

Indiana Palladium.

EQUALITY OF RIGHTS IS NATURE'S PLAN—AND FOLLOWING NATURE IS THE MARCH OF MAN.—BARLOW.

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FROM THE RICHMOND WHIG. TO THE PEOPLE OF VIRGINIA. No. IV.

Which of the two, Adams or Jackson, has given the strongest pledges of a wise and faithful administration of the duties that belong to the Presidency? What constitutes a pledge of the character referred to? Qualifications and services. The qualifications of the two have already been put in contrast; and it is fearlessly assumed that no unprejudiced mind will hesitate in giving the preference to Mr. Adams. Let us now see how the account stands between them as to services.

In reference to the office for which they are named, can there be a doubt as to the superior services of Mr. Adams? For forty years with but a short interval, he has been engaged in those public employments, abroad and at home, which were best calculated from their nature to render him familiar with the official duties of a President. Jackson's pursuits on the contrary, have been such as to exclude him from a practical knowledge of those duties; and at the age of sixty, it is too late to commence the acquisition of that knowledge. If Jackson gained the battle of New Orleans, Adams has served you faithfully for forty years. Shall the fortunate result of a battle, the fruit of a few weeks' services outweigh, in the judgment of the people of Virginia, a whole life of useful labors in important civil stations? If this be the scale of rewards, farewell to peace and its blessings! How foolish for a man to devote his life to the toilsome drudgery of civil duties! Let him at once buckle on his armor and draw his sword, since it is to that, and that only, he must look to win the approbation of his fellow citizens! But are we yet prepared to avow this pernicious doctrine? The partisans of Jackson carefully avoid all discussion on principle. They content themselves with shouting 'huzzas for the Hero!' My fellow citizens, wisdom and experience have left us a homely but valuable adage, 'Let well enough alone.' You have already had the benefit of an actual trial of Adams. Why dismiss him to try another? In the result you may lose, but cannot win. Do you play this losing game in private life? I answer for you, no.

But you are not satisfied with Adams. Why? I pass over the foul calumny of his getting into office by 'bargain, intrigue and management.' If the combination thought they could balance that account at present without loss to themselves, I am persuaded they would be glad to compromise. No man who respects his own character, or your justice and detestation of unmanly persecution, will ever again recur to this ground of objection. This, then, removed, what are your other objections to Mr. Adams? He has recommended, 'light houses of the skies?' In plain language, an observatory. That is, Jefferson having caused all instruments necessary for such an establishment to be procured, at an expense of some \$50,000, Adams recommends the building of a house, to cost about \$10,000 in order to render the instruments available, and hereby relieve us from the colonial badge of looking to England for our astronomical science. He has recommended the establishment of an university in the District. Washington with the consent of Congress, selected and set apart in the city of his name, a site for that purpose; and Jefferson and Madison recommended its improvement. He is a friend to internal improvement. Jefferson and Madison both declared that the exercise of this power would have the happiest influence in preserving this union. The latter, in '96, recommended its exercise in the establishment of a national road through the whole extent of our country from north to south; and the former did actually exercise it in the great road from east to west. Congress have in a hundred instances done the same. The people of the United States who made the constitution, have so interpreted it over and over again. Think you they will have a President who differs from them? If a majority of the American people should ever be wrong, who, I pray is to sit in judgment on them? The minority? Reason, and the constitution both proclaim that the majority should decide, and that their decision shall be sovereign. But Adams claims authority by divine right. So, at least, says our Governor Giles. Alas, Virginia, how have you fallen! The time has been, that when you spoke or acted, your sister states offered their

spontaneous respect. Your prudence, your dignity and patriotism, stood sponsors for this homage. But how is it now? Your Governor with a wilful purpose descending to a grovelling misrepresentation of the words of the chief magistrate of the United States—and with an impious mockery seeking to pervert a simple declaration of his respect for the solemn obligation of his official oath, in a foolish and treacherous assumption of power. Let us fellow citizens, relieve ourselves from the imputation of participating in this abasing act, by an indignant frown on its author.

What other objection has been urged against Mr. Adams? That he has said that he has power to appoint Ministers during the recess of the Senate. So said Washington; so said Jefferson; and so said Madison and Monroe—and they exercised the power—the Senate of the United States, on argument, deciding that it was a necessary and constitutional power.

But Adams it has been said, has received more of our money than he was entitled to. A reference to Monroe's allowances, as settled by Congress, themselves, will show that Adams has received less than he did for the same services. Can you censure Adams without censuring Monroe and the Congress who thought the allowance but scanty justice to him?

I have now, I believe, gone over the whole list of objections to the present incumbent: let us turn our attention to those against his competitor. To recount the whole of these would be to write a volume. I shall confine myself, therefore, to some of the most prominent. He has excluded a Legislature from the hall of its sittings.—He has arrested, paraded through the streets under a file of soldiers, and threatened with a gibbet, the venerable Judge of a national District. He has insultingly told the Chief Magistrate of a State, that he had no right to issue a military order while he was in the field. He has abridged the liberty of the press. He has disregarded the writ of habeas corpus, designed for the protection of the citizens from arbitrary oppression. He has waged war against a neutral power, in the face of his instructions. He has exercised the power of life and death on prisoners, in contempt of the decision of his favorite tribunal, an "independent Court Martial." He has openly directed the officers under his command to disobey the orders of the President of the United States. He has threatened to enter the halls of the National Legislature to cut off the ears of Senators who presumed to inquire into his conduct. He has inflicted death and ignominious and degrading punishments, upon hundreds of militia, against all necessity and against all law. And he has deliberately announced to his countrymen, that if he so willed; in the absence of law, he could find a sanction 'under the 2d section,' to hang whom he pleased: for if he could feel justified in hanging in the case referred to under that section, every man must admit that no case could occur in which he would not find the same justification.

Now, take one of these offences committed by Jackson, and weigh it impartially against the whole list of objections to Adams: I ask you to say candidly if it would not overbalance them all. Speak out honestly and frankly, I conjure you, in the name of that liberty of which each man is in part the preserver. Look at his threat to cut off the ears of a Senator—even those of our lamented Erpes! See him in the anti-chamber of the Senate, surrounded by his body guard of aids and dependents, belching forth his imprecations, and just ready to enter the door, when the patriotic Decatur interposes, and declares if he pass, it must be over his dead body. By this interposition alone was the Senate chamber preserved from the threatened pollution. When you have sufficiently contemplated this scene, let me ask you, can this man be fit for the Presidency of a free people? If you doubt the truth of the story, besides several persons now living who were eye-witnesses of the dreadful spectacle, there are hundreds to whom DECATUR communicated it, to whom I could refer you—and among others, our Senator at least, who was wont, before he put on the livery of Jackson, in delineating the character of his lamented and gallant friend, to dwell with particular delight on this instance of his firmness and stern Roman patriotism. If you shall still, after this, regard Jackson as the only man in the Union whom you will have to rule over you, be it so! But I fear that like the foolish frogs, who insisted on having the stork

as their king, you may soon have reason to repent, and to regret the peaceful administration you have so unwisely abandoned. I can scarcely think that a majority of you can wish, that this act had been perpetrated, and Congress expelled from their sittings—unless, indeed, you belong to the school of a modern orator, who sees nothing objectionable in Caesar's usurpations, on the liberties of his country, and whose morality converts this monster into a patriot, and BRUTUS into an assassin.

A FARMER.

TO THE PEOPLE OF VIRGINIA. No. V.

The question has been often asked us—and really I have never seen it fairly answered—why we seek to eject Mr. Adams from office at the end of one term contrary to the usage established by WASHINGTON, JEFFERSON, MADISON, and MONROE, each of whom was elected for two terms? The inference too plainly to be drawn from our violent opposition to Adams—since his Administration has been conducted in the true spirit of his predecessors—is, that he is not one of us—not a VIRGINIAN, but a YANKEE! If this be really the only ground of our opposition, it is far more dishonorable to us than to him.

There is no part of the Constitution, perhaps, which more fully vindicates the wisdom of its authors, than the arrangement of this delicate and difficult subject. It was found by those sages, that the election of the President, who by his power of appointment was to be a dispenser of honors and emoluments, would be productive of consequences dangerous to our peace, and even to the duration of our free institutions. The term was therefore properly limited to four years. Usage came in aid of the constitutional provision to re-elect for a second term. While the violence of contending parties was diminished by the shortness of the term prescribed by the Constitution, and a wholesome check reserved to the People against misrule on the one hand, on the other, the usage established by such high authority offered every inducement to the individual who held that eminent station, to discharge his duties with fidelity; so as to merit a re-election; and re-election in such case has seemed to follow as a thing of course. The advantage of this is, that, instead of our continued conflict between rival candidates for the office, the public mind is permitted to settle down in composure for eight years, and for that period to devote itself to the furtherance of the business and the interest of the nation.

What has been the practical result of this usage? Let every man's recollection, and our history answer. On the contrary, what has already occurred from the effort now making to depart from this usage? The answer to this will be found in the sad condition of society, as I have endeavored faintly to depict it in my introductory number. Violent excitement being necessary to change the settled usages of a country—usages which have been founded in the best feelings of our nature—the means, of course, which are resorted to for that end, are of the most improper and indefensible character; and the People become so accustomed to see the plainest precepts of morality distorted and perverted, that they can at last hear without indignation the avowal of the sentiment; that 'all's fair in politics.' For this has been avowed by some of the Opposition. Nor are we left to the charitable conjecture that this is a mere vaporing. Not many weeks have elapsed since a foreigner, cherished and honored by his adopted country, dared, before an assembly of the People, in the presence of the constituted authorities of one of the States of this Republic, and without rebuke, to declare that the time had arrived when the South must decide whether to submit to oppression or to a separation! In this audacity we see the sage counsels of the father of his country set at naught. He warned us against the coming of such demagogues, who would seek the accomplishment of their own schemes by attempting the disunion of the States. Will you cling to the advice of Washington, or will you follow this disorganizing demagogue, this foreign exciter of sectional prejudices?

But to return to our old and faithful servant, Mr. Adams. What has he done amiss, that we should seek to degrade him, and promote another? Our Republican friends of the East rebuke us, and with some reason, for our selfishness and ingratitude. They tell us when Jef-

erson and Madison were beset by a combination like that which now exists, to obstruct the salutary measures of their administrations; when some of the most desperate malcontents then as now, threatened disunion rather than submit to their Governments, they cordially supported our Virginia Presidents; they sustained them with fidelity and zeal, and we passed the perilous crisis in safety. They say to us, and they say truly: "We, after indulging you for thirty-two years out of the thirty-six since the adoption of the Constitution, have placed one of our own citizens in the post of honor—and how have you treated him? What return have you made to us for our cordial support of the citizens of your choice? We speak not of those reckless disorganizers who foretell disunion, and rejoice at its approach, publicly declaring that they prefer George the Fourth to a Yankee President; nor of those who proclaim that they will not pay tribute. It is a matter of indifference to them whether Old or New England shall be our carriers. But we speak of the unkindness and hostility of the great body of your citizens; who, though stopping far short of these extravagancies, still so far unite with their authors as to give them countenance and support. Had we so acted—for we, too, had our demagogues—in the days of Jefferson and Madison, what would have been your fate?"

What reply, my fellow-citizens, can we make to this severe, but deserved reproach? I know of none. The existence of this Union, let me assure you, does not depend on parchment but in cherishing kind and brotherly feelings, in a spirit of compromise, dispensing with equal hand, as far as practicable, honors and benefits. We surely have our share of these. But if, whenever another portion of the Union claims its equal rights, we are to array ourselves in opposition, and threaten disunion, because the men and measures are not our own; if men inculcating these councils are to direct our destiny; then, indeed, we have arrived at the point foretold by Washington, and against which he lifted his paternal and warning voice—then indeed, our days, as a free, united, and happy People, are numbered.

There is nothing to me so abhorrent, as the sight of a little strutting politician, wise in his own conceit, and talking of disunion as of an every-day trifling occurrence. Such men, when the disasters which they have contributed to produce have arrived, are always the first meanly and cowardly to shrink from the storm. Next to those in contempt is the man who with talents for better things, and knowing the disgrace and mischief which he must produce, can sit calmly down and indite a string of disorganizing Resolutions, intended to operate exclusively to his own aggrandizement, which he knows may be effected in the temporary excitement which they engender. Such characters as these, however they may prosper for a time, and seem to have reached the fruition of their hopes, must at last sink into contempt and infamy. I ask you, my fellow-citizens, if you can follow such guides? These are the men who cry out for "the hero"—who make up in noise and clamor, what they lack in reason; and who, floating on the surface of the great ocean of mankind, gather around them the scum and foam of the agitating storm: while the more sedate and prudent, who consult their ease rather than their duty, are swept along in the current till the mischief, becomes inevitable, and the alarming cry is heard through the land: Let every man save himself who can!

It is to avoid this threatened mischief, that I, humble as I am, but having your good at heart, have undertaken to warn you in time, before the misfortune is upon us. I have found it the more necessary to do so, because the watchman in whom we have heretofore confided, has gone over to the enemy. We followed him, and believed him, when he told us that Jackson was too little of a statesman, too rash and violent in his temper, his measures too much inclined to arbitrary government, and that his election would be a curse to his country! But now he cries aloud that all will be well, if we elect this very man whose portrait he so faithfully drew. Can we trust him still? I confess that I cannot.

We all know that a large majority of our citizens entertain the same opinion of Jackson, which they some years ago imbibed from the press that we were proud of. His real partisans are few. How stood he at the last election with us? And has he done any thing since,

that should increase his admirers? I answer fearlessly that he has not. It is the duty of every man to think that upon his single vote depends the happiness of his country. Let him reflect, that majorities are made up of individuals. Let no man, therefore, reason with himself that his efforts will be vain; but let him think that treason to his country may consist as well in acts of omission, as of commission. Let those who enjoy the confidence of their fellow-citizens, because they deserve it, appreciate the magnitude of the occasion. Let them mingle with their less intelligent fellow-citizens, and explain the nature, and the probable result of the contest; and summoning together all who are opposed to the election of Jackson, whether few or many, in their respective counties, appoint one or more delegates to meet in Richmond on the first of January next, to deliberate on the great question, of who Virginia shall support for President.

The advantages of such a measure are obvious. First, you relieve the members of the Legislature from a service which does not comport with their appropriate duties, and which produces disorder among the members, most unfavorable to a wise legislation; and, secondly, because the representation is so unequal, that the voice of the majority may be controlled. Is it not enough that the minority control in the Legislature of the State; will the majority also surrender to the minority the high privilege of electing the President of the United States? And it may be added, that this proposed body of Delegates, thus convening, will be able to bring together the views and wishes of the People of Virginia, and so to regulate their acts by existing circumstances, as to promote and answer the best interests of the State in other important concerns.

If I am answered, that such a step would be vain, I deny the conclusion. I conscientiously believe that a majority of our citizens are opposed to the election of Jackson. Activity and concert of action are all that is necessary to make manifest this majority. By this step you form a rallying point—the indolent and despairing are roused into action—the public mind is brought to think—and I doubt not the best consequences will be the result. But suppose we fail? We shall find a consolation, in after times in having done our duty. To do nothing, is in effect, as pernicious and as dishonorable, as though we lent our whole force to the election of Jackson. To do our duty in endeavoring to prevent this calamity, to ward off this 'curse' to our country, is all that man can do. The blessings of Heaven is on him who exerts himself. The sluggard is left unaided, to reap the fruits of his indolence.

Let us, then, my fellow-citizens, arouse from our lethargy. Let us go forth and act as becomes freemen. The prize is worthy of the greatest efforts. Let us look with confidence to the aid of Providence. Let us pray that he may enlighten the minds of our fellow citizens and direct their footsteps—and that as he has so often manifested his kindness to us in times of difficulty, he will again interpose and save us from a threatened curse.

A FARMER.

Justices.—Four Justices for each town are to be elected at the next November elections. After their election, their term of service is to be designated by lot, the same as the Senators; and one is to be elected every year after. "The capacity and fitness of the candidates who may present themselves for office," says the editor of the Black Rock Gazette, "will be a more interesting question than any connected with the former arbitrary usages of party. A Justice is the conservator of the peace of community; he is a medium thro' whose agency honest men should come to their rights, and rank villainy gets deserved or earned deserts; he is one standing in bold relief, as a terror to the vagrant, listless, idle, lazy, vitious, and vituperable characters, which infest, 'hang on the skirts of' bits, sponge, and corrode, the population of large towns, or vex the community in general. He should be in possession of talents, legal acquirements (at least a glimmer of an 'old fashioned book' yeapt Black Com.) probity, intelligence, firmness, and integrity, the shield of innocence, though assailed and ragged; he should be divested of prejudice; he should be clothed with wisdom. He might, with propriety, have old age, wealth, and ease, 'in reversion.'"

Mr. Thompson, in his travels in Southern Africa, mentions that in one of the inland settlements, at the Cape of Good Hope, there is an immense subterranean cavern—one of the apartments is 600 feet in length, 100 feet in breadth, and from 60 to 70 feet in height. The roof was adorned with the most splendid stalactites, many of which were quite transparent.