[illegible] evidence, [illegible] excuse [illegible] upon [illegible] reasons; and avow that nothing has occurred in the history of our country so much calculated to shake our confidence in the capacity of the People for self-government, as the efforts which have been made, and are yet making, to elevate to the first office in the nation, the man, who, disobeying the orders of his superiors, trampling on the Laws and Constitution of his country, sacrificing the properties and lives of men, has made his own arbitrary will the rule of his conduct.

In stating an opinion so unfavorable to a distinguished man, who has rendered valuable services to his country, a proper respect for ourselves and for you, requires that we should declare the reasons which compel us to withhold our confidence from him.

Capacity for civil affairs in a country like ours, where the road to preferments open to merit, in every class of society, is never long concealed, and seldom left to retirement. Gen. Jackson has lived beyond the age of 60 years, and was led to the profession best calculated to improve and display the faculties which civil employments require; but the history of his public life, in these employments, is told in a few brief lines—on a single page of his biography. He filled, successively, for very short periods, the offices of Member of the Tennessee Convention, which formed their State Constitution; Representative and Senator in Congress; Judge of the Supreme Court of Tennessee; and again Senator in Congress of the United States. Here was ample opportunity for distinction, if he possessed the talent, zeal, and application suited for civil eminence. He has resigned three, and passed through all of these stations, acknowledging his unfitness in two instances—manifestly feeling it in all—and leaving no single act, no trace behind, which stamps his qualifications above mediocrity.

For civil government—and in no station more emphatically than in that of President of the United States—a well governed temper is of admitted importance. Gen. Jackson's friends lament the impetuosity of his, and all the world has evidence of its fiery nature.

To maintain peace and harmony in the delicate relations existing between the Government of the Union and the various State Governments in our Confederacy, requires a courtesy and forbearance in their intercourse, which no passion should disturb. Let the spirit of dominion displayed in Gen. Jackson's celebrated letter to Governor Rabun, warn us of the danger of committing to his keeping this precious deposite—sacred to the union of our Republics, and to the freedom of mankind.

Military men should never be allowed to forget, that the obligation to obey being the sole foundation of the authority to command, they should be habituated to it, not by precept only, but by example; that profound respect for the Laws and Constitution of their country, is an indispensable guarantee of their worthiness to be entrusted with the sword which is drawn to defend them; that they should lose no fit occasion for manifesting that respect, by practical illustrations of the principle, sacred in every well ordered Republic, which proclaims the military subordinate to the civil power; that mercy even to the guilty, and humanity always to the conquered and the captive, are part of the law of God and man, found in every civilized code, written in every human heart, and indispensable to the true glory of the Hero.

Gen. Jackson has been unmindful of these truths:—though he has enjoined subordination by precept, and enforced it by authority, he has not recommended it by example. He has offered indignity to the Secretary of War, in the very letter which assigned his reasons for disobeying an order to disband his troops; he has placed his own authority in opposition to that of the War Department, by a general order, forbidding the officers of his command to obey the orders of that Department, unless they passed through the channel which he had chosen to prescribe; and he disobeyed the orders of the Government in his military operations in the Spanish Territory.

He has been unmindful of the subordination of military to civil power, and has violated the law and the constitution, by declaring martial law at New Orleans, and maintaining it, of his own arbitrary will, for more than two months after the enemy had been beaten and repulsed, and all reasonable apprehension of their return had ceased; by suppressing the Hall of the Louisiana Legislature with an armed force, and suspending their deliberations; by seizing the person of Louallier, a free citizen of Louisiana, and member of their Legislature, and bringing him to trial before a military tribunal, for having the boldness to denounce, through the public press, the continued arbitrary reign of martial law; by disapproving the acquittal of Louallier upon his trial, when to have condemned and executed him, would have exposed the actors in the fatal tragedy to the legal pains of death; by suspending, of his own arbitrary will, the writ of *habeas corpus*, when the Legislature of Louisiana had refused to suspend it on the application, when no law of Congress authorized it, and no imminent danger pleaded its apology: by arresting and imprisoning Judge Hall for issuing the writ of *habeas corpus* to relieve Louallier from illegal confinement, and arresting and imprisoning two other officers of the law, for speaking to civil process against his tyrannic rule: by the arrest, trial, and execution, of six militia men, who were guilty of no other offence than the assertion of their lawful right to return home, after their legal term of service had expired: by organizing a corps of volunteer militia, and appointing its officers, without any warrant so to do; and against the provisions of the constitution, which expressly reserve the appointment of the officers of the militia to the States respectively: and by making war upon the Spanish Territory, seizing and holding Spanish posts, in violation of the order of his Government, and whilst peace existed between Spain and the United States.

That mercy and humanity may unite with the offended Law and Constitution in accusing General Jackson of being unmindful of their voice, and in refusing to his laurel crown the rays of true glory, will be acknowledged by impartial posterity, when they review the history of his Indian campaigns, and especially when they read the stories of the cold blooded massacres at the Horseshoe; of the decoyed and slaughtered Indians at St. Mark's; of the wanton and unexampled execution of Ambrister, an Englishman, found fighting, it is true, in the ranks of the Seminoles, but taken prisoner, tried, doomed to a milder punishment, and executed by order of the commanding General, against the sentence of the tribunal appointed by himself, and of the still more injured Arbuthnot, another Briton, not bearing arms at all, only found among the warring Indians, a trader, and an advocate for peace.

We have done with this sickening catalogue. You have now a brief summary of the evidence, on the authority of which we regard General Jackson as wholly disqualified for the Presidency, and look to the prospect of his election with the most gloomy forebodings.

You think, perhaps, we pay a poor compliment to the virtues of our People, and the strength of our institutions, by indulging in apprehensions of danger from the encroachments of military power, in the youth and vigor of our Republic, and in the midst of profound peace. We should, indeed, do great injustice to the virtue of our People, the circumstances of our country, and the value of our Government, if we indulged in the idle fear, that an open attack upon our liberties, made with any military force, which General J. could probably command in the course of his administration, would bring us under the yoke of his power. These are not our apprehensions we would bid a proud defiance to his power, if he should so dare our liberties. Nor will we do him the injustice to charge his ambition with any designs, at present, on the liberties of his country, or withhold our acknowledgment, that, if they were assailed by others, we believe he would promptly and boldly draw his sword to defend them.

But we have no security for the continuance of peace in whatsoever hands the Government may be placed; and it is not unreasonable to think, that, in the hands of a man of military pride and talent, and of ungovernable temper, the danger of war will be increased. A foreign war may come, may rage with violence, and find General Jackson at the head of the land and naval forces. Dissentient views among the States may arise, controversies grow up between the State and Federal authorities, as dissensions and controversies have arisen; and who, then, we pray you, can answer for the consequences of that spirit which said to Governor Rabun, *When I am in the field you have no authority to issue a military order?* Reflect on this question, we beseech you—on the peculiar structure of our Government; on the collisions of action, both in peace and war, which have already occurred between the State and Federal authorities—and then tell us, whether the fear is altogether visionary, that the first foreign war, seriously waged against the United States, with General Jackson their chief, would bring danger of civil discord, dissolution of the Union, and death to the hopes of every free government in the world.

We say nothing of the danger of civil discord, even when no foreign war should fill us—though the retrospect of a few short years would teach us that such danger is not imaginary—and that the slightest want of tact, in its management, the least indulgence of temper, on the part of the Chief Magistrate, might inflame the whole nation, and light the funeral pile of freedom.

There are dangers of another kind. If we are correct in the detail of offences committed by General Jackson, against the most sacred principles of our Government, what will be the moral effect of the direct sanction given to these offences, by rewarding the offender with the first honor of the nation. Can we preserve our love and reverence for institutions which we suffer to be violated, not only without censure, but applause? Will not our affections and our veneration be transferred from the despised Laws and Constitution, to the honored Hero who has abused them—from Republican simplicity and virtue, to military pomp and glory? Will you not, in fine, by such example, lay the same foundation of that moral depravity, and admiration of arms, which must soon reduce us to the condition in which Greece was enslaved by Alexander; Rome, by Cæsar; England by Cromwell; France, by Bonaparte; and in which we will assuredly find some future Jackson, not too fastidious to accept the proffered crown and erect a military despotism on the ruins of the last Republic.

We appeal to the people of Virginia, to say what there is in the present party position, so alluring on the part of the Opposition, so frightful on the part of the Administration, as to seduce them to the fraternal embrace, or drive them under the protection, of such a man as Andrew Jackson? We ask an answer to this question, not from their affections, pride, nor from the prejudice which attachment to party never fails to beget; but we ask it, from their love of country, their love of truth and virtue: we ask it, after a deep and dispassionate consideration of the true state of the question: after a candid estimate of the little to be possibly gained by the rejection of Mr. Adams, the incalculable mischiefs which may probably attend the success of his rival. If you indulge the faint hope, that, under the Administration of General Jackson, the tribute which agriculture will pay for the encouragement of domestic industry and enterprise, will be somewhat lighter than at present, we ask you first whether, it is wise to insist on enjoying the profits of your estates in the uttermost farthing of their fancied value, at the risk of having your free allodial lands converted into military tenures or fiefs of the crown? If you are fighting the battles of General Jackson, in this political contest, with the vain hope that victory will conquer from your adversaries some barren spot of constitutional ground—we ask whether you will wage such a war with your countrymen, at the hazard of laying all your conquests, and all your former possessions—the Constitution itself, and the freedom it was intended to protect—at the feet of a despot? This does not become the character of Virginians!

In the ancient state of political parties, when federalists and republicans contended for ascendency, there was something in the great questions of foreign policy, in the leading principles of construction applied to the Constitution, bearing strongly on the essential character of the Government, and worthy of a generous struggle between the statesmen, who, on the one hand, sought to guard against a dissolution of the Union, by strengthening the Federal bond, and on the other, endeavored to avert consolidation, by establishing more firmly the State authorities. But this state of things has passed away, and the feelings and doctrines to which it gave rise, though not entirely forgotten, are almost unknown in the party distinctions of the day. Federalists and republicans mingle together in the ranks of the Opposition—and, together, rally around the standard of the Administration. There will be no great principles of political doctrine to distinguish them, unless the Opposition, following too closely the footsteps of those who trample on the Laws and Constitution of the country, should give to the supporters of the Administration some claim to be the champions of civil rule and constitutional law. Shall our parties be hereafter founded on local interests, and marked by geographical boundaries, arraying the North against the South, the East against the West,—losing the generous enthusiasm which is always inspired by a contest for principle, for honorable distinction, for pre-eminence in the service of our common country; and acquiring the bitterness of spirit, acrimony of feeling, narrow policy, and sordid views, which characterize the contests of men, striving not for the promotion of the common good, but for the advancement of their own peculiar interests—and which must lead, inevitably, to the entire subjugation of the weaker party, or a dissolution of the Union?

We know well, that the People of Virginia will never countenance any such distinction. Their generous sacrifices in the cause of their country, their uniform devotion to civil liberty, and their noble daring in the defence of freedom, from whatever quarter assailed, is the sure guarantee that they will not be slow to follow where the path of duty leads; and on that guarantee we repose with confidence, that, in this hour of danger, sacrificing all minor considerations, they will go forth in their strength, and save the Temple of Liberty from pollution.

TWENTIETH CONGRESS.

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES.

TUESDAY, Jan. 24.

RETRENCHMENT.

The House resumed the consideration of the following resolutions, which were offered on Tuesday by Mr. Chilton:

Resolved, That it is expedient to discharge the National Debt without avoidable delay: to accomplish which desirable object, a resort to a general system of retrenchment is necessary. This, it is conceived, can be effected only by—

First, A judicious reduction of the number of officers receiving salaries or pay from the General Government, and of the salaries of such as are necessarily retained in public service; avoiding, in each instance, the adoption of any measure which would be incompatible with our national dignity.

Second, By avoiding each and every appropriation or expenditure of public money which is not imperiously commanded by the *justice of the claim*, or the necessities of the Government, with a view to its efficient operations in a spirit of republican simplicity and economy.

Resolved, That the matters and things contained in the foregoing resolution be referred to the Committee of Ways and Means, with instruction to report to this House what officers, in their opinion, may be most advantageously discontinued—what salaries will reasonably bear reduction, and such other means of retrenchment as to them may seem necessary.

Mr. Blake having offered an amendment to the resolutions, a long debate ensued, but our limits preclude us from giving but a small portion of it.

Mr. Blake said he would not attempt to point out what course the House should pursue. He stood here, acting under an honest conviction of his duty, and he was resolved that, in his future, as in his past course, he would not swerve from the dictates of that feeling. He looked upon it as very strange that gentlemen should take such an exception to the amendment he had offered. If there ever was a proposition offered which was drawn up with a wish to meet the views of all, his was such. Do gentlemen complain of extravagant expenditures? If they look to the amendment, it contemplates retrenchment. Are there too many officers? That also comes within the contemplation of his amendment. Has there been any improper conduct on the part of the President himself? That is also embraced. Or if there is corruption in the Head of the State Department, the War, Treasury or Navy Departments—all this is within the reach of the amendment. What was the view of the gentleman of Kentucky? Was it not to inquire into abuses? What do his constituents require of him? That inquiry should be made, and abuses ferretted out—that the saddle should be put on the right horse. That he presumed to be the wish of the gentleman and of the people.

He concluded with asking that when the question should be taken on his amendment, it should be taken by Ayes and Noes. A sufficient number rising, the Ayes and Noes were ordered.

Mr. Floyd said he would not make a speech; but he was yesterday called on by the gentleman from Ohio, to bring out his specifications. He was sorry that any thing that he should have to say, in answer to that call, would not have the effect of amusing that gentleman. By his own speech, the gentleman seems to be well acquainted with some of the specifications. If the House of Representatives had any just cause to believe that there were errors in the public disbursements, he asked, whether it would not be right to raise a Committee to examine. If every member was called on to express an opinion on the subject, he would say—"I do not know that there are abuses, but I have just reason to believe the fact is so." It was said by gentlemen in Congress, that Mr. King, who resides in New York, is an editor of a paper supporting the Administration—he was just told, it is a brother of this Mr. King—the correction was just made—a son of Rufus King, whom he had known in the Senate, and who was sent to England—the President, he knew, was not responsible for his death, but he was sickly and infirm when he went—this son went with the sickly old gentleman. In this condition, nothing could be done; and even if Mr. King had not been sickly, he would not have been to blame; for he had to wait for his instructions. Mr. King came home, and left his son, who was allowed a salary, perhaps an outfit, as *Charge*, in violation, as he believed, of an express law of Congress, which says the Charge shall be nominated to the Senate for confirmation. Instead of this confirmation, Mr. King himself appoints his son; nor did he now recollect that any appropriation had been asked for to pay this item.

If the gentleman wished another specification, he could state, that J. H. Pleasants, who edits a paper in Virginia, in much esteem with the gentleman from Ohio, and most ardent in defence of the Administration, as it is said, received $1,900 out of the money, which the gentleman says the Executive had a right to give, for services which he had a right to ask.

Mr. Wright. I never said such a thing, nor ever thought of such a thing.

Mr. Floyd said it was at any rate certain, that he had received the money, ostensibly to go to Buenos Ayres, whither he did no go. A gentleman from N. York says, he went to England.

Again, if all the statements of proceedings here are not erroneous, here is a paper which bears an official aspect. A report of a Committee will not be denied, for unless we can regard that as an official document, he did not know what could be so considered.

Here Mr. F. referred to the official documents, and read from them some items as to the sums paid to Mr. Adams during his absence on a mission to Europe. He hoped that authority would not be denied. He thought after this we are likely to see but little economy.

He then referred to a proceeding of the Committee on Public Lands, of which a gentleman from New Hampshire, near him (Mr. Whipple,) was a member, being a motion to print the Land Laws. A gentleman from Pennsylvania, (Mr. Ingham,) moved to amend the motion, by adding a clause, authorizing the Clerk to receive proposals for the printing, which was adopted on the last day of the session, almost the last motion. He was not here himself on that day, but it would be seen on the journal. On motion of Mr. Wright the proceeding by which the House had adopted the amendment of Mr. Ingham was rescinded; in consequence of which we have paid three or four thousand dollars more than if the amendment of Mr. Ingham had not been rescinded; for what purpose he could not say.

Under these circumstances he was disposed to dismiss the subject. He was willing the investigation should go on. But the amendment of the gentleman from Indiana was not such so as to produce any benefit. The resolution as it is now modified by the gentleman from Kentucky, will put things in their proper right. He hoped, therefore, that the resolution as modified would succeed.

Mr. Whipple said, he considered himself called upon by the remarks of the gentleman from Virginia, to explain to the House the course which had been taken by the Committee on the Public Lands, to procure a revised and improved edition of the Land Laws, the want of which had been seriously felt by that Committee. The former Chairman of that Committee (Mr. Scott,) had, on the 6th of January, 1826, moved a resolution, instruction the committee to "inquire into the expediency of authorizing a new compilation of the resolutions, treaties, compacts and laws, in relation to the public lands of the United States,"—At an after date, (March 1st 1826,) Mr. W. said he was instructed by the Committee of which he had the honor to be a member, to report a resolution, providing for the compilation in question. The Clerk of this House was charged with the duty of making the compilation and the expense was ordered to be paid out of the contingent fund of the House. But the work was directed by the resolution to be laid before the House at its next session, for inspection and examination before its being printed; nor would the printing be executed without a further order of the House. At the next meeting of Congress (on the 26th of January, 1827) Mr. W. said the volume in question, which had been previously presented by the Clerk, was on his motion referred to the Committee on Public Lands. On report of the Committee (16th February, 1827) this House was called to act, when a gentleman from Pennsylvnia (Mr. Ingham) move an amendment.

The Committee on the Public Lands had, upon the most mature consideration, come to the conclusion, that to perfect the work, and make it as useful as practicable, it should be printed under the immediate inspection of the officer of this House, who had compiled it, and so provided; and ordered the expenses to be defrayed out of the contingent fund of the House, relying wholly upon the integrity of that officer, so to direct the business as to best effect the end designed and at the same time pay a due regard to economy in effecting it. The Committee saw no reason to doubt the integrity, zeal or ability, of that officer nor have they since had reason so to do, nor did they apprehend that they were compromitting the public interest by the course which was recommended.

The motion to procure the printing to be executed by contract, however, prevailed, and the amendment of the gentleman from Pennsylvania was adopted. The Committee, aware at the time of the difficulties which would be thrown in the way of the execution of the work by this mode, opposed it—they were overruled by the House, and submitted to its decision. But, Sir, on further and more full inquiry, the Committee were so fully convinced that the work would necessarily be imperfect, if executed in the mode ordered by the House that a gentleman, not of the Committee, was solicited to use his influence with the House to procure a revision of so much of the resolution as directed the printing to be done on contract founded on the proposal of the lowest bidder. On motion of the gentleman from Ohio (Mr. Wright,) the House rescinded the objectionable addition which had been made on motion of the gentleman from Pennsylvania. And thus, Sir, the work is now to be done under the immediate direction of a responsible officer of this House. In this the gentleman from Virginia sees corruption; but why or wherefore, Mr. W. said he was wholly unable to perceive.

But the gentleman says three or four thousand dollars have been lost to the nation by this revision of a part of the resolution referred to. Sir, how is this possibly known to the gentleman—the book is not yet printed! The Committee on the Public Lands have, during the present session, experienced the want of it, and you would be extremely pleased to witness its completion: it is, however, but justice to say, that the Clerk of this House has made every exertion to complete it, and is still pursuing the object with all practicable assiduity. The work has been found to be one of great labor. The treaties, laws, compacts, Spanish regulations, and a mass of other matter, which will form a heavy index to the volume, do not lie within a narrow compass, and cannot be taken by intuition, as the gentleman does the *scent* of corruption in every gale.

Now, Sir, having explained this very *mysterious matter*, as is hoped to the gentleman's satisfaction, permit me, Mr. Speaker, (said Mr. W.) to take a passing notice of the question in debate. The resolution and the amendment offered by the gentleman from Indiana (Mr. Blake.)

The original mover, as well as all who have attempted to improve the resolutions by amendments, have seemed anxious to effect retrenchments in the expenditures of the Government.

If, Sir, this be the purpose aimed at, there need be little difficulty in effecting the object. Are not the party, Sir, now in possession of the power of this House, fully prepared at every point for the onset? You have, Sir, your Committee on Public Expenditures—your Committee on so much of the Public Accounts as relate to the Expenditures in the Department of State, of the Treasury, of War, of the Navy, of the Post Office, and on so much of the public accounts and expenditures as relate to the Public Buildings. These Committees have all been organized by the presiding officer of this House, who has been elevated to his present station by a majority, and the respective committees, each have a majority, or at least a supposed majority, selected from the same side of the House. Now, Sir, is not the