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PLEDGES BROKEN AND POWER
ABUSED.

Speech of Mr. Slade, OF VERMONT.

On the Bill making appropriations for
the civil and diplomatic expenses of the Gov-
ernment for the year 1839.
(Delivered in the House of Representatives, Feb. 22.)

An amendment to the bill making ap-
propriations for the civil and diplomatic ex-
penses of the Government for the year 1839,
being under consideration in Committee of
the Whole on the state of the Union—

MR. SLADE rose, and said that it had not
been his intention to trouble the House, dur-
ing the present session, with any remarks
on the great questions which divide the lead-
ing parties in the country. It was always
with extreme reluctance that he addressed
the House; and he felt his ordinary embar-
rassment much increased by a consideration
of the extent and fulness of the discussions
which these questions had recently under-
gone here and elsewhere. He had not the
vanity to suppose that he could adduce any
new facts, or urge any new arguments;
yet he deemed the present a crisis when it
is incumbent on every man to do his duty
and his whole duty; and when it becomes
no man to stand still until he can "do some
great thing," before he attempts anything;
but to do, according to his ability, whatever
his hands find to do with all his might. In
the fearful struggle going on between Ex-
ecutive Power and Constitutional Freedom,
every man should feel that he has a deep
stake, and that the efforts of the feeblest
and humblest may not be unavailing to turn
the scale and secure a victory. If I can in-
fluence but a single mind; if I can rouse but
a single freeman, and give to his efforts a
right direction, I shall be amply rewarded.

But, sir, I have other motives for address-
ing this committee. It has been my lot to
stand on this floor as an opponent of slavery,
and to be identified with those who are
sometimes reproached as being men of "one
idea;" in the contemplation of the great
principles of justice, we are so engrossed as
to overlook all other public interests. I am
willing to bear the reproach of being opposed to
slavery, here and everywhere. I am not as-
hamed to own that, on this subject, I think
much and feel deeply. But, sir, so far from
forgetting other interests, in my desire for
the emancipation of the enslaved, the contem-
plation of the great principles of justice, which
lie at the foundation of that cause, does but
inspire me with a firmer purpose to main-
tain another cause with which those prin-
ciples are deeply identified.

I am opposed to slavery of every kind; to
slavery of mind and slavery of body; to
the slavery whose silken cords are artfully
coiled around the spirits of freemen, as well
as to the harsh and cruel bondage which
forces the sweat and toil of him who moves
at the bidding of a taskmaster. Sir, I cannot
stand still and see corruption stalking through
this land, and crushing everything beneath its
tend, without standing up and opposing my
feeble strength to its progress. No man can
estimate the consequences of failure in the
present effort to arrest it. The crisis is one
of momentous and fearful interest. The tri-
umph of corruption now, may be its enduring
triumph—a triumph which may reach, in its
consequences, far beyond the time when Afri-
can slavery shall have been exterminated—
and pray Heaven it may soon be so. From
this and every other land. That slavery
I abhor and detest, and shall do what I
rightfully can to root it out from the world.
But I also detest and abhor the slavery in
which the policy of this Administration has
long sought to bind the freemen of this
country; and I intend to do what I can to
take away the power of the oppressor, so that
the oppressed may go free. In both cases I
am for emancipation without delay. In one,
I do not expect to see it accomplished im-
mediately; in the other, I hope to see it ef-
fected on the 4th of March, 1841. Neither of
these causes do I intend to forget for the
other. The sword of justice is two-edged; and
both the "curse of slavery" & the "corruptions
of V. Burenism" may be made to feel its
power.

The People tired of Discussion.

I have, Mr. Chairman, listened to the re-
cent debate in this committee with some at-
tention, and have heard some things which
sounded to me very strangely. On entering
this Hall, two days ago, I found a gentle-
man from Maryland (Mr. Howard) replying
to the arguments which had been urged
against this Administration, and professing
to defend it on its arraignment for corruption
and abuse of power. And what did I
hear from him? Why, sir, instead of a ser-
ious defence, there met my ear a most mourn-
ful complaint of waste of time in this discus-
sion! Instead of an argument, we were
gravely and reproachfully told that "the
People are dissatisfied with us as a debating
society." Yes, sir, standing in the high po-
sition of chairman of the Committee of For-
eign Relations—a position from which he
rightly well be supposed to speak the senti-
ments of the Administration—the gentleman
deems it sufficient to meet the indignant re-
monstrances of the People through their
Representatives, against the newly develop-
ed results of Executive favoritism and cor-
ruption, by telling us that we are a mere
debating society, with whose harrangues our

constituents are wearied! We are actually
gowned by the gentleman, and sent back to
college, and held up as a class of sopho-
mores, exercising our wits, sharpening our
faculties, by intellectual conflict. This is
deemed by the honorable chairman of the
Committee of Foreign Affairs as a sufficient
answer to the arguments of opposition on
this floor, and a fitting defence of the Ad-
ministration against the heavy artillery drawn
up to batter down its fortifications and level
the walls of its last citadel.

The People dissatisfied with us as a de-
bating society! Sir, so far from this being
true, the people are looking from every quar-
ter with the most intense anxiety to our de-
liberations, and to the investigations, we
have instituted into the abuses of Ex-
ecutive power. Many a man among the
honest unsophisticated yeomanry of the
country, who has long held on to the
Administration, under the hope of reform,
which was artfully held out at the begin-
ning of its deceptive career, is beginning to
open his eyes upon the alarming results of
pledges broken and power abused.

"Give us light," is the cry that comes up
to us from every part of the Union. "Send us
speeches and reports of committees. We
want to see the results of the promised re-
form and possess the means of judging of
the conduct of those who have ruled over us
for the last ten years." Such is the language
addressed to me by many of my constitu-
ents; and it is, I have no doubt addressed to
almost every member on this floor who is
known to be pledged to sustain, right or
wrong, the men in power. And, sir, those
inquiries have not been prompted by any
artificial excitement, got up to subserve the
purposes of party; but have been forced from
the People by the practical results of the Ex-
ecutive policy—results which no arts could
conceal—results which have been the legiti-
mate fruit of seed long sown, and which
could produce its kind. The Administra-
tion have sown the wind, and are now reaping
the whirlwind.

Mr. Chairman, I commend the prudence of
the gentleman from Maryland. He has
made the best defence of the Administration
that could be made. We are a debating
society! and the People are sick of it! This
is his answer to the murmurs of the People,
and the arguments of the People's repre-
sentatives. 'This is the language which is
used to Congress and the country when, after
a maladministration of ten years, which has
brought us to the foot of Executive power,
there is a roused and struggling effort to
tion to its just balance, Congress to its rights,
& the People to their full and free breathing.

Mr. Chairman, the gentleman mistakes
the feelings of himself and his political as-
sociates here, for the feelings of the People,
when he supposes they are tired of discus-
sion. Sir, the People want discussion. They
pray for light. They say, Debate—debate
fully & thoroughly. We will pay the expense.
Go on. Probe matters to the bottom. Don't
spare for their crying. We begin to find out
that the boasting reformers have deceived &
misled us, & we want to see further into the
mystery of their political iniquity. Open
the doors wide, if you can get the keys; and
if you cannot, keep thundering at them till
we can come to your aid with a reinforcement.

Tired of discussion! Well may this Ad-
ministration be tired of it. It is a battering-
ram that is shaking the walls of their castle,
and threatening to bury them in its ruins—
Light and Truth! What horror takes
hold of the abusers of power, when these
stern and vigorous assailants look them full
in the face—when quickened memory brings
up, with fearful celerity, and presents in
dread array, their political transgressions,
and "conscience, which makes cowards of
us all," performs his office. Well may
they cry out in the subdued agony of de-
tected guilt—We are tired of discussion. But,
sir, the People are not tired of it. They are
aroused; and discussion will go on. If we
hold our peace they will not be silent. If
we refuse to come to the rescue, then shall
enlargement and deliverance arise from some
other quarter. 'Truth is mighty and will
prevail.'

But suffer me, Mr. Chairman, to look a
little more narrowly into the reasons why
the friends of the Administration are tired of
discussion. It is ten years since the present
dynasty came into power. Those who are
now so impatient of discussion have good
memories. They have not forgotten with
what professions they forced their way to
the chief control. The means employed by
them to supplant the preceding Administra-
tion have become matter of history. The
pledges made to a deceived people are on
record; and the gross and shameful viola-
tions of them now stare their authors full in
the face. And, sir, it shall not be my fault
if they are not made to look upon them until
their eye-balls be scared with the sight.

Threat to put down the 'pure Administration.'

I well remember the history of the can-
vass which elevated Gen. Jackson to the
Presidency. I saw then, as clearly as I see
now, and detested then, as strongly as I de-
test now, the means by which that elevation
was effected. And I now say, without the
fear of contradiction, that a grosser system
of deception was never practised upon any
people, than that by which the purest Ad-
ministration the country ever had, was sup-
planted, and the most corrupt put in its
place. Who Mr. Chairman, can fail to re-
member the declaration of a leading partizan
of Gen. Jackson, now the second officer in
the Government, made at the outset of Mr
Adams's administration, that "it should be
put down, though pure as the angels at the
right hand of the throne of God!" And how
was a pure Administration to be put
down? The ingenuity of disappointed am-
bition was ready with an answer, raise the

cry of "bargain and corruption," because a
man who voted in the House of Representa-
tives for the elected President has been select-
ed as one of his confidential advisers. Let
"bargain and corruption" be stereotyped,
and placed at the head of every column of
every opposition newspaper for four years.
* * * It was done! The columns of the
United States Telegraph, and of all the af-
filiated journals of the "put down" party, now
bear on their face evidence how faithfully
this purpose was executed; while the senti-
ments of the whole country from North to
South, and from East to West, attest, with
overwhelming unanimity, the utter false-
hood of the charge. But it had its day, and
wrought its intended effect.

Pretended abuse of patronage by Mr. Adams.
Next came the charge of a prostituted
Executive patronage, and abuse of Executive
power. It is now a matter of amazement
that there should have been found wicked-
ness brazen enough to make the charge, and
credulity weak enough to be duped by it.—
Yet such was the fact. Mr. Adams made
two removals from office during his entire
administration, neither of which was for po-
litical cause, and yet the land was literally
filled with clamor about the danger of an
abuse of Executive power. That clamor
was commenced in 1826, in the report of a
committee of the Senate on the subject of
Executive patronage, at the head of which
was THOMAS H. BENTON, and among
whose members were MARTIN VAN BUREN
and RICHARD M. JOHNSON. That report
dwelt with much apparent alarm on the
degree and amount of patronage now (then)
exercised by the President; and came to the
conclusion, the same may, and ought to be
diminished by law. For the professed pur-
pose of affecting that diminution, the com-
mittee reported six bills, one of which, is
worthy of special remark, provided:

"That, in all nominations made by the
President to the Senate to fill vacancies
occasioned by the exercise of the President's
power to remove from office, the fact of the
removal shall be stated to the Senate at the
time the nomination is made, with a state-
ment of the reasons for which such officer may
have been removed."

I wish, Mr. Chairman, that I had time to
go fully into the report of that committee.—
But I must forbear. It labored to magnify
the amount of patronage then exercised by
the President; declared that "the power
of patronage, unless checked by the vigorous
interposition of Congress, must go on in-
creasing until completely uncontrolled, and
predominate in the elections of Scot-
land and Ireland in rotten borough towns;"
urged the necessity of "laboring to multiply
the guards and to strengthen the barriers
against the possible abuse of power," and
spoke of the disposition manifested, "in all
ages to flock to the standard of power, where-
soever and by whomsoever raised." It also
embodied a glowing and truly prophetic de-
scription of the effect of the exercise of Ex-
ecutive power, which I shall have occasion
more particularly to notice hereafter.

It is useful to look back on this report
from the point where we now stand. There
was thrown around it an air of sincerity
and regard for the public good which rendered
it very imposing, and seemed to claim for
its authors the merit of no common patri-
otism and discernment. But, sir, we can now
see it in its true light. It was hypocritical
cant, used to effect the purposes of unwor-
thy ambition. Sound doctrines indeed it
contained; but their promulgation was made
under circumstances and in a manner clearly
showing that it was intended, not to lay a
foundation for carrying them out in practice,
but to give countenance to the false clamor
against the then Administration. Nothing
had occurred to justify alarm. No arbitrar-
y removals from office had been made, sug-
gesting the necessity of imposing on the
president the duty of giving reasons for re-
movals, or furnishing an accusation for the
sudden and high-wrought solicitude mani-
fested for the exemption of the country from
the dangerous charm of executive influence.
But, sir, the conspirators understood it; and
now we understand it, and the whole country
understands it. The connexion which that re-
port—profusely scattered through the coun-
try—was made to have with the misrepresen-
tations which were to put down, & which
did put down a pure administration, and the
subsequent perpetration by its authors and
their political friends, as soon as they came
into power, of all the abuses they pretended to
deprecate, reverts to the broad light of day
the great purposes of the report. That pur-
pose was the acquisition of power. It was
effected; and effected only to enable those
who accomplished it to fulfil their own
worst predictions of the abuse of power.

I have said, Mr. Chairman, that none now
dare to charge Mr. Adams with an abuse of
Executive power. I recall the assertion, and
admit that there is one exception. The
gentleman from Maryland (Mr. Howard)
said in this debate, that "Gen. Jackson
found the instrument (Executive patronage)
bright, from recent use, in the magazine
stormed and taken on his coming into power."
By this he intended to say that Ex-
ecutive patronage had been used by the pre-
ceding Administration for party purposes;
and that its notorious use for such purposes
by Gen. Jackson and his successor has been
but a following out of the policy of the ad-
ministration that preceded them. Now, sir,
I demand the proof of the gentleman's asser-
tion. I deny that there is a shadow of
foundation for it. Sir, I am amazed at the
temerity which can now make such an asser-
tion. Who, I ask, did Mr. Adams re-
move from office for opinion's sake? Not
one; no sir, not one. On the contrary, have
not the advocates of the "spoils" system long
maintained that his neglect to use his offi-

cial power to put down his enemies and to
put up his friends very much contributed to
his defeat? Where is the active supporter
of Gen. Jackson and Mr. Van Buren, who
has not attempted to defend their use of ex-
ecutive power for party purposes, by referring
to what has been denominated the fatal neg-
lect of Mr. Adams to adopt that policy? And
yet the chairman of the Committee on For-
eign Relations rises here and gravely tells
us that the use of Executive power for party
purposes was an instrument that Gen. Jack-
son "found bright from recent use" in the
captured magazine of his vanquished enemy!
Mr. Chairman, I must cease to be astonished
at any thing, and give it up that "all is fair
in politics," when such assertions can be
made in the face of the country by represen-
tatives of the People on this floor. But,
while this assertion proves that "all is fair in
politics," it proves another thing. It shows
that gentlemen of the administration party
feel pressed with the argument against the
prostitution of Executive patronage, and see
the necessity of meeting it by an excuse, at
least, if they cannot find a justification. The
notorious groundlessness of the excuse now
offered leaves those who urge it in a position
of no enviable weakness before the country.
If they are content to remain in that position,
I am willing to leave them there "alone in
their glory."

But I will proceed to consider, as among
the means used to "put down" the "pure"
Administration, some of the pretensions set
up and urged in favor of the candidate for
the succession, and which professed to shad-
ow forth the grand reform to be given to the
country under his administration.

A Liberal Administration promised.

And, first, Gen. Jackson was to be a great
pacifist! Party spirit was to expire under
his administration; or, at least, it was to
be divested of all its asperity. Men were to
be selected to office without regard to party,
and solely on the ground of high personal
qualifications and eminent fitness for official
station. There was a large class of minds
on which such assurances were fitted to op-
erate, and on which they did operate with
much effect. Gen. Jackson's letter to Mr.
Monroe, in 1816 was published, in which
the most earnest advice was given, touching
the formation of his cabinet; and the prin-
ciples which should govern him in his selec-
tion to office. I cannot resist the impulse to
read a paragraph from that letter, to remind
this committee and the country of the pro-
fessions which were pressed into the service

of Jackson, "for the following remarks con-
cerning the next presidential term. They
are made with the sincerity and freedom of
a friend. I cannot doubt they will be re-
ceived with feelings similar to those which
have impelled me to make them. Every
thing depends on the selection of your minis-
try. In every selection, party and party
feelings should be avoided. Now is the
time to exterminate that monster called
party spirit. By selecting characters most
conspicuous for their probity, virtue, capac-
ity and firmness, without any regard to party,
you will go far to suppress, if not entirely
eradicate those feelings which on former oc-
casions threw so many obstacles in the way
of Government; and, perhaps, have the
pleasure and honor of uniting a people
heretofore politically divided. The Chief
Magistrate of a great and powerful nation
should never indulge in party feelings. His
conduct should be liberal and disinter-
ested, always bearing in mind that he acts
for the whole, and not a part of the com-
munity. By this course you will exalt the
national character, and acquire for yourself
a name as imperishable as monumental
marble. Consult no party in your choice.
Pursue the dictates of that unerring judg-
ment which has so long and so often bene-
fited our country, and rendered conspicuous
its rulers. These are the sentiments of a
friend. They are the feelings, if I know
my own heart, of an undivided patriot."
Accept assurances of my sincere friend-
ship, and believe me to be,

Respectfully, your obedient servant,
ANDREW JACKSON."

And now, Mr. Chairman, mark how
full was Gen. Jackson's expression of a dis-
regard of "party and party feelings." How
deep and strong his abhorrence of the "mon-
ster called party spirit." How earnestly
were "probity, virtue, capacity and firmness"
commended. How fitting was it then in
the eyes of Gen. Jackson, that the Chief
Magistrate of a great and powerful nation
should never indulge in party feelings.—
How important, then, that his conduct should
be liberal and disinterested, bearing in mind
that he acts for the whole & not a part of the
community! Sir, I do not doubt the sincerity
of this advice. Gen. Jackson felt all
that he wrote. He had not then been
corrupted by ambition. He had not then
come in contact with the men who, after-
wards, sought to use him in accomplishing
their purpose of "putting down" a "pure"
administration. He was General Andrew
Jackson, fresh from the conflicts and toils
and victories of war, and unpractised in the
arts of political chicanery. But what was
sincerity in him, then, became the rankest
hypocrisy in those who used it ten years
afterwards. He deprecated, truly, the pre-
valence of a proscribing, exterminating party
spirit. They sought to use him to accom-
plish his worst purposes. He saw and felt
the value of "probity, virtue and capacity" in
public station. They saw and felt the value
of his recommendation of these qualities in
aiding them to crush a pure, virtuous, and
capable Administration. He saw that Mr.
Monroe, might acquire for himself an im-
perishable name by following his noble
advice. They saw with the keen sight of
political gamblers, that they might acquire

power by skillfully using that advice; and
that, having acquired, they improve it for
the purposes of the foulest ambition.

But, sir, I will do them the justice to say
that I do not believe they then contemplated
the full extent to which the power they were
grasping would be carried under the new
Administration. It seems impossible they
should have even dreamed that Gen. Jack-
son, the author of the noble sentiments I have
quoted, could ever be brought to enact, in his
own administration, an utter falsification
of every profession they contained—a falsifica-
tion so complete, that there should not be, as,
in truth, there is not, found a single one of
his friends whose face does not crimson with
blushes at an exhibition of the contrast.—
But the fitting instrument for effecting that
purpose had not then taken the stage as chief
actor. The time had not come for him to
spread his toils and spring the snare.—But
it at length came. Gen. Jackson was elect-
ed. His cabinet was formed. The work
was commenced. Mr. Chairman, you know
its history. The country knows it. The
arts by which an ambitious aspirant for the
highest honors gained the confidence of the
old chief, and the unscrupulousness with
which that confidence was abused, are
familiar to all. Gen. Jackson yielded to the
subtle influence; and, without seeming to
have been at all aware that he had even dis-
coursed of probity, virtue, and capacity, as
qualifications for office; without seeming to
recollect that he had ever denounced party
spirit as a monster, and recommended lib-
erality and disinterestedness as indispensable
for the Chief Magistrate of a great nation, he
became suddenly and strangely metamorpho-
sed into the mere President of a party—ex-
alting party devotion above the qualifications
he had so strongly commended, and convert-
ing the whole power of his high office to the
illiberal and interested purpose of serving
party ambition. The history of inconsisten-
cy, from the beginning of time to this hour,
cannot, I fearlessly assert, furnish a parallel.

Gen. Jackson was to serve but one term.

But this is not all. There were other
pledges. You remember, Mr. Chairman,
how strenuously it was maintained during
the administration of Mr. Adams, that a Presi-
dent should not be a candidate for a second
election. It became a favorite doctrine of the
Opposition. It was just then discovered that
Executive power might be used by a Presi-
dent to secure his own continuance in office.
The danger of this was portrayed in strong
colors; and Gen. Jackson was the man in
whose career, who was to be a President
would retire at the end of four years. He was
elected; and so strongly did he himself seem
to be impressed with the danger of giving a
President a second election, that he actually
recommended in three successive messages
to Congress, an amendment to the Consti-
tution, rendering the President ineligible for
a second term. And yet, when the four years
drew near a close, and the People looked to
see him preparing to retire, behold, they
found him preparing to extend his iron reign
through another four years! The humbug
had served its intended purpose. It had aid-
ed in putting down a pure administration,
and now it must be exploded to sustain the
power of a corrupt one.

Members of Congress were not to be ap- pointed to office.

I come now to another pledge made ante-
cedent to the election which "put down" the
"pure" administration. It was among the
earliest and loudest of the complaints against
Mr. Adams that he had appointed Mr. Clay,
a member of Congress, to the office of Sec-
retary of State. You remember, Mr. Chair-
man, the stereotyped charge of "bargain and
corruption," as connected with that selection,
the sweeping effect of which in the hands of
its inventors, was as signal as the conviction
of its utter groundlessness is now universal.
It was used not only to bring odium on the
administration for an act already done, but
to fill the country with apprehensions of fu-
ture danger from the practice of appointing
members of Congress to office. The con-
spirators suddenly became great sticklers
for the purity of the Representative bodies,
and eagle-eyed to see the danger to that puri-
ty from the practice in question. Upon the
People everywhere was urged the great and
indispensable importance of a reform, which
should exclude the members of those bodies
from Executive appointments, and Gen.
Jackson was held up as the man who would
effectually work out that reform, and secure
Congress from the corruption of Executive
influence.

I said that Gen. Jackson was held up as
the champion of this promised reform. Sir,
there was more than this. He held himself
up in that character at the very outset of the
canvass which resulted in his election. He
was nominated by the Legislature of Tennes-
see in October following Mr. Adams's
inauguration; and, on that occasion, in the
presence of both Houses of Legislature, who
gave him a grand reception for that purpose
handed in his resignation of the seat he then
held in the Senate of the United States.
That resignation I hold in my hand, and
beg leave to read a portion of it. The Gen.
was not content with merely resigning into
their hands the trust he had received from
them, nor, indeed, with an addition of rea-
sons for it. There were purposes connected
with that occasion which such a paper could
not accomplish. He had just been nomi-
nated for the Presidency, and it fell in with
the plans of the conspirators against the "pure"
Administration, that he should seize that oc-
casion to give countenance to the charge
against it of corruption, and set forth in due
form, the danger to the independence and
purity of Congress from the appointment of
its members to Executive offices. This
purpose he accomplished by embodying in

his resignation a dissertation on the subject,
which I will now read.

Having descanted on the importance of
the amendment to the Constitution of the
United States proposed by the Legislature
of Tennessee, whereby the election of Presi-
dent should be made directly by the people,
without the intervention of electors, he pro-
ceeded to say:

"With a view to sustain more effectually,
in practice, the axiom which divides the
three great classes of power into indepen-
dent constitutional checks, I would propose a
provision rendering any member of Con-
gress ineligible to office under the General
Government, during the term for which he
was elected, and for two years thereafter,
except in cases of judicial office. * * *

The effects of such a constitutional provision
is obvious. By it Congress, in a consid-
erable degree, would be free from that con-
nexion with the Executive department which
at present gives strong ground of apprehen-
sion and jealousy on the part of the People.
Members, instead of being liable to be with-
drawn from legislating over the great inter-
ests of the nation, through prospects of Ex-
ecutive patronage, would be more liberally
confided in by their constituents, while their
vigilance would be less interrupted by party
feelings and party excitements. Calcula-
tions from intrigue or management would
fail, nor would their deliberations or investi-
gations of subjects consume so much time.
The moral of the country would be improv-
ed; and virtue, uniting with the labors of
the representatives, and with the official
ministers of the law, would tend to perpet-
uate the honor and glory of the government.

But if this change in the Constitution
should not be obtained, and important ap-
pointments continue to devolve on the Rep-
resentatives in Congress it requires no
depth of thought to be convinced that corrup-
tion will become the order of the day, and
that under the garb of conscientious sacri-
fices to establish precedents for the public
good, evils of serious importance to the free-
dom and prosperity of the republic may ar-
rise. It is through this that the People
may expect to be attacked in their constitu-
tional sovereignty, and where tyranny may
well be apprehended to spring up in some
favorable emergency. Against such in-
roads every guard ought to be interposed;
and none better occurs than that of closing
the suspected avenue with some necessary
constitutional restriction. We know human
nature to be prone to evil; we are early taught
to pray that we may not be led into tempta-
ble courses.

My name having been before the nation
for the office of Chief Magistrate during the
time I served as your Senator, placed me in
a situation truly delicate; but, delicate as it
was, my friends do not, and my enemies can-
not, charge me with descending from the in-
dependent ground then occupied, with degra-
ding the trust reposed in me, by intruding
for the Presidential chair. As, by a resolu-
tion of your body, you have thought proper
again to present my name to the American
People, I must entreat to be excused from
any further services in the Senate; and to
suggest, in conclusion, that it is due to my-
self to practice upon the maxims recom-
mended to others; hence I feel constrained to
retire from a situation where temptations may
exist and suspicions arise of the exercise of
an influence tending to my aggrandizement.

Accept, &c. ANDREW JACKSON."

Needs, Mr. Chairman, but a slight
acquaintance with the history of the Presi-
dential canvass, from 1825 to 1829, to see
the drift and bearing of this extraordinary
resignation. Mr. Clay had been, by the ap-
pointment of the President, transferred from
the House of Representatives to the Depart-
ment of State; and thereupon the clamor of
corruption had been raised, and a conspi-
racy formed to "put down" the Administration.
At this crisis, Gen. Jackson was brought
out, and presented to the country as the
man who was to put an end to the appoint-
ment of members of Congress to office, and
dry up this source of corruption. Under
his administration, legislative purity was to
be maintained; Congress was to be "free
from that connexion with the Executive de-
partment which, then gave strong ground of
apprehension and jealousy;" legislative in-
dependence was to be strictly guarded; "cal-
culations from intrigue and management"
were to "fail;" the "morals of the country"
were to be "improved" and "the honor and
glory of the Government perpetuated!"—
But this was not all. If the interference of
Executive influence with legislative inde-
pendence was suffered to "continue," by the
appointment of members of Congress to of-
fice, it was the General's most solemn op-
inion! that "corruption" would "become the
order of the day;" that "the People would
be attacked in their constitutional sovereignty,"
and that "tyranny" would "spring up in
some favorable emergency!" Human
nature was then, in his opinion, prone to
evil; and the propriety of the prayer "lead
us on into temptation" was presented to his
mind in a very impressive light! His situ-
ation was truly delicate! He could not
descend from his "independent ground" by
intruding for the Presidential chair! and felt
"constrained to retire from a situation" (the
Senate of the United States) where he might
be tempted to act with a view to his own
aggrandizement! What modesty and deli-
cacy! What purity and patriotism! Who
could refuse to vote for the man who put
forth such sentiments, and gave to his coun-
trymen such pledges?

Mr. Chairman, it is no idle reminiscence
that calls up these pledges. They throw a
flood of light upon the Administration of the
present dynasty, and set it forth in bold and
embellished relief before the country. If