

through whose agency the whole system is to be protracted? 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 shaken 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 counsellors? Are the enterprising, liberal, high-minded, and intelligent MERCHANTS of the Union willing to contenance such a measure? Are the cultivators of the West, who find in the Bank of the United States a never failing source of that CAPITAL, which is so essential to their prosperity, and which they can get no where 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 all 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 these 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 counsellors 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 to accommodate their opinions 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 of poor, imbecile, 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 whole some 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 relates 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 those treaties,

if necessary, by the employment of the military force. In open violation 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 unclinging 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 missionaries 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 reelection 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 reelection 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 faithful auxiliaries. 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 connexion with the name of Henry Clay, as a candidate for the Presidency, 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 still adhere to his standard, the wretched 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 reelection, 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 RIMBLE, }
JOSEPH KENT, } Vice Presidents
PETER B. PORTER }
ROBERT LEMPLE }
JOS. L. ILLINGHAM, } Secretaries
HENRY BACON, }

Robert Dale Owen, Editor of the Free Enquirer, being on a tour of observation in the eastern States, thus writes to his co-editor in New York on the subject of RAILROADS.

On board the Erie canal packet boat
MONDAY EVENING

A rail road! You have never travelled on a rail road! Then you have yet to witness one of the greatest triumphs of human ingenuity.

I left Albany this morning in the Schenectady stage, which conveys over the three miles of rough road, to the point where the Schenectady rail road commences. There you find the steam engine already smoking; and 6 or 8 stages—cars they are commonly termed, the scenery differing, except in their wheels, from ordinary stages—ready to receive passengers, of which about fifty entered them soon after our arrival.

I had never before been on a rail road, and therefore every thing was new and interesting to me.

First, the engine set off without its train, (as one would walk a race horse a bout before starting) to get up its steam half a mile and return. Then it took us in tow, (six fine seated stages) and the next minute we were off at the rate of twenty-five miles an hour, whistling past surrounding objects pretty much in the same style as if mounted on a fleet horse at full gallop. No one, I think, can enter a rail road car for the time and thus find himself conveyed with perfect ease and safety, without feeling that a new era in the annals of locomotion has commenced; and that even Fulton's noble discovery is cast into the shade by this new application of the magic power of steam. That twenty years from this time, the entire Union will be intersected with rail roads, needs not the spirit of prophecy to foresee; but how immense the advantages, mental and moral perhaps, as well as physical, which may thence result, it is not so easy to predict.

The whole line of the rail road, being twelve miles and a half, has been travelled in twenty-two minutes, being at the rate of more than thirty miles an hour, but the usual time employed is from thirty to forty five minutes. On the Manchester and Liverpool rail road, the speed, I believe is considerably greater. The machine can be run there at the rate of a mile a minute, and their usual speed is nearly a mile in two minutes.

Congressional Analysis.

From the Globe,
Washington City, Dec. 24.

In the Senate, yesterday, Mr. BENTON introduced a bill to reduce the price of the Public Lands. The bills to provide for the extinguishment of Indian title to land in the State of Indiana, and in a part of the State of Illinois and Territory of Michigan, and the bill for the benefit of Joshua Kennedy, were passed. At an early hour the Senate adjourned over to Tuesday next.

In the House of Representatives, Mr. DRAVOT, from the Committee on Military Affairs, reported bills for the organization of the Ordnance Department, and for the organization of the corps of Topographical Engineers—Mr. McDUFFIE, from the Committee of Ways and Means, reported a bill making appropriations for the support of Government for the year 1832—Mr. CARSON, from the Committee on Naval Affairs, reported a bill for the relief of the widow of Commodore Stephen Decatur. A resolution, offered by Mr. POKE, requiring from the Secretary of State, a statement, showing the aggregate numbers of the people of the several States and Territories, according to the Fifth Census, was adopted—Many private bills were passed—The House adjourned over to Tuesday next.

Washington City, Dec. 28.

In the Senate, yesterday, several petitions and memorials were presented. The resolutions submitted on Friday, by Messrs. HENDRICKS, BENTON and KANE, were adopted—Mr. BENTON, from the Committee on Military Affairs, reported, without amendment, the bills providing for equipping and mounting a portion of the army, and for the armament of certain fortifications. The bills for the relief of E. S. Meeder and Dixon Spear, were passed. After the consideration of Executive business, the Senate adjourned to this day, 12 o'clock.

In the House of Representatives a bill from the Committee on Naval Affairs, was reported making provisions for the rebuilding the frigate Java, and sleep Cynnae, and for completing the rebuilding of the frigate Macedonian. A bill was reported from the Committee on the Militia for the reorganization of the Militia of the District of Columbia. The Resolution submitted on Thursday last by Mr. BLAIN, of Tennessee, contemplating the appropriation of the proceeds of the public lands to the purposes of Internal Improvement and education, under the direction of the several States and in the ratio of their federal numbers, was considered, and modified with the assent of the mover. Mr. DUNCAN then offered a substitute for the Resolution, proposing to apply one third of the proceeds of the lands to local improvements in the States; one third to communications, by roads and canals, from the Atlantic to the western waters; and the remaining third to the purposes of education—the money to be expended under the direction of the several States; some discussion ensued, which was arrested by the expiration of the hour.

Washington City, Dec. 29.

In the Senate yesterday, Messrs. ROBINSON, FREELINGHUYSEN and FOINDEXTER were chosen the Library Committee, on the part of the Senate. The resolutions submitted the day previous, were severally agreed to. Mr. BENTON gave notice of his intention to ask leave to-day to introduce a bill for the repeal of the duty on salt. The bill providing for the employment of a portion of the Infantry, as mounted men, for the protection of the frontier, was passed. Some discussion took place on Mr. BENTON's motion, to postpone indefinitely the bill for completing the armament of the fortifications, in which the motion was supported by Messrs. BENTON, HAYNE and HOLMES, and opposed by Mr. SMITH. The motion prevailed—Ayes, 31. Some time was spent in the consideration of Executive business.

In the House of Representatives, Mr. WICKLIFFE, from the Committee on the Public Lands, reported a bill granting pre-emption rights to actual settlers on the Public Lands. Mr. BRANCH from the Committee on Naval Affairs, reported a bill allowing compensation to Naval Officers for travelling expenses in certain cases. Mr. McDUFFIE from the Committee of Ways and Means, reported a bill providing for the support of the Army for the year 1832. The substitute proposed by Mr. DUNCAN, for the resolution offered by Mr. BLAIN on Thursday last, in relation to the disposition of the proceeds of the sales of the Public Lands, was further discussed by Messrs. DUNCAN, McDUFFIE and ROOT. Before the latter had concluded his remarks, the hour allotted to resolutions expired—Some discussion occurred on the bill to provide for the adjustment of the claims of the State of South Carolina for services rendered during the late war, which was arrested by an adjournment.

Washington City Dec. 30.

In the Senate, yesterday, very little business was transacted. The Committee on Public Lands reported upon the proposition referred to them to reduce the price of the public lands, that it was inexpedient to act on the subject at this time. The bill to authorize the State of Illinois to sell 20,000 acres of the "Ohio Saline" was passed; and the bill providing for the establishment of an additional Land Office in the State of Louisiana, was ordered to a third reading; Mr. BENTON introduced a bill to abolish the duty on Alum Salt.

In the House of Representatives among the petitions presented, was one, submitted by the SPEAKER, of several thousand females of the City of Philadelphia and its vicinity, in relation to slavery in the United States. It was laid on the table. Mr. ROOT resumed his remarks on the resolution in relation to the proceeds of the sales of the Public Lands. He had not concluded when the hour expired. The bill to provide for the settlement of the claims of the State of South Carolina, for advances made during the late war, was further discussed at some length; but the debate was arrested by an adjournment.

A most distressing fire occurred in Buffalo, on the evening of the 15th inst. by which twenty three or four buildings were reduced to ashes. The loss is supposed to be very heavy, the precise amount not known.—*Amer. Pioneer.*

H. A. Mucklenberger, late representative in Congress from the Chillicothe District, cut his throat the other day with a razor. The cause which led to the perpetration of this rash deed is not distinctly known.—*Ham. Telegraph.*