present day, the Senate did not

interested partizans of the present incumbent well know, that of all men in the union, Mr. Van Buren is best calculated,

concur with the President in matters of appointment, it was every where conceded to be an honest and patriotic difference of opinion, and so far from its being the occasion of ill blood and rancorous vituperation among our people, in every instance where this difference of opinion prevailed, it was promptly and generously acquiesced in by the Presidents themselves. But now every thing and every one must yield obedience to the ascendancy of Gen. Jackson. His infallibility cannot brook the constitutional exercise of power in a co-ordinate department of the government. For the first time in the history of the country, public meetings have been called and the confirming power charged with political corruption for disagreeing with the President upon the propriety of a nomination. A body of patriots of pure and exemplary public and private character, whose best efforts have been devoted to the public service, some of them politically friendly to the President himself, and all acting upon their oaths, have been coarsely censured and reviled by the partizans of Gen. Jackson, for interposing their constitutional dissent to the appointment of a minister. In the opinion of his party, Gen. Jackson is pre-eminent, and when brought in competition with other men, all must be indiscriminately sacrificed for him. The President's constitutional advisers are now required to lay their consciences at his feet, and yield a servile obedience to his will, or else incur the penalty of public execration. According to the monstrous claims of his party, it is disgraceful and corrupt in the constituted authorities, to refuse obedience to the command of Gen. Jackson,—he is the absolute head of the nation, and his authority and power are without check or balance. Can any thing more than this be claimed for a monarch? If the people submit to it, they have less liberty to boast of, than the subjects of foreign potentates. If they surrender one iota of their political rights, or yield the slightest principle of the constitution, this proud nation may retain its republican name, but its soul will have fled.

In New-York, the friends of Mr. Van Buren in the legislature of that state, styling themselves its "Republican members," have lately held a meeting, and transmitted a letter replete with fulsome flattery and the most extravagant compliment to the President of the U. States. The Parliament of England, or the Deputies of France in addressing their respective monarchs, would spurn such gross adulation as is found in this "republican" letter. It informs the President, that his "Excellency," and Mr. Van Buren, "New York's favourite son," are exclusively good and great, and that all those who happen not to think so favorably of their incomparable attributes, are described by these "republican gentlemen," as being enemies to "Gen. Jackson's principles, to Gen. Jackson's government," and to "Gen. Jackson's person." The members of the late cabinet, who were but lately so pure and excellent, are reproached by this "republican" meeting, as being "unfaithful servants" to the President, and as composing a combination to "destroy his peace." The President and Mr. Van Buren appear in this letter of condolence, to be the sun, moon and stars of the age, and in the opinion of these self-called democrats, the wisdom and merit of all men, must be graduated by the scale of devotion to "Gen. Jackson's person." The President of the United States is informed that this meeting could "not restrain an expression of indignation," on the subject of Mr. Van Buren's rejection. He is

to mature the system of injustice, proscription, and persecution, which has marked the presence of the intriguer's hand,

gravely told that this rejection was "unprecedented in the annals of the country;" that it "has impaired the hitherto exalted character of the Senate," that it is "an insult offered to New-York," that "New-York is capable of avenging the indignity," "and the Senate of the United States, (hitherto exalted, until it presumed to differ from Gen. Jackson,) is denounced by these "republican members of the New-York Legislature" for refusing to concur in the nomination of Mr. Van Buren. And what is still more remarkable, the President is further informed by this meeting, that his constitutional advisers belonged to a class of American citizens "who could justify the surrender of free trade and sailors' rights; who could calculate the value of the union, and who could laugh at our calamities in a period of war and general distress." A high-minded and enlightened executive would have regarded these assurances as a reproach to his station—he would have informed the New-York meeting, that the proceeding in the senate was in conformity with the constitution and the rights of that body; that it was neither consistent with his duty or his dignity, to question the purity of its motive; and that it did not become him to sanction invectives against those with whom it was his duty to co-operate.

But did not the "members of the New-York Legislature" know they were telling the President what was not correct? Did they not know that the senate has always exercised its constitutional right to reject nominations? Were they not aware, that in 1809 Mr. Jefferson nominated Mr. Short as minister to St. Petersburg, and when the appointment which was made during the recess, was six months afterwards, as in the case of Mr. Van Buren, taken up for consideration by the senate, it was rejected by that body; the state of New-York as represented in the senate, voting against it? The concurrent power of the President, and the co-operating authority of the senate, were better understood by Gen. Washington—he went in person to the senate chamber and consulted freely with the confirming power, and took their advice and consent, by mingling counsels with them. But now in striking contrast to this practice, and the invariable usage of the government, for the first time since its origin, we find the senate of the United States censured and reviled for the exercise of its official duty, and what is still worse, we see this denunciation in the form of a public appeal to the President of the United States, and instead of rebuking the unjust imputation against his constitutional advisers, we find the head of the nation in a written answer concurring in sentiment.—When therefore the official paper of the nation, edited at the seat of government, and established by the President and his immediate friends, gives publicity to the sentiment, that the "Senate should be cut down to two years, and stripped of the power of confirming and rejecting nominations," and consequently the whole authority thrown into the hands of Gen. Jackson.—can any one longer doubt its high responsibility? The imprudence and injustice of Gen. Jackson, and the extravagant claims of his partizans, have alienated many of his former supporters. Let the friends of free government in every part of the Union, invoke the people to deliberate maturely, and impartially, upon the unprecedented powers now claimed for the first time for the President of the United States. Had Washington demanded as much, with all his patriotic devotion, his character would have been sacrificed.

in the existing administration of the government.* The class of politicians who have sacrificed the great interests of their country to personal and party considerations, are now determined for the consummation of their objects, to make Mr. Van Buren President of the United States. But it is impossible the scheme can succeed; common honesty will oppose it; political justice will resist it; and the virtue, intelligence and patriotism of the people, will condemn it.

And now fellow citizens, in place of a President so notoriously incompetent, and imprudent as Gen. Jackson,—a President who is admitted by many of his best friends, to be incapable even of writing his own messages to Congress—--a President of whom your grave Senators in their seats, have expressed the opinion, that he does not even read the instructions given to your foreign ministers—a President whose whole political career, is distinguished by ignorance, inconsistency, imbecility, injustice and folly; we would most earnestly invite your support of a man of a very different character—of one who has risen by his own exertions, who has made himself what he is, a civilian and a scholar, a statesman, a patriot and a gentleman. We would ask your suffrage in favor of a man, who has devoted the prime, and vigor of his days, to the legislative business of his country—one whose whole life is identified with the great national enactments, which have proclaimed to the people of the world, the wisdom, and glory of the American name—a man whose political sagacity, has originated or sustained, every important proceeding, connected with your government for more than twenty years—a man whose talents every one admires—whose republican principles are displayed, in every feature of your political history—whose untiring devotion to the public service, none have ever seriously doubted, and whose toils and labors in support of the dearest interests of the American people, are unsurpassed if equalled, by those of any other man

*Solon being asked what form of government was the freest—that repelled the illustrious law-giver, "which makes injustice to the poorest individual an insult to the whole nation."

now living. We would ask your good opinion in favor of a man, who is frank, generous and honest in his private life—who fearlessly expresses whatever he thinks or believes, and with whom it is a matter of conscience, invariably to practice, whatever he professes to be right. A man who is honored for his public services; who is devoted to the wise policy of government on which the future prosperity of the country depends, and in whose wisdom, prudence, industry and patriotism, the American people will always find a sure guaranty, for the protection of their rights and principles. Such a man, Fellow Citizens, is **HENRY CLAY**. If you desire to know more of him than is consistent with the limits of this appeal, you must look to the history of your country. You cannot put the volume into the hands of your children, without teaching them to esteem and admire Mr. **CLAY**—the American patriot, the sagacious statesman, and the champion of liberty, wherever the human family is known to exist. Almost upon every page of the public records you will find the plainest evidence of his claims to the distinguished regard of the American People.

For the Vice Presidency, we would recommend to you, **JOHN SERGEANT**, of Pennsylvania, a gentleman who has been honorably distinguished in your national councils, who is well known as a conspicuous and learned member of the American Bar—and who in private and public life, is equally admired for the attributes of his mind, and the feelings of his heart.

And fellow citizens, we earnestly invoke you, to put the seal of your awful condemnation upon the system of injustice which has marked the administration of the present incumbent—a system which throngs your capital with applicants for public favor; which wages war against the exercise of independent opinion; which converts the great offices of the nation into partizan rewards and bounties. A system distinguished for a blind and furious zeal, imparting power and influence to corrupt and sinister designs, rally-

ing around it the worst passions of our nature, and giving force and activity to all the reckless resolves and prejudices of party devotion, injustice and persecution. Examine the record of our government, and ascertain for yourselves if we have given a fair and honest history of the facts, and we conjure you to repudiate the foul and unprincipled slanders, which are every where circulated, by prostituted presses under the immediate control and patronage of the government, and which are paid either directly or indirectly, to abuse the members of your national Senate, to revile the character of your best and wisest patriots, and to denounce every one else in the whole nation, who does not support Gen. Jackson for the next Presidency.

JOSEPH KENT, *Prince George's County.*

SOLOMON DICKINSON, *Talbot County.*

JOHN TILGHMAN, *Queen Ann's County.*

JAMES THOMAS, *St. Mary's County.*

JAMES SEWALL, *Cecil County.*

• JOHN N. STEELE, *Dorchester County.*

JOSEPH I. MERRICK, *Washington Co.*

WM. PRICE, *Washington County.*

HENRY WILLIS, *Frederick County.*

JOHN B. MORRIS, *Baltimore City.*

HENRY V. SOMERVILLE, *Baltimore Co.*

ERRATA.—In page 26 first line of the note, for "chief clerk of the Treasury department," read "register of the Treasury department."

In the 50th line of the note, in page 21, after "Baltimore Patriot," add "Baltimore American."

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