

circumstances render it probable, was obtained by concessions derogatory to the honor of the country and the dignity of the Government.

The Administration have, in other respects, manifested the leading principles in the true foreign policy of the country. With Russia, our most important power, and our political ally, our relations have been wholly neglected. At a critical moment in the political affairs of Europe, when our influence with the Emperor of Russia might have been turned to the best account in favor of the cause of free government, when the breaking out of a general war may render his influence in Europe of the highest importance to ourselves, a distinguished citizen, who had for many years represented the country with extraordinary credit and success at St. Petersburg, and who was known to be personally agreeable to the Imperial family, is abruptly recalled, and the affairs of the Legation left in a wholly uncertain state.

On the great subject of internal policy which have given rise to the conflicting opinions and adverse feelings among the citizens, the course of the President has been so inconsistent and vacillating that it is impossible for any party to place confidence in his character, or to consider him as a true and effective friend. By giving his approbation of a judicious tariff, and at the same time recommending to Congress precisely the same policy which had been adopted as the best plan of attack by the opponents of that measure; by admitting the constitutionality and expediency of internal improvement of a national character, and at the same moment negating the most important bills of this description which were presented to him by Congress, the President has shown that he is either a secret enemy of the system, or that he is willing to sacrifice the most important national objects in a vain attempt to conciliate the conflicting interests, or rather adverse party feelings and opinions of different sections of the country. How can the President be regarded as the North and West as the friend of the "Tariff and Internal Improvements, when his only recommendation at the South is the anticipation that he is the person through whose agency the whole system is to be prostrated? With a chief Magistrate who acts upon so temporizing and uncertain a policy it is obviously impossible that any abatement can take place of the excitement that prevails upon these disturbing topics. It is only through the intervention of a statesman, in whose known sentiments, and elevated character all parties can place confidence, that a hope can be entertained of so regulating these delicate subjects as to extend a fair and impartial protection to all the great branches of industry, whether agricultural, commercial, manufacturing, or mechanical without exciting the just apprehensions of any sincere and enlightened friend of the Constitution and the Union.

Next to the great measures of policy which protect and encourage domestic industry, the most important question connected with the economical policy of the country, is that of the Bank. This great and beneficial institution, by facilitating exchanges between different parts of the Union, and maintaining a sound, ample and healthy state of the currency, may be said to supply the body politic, economically viewed, with a constitutional stream of life-blood, without which it must inevitably languish, and sink into exhaustion. It was first conceived and organized by the powerful mind of Hamilton. After having been temporarily stricken by the honest though groundless scruples of other statesmen, it has been recalled to existence by the general consent of all parties and with the universal approbation of the people. Under the ablest and most faithful management it has been for many years past pursuing a course of steady and constantly increasing influence. Such is the institution which the President has gone out of his way in several successive messages, without a pretence of necessity or plausible motive, in the first instance six years before his suggestion could with any propriety be acted upon, to denounce to Congress as a sort of nuisance, and consign, as far as his influence extends, to immediate destruction.

For this denunciation no pretext of any adequate motive is assigned. At a time when the institution is known to all to be in the most efficient and prosperous state—to be doing all that any Bank ever did or can do, we are briefly told in ten words, that it has not effected the objects for which it was instituted, and must be abolished. Another institution is recommended as a substitute, which, so far as the description given of it can be understood, would be no better than a machine in the hands of the Government for fabricating and issuing paper money without check or responsibility. In his recent message to Congress, the President declares, for the third time, his opinion on these subjects, in the same concise and authoritative style as before, and intimates that he shall consider his re-election as an expression of the opinion of the people that they ought to be acted on. If therefore, the President be re-elected, it may be considered certain that the Bank will be abolished, and the institution which he has recommended, or something like it, substituted in its place.

Are the People of the United States prepared for this? Are they ready to destroy one of their most valuable establishments, to gratify the caprice of a Chief Magistrate, who reasons and advises upon a subject, with the details of which he is evidently unacquainted, in direct contradiction to the opinion of his own official counselors? Are the enterprising, liberal, big-minded, and intelligent Merchants

of the Union willing to condemn such a measure? Are the cultivators of the West, who find in the Bank of the United States a never-failing source of their prosperity, which is so essential to their prosperity, and which they can get nowhere else, prepared to lend their aid in drying up the fountain of their own prosperity? Is there any class of the People or section of the Union so lost to every sentiment of common prudence, so regardless of the principles of republican government, as to place in the hands of the Executive Department the means of an irresponsible and unlimited issue of paper money—in other words, the means of corruption without check or bounds? If such be, in fact the wishes of the People, they will act with consistency and propriety in voting for General Jackson, as President of the United States; for, by his re-election all the disastrous effects will certainly be produced. He is fully and three times over pledged to the people to negative any bill that may be passed for re-chartering the Bank, and there is little doubt that the additional influence which he would acquire by a re-election, would be employed to carry through Congress the extraordinary substitute which he has repeatedly proposed.

It may be said, indeed, that the President's counselors do not agree with him on this subject, and may perhaps overrule his opinion before the time of action shall arrive. In his recent Report to Congress, the Secretary of the Treasury has, in fact, undertaken an apology for the Bank, which, coming from him, can be viewed in no other light than as a formal defence of that institution against the attack made upon it by the President. Although he concludes with the intimation, that his views may be modified in compliance with those of the Executive; as if he were not himself the head of the financial branch of that Department. It is one of the singularities of our present political situation, that while we are told on the one hand, by the President's partisans, that his acknowledged incapacity may and will be remedied, by the employment of an able Cabinet, we are now told, on the other hand, by this "able Cabinet," that they cannot control the President's conduct, and that their sounder notions must be modified so as to meet the views of the Executive. In what we are apt enough to consider as the corrupt and servile Courts of Europe, a Cabinet Minister who cannot prevail upon the "Executive" from whom he holds his commission to adopt his views, resigns his commission. He deems it improper to modify his opinions in order to suit them to the views of the Executive—in other words, to make himself responsible for a scheme of policy which he does not approve. But supposing that the present Secretary of the Treasury, if continued in place, would be able, when the time of action should arrive, to overrule the President's opinion, substitute his own views for those of the Executive, and stay this great mischief—what security can the country feel that he will be so continued? Who can assure us that some explosion, resulting from causes too frivolous to be even made, with propriety, the subject of distinct allusion in a serious political document, will not scatter the present Cabinet, like the last, to the four winds of Heaven, and introduce into the councils of the nation a new set of advisers, still more ready than those who now occupy that place, to the views of the Executive? The only security which the country can have for the proper discharge of the duties of the Executive, as of every other branch of the Government, is the capacity, fidelity, and industry of the individual who is by law responsible for the Department—that is, the President; and experience has amply shown, that an individual who is unfit for the office himself, is equally unfit to select those who are to assume his responsibility, and be virtually Presidents under him.

The Judiciary Department, an institution still more important than one can be that merely affects the economical interests of the Union, seems also to be seriously threatened by the perverse policy of the present administration. The great improvement made by the adoption of the present constitution in the political system of the Old Confederation, was the extension of the power of the Union over the persons of the individual citizens, through the action of the Federal Courts, including, as a necessary ingredient a right of appeal to these Courts from the decisions of those of the States. The adoption of this single salutary provision raised us from the situation of a cluster poor, unbecome, and for all substantial purposes, mutually dependent States, oppressed with debts, disturbed by insurrections, and on the verge of absolute anarchy, into our subsequent condition of one great, powerful, prosperous, glorious, free, and independent Federal Republic. The rejection of this wholesome principle would bring us back again to the same situation in which we stood before. Notwithstanding this, a powerful party, represented by several important States, and by a large and respectable portion of the people seem to consider the Union, and the principles on which it is founded, positive evils. Much is said of the sovereignty and independence of the States, and of their right, as separate States, to annul the laws; while threats are held out, which have not in all cases proved to be mere empty words, that this right is to be immediately exercised, and the Union of course virtually dissolved.

Under these circumstances, it was to have been expected that the President, as the head of the Executive Department, and the natural guardian of the rights and powers of the Federal Government, would have exerted his influence to check

this dangerous spirit. Instead of this, we find him openly encouraging it, and acting under its influence. When a proposition to repeal, without a substitute, the section of the Judiciary act which authorizes the appeal from the State to the Federal Courts, and forms the foundation of the jurisprudence of the Union in this respect, was made in Congress, it was favored by the immediate friends of the President, and by the journals under his control; and at the recent organization of the House of Representatives, the members proposing the repeal was placed at the head of the Judiciary Committee. These proceedings seem to indicate a settled intention in the administration to shake the independence and destroy the efficiency of this most important branch of the government.

The last point which we shall notice in the conduct of the Administration, as related to the internal policy of the country, and it is, perhaps, the most important of all, as far as concerns the principles involved, is that of our relations with the Indian tribes, and particularly that portion of the Cherokees situated within the territorial limits of Georgia. A series of solemn treaties concluded successively by all the Administrations of the General Government since the period of its establishment, guaranteed to these Indians the possession of their lands without interference or intrusion from any quarter, their right of governing themselves according to their own laws within those limits, and their character of sovereign States. An Act of Congress passed in the year 1802, authorized and required the President to protect the Indians in the rights guaranteed to them by these treaties, if necessary, by the employment of the military force. In compliance of these solemn engagements the State of Georgia has extended her jurisdiction over the territory and persons of the Cherokees situated within her limits, interrupted them in the possession of their dwellings and plantations, and attempted to deprive them of the character of distinct communities, while the President instead of protecting the Indians against these acts of wholly unauthorized violence, has openly countenanced the pretensions of Georgia, and instead of employing the armed force of the United States, in their defence, actually withdrawn that force at the instance of the offending party, from the scene of action, and left the unoffending natives entirely at the mercy of their enemies.

The recent inhuman and unconstitutional outrages committed under the authority of Georgia, upon the persons of several unoffending citizens, heretofore residing as non-combatants within the territory of the Cherokees, constitutes perhaps the most unjustifiable portion of these proceedings. They have received, like the rest, the countenance and approbation of the General Executive. Few examples can be found, even in the history of barbarous communities, in which the sacred character of a minister of religion has furnished so slight a protection against disrespect and violence to the persons invested with it. We rejoice to learn that this subject will shortly be presented to Congress, and to the People, in full detail, and in a form fitted to excite the attention which it so well deserves.

It appears from this concise survey of the present situation of the Union, as regards the principal branches of our foreign and domestic policy, that it is the duty of all patriotic citizens not only not to aid the re-election of the present incumbent to the Chief Magistracy of the Union, but to use their efforts to effect a change in the National Administration; and in order that such efforts may be made with success, the time has now arrived when it is necessary to designate a candidate for the succession whose name may be a rallying point and a principle of union among the citizens who are opposed to the re-election of Andrew Jackson.

In looking round the country for such a person, it is almost superfluous to say, that the eyes of all are instinctively directed towards that illustrious citizen, who, after occupying the most distinguished places in the gift of the people, and in all the departments of the administration, has dwelt for some years past in tranquil retirement in the bosom of the West. The qualifications and services of Henry Clay are too well known to require the aid of our testimony. As a statesman, advocate and orator, he has been from his youth upward the pride of our courts and legislative halls. As an ardent, fearless, and consistent friend of liberty and republican institutions, he has endeared himself to his friends throughout the world. His devotion to this great cause, furnishes the surest guaranty that he will, on all occasions, assert the supremacy of the laws, and that Executive powers in his hands, will be their faithful auxiliary. As one of the principal founders, and supporters of the American System, he is entitled to the warm support of all who desire the prosperity of the great cause of domestic industry and internal improvement. The signal success with which he conducted the affairs of the Department of State evinces his capacity for the actual business of administration; while the generous frankness and captivating warmth of his manners, eminently fit him for a station, where in order to be useful, it is necessary to conciliate the public favor as well as to transact with ability the public business. He has already been designated in various ways, and in all quarters of the country, as the candidate of the Opposition, and we consider it the duty of all good citizens to use all the means in their power for the purpose of securing his election.

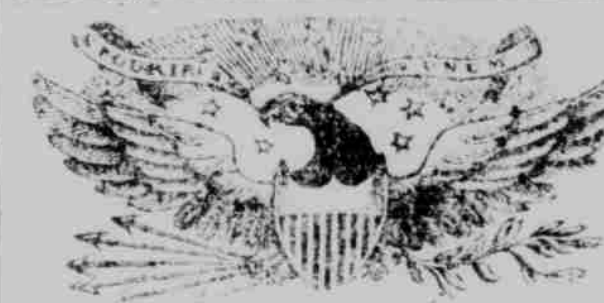
In proposing, in connection with the name of Henry Clay, as a candidate for the Pre-

sidency, that of JOHN SERGEANT as a candidate for the Vice Presidency of the United States, the Convention offer to your suffrages a citizen of acknowledged talents, various accomplishments, large experience in the highest and most honorable public trusts, unblemished reputation, and the most ardent and unwearied zeal for the honor and interest of the country. Pennsylvania has long looked up to him as one of her chief ornaments, and the citizens of other parts of the Union, in placing him in the second office in the Executive Department of the Government, will be happy to show their concurrence in sentiment with that great and patriotic State.

Without meaning to encourage an undue confidence, which would only generate inactivity, we believe that, with proper exertion, the success of the good cause is beyond the possibility of doubt. The present administration has for some time past been justly discredited in public opinion—General Jackson has been gradually losing, ever since the commencement of his official term, the popularity with which he entered it. Whole sections of the Union have been alienated from him by his strange and inconsistent course upon the Tariff and Internal Improvement. Extensive interests have been thrown into opposition by his reckless and unaccountable denunciation of the Bank. Many of his ablest partisans among the public writers have deserted him, and if any considerable portion of reflecting men will adhere to his standard, by the wanton attacks upon the Judiciary Department must have driven them from it in disgust. The unity of the party is completely broken up by the open rupture between the friends of the Vice President and the late Secretary of State; and at this moment the citizens opposed to his re-election, constitute a large majority of the whole population of the United States. Under these circumstances it is quite apparent, that nothing is wanted but zeal, activity and concert, to ensure success.

The aspect of this Convention—the unanimity and spirit which have marked its proceedings—and the favorable results which may be expected from its influence upon the community, afford ample security that these requisites will not be deficient. Such, fellow-citizens, is the character of the present Administration—such are the motives for changing it, and such are the persons whom we recommend to you for the chief Executive officers. Compare their qualifications with those of their competitors; and may the goodness of Providence so enlighten your choice, that it may tend to promote the security and permanence of our excellent political institutions, and the true greatness and glory of our beloved country.

JAMES BARBOUR, President
ALLAN TRIMBLE, Vice Presidents.
JOSEPH KENT,
JOSEPH PORTER,
ROBERT TEMPLE,
JOS. L. TILLINGHAST, Secretaries.
HENRY BACON,



GAZETTE.

SATURDAY, JANUARY 14, 1832.

An election for an additional Justice of the Peace for this township will take place on Saturday the 28th day of January.

We are informed Gen. W. Johnston, Esq. is a candidate for Justice of the Peace. Samuel Hill is also a candidate.

We regret to learn that the public printing has been transferred from the Editor of the Western Sun, to him of the Indiana Democrat. This measure leaves the inhabitants of the Wabash in the dark as to the laws of their country—the "Fly An' thorty" presses being now located at Salem, Madison and Indianapolis.

No Eastern Mail was received on Thursday evening. The Stage arrived at the usual hour, but brought neither letters nor papers.

We are informed the Canal Bill has passed the Senate of Indiana.

The Address of the National Republican Convention to the people of the United States, will be read with interest and attention. Its great length excludes much valuable matter prepared for to day's paper.

We give place to Col. Blake's communication to the exclusion of all others, and trust it will be read with candor and impartiality.

We were aroused on Sunday evening by a discharge of artillery. On enquiring the cause, we were informed it was the 6th of January, the anniversary of the battle at New Orleans, and the salute was in remembrance of that event. Formerly, days of rejoicing which fell on the Sabbath, were observed the succeeding

day. This is indeed a new era, but we excuse those engaged in the business, presuming they were impressed with the truth of the proverb—the better day, the better deed."

To the Editors of the Vincennes Gazette.

In your paper of Saturday last, a correspondent writing under a fictitious signature upon the subject of the late election of United States Senator, has taken occasion grossly to misrepresent my conduct. Nor has he stopped here, but in relation to myself, has further indulged his malignity in scurrilous remarks not required by circumstances, and which are always indecorous and unmanly when no real name is given as a pledge for redress. This attack has been unprovoked, altogether gratuitous; and as it assails my public reputation, I trust I shall be excused by a just and generous people for appearing before them with a statement of facts, in the exercise of that right of self defence which in my native land may be enjoyed equally by all.

Your correspondent charges me with having persevered in the canvass for the office of Senator when I knew that I could not be elected, and attributes to my overweening ambition and incorrigible obstinacy, the failure of the National Republican party. How different is the fact! It may be true that Judge Holman was the first in the field, but of that fact I was not apprised when I determined to become a candidate; and if I had been, it will not be seriously contended that his priority in that respect conferred upon him any solid claims to support. When I visited Indianapolis to attend the Supreme Court in the month of November, I learned that besides Mr. Judah and myself in the western part of the state, Messrs. Holman, Test and Rariden in the eastern part of the state were also candidates for the Senate. Of Judge Holman's tender of services, I had before been satisfactorily informed, although I had not previously seen him, or in any manner communicated with him since the fact had been announced; but of the others from the east, rumor and conjecture had alone reached me. It was then that I sought an interview with Judge Holman and Judge Test, and urged with all the emphasis I could command, the importance of harmony among our political friends, and the most studious efforts to repress every inducement to irritation—so that if the election finally turned upon party grounds, the strength of the National Republican party might be availed of. It will be borne in mind, that at that time, it was expected by all the candidates without a single exception, that their support would be composed of a mixed vote from members of both political parties. In this interview with these gentlemen, the sentiments I advanced were sustained by them with the same impressiveness. We conversed freely about the course we should respectively pursue—not the slightest dissatisfaction was manifested, and we parted upon the most friendly terms. A short time after this, at the commencement of the session of the Legislature, we again met at Indianapolis, and the candidates were all there canvassing among the members. It was soon ascertained that the Clay members of the state west of Indianapolis, with a very small exception, would support me; and that some of the Jackson members from the same section of the state, influenced by local considerations, would unite with them—this fact became notorious. It was not believed that the number of Judge Holman's friends exceeded mine, and the friends of each of us hoped for an accession to their force from those who in the first place should support Col. Rariden. Judge Test had withdrawn from the contest, leaving but two competitors in the east. During the three days of the session which preceded the election, Judge Holman and myself kept up a frequent interchange of the most friendly character, and our friends mingled together and unreservedly discussed the subject of the election. It was urged on the part of my friends, that the Clay members in the west almost unanimously supported me—that I had other support—that the west was entitled to the Senator, and that the only chance of electing a Clay Senator was by uniting upon me, as in obedience to the wishes of their constituents, they would be compelled to vote for a Jackson Senator sooner than no have one from the west. Judge Holman and myself having a knowledge of the pendency of this strife between our friends, consulted together upon the propriety of convening them in a body, with a view of producing their union upon one of us, but we finally agreed that such a meeting would not probably be productive of any good, and we mutually declined it. After this a meeting with the same view was suggested to me by two gentlemen of the Legislature, neither of whom voted for me, and I repeated to them the conclusion I was constrained to arrive at, that the object could not be consummated in that manner. In this state of division and uncertainty, we went into the election. On the first ballot Judge Holman and myself received twenty-three votes each; on the second, Holman had twenty-five and myself twenty-two; on the third, Holman had thirty-two and myself sixteen; on the fourth, Holman had thirty-one and myself sixteen again. As soon as this last vote was announced, perceiving that the eastern votes would not unite on me but were going to Judge Holman, I proceeded to the members of the Senate, and in succession audibly requested three gentlemen of that body, friends of mine, to rise and declare that I was no longer a candidate; but this they declined doing, and the balloting was quickly resumed. The Le-