

POLITICAL.

THE DANGER NOT OVER.

To the good People of the Good Old Dominion No. 11

There is one symptom, fellow citizens, of the strength of the Union, which is a great consolation. It consists in the fact, that although the cause of the nullifiers and secessionists (for they seem to me all to pull together in the same cause) leads directly to the dismemberment of this confederacy; yet they are profuse in their declarations of attachment to the Union. They will all tell you they are not for its dissolution, and challenge the production of any evidence to disprove their devotion to it. They know full well, that it is still dear to us, the great body of the common people, and that any proposition for its dissolution abruptly made, before our minds have been sufficiently imbued with the notions of separation and Nullification, and the irreconcilable interest of the North and the South, would be received with abhorrence, and would recoil upon their authors and abettors. Gen. Washington, as you have seen, tells us, "that much pains will be taken, and many artifices employed, though often covertly and assiduously directed, to weaken the strength of our attachment to the Union. We are not then to expect any open avowals, of a plan to produce a dissolution of it. We must look to the acts of these men in order to determine what they are after; or, if we believe them sincere, we must still look closely into the consequences of their principles and their acts, to see whether they are not hurrying us headlong to the brink of disunion, from whence we can never get back. It is like an awful cataract whose current cannot be resisted where we have gone too far. Arrest our progress, I pray you, for it is in your power, or we shall be precipitated into the abyss of ruin, and our happiness and liberty engulfed in the whirlwind of revolution and civil war. It would not be difficult to lay before you some strong circumstances demonstrative of the hostility to the present Union on the part of the leaders of the nullifiers and secessionists. Their great organ, Mr. Calhoun, is represented to have said upon the floor of Congress, that the seeds of its own corruption and dissolution were thickly sown in this constitution, as in every thing human; and that it is matter of surprise that such discordant and conflicting interests have been held together for forty years by the Federal bond. It has been very truly said, that in the speech in which the sentiment attributed to him was uttered, there was obviously more dissatisfaction with the Union itself, than with the mode of administering its concerns. The substance of the complaint is the irreconcilable conflict of interests between the Northern and Southern States, and the oppression which must be experienced in such a condition of things from triumphant and interested, and unrelenting majorities. In these opinions I do believe him sincere. He does think the two opposite quarters of the Union cannot live happily together, and therefore I am persuaded that he does wish them separated; he does desire a Southern confederacy. God forbid it! for, if we once sever, I trust the Old Dominion will stand alone, and not unite herself with the States yet further South, which can neither add in times of difficulty to her strength nor to her resources. It the two wars we have waged, when our State was assailed by a foreign foe, what aid had we from South Carolina? what aid could she afford us in time of need? None! none! whatever.

But it is neither necessary, nor to be expected, that we should find direct proofs of a fixed determination to dissolve the Union. The tendency, the inevitable tendency of the acts of Carolina and her abettors, is to dismemberment. Take, for instance, her Nullification. See how it will work.

By a law of Congress certain duties on imports are laid upon imported goods. It shall not trouble you with enquiring whether this law was or was not enacted in the spirit of the Constitution. I do not think it was. Admit that it was not constitutional in the opinion of South Carolina. Yet, in the opinions of Virginia, of Maryland, of Pennsylvania and the Eastern and Western States, it was constitutional, though some of these States, though it very oppressive upon them, as well they might. Carolina, however, insisting on the right to judge for herself, though a large majority of the other States differ from her, declared the law to be null and void, and passed various laws to prevent its being carried into execution. The effect of these laws, if permitted to operate, would be to permit goods to go into Carolina without paying any duty, unless the tariff law should be enforced in spite of the nullifying law. The Northern and Eastern States hold on to the tariff, and will not agree to repeal it. What does the good Old Dominion say and do? She thinks the law a bad one—she thinks it oppressive; and many of her people believe it an unconstitutional law. She says, as might be expected from her; for, she is indeed the land of steady habits; the land of good order and obedience to the laws and constituted authorities—she says "bad as this law is, it is our duty to obey it, until we can get it repealed by constitutional means. We must not nullify it; we must obey it; we must pay the duty." Accordingly, all the people of Virginia are obliged to pay duties upon the foreign goods they buy; whilst the Carolinians would pay no duties on the goods which they buy. In other words, Virginia would pay her full amount of taxes as heretofore, and Carolina would pay not one cent of taxes. Moreover, as merchants might land their goods in Carolina without paying taxes, whilst they would be compelled to pay taxes on goods landed in Virginia, they would soon cease to bring their goods to our Virginia ports at all; and if this state of things could continue, the commerce would naturally go to Charleston, and be brought from thence coastwise to Norfolk, Richmond and Alexandria. Is it not obvious that this cannot be permitted? Is it not obvious, that so long as the law is unrecpealed, it must be enforced equally upon all, or it will be utterly ruinous to our? It surely is. What then is the next step? The government, as it is in duty bound, sends the officers of the custom house to

enforce the law, to seize the goods and hold them till the duties are secured to be paid. Their power is resisted, and a State officer comes under the nullifying law to take the goods from the custom-house officer. He and his followers resist as they are bound to do, and if too strong for the nullifying sheriff, the latter calls upon the posse comitatus to help him. He is in his turn, too strong for the custom-house officer, and he calls upon the military authority to support him—and thus the parties come to blows, and the blood is spilled, and the torch of civil war is lighted, and the conflagration spreads to the adjoining States, and the whole country is wrapped in the flames of fraternal strife. Such is the natural progress of this peaceful remedy, nullification.—But observe that the South Carolina ordinance declares that so soon as the United States shall use any force whatsoever, the State shall no longer be considered a member of the Union. Thus, then it is obvious, that nullification, if persisted in, leads directly to disunion—for either South Carolina must give free of taxes, by nullifying the laws of the Union, which cannot be—or, she must be forced to pay them; and then she declares herself out of the Union.

Such was the case, fellow-citizens, when the Congress of the United States, from a sacred and noble regard to the Union, which they prize as the palladium of our liberties and happiness, passed the recent bill for modifying the Tariff. In consequence of this bill, it is believed the nullification act will be repealed. But how has the offering made by the General Government upon the altar of public peace, how has this compromise, which does so much honor to the good feelings of the people of this Union, been received by the nullifiers of South Carolina? Hear what is said in a leading paper of that party, supported no doubt by the most influential amongst them, and speaking, I suppose, the general sentiment. It is considered in unison with Governor Hamilton, who also claims for nullification the honor of victory over the Federal Government, both in his speech and report. This is the language of the Telescope, the paper I have alluded to. It says: "This little State in the mere paucity of courage and high principles, has foiled the swaggering giant of the Union. Thirty thousand Carolinians have not only awed the wild west into respect—compelled Pennsylvania stolidity into something like sense—New York corruption into something like decency; Yankee rapacity into a sort of image of honesty; but all this has been loftily and steadily done, in the face of 17,000—what shall we call them? What epithet is of a shame, wide, lasting and deep enough, for betrayers of the liberties of their own country—the instigators of merciless slaughter—the contrivers of irretrievable servitude against their own struggling State? The seventeen thousand referred to are those who have manfully stood for the Union and the laws, in opposition to wild and desperate misrule.

This is the return which is made for concession and compromise! This is the ground on which South Carolinians place an act, that has proceeded from affection for Carolina as a sister State; from horror at the thought of civil broil and bloodshed; from an instinctive shuddering at the prospect of the arms of the U. S. being arrayed against a member of the Confederacy. For, she was indeed preparing for resistance. She had her volunteers and militia in requisition to the amount of many thousands, and was procuring implements of war to turn them against their brethren rather than submit to the laws as repealed by constitutional means. Did not this lead to disunion? Does it not betray their object to have been dismemberment? How, indeed, is it, that even before matters had come to a crisis, while the leaders were "riding post throughout the State, collecting the citizens at barbecues, and striving to excel in toasts and sentiments best adapted to produce a deep hatred to the Union, and excite the citizens to civil war," why is it that the crimsoned flag devised by Governor Hamilton as the national banner of South Carolina, with ONE STAR and ONE STRIPE, emblematical of her separation from the Union, was unfurled and waved over the sumptuous banquet? Such, at least, is the statement made by the venerable Judge Smith, formerly their Senator in Congress, who was dismissed from their confidence, because he would not give into their views. No man can question his veracity.

Here, then, fellow citizens, we have the sad evidence of the designs and the obvious tendency of the acts of our erring countrymen of South Carolina; and here, too, I fear, we have too certain evidence, "that the danger is not over." In another paper, this subject will be resumed.

A VOICE FOR UNION.

From the Troy Budget. VICE PRESIDENT OF THE U. STATES. If our political history illustrates any truth with certainty, it is that the People in the long run are never mistaken in their judgment of measures and men. Examples of both are abundant. You can hardly mention a scheme which has at all engaged the attention of the government since its formation, whose issue has not substantially, if not to the letter, confirmed what the popular voice pronounced of it at the time of its agitation. You can scarcely point your finger at a man who has long exhibited himself on the public stage, in whom the people have been deceived. Interested individuals or particular bodies have uttered long and fearful predictions of the evils that would follow the success of certain men—the people have disregarded these predictions—and the result has confirmed the wisdom of the popular choice. Jefferson, notwithstanding the silly and old womanish notions, in which a certain class of politicians brought themselves to believe, and allowed themselves to utter, proved himself to be just what the people said he would be—and so did Burr, and so have Calhoun and Clay. If the truth of our remark needs stronger confirmation, it may be found in the public life of Martin Van Buren, with which our readers are well acquainted. No man has ever been the subject of more untiring opposition and foul-mouthed abuse. No man has so successfully disappointed the predictions of his enemies and so fully realized the hopes of his friends. Against no man has such a machinery of means been put in operation for the purpose of disgracing and

crushing him; and no man has arose more triumphantly superior to all obstacles that have been laboriously piled up in his path. Abuse, opposition, unblushing insult, have been but spurs to prick the sides of his integrity to do well and deserve well of his country. If he had been an ordinary man, the nation never would have known and acknowledged his merits. He would have cowered and sunk underneath the abuse and difficulties that have been concentrated upon him. He, if any one, has realized the poet's remark,

"Misfortune is a fire that melts weak hearts,— But makes the fiercer fire."

The Vice President was born at Kinderhook, in the county of Columbia, on the 5th of December, 1782. Consequently he is now in the fifty first year of his age. His origin was at once humble, but virtuous and respectable. At the age of 14 he commenced the study of law and in November, 1803, was licensed an attorney of the Supreme Court of this State. He commenced practice in his native village and was admitted a Counselor of the Supreme in February, 1807. In 1808, he was appointed Surrogate of the county. In 1809, he removed to the city of Hudson, and in February, 1815 was appointed Attorney General of the State in the place of Abraham Van Vechten. Mr. Van Buren, while a member of the Columbia Bar, stood in its foremost rank. Frequently coming in contact with old and able adversaries, his faculties were tasked to the utmost, his powers of mind sharpened, invigorated, and enlarged, and himself prepared for higher and severer conflicts.

Mr. Van Buren took an early and active part in political affairs. The great conflict which agitated the country in 1809, found him defending and inculcating the doctrines of the Jeffersonian school. His exertions preceding the election were constant and efficient, and his support of Jefferson's administration throughout cordial and untiring. In 1811 he was a member of the Assembly, and in the following year promoted to the Senate. While a member of the Legislature he distinguished himself as he had done previously, by the zeal and ability with which he supported the principles of the Democratic party—by his attacks upon the dangerous and anti-republican measures of the federalists—and by his advocacy of a vigorous prosecution of the war. In 1816 he was re-elected to the Senate, of which body he remained a member until 1820. In February, 1821 he was appointed a Senator in the Congress of the U. S. About this time he was chosen to represent the county of Otsego, in part, in the convention to amend the Constitution of the State. Here he was found always on the side of the people, maintaining their rights with ability, moderation and firmness. In 1827 he was re-elected to the U. S. Senate, which station he continued to occupy till he was chosen Governor of the State in 1828. In consequence of his appointment as Secretary of State of the United States, he resigned this station in March following. He held the office of Secretary until June, 1831. In the fall of the same year, he went as Minister to Great Britain. On the 26th of January, 1832, it became the painful duty of the conscientious Senators of the U. S. to reject his appointment as Minister, for reasons best known to themselves, but well enough known to the country; and in November of the same year, the People gave him a commission to preside over, and keep order among his sensitive and honorable voters.

The above sketch shows that Mr. Van Buren has risen by gradual and regular advances from the common ranks of life to the second station of political preferment in the Republic. It is equally certain that he has risen by his talents and untiring industry. No extraneous means, wealth, family connexion or influential friends—no happy concurrence of circumstances have been the stepping stones for him to honor and usefulness. At the very outset in life, all that art, malice, wealth, high-standing and overgrown influence could compass, was put in requisition to destroy his hopes.—He has "over-mastered them all." Advocating those principles which alone are the life-blood of our system—contending manfully for the rights and interests of the people, the people in turn have stood fast by him and given him the pledges of higher promotion if deserved by a future course of well doing.

The personal appearance of the Vice President is fine and prepossessing. In stature, which is about the middle height, apparently delicate, but capable of sustaining great exertion, he unites dignity with ease and grace. He has a quick, piercing eye and a forehead of bold and admirable formation. His features generally express animation, mildness, decision, a ready apprehension and a rapid and enlarged survey of objects brought under his contemplation.

We have read with utter amazement an editorial article in a late United States' Telegraph. Bold as the leading nullifiers are, regardless as they have shown themselves of the established principles, patriotic feelings, and if you will the consecrated prejudices, of the great body of the American people, we did not expect to see during our day, in a popular newspaper, in this country, such an attack as the Telegraph has unblushingly made upon one of the most solemn warnings contained in the sacred legacy of the father of his country. In a most affectionate and impressive manner, Washington exhorted his countrymen to "cherish a cordial, habitual and immovable attachment to our NATIONAL UNION, watching for its preservation with jealous anxiety, discountenancing whatever may suggest even a suspicion that it can in any event be abandoned, and indignantly frowning upon the first dawning of every attempt to alienate any portion of our country from the rest, or to enfeeble the sacred ties which now link together the various parts." The words printed above in italics are quoted by the Telegraph, and it is then asked—

Are these the principles of the republican party? Are these to be the practical principles of the Administration of Gen. Jackson? Are they congenial with the theory and genius of the constitution? If they be, then how vain and foolish and wicked have been those whom we have hitherto treasured in our hearts and re-

moties as the great advocates of liberty and the rights of the States.

Let the view here presented, be but once fully impressed upon the public mind, and at once all hope will be destroyed of preserving the rights of the States, or defending the minority from the oppressions of the majority. "We are here distinctly told that, not in any case can the union be abandoned. However oppressive to one section of the country may be the tyrannical acts of the other section, acting through their representatives in Congress, they have no redress. They have signed the bond, and have bound themselves and all future generations to serve and obey their task masters. Hope, which comes to all, comes not to them. They are ensnared by their own consent. And when the framers of our constitution thought that they were providing for the preservation of the rights and liberties of their posterity, they were only preparing an instrument by which some portion of them should be reduced to immediate subjection to another."

Let the people of the United States take their choice between Washington & the United States Telegraph. This is the very first time we have ever known an American editor or politician bold enough to denounce the leading idea of Washington's Farewell Address as anti-republican, dangerous to liberty or inconsistent with the "rights of the States." But because it is quoted by Gen. Jackson in his last Inaugural Address, and made the text of his strong defence and eulogy of our Union, the organ of the nullifiers ventures to assail it with the utmost vehemence and bitterness. This is all for the best. It is right that the honest and patriotic portion of the American people should distinctly see the sentiments and ultimate designs of these dangerous partisans. It will not shake, we trust, the "cordial, habitual, and immovable attachment," which Washington inculcated and the people have imbibed to the federal union. But it will call forth and preserve the "jealous anxiety," and will justly provoke the "indignant frowns," so wisely and properly recommended. The American people never can tolerate a party, whose principles and measures lead to the open denunciation of the most solemn and venerated lessons of the immortal Washington.—Nashville Banner

DOMESTIC.

(From the New York Commercial of Thursday) FIRE AT THE CITY HOTEL.

HALF-PAST 12 O'CLOCK.—We have just returned from witnessing an imposing and grand, though terrific spectacle. At about 10 o'clock this morning, the alarm of fire was given, and persisted in with so much diligence as to render it certain that their was a serious fire. Shortly afterwards we were informed that the City Hotel—a vast structure, as all the world knows, occupying the whole block west of Broadway, between Cedar and Thames streets, was in flames.—We repaired immediately to the scene of the calamity, and were so fortunate as to secure a view from an upper story nearly opposite.

The news that this splendid edifice, long known and universally popular, as one of the best hotels in the country, was on fire, created very great interest, and the streets in the neighborhood were crowded with multitudinous thousands before the engines could be brought up for action; and when they did successively arrive, although every exertion within human power, was made yet from the great height of the buildings, and from the circumstance that the fire commenced in the attic, it was a long time before they could be brought to play upon the destructive element.

The defect is said to have been occasioned by some accident in one of the chimneys. The smoke was first observed from the street, issuing apparently from some crevices between the bricks of the Southern gable, but no alarm was then given, and even some considerable time afterwards, when the smoke was seen issuing from the upper window casements, in large volumes, it was not supposed that any serious consequences would ensue.—The alarm, however, was now given, and in a few moments afterwards the flames burst forth with great fury—having thus, before the arrival of the engines, attained a power which it was difficult to arrest.

A few moments after we became spectators of the scene, an attempt to check the progress of the fire, two individuals, one of whom, we believe, was Mr. Jennings, the keeper of the hotel himself, had ascended to the upper story, immediately under the roof, and before they were aware of their danger, the flames invested them on every side, and precluded their descent by the stair-case. The building was so high that no ladder could be raised to relieve them, nor even near enough to throw a rope by which they might descend. In this perilous situation—on the verge of the roof and the raging element making frightful advances towards them, they had for some time the melancholy prospect of being crushed by the fall of the burning timbers around them, or of perishing in the flames. Long ladders were spliced; but for some moments all exertions to reach them were in vain, as the ladders could not be raised to the cornice, and the persons exposed were upon the roof, which was burning all around them—having emerged through a dormant window. At this perilous moment, when hope had almost fled, a young man by an extraordinary effort, threw a rope from one of the upper windows to the roof. Providentially it struck fast and the gentlemen were enabled to creep along the gutter, seize the rope and fasten it to the dormant casement. They then successively let themselves down until they could be reached and taken into an upper window.

Their situation had been watched with great anxiety, and their coolness and intrepidity during the trying moments of their peril, was hailed by the liveliest acclamations of the spectators, the moment their safety was ensured. Meantime the work of destruction proceeded rapidly. The flames burst up through the roofing, with such violence as to throw the tiles off in masses, which tumbled down upon the pavement below—to the imminent danger of the firemen and others beneath. The fire poured forth from the dormant windows; from the gables; and in immense columns upwards from the centre of the building. Broadway was lined with people

from Rector street to the Park, and the adjoining roofs, windows and balconies were occupied with beholders. For a long time, the rambling of a cart or carriage was to be heard in this part of the city. Business seemed to pause whilst the work of destruction was going on.

Owing to the brightness of the morning, it was not the sublime and imposing appearance that would have otherwise made, although our men inform us that they saw the fire from the lower bay. The volumes of smoke were thick, and the heat was intense. At was so great as to be oppressive in the neighbouring streets. At half past 11 o'clock, the roof had fallen in, from the immense strength of the timbers used in this structure, and the oceans of water which by this time were pouring into the fire from every direction, it was long before the floor gave way, & admitted the destructive elements into the story beneath. It did find its way thither, however, and soon issued in living columns from four of the front windows. But the firemen had now evidently obtained the mastery; and contrary to the general expectations, the body of the structure was doubtless be saved, although there must have been a great destruction of property, independent of the damage sustained by the building—which cannot be less than \$20,000.

We have never witnessed better conduct on the part of the firemen—or greater coolness and intrepidity in the performance of their arduous duty. Indeed, from the confusion incident to a catastrophe—the heights to be scaled, the courses to be traversed, the windows to be entered, and the falling fragments among the people below, it seems remarkably Providential that number of lives were not lost.

The City Hotel, as we have already said, occupies an entire square, and is calculated for the accommodation of about one hundred and sixty guests. Besides the public departments, there are several appropriated to the use of private families and parties, with a separate entrance, also from Broadway. In addition to the small parlors and lodging rooms, it contains one of the most spacious and elegant apartments in the U. S. States, chiefly used for public dinners, balls and concerts. No situation in the city has offered greater convenience for strangers who may desire to reside near the principal scenes of business, fashion, and pleasure.

P. S. HALF PAST 1 O'CLOCK.—The fire subsided, with the destruction only of the upper and attic stories—and the incident, in relation to a property below. We have just heard that a woman has had a dangerous fall, and has been carried from the ground.

THE CUMBERLAND FIRE.

Address to the People of the United States.

The undersigned being a committee appointed by the citizens of Cumberland, to draft an address to the People of the United States, detailing the particulars of their late dreadful calamity, and the condition to which they are reduced, and soliciting contributions in their behalf, are enabled, from their own view, and from their enquiries on the subject, to make the following statement.

The town of Cumberland is situated at the junction of Wills creek with the river Potomac. The national road passing through the place, has given it the advantage of a great amount of travel, and large sums were expended for its accommodation. The principal Hotel was a splendid building and cost the proprietor upwards of twenty-five thousand dollars. There were two other large commodious Hotels, well kept and provided, upon the same square.

Cumberland being the chief town of Allegany county, and its seat of justice, the principal mercantile business of the county was heretofore acted. Here also the coal from the mines was bro't and deposited for transportation. The merchants, tradesmen, and mechanics were all in prosperous circumstances, and were located so near as conveniently might be, in the vicinity of the Hotels, which formed the centre of business. The calamitous fire which forms the occasion of the subject of this address, broke out at 2 o'clock P. M. on Sunday the 14th of April instant. It originated in a joiner's shop and is said to have been occasioned by a lighted cigar which a careless boy threw among some shavings. This shop unhappily stood at the northwest extremity of the business portion of the place, and a strong northwest wind prevailing at the time, the flames, burning shingles, and other combustibles, were carried directly through the heart of the town. The citizens labored faithfully to save the building, which was frame, adjacent to the shop where the fire commenced; but this soon abandoned as hopeless. The panic then became general and uncontrollable, and every endeavor to save his own effects, carried stores, goods, beds, bedding, clothing and furniture into the street; but the houses on both sides were now in a full blaze, the progress of destruction was rapid beyond conception, and those who had placed their effects in the streets, were drawn from them by a body of flame and scorching smoke that filled the entire space from side to side, burning up sideboards, chairs, tables, articles of male and female attire, beds, and clothes, before the eyes of their owners.

The next effort of the citizens where the flames had not yet reached was to carry their goods to the houses of their friends at a considerable distance from what was supposed to be the scene of danger. In the midst of these labors, what was their consternation to behold these places of refuge, even the most distant, with all the interior furnishings, already on fire.

The inhabitants now withdrew in despair to distance from the raging element. From right to left, one unbroken sheet of flame extended full a quarter of a mile, raging and roaring like a tornado, was the awful spectacle presented to the eye. The two sections of the town were completely separated from each other; those on the west, the fate and condition of their friends beyond the flames, involved in mystery and dreadful apprehension. Mothers were separated from their children, and wives from their husbands—but fortunately not a single life has been lost. In two hours and a half, seventy five houses fronting on the principal street of the town, including the three Hotels, all the stores, and all the dwellings, shops, and materials of the tradesmen and mechanics, were burnt to the