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From the *Globe*.

Mr. Clay's and Mr. Sergeant's letters, accepting the National Republican nominations for the Presidency and Vice Presidency, have been strangely overlooked in our selection of important documents for the press.—As the *so-lemn* Mr. Niles, of the *Register*, would say, they ought to be registered, and laid up for future reference. The letter of Mr. Clay, especially ought to be preserved, as a specimen of the art of affectation, in a battered politician. He has been notoriously busied ever since the election of General Jackson, in the effort to have his "name," to use the language of his letter to Mr. Barber, "supported as a candidate for the Presidency." It is indeed, a *nominal* affair, but so anxious was Mr. Clay to get his name before the public as a candidate, that he absolutely patroled Kentucky from one end to the other, made an incursion into Ohio, and harangued in its various villages and principal cities. He twice visited Indiana, and twice descended the Mississippi, making demonstrations at all the principal places along its shores. Not content with this, he called a Clay convention in Kentucky, which was composed exclusively of his partisans, and by this body he was formally and solemnly nominated for the Presidency. Lest this incident might be forgotten, he proclaimed it, on his tour this fall to Illinois and Indiana, in a letter to a committee of gentlemen inviting him to a dinner, and he put the refusal to dinner upon the ground that he had accepted the Kentucky nomination to the Presidency. Besides all this, Mr. Clay had put another expedient into requisition to keep him alive as a candidate. It was the late National Republican Convention at Baltimore, a body recruited by him with immense exertion, by appealing to the exasperated and almost desperate among those who, in the beginning, staked their political hopes on him. Having brought them together to give him another impulse, and to propagate the motion which he had so laboriously employed himself in the west to give, towards advancing his progress to the candidacy, who could have supposed that Mr. Clay would have been willing to see his chosen body of friends counteract this three years of toil? And yet he says to them—"although I should have been GLAD if THE CONVENTION HAD DESIGNATED SOME CITIZEN OF THE UNITED STATES, more competent than myself to be the instrument of accomplishing the patriotic objects which they have in view, I do not feel at liberty to decline their nomination"!!! He could not but for the constraint imposed upon him by the partiality of his friends, "be the instrument of accomplishing the patriotic object" of putting down the reign of "misrule, disgrace and ruin"!! He looks to the accomplishment of it with much assurance, but manifests an evident repugnance to be elected to the Presidency himself, as the instrument of accomplishing the patriotic object. He would have been "GLAD if THE CONVENTION HAD DESIGNATED SOME CITIZEN," instead of himself, for this duty—that is, he was anxious that his old friends and partisans should have decided in convention, that he was not the person in whom they could longer rest the hopes of their party, but should have fixed on another "more competent" than himself for the purpose. Yes, he would have been "glad" if his own mere instruments had come to the conclusion that he was not fit to be what he had so sedulously sought to become, their candidate for the Presidency!! Is there any man of any party, who can believe this written declaration so seriously and soberly palmed upon the country by Mr. Clay? If there be one who can have full faith in the protestations of this letter, he may believe in the sincerity of Mr. Green's to Mr. Bockee.—They are fine companion pieces.

Mr. Sergeant's letter is one that befits a non-commissioned officer.—He has no object in view but to aid Mr. Clay, and he is a very proper man to rally the old federal camp, and bring them to the old standard, displaying colors with the new name of National Republican inscribed upon them.

MR. CLAY'S LETTER.

Washington, 13th Dec. 1831.

GENTLEMEN—I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of the note which, as a committee of the Convention of National Republican Delegates now assembled in Baltimore, you addressed to me, stating that I had been this day unanimously nominated by the

Convention as a candidate for the office of President of the United States.

The manifestation of the confidence of a body so distinguished, is received, gentlemen with lively sensibility and profound gratitude. Although I should have been glad if the Convention had designated some citizen of the United States more competent than myself to be the instrument of accomplishing the patriotic object which they have in view, I do not feel at liberty to decline their nomination. With my respectful and cordial acknowledgements, you will be pleased to communicate to the Convention my acceptance of their nomination, with the assurance that, whatever may be the event of it, our common country shall ever find me faithful to the Union, and the Constitution, to the principles of public liberty, and to those great measures of National policy which have made us a people, prosperous, respected, and powerful.

Accept, gentlemen, of my thanks for the friendly manner in which you have conveyed the act and sentiments of the Convention.

I am, with high respect,
Your obedient servant,
H. CLAY.

Messrs. P. R. LIVINGSTON, &c. &c.

SPEECH OF MR. HAYES,

In the Senate, on the Joint Resolution in relation to Internal Improvement, a protecting Tariff, and re-chartering the Bank of the United States.

MR. PRESIDENT—With more than common confidence I arise to participate in the discussion, produced by the joint resolution now before us; disidence because in the debate, I shall have necessarily to differ in opinion with Hon. Senators, for whose sentiments, I have always entertained the highest possible deference, and with more disidence than usual, because in my first attempt in this Hall, I find arrayed on the opposite side a galaxy of talent, with tact and ingenuity, that would do honor to any political body however elevated. A political phalanx so firmly knit together, that I fear our feeble forces will be routed foot and horse. Yet notwithstanding the fearful odds against us, it is our duty, manfully to contend for victory. These considerations at an early period of this discussion admonished me, to adhere to my seat, they spoke a language, by me, not to be misunderstood; your competitors are too powerful, they have grown grey upon the field of political contest; they are well versed in the rules of declamation; they are masters of the tact of disputation, and possess in an eminent degree the peculiar art of twisting your admissions into an acknowledgment of defeat. Those facts arrayed themselves before my imagination in such startling colours, that had well nigh chained me to my seat; but sir, duty, that command more than paramount to all considerations prompted me, to take a stand, that I was otherwise disposed to shrink from. I was the more readily disposed to perform the task from a full knowledge of the general urbanity that has long characterized this body of Senators, high in the chivalric pages of honor; believing that they would listen to my reasons with patience and justly accord to them, what weight they might merit. Those preponderating reasons support me in the attempt and stimulate me to enter the lists, while with due deference to the more experienced wisdom of others, I with modest energy urge my views in favor of the adoption of the proposed amendment. Permit me sir, before I proceed further, to declare that in no gentleman's estimation on this floor, does the honorable mover of this resolution, stand higher, than in mine.—My friendship for him is fixed, is personal. Though political views and opinions now for a moment array us upon different sides, yet our ulterior aim, the welfare of our country is the same. If then in the course of this discussion, I should perchance in the heat of the moment, and anxiety of debate, let fall any expression, calculated to sour his feelings, or arouse his ire, I now sir, beforehand deprecate the expression, and forever expunge it from memory as undesigned and unintended. The constitutional power of the President to veto a law passed by the Congress of the United States, has not virtually been assailed; but the present incumbent, for that exercise has been severely handled. The principles laid down in the veto message, which governed the venerable President of the United States at the time he vetoed the Lexington and Maysville road bill, has

been denounced as "a doctrine hostile to the improvement of the west." It sir was declared, though not in direct language, to be the grave of our hopes, and the withering blast to our blooming prospects. Is it so? Has Indiana turned pale under this withering blast? Is she politically convulsed? Are her energies paralyzed? Have those heterodox opinions of our Chief Magistrate, sounded so harshly upon the ear of Indiana, as to call forth the indignant burst of public resentment? No sir: we witness no such consequence. In turning the eye o'er the fertile plains and valleys of Indiana, we witness peace and contentment, hand in hand with increasing prosperity and flourishing improvements. The indignant bursts of discontent are alone heard from his opponents; and those are fast dying into silent murmurs. Like the mantled mist of the morn floating over the surface, which silently retreats, enfolding in its own envelopes, before the rays of the sun. So sir, do the opponents of the principle contained in the veto message, shrink before its plain and unsophisticated doctrine. Where sir, is the first act of the present incumbent, that has been applauded by his opponents? None. All his official acts are wrong, all his declarations are foolish, or not his own. Why is this so? Because in hot party contentions and strife, few are sufficiently magnanimous to ascribe to their opponent justice. The motto is too apt to be "all is fair in politics" —but this *Veto Message*, this many headed monster, that fairly bayed the Maysville road bill, is likely to poke its horns into our Tariff System—it is to grapple by the throat our protection to mechanics and manufacturers, to prostrate our farmers, and in the end I suppose bankrupt our merchants. Sir, if such be the fact, away with the doctrine "I'll have none on't." Plunge headlong into the gulph of oblivion such pernicious doctrines! Bury them deep in the ocean of contempt! Let the full blown indignation of every mother's son of Indiana, sound the tocsin of alarm! Arise each slumbering fearful husbandman to a perfect sense of his danger!! But sir, if on turning the picture we find it the reverse; then let us honor him to whom at our hands honor would be due.

A few years since and internal improvement, and protection to domestic manufactures, was the popular tale of public declaimers; the theory was dressed in the brightest colours, and rightly too, for they were subjects that were then, and are now of vital interest to the people of the west. Those two sentiments, were stepping stones to public favor; they vibrated to the touch of each master's hand; while the melody produced, lulled us into a forgetfulness of the proper line to be drawn around our desires. Subject upon subject, of internal improvement was continually presenting themselves, as our rapidly progressing settlements to the west, tread fast upon the heels of the retreating Aborigine. New scenes developed themselves, new aid was required, new roads to be opened, rivers to be cleared of obstructions, with a population increasing beyond the parallel on the page of history, so swelled our exports and imports. Our own resources could not keep pace with the demanding interest of our country. In the full tide of local prosperity, riding high in the expectation of our country being improved by the vigorous arm of the General Government we lost sight of the constitutional objections and scruples in the way. Our wants only were looked to—our wants swerved our better judgments, and we believed, (because we wished so) that our hopes would be realized. We overlooked the barrier. The constitutional rampart placed around the General Treasury by the framers of the Constitution was forgotten. We argued in favor of our demands, because self, prompted the belief and prompted the hope. We argued that because of our insulated situation being such, as to derive no advantage from the constant expenditures of the immense appropriations on the sea board; that to render us equal, we had a right to a dividend, and that our portion should be applied to works of internal improvement. Here sir the general principles contained in our government were right, they were correct; but in the application we unfortunately gave it a wrong direction, we struck the wrong chord. Instead of selecting a subject for internal improvement, possessing in its nature and character a national aspect, we sought, accepted and acted upon a subject purely

local, exclusively under the control, and for the benefit of one State only. Sir, in applying the surplus that may be at the disposal of the General Government in the Treasury, its application should be so directed, as to apply to subjects partaking of a national nature, not local. It should directly, open the direct intercourse or trade with two or more states and not to be the exclusive benefit of one only.

The treasury is rational, belonging to all in general, and when supplies are drawn from that reservoir, it should be for the benefit of more than one.—The barriers to the avenues of trade between state and state, should, by the energies of the general governmental arm, be made to surrender. Mountains should be levelled, the valleys filled, roads should be made and the rivers cleared of obstructions, that commerce and intercourse from state to state may be rendered easy, safe and expeditious. But when the general government is called upon to make roads, from stream or flat boat landing places on our rivers to towns in the interior of the same state, then indeed the salutary influence of the veto power is loudly called for. For a moment let us examine what would have been the consequences. Appropriation after appropriation was demanded. Every state in the Union would have demanded a road from some river on her border to some flourishing town in the interior; grant the one, and you could not have denied the other, until the treasury would have been exhausted; her last vital drop would have been drawn, and a debt larger than any yet known to the people of the U. States would have been contracted in perspective. For what! For local internal improvements works that should alone be done by the state authorities. Here sir I say on the threshold the danger was to be met and encountered. The people were to be awakened from their golden dream. At a period when the American people had in their high wrought anticipations overlooked the line of demarcation so strongly drawn, so plainly marked; when their interests were so strongly blended and closely linked with their wishes, their hopes and warm desires. Firm indeed! in the cause of truth and his country must that man be, who, when tossed on the political billows, riding upon the popular will, could seize the helm of state, and steer back the ship to the constitutional haven.

Sir, if there be an escutcheon in the tablet of Andrew Jackson's popular fame that entitles him to the thanks, to the gratitude of his country, it is this one act; one that shines more resplendently conspicuous than any other. When the laurels which encircle his brow as a victor over the legions of England upon the Louisiana plains, and which entitled him to the enviable distinction as the "Hero of Orleans" shall have decayed and been forgotten, this one act of self-devotion, to the chance of popular execration, to save unscathed the hallowed ark of our constitution; shall nourish an evergreen, that future historians of American prosperity will be proud to couple with his name and fame as more honorable and more glorious than marbled monumental statues. When the hot blood of party strife shall have ceased to flow, and calm reflection shall have attained its proper line to be drawn around our desires. Subject upon subject, of internal improvement was continually presenting themselves, as our rapidly progressing settlements to the west, tread fast upon the heels of the retreating Aborigine. New scenes developed themselves, new aid was required, new roads to be opened, rivers to be cleared of obstructions, with a population increasing beyond the parallel on the page of history, so swelled our exports and imports. Our own resources could not keep pace with the demanding interest of our country. In the full tide of local prosperity, riding high in the expectation of our country being improved by the vigorous arm of the General Government we lost sight of the constitutional objections and scruples in the way. Our wants only were looked to—our wants swerved our better judgments, and we believed, (because we wished so) that our hopes would be realized. We overlooked the barrier. The constitutional rampart placed around the General Treasury by the framers of the Constitution was forgotten. We argued in favor of our demands, because self, prompted the belief and prompted the hope. We argued that because of our insulated situation being such, as to derive no advantage from the constant expenditures of the immense appropriations on the sea board; that to render us equal, we had a right to a dividend, and that our portion should be applied to works of internal improvement. Here sir the general principles contained in our government were right, they were correct; but in the application we unfortunately gave it a wrong direction, we struck the wrong chord. Instead of selecting a subject for internal improvement, possessing in its nature and character a national aspect, we sought, accepted and acted upon a subject purely

their faltering steps; their old hearts should be gladdened with a bountiful support from the treasury of their country. Then, when our country has paid the honest creditor his last penny, and fully satisfied the calls of gratitude, that the prayers of our fathers may ascend to the God of Heaven for our welfare and prosperity, while their bodies descend to their graves—then, not till then, should we liberally bestow our surplus on works of internal improvements.

The tariff, whether it is too high or too low, on many articles, I am not prepared to say. I do not, however, wish to tie the hands of our senators & representatives to any particular tariff. I wish our instructions to be general. I shall vote for the amendment, because it expresses, generally, our wishes, without restricting their acts. After giving our views of the general policy of the tariff, as by us required, it leaves them to shape the amount necessary. That the duty should be sufficient to protect our manufacturers, farmers, mechanics and merchants against foreign competition, foreign capital and foreign influence, I believe is the wish of every senator in this chamber. Then let them look to it. The representatives are accountable to the people as well as we, and the senators to the Assembly: they can read our wishes: they can see our views. Let them refuse compliance, and abide the consequence. But, sir, refuse the amendment, and the present resolution instructs them to adhere to the tariff of 1828. We see, sir, from the annual messages of the president of the United States, that the present tariff produces a large excess of revenue in our treasury, and in two years more, the United States will be entirely out of debt. If the revenue, with the tariff of 1828, and the expenditures of government, holds up to the present estimate (and we may reasonably anticipate the same) and the public debt extinguished, we shall have an excess of thirteen millions of dollars annually, in the treasury of the general government. Sir, the constitution of the United States was adopted in the spirit of compromise and concession. Some yielded principles they thought altogether important; while others submitted to adoptions that were to them repugnant. Then, in the same spirit of compromise and conciliation, I would invoke gentlemen to yield something to the pressing demands of others. Sir, while the treasury of my country is overflowing, I must turn to the prayers of those who avow that overflow to produce their ruin. I must believe their representations, at least, in part. I, then, am willing to curtail in part, the advantages we derive from the tariff, to grant some relief to those who are too heavily burthened. At the same time, I would retain a tariff amply sufficient for the protection of our home industry, without burthening the consumers. It is the spirit of compromise and mutual concession to each other's wants; relieving each other's real, not fictitious sufferings; administering from the general reservoir, aid and facilities to subjects of internal improvements, partaking of a national character; protecting by a rational tariff, American industry and capital against foreign capital and competition and foreign influence; placing the farmer, mechanic, manufacturer, and merchant upon a footing of equality, by rendering to each, mutual benefit and mutual protection: it is sir, those principles, all combined and harmoniously acting together for the general benefit, that I term the *American System*. It is, sir, the only system that will ever stand the test of American philanthropy. In its defence I am proud to yield my feeble aid.

Then, when ever the politicians of the day would steer the barque of state beyond the constitutional circle, into the regions of unexplored, wild uncertainty, may another statesman, firm, intrepid and undismayed, again, regardless of the execration of popular odium, firmly grasp the helm, and pilot us back to the constitutional harbor of safety in peace.

Sir—I stand here the avowed advocate of a renewal of the charter of the Bank of the United States, and had not the resolution been introduced I should ere now have introduced one myself but with different instructions. I view that institution as the strongest ligament in the general formation of our internal and partially so, of our external commerce.—Without it, or some institution of the same nature, the west would again soon be found in the miserable situation they were in 1815, '16, '17, and '18—millions of paper trash afloat, whose fluctuating value rendered the holder always insecure, and generally fatal to his fortunes. The species of our country would again disappear;

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June 1, 1832