

POLITICS OF THE DAY.

The celebrated Speech delivered by Mr. Clay at Cincinnati, in his recent triumphal visit through Ohio, appears in the National Intelligencer. We would most willingly re-publish it, containing as it does an able exposition of the present state of public affairs, but it occupies eight of the mammoth columns of that print. Its length alone deters us. We make however, a copious extract, which exhibits in a strong point of view, the glaring inconsistency between President Jackson's former and present views, as to the power of Congress to appropriate money for purposes of Internal Improvement.

If I could believe that the Executive message, which was communicated to Congress, upon the application of the Veto to the Maysville Road, really expressed the opinion of the President of the United States, in consequence of the unfortunate relations which have existed between us, I would forbear to make any observation upon it. It has his name affixed to it; but it is not every paper which bears the name of a distinguished personage, that is his own, or expresses his opinions. We have been lately informed that the unhappy King of England, in perhaps his last illness, transmitted a paper to Parliament, with his royal signature attached to it, which became an object of great curiosity. Can any one believe that that paper conveyed any other sentiments than those of his Majesty's Ministers? It is impossible that the veto message should express the opinions of the President, and I prove it by evidence derived from himself. Not forty days before that message was sent to Congress, he approved a bill embracing appropriations to various objects of internal improvement, and among others to improve the navigation of Conneaut Creek. Although somewhat acquainted with the geography of our country, I declare I did not know of the existence of such a stream until I read the bill. I have since made it an object of inquiry, and have been told that it rises in one corner of Pennsylvania and is discharged into Lake Erie, in a corner of the State of Ohio; and that the utmost extent to which its navigation is susceptible of improvement is about seven miles! Is it possible that the President could conceive that a National object, and that the improvement of a great thoroughfare on which the mail is transported for some eight or ten States and Territories is not of National consideration? The power to improve the navigation of water courses, no where expressly recognized in the Constitution, is infinitely more doubtful than the establishment of mail roads, which is explicitly authorized in that instrument! Did not the President during the canvass which preceded his election, in his answer to a letter from Gov. Ray, of Indiana, written at the instance of the Senate, of that respectable State, expressly refer to his votes given in the Senate of the United States, for his opinion on the power of the General Government, informing him that his opinion remained unaltered? And do we not find, upon consulting the journals of the Senate, that among other votes affirming the existence of the power, he voted for an appropriation to the Chesapeake and Delaware Canal, which is only about fourteen miles in extent? And do we not know that it was at that time, like the Maysville Road now, in progress of execution under the direction of a company incorporated by a State? And that, whilst the Maysville road had a connexion with roads east of Maysville and southwest of Lexington, the turning of which was contemplated, that canal had no connection with any other existing canal?

The Veto Message is perfectly irreconcilable with the previous acts, votes and opinions of General Jackson. It does not express his opinions, but those of his advisers and counsellors, and especially those of his Cabinet. If we look at the composition of that Cabinet, we cannot doubt it. Three of the five who, I believe compose it (whether the Postmaster General be one or not, I do not know) are known to be directly and positively opposed to the power; a fourth, to use a term descriptive of the favorite policy of one of them, is a non-committal, and as to the fifth, good Lord deliver us from such friendship as his to internal improvements. Further, I have heard it from good authority, (but I will not vouch for it, although I believe it to be true) that some of the gentlemen from the South waited upon the President, whilst he held the Maysville bill under consideration, and told him that if he approved of that bill, the South would no longer approve of him, but oppose his Administration.

I cannot therefore consider the Message as conveying the sentiments and views of the President. It is impossible. It is the work of his Cabinet; and if unfortunately they were not practically irresponsible to the people of the United States, they would deserve severe animadversions for having prevailed upon the President, in the precipitation of business, and perhaps without his spectacles, to put his name to such a paper and send it forth to Congress and to the Nation. Why, I have read that paper again and again; and I never can peruse it without thinking of diplomacy, and the name of Talleyrand, Talleyrand, Talleyrand, perpetually recurring to my mind. It seems to have been written in the spirit of an accommodating soul, who, being determined to have fair weather in any contingency, was equally ready to cry out Good Lord deliver us from such friendship as his to internal improvements? You may extract from the Message texts enough to support your opinion. Are you against them? The Message supplies you with abundant au-

thority to countenance your views? Do you think that a long and uninterrupted current of concurring decisions ought to settle the question of a converted power? So the authors of the Message affect to believe. But ought any precedents, however numerous, to be allowed to establish a doubtful power? The Message agrees with him who thinks not.

I cannot read this singular document without thinking of Talleyrand. The remarkable person was one of the most eminent and fortunate men of the French Revolution. Prior to its commencement, he held a Bishoprick under the ill-fated Louis the Sixteenth. When that great political storm shewed itself above the horizon, he saw which way the wind was going to blow, and he trimmed his sails accordingly. He was in the majority of the Convention, of the National Assembly, and of the party that sustained the bloody Robespierre and his cut-throat successors. He belonged to the party of consuls, the consul for life, and finally the Emperor. Whatever party was uppermost, you would see the head of Talleyrand always high among them—never down. Like a certain dexterous animal, throw him as you please, head or tail, back or belly uppermost, he is always sure to light upon his feet. During a great part of the period described, he was Minister of Foreign Affairs, and, although totally devoid of all principle, no man ever surpassed him in the adroitness of his diplomatic notes. He is now, at an advanced age, I believe, Grand Chamberlain of his Majesty Charles the Tenth.

I have lately seen an amusing anecdote of this celebrated man, which forces itself upon me, whenever I look at this Cabinet Message. The King of France, like our President towards the close of the last session of Congress, found himself in a minority. A question arose whether, in consequence, he should dissolve the Chamber of Deputies, which resembles our House of Representatives. All France was agitated with the question. No one could solve it. At length they concluded to go to that sagacious cunning old fox, Talleyrand, to let them know what should be done. I tell you what, gentlemen, said he, (looking very gravely and taking a pinch of snuff,) in the morning, I think his Majesty will dissolve the Deputies; at noon I have changed my opinion; and at night I have no opinion at all. Now on reading the first column of this Message, one thinks that the Cabinet have a sort of an opinion in favor of Internal Improvements with some limitations. By the time he has read the middle of it, he concludes they have adopted the opposite opinion; and when he gets to the end of it, he is perfectly persuaded they have no opinion of their own whatever!

Let us glance at a few only of the reasons, if reasons they can be called, of this piebald Message. The first is, that the exercise of the power has produced discord, and to restore harmony to the National Councils, it should be abandoned, or, which is tantamount, the Constitution must be amended. The President is therefore advised to throw himself into the minority. Well—did that revive harmony?—When the question was taken in the House of the people's Representatives, an obstinate majority still voted for the bill, the objections in the Message notwithstanding. And in the Senate, the Representatives of the States, a refractory majority stood unmoved. But does this Message mean to assert, that no great measure about which public sentiment is much divided, ought to be adopted in consequence of that division? Then none can ever be adopted. Apply this new rule to the case of the American Revolution. The colonies were rent into implacable parties—the Tories every where abounded, and in some places outnumbered the Whigs. This continued to be the state of things throughout the Revolutionary contest. Suppose some timid, time-serving whig had, during its progress, addressed the public, and advertising to the discord which prevailed and to the expediency of restoring harmony in the land, had proposed to abandon or postpone the establishment of our liberty and independence until all should agree in asserting them? The late war was opposed by a powerful and talented party; what would have been thought of President Madison, if, instead of a patriotic and energetic Message, recommending it, as the only alternative, to preserve our honor and vindicate our rights, he had come to Congress with a proposal that we should continue to submit to the wrongs and degradation inflicted upon our country by a foreign power, because we were unhappily greatly divided? What would have become of the settlement of the Missouri question, the Tariff, the Indian bill of the last session, if the existence of a strong and almost equal division in the public councils ought to have prevented their adoption? The principle is nothing more or less than a declaration that the right of the majority to govern, must be yielded to the perseverance, respectability, and numbers, of the minority.

Another reason assigned in the Maysville Message is, the desire of paying the national debt. By an act passed in the year 1817, an annual appropriation was made of ten millions of dollars, which were vested in the Commissioners of the Sinking Fund, to pay the principal and interest of the public debt. That act was prepared and carried through Congress by one of the most estimable and enlightened men that this country ever produced, whose premature death is to be lamented on every account; but especially because if he were living, he would be able, more than any other man to check the extravagance and calm the violence raging in South Carolina, his native State. Under the operation of that act, nearly

150,000,000 of the principal and interest of the public debt were paid, prior to the commencement of the present Administration. During that of Mr. Adams, between forty and fifty were paid, whilst larger appropriations of money and land were made to objects of Internal Improvements, than ever had been made by all preceding Administrations together. There only remained about fifty million to be paid, when the present Chief Magistrate entered on the duties of that office, and a considerable portion of that cannot be discharged during the present official term.

The redemption of the debt is, therefore, the work of Congress; the President has nothing to do with it, the Secretary of the Treasury being directed annually to pay the ten millions to the Commissioners of the Sinking Fund, whose duty it is to apply the amount to the extinguishment of the debt. The Secretary himself has no more to do with the operation than the hydrants through which the water passes to the consumption of the population of this city. He turns the cock on the first of January and first of July in each year, and the public treasure is poured out to the public creditor from the reservoir filled by the wisdom of Congress. It is evident, from this just view of the matter, that Congress, to which belongs the care of providing the ways and means, was as competent as the President to determine what portion of their constituents' money could be applied to the improvement of their condition.—As much of the public debt as can be paid, will be discharged in four years by the operation of the Sinking Fund. I have seen, in some late paper, a calculation of the delay which would have resulted in its payment, from the appropriation to the Maysville Road, and it was less than one week! How has it happened, that under the Administration of Mr. Adams, and during every year of it, such large and liberal appropriations could be made for Internal Improvements, without touching the fund devoted to the public debt, and that this Administration should find itself balked in its first year?

The Veto Message proceeds to insist that the Maysville and Lexington Road is not a national but a local road, of sixty miles in length, and confined within the limits of a particular State. If, as that document also asserts, the power can in no case be exercised until it shall have been explained and defined by an amendment of the Constitution, the discrimination of national and local roads would seem to be altogether unnecessary. What is or is not a national road the message supposes may admit of controversy, and is not susceptible of precise definition.—The difficulty which its authors imagine, grows out of their attempt to substitute a rule, founded upon the extent and locality of the road, instead of the use and purposes to which it is applicable. If the road facilitates, in a considerable degree, the transportation of the mail to a considerable portion of the Union, and at the same time promotes internal commerce among the several States, and may tend to accelerate the movements of armies, and the distribution of the munitions of war, it is of national consideration.—Fetted by this, the true rule, the Maysville Road was undoubtedly national.—It connects the largest body, perhaps of fertile land in the Union, with the navigation of the Ohio and Mississippi rivers, and with the canals of the States of Ohio, Pennsylvania, and New York. It begins on the line which divides the States of Ohio and Kentucky, and of course, quickens trade and intercourse between them. Tested by the character of other works, for which the President, as a Senator, voted, or which were approved by him only about a month before he rejected the Maysville Bill, the road was undoubtedly national.

But this view of the matter, however satisfactory it ought to be, is imperfect. It will be admitted that the Cumberland Road is national. It is completed no further than Zanesville in Ohio. On reaching that point, two routes present themselves for its further extension, both national, and both deserving of execution. One leading Northwestwardly, through the States of Ohio, Indiana, and Illinois, to Missouri, and the other Southwestwardly, through the States of Ohio, Kentucky, Tennessee, and Alabama, to the Gulf of Mexico. Both have been long contemplated. Of the two, the Southwestern is the most wanted, in the present state of population, and will probably always be of the greatest use. But the Northwestern route is in progress of execution beyond Zanesville, and appropriations towards parts of it, were sanctioned by the President at the last session. National highways can only be executed in sections, at different times. So the Cumberland Road was and continues to be constructed. Of all the parts of the Southwestern route, the road from Maysville to Lexington is most needed, whether we regard the amount of transportation and travelling upon it, or the impediments which it presents in the Winter and Spring months.

The blow aimed at Internal Improvements has fallen with unmerited severity upon the State of Kentucky. No State in the Union has ever shown more generous devotion to its preservation and to the support of its honor and its interests than she has. During the late war her sons fought gallantly by the side of the President, on the glorious 8th of January, when he covered himself with unfading laurels. Wherever the war raged, they were to be found among the foremost in battle, freely bleeding in the service of their country. They have never threatened nor calculated the value of this happy Union. Her Representatives in Con-

gress have constantly and almost unanimously supported the power, cheerfully voting for large appropriations to works of Internal Improvement in other States. Not one cent of the common treasure has been expended on any public road in that State. They contributed to the elevation of the President, under a firm conviction, produced by his deliberate acts and his solemn assertions, that he was friendly to the power. Under such circumstances have they not just and abundant cause of surprise, regret and mortification, at the late unexpected decision?

Another mode of destroying the system, about which I fear I have detained you too long, which its foes have adopted, is to assail the character of its friends. Can you otherwise account for the spirit of animosity with which I am pursued? A sentiment this morning caught my eye, in the shape of a fourth of July toast, proposed at the celebration of that anniversary in South-Carolina, by a gentleman whom I never saw, and to whom I am a total stranger. With humanity, charity, and Christian benevolence unexampled, he wished that I might be driven so far beyond the frigid regions of the Northern Zone, that all Hell could not thaw me!—Do you believe it was against me, this feeble and frail form, tottering with age, this lump of perishing clay, that all this kindness was directed? No, no, no! It was against the measures of policy which I have espoused, against the system which I have laboured to uphold, that it was aimed. If I had been opposed to the Tariff and Internal Improvements, and in favor of the South-Carolina doctrine of nullification, the same worthy gentleman would have wished that I might be ever fanned by soft breezes, charged with aromatic odours, that my path might be strewn with roses, and my abode be an earthly paradise.

I am now a private man, the humblest of the humble, possessed of no office, no power, no patronage, no subsidized press, no Post Office Department to distribute its effusions, no army, no navy, no official corps to chant my praises, and to drink, in flowing bowls, my health and prosperity. I have nothing but the warm affections of a portion of the People, and a fair reputation, the only inheritance derived from my father, and almost the only inheritance which I am desirous of transmitting to my children.

The present Chief Magistrate has done me much wrong, but I have freely forgiven him. He believed, no doubt, that I did him previous wrong. Although I am unconscious of it, he had that motive for his conduct towards me. But others who had joined in the hue and cry against me, had no such pretext. Why then am I thus pursued, my words perverted and distorted, my acts misrepresented?—Why do more than a hundred presses daily point their cannon at me, and thunder forth their peals of abuse and detraction? It is not against me. That is impossible. A few years more, and this body will be where all, all is still and silent. It is against the principles of civil liberty, against the tariff and Internal Improvements, to which the better part of my life has been devoted, that this implacable war is waged. My enemies flatter themselves that those systems may be overthrown by their destruction. Van and impotent hope! My existence is not of the smallest consequence to their preservation. They will survive me. Long, long after I am gone, whilst the lofty hills encompass this fair city, the offspring of those measures, shall remain; whilst the beautiful river that sweeps by its walls, shall continue to bear upon its proud bosom the wonders which the immortal genius of Fulton, with the blessings of Providence, has given; whilst truth shall hold its sway among men, those systems will invigorate the industry and animate the hopes of the farmer, the mechanic, the manufacturer, and all other classes of our countrymen.

People of Ohio here assembled—mothers, daughters, sons, and sires—when reclining on the peaceful pillow of repose, and communing with your own hearts, ask yourselves, if I ought to be the unrelenting object of perpetual calumny? If, when the opponents of the late President gained the victory of the 4th of March, 1829, the war ought not to have ceased, quarters been granted, and prisoners released? Did not those opponents obtain all the honors, offices, and emoluments of Government; the power, which they have frequently exercised, of rewarding whom they pleased, and punishing whom they could? Was not all this sufficient? Does it all avail not, whilst Mordecai, the Jew, stands at the King's gate?

I thank you, fellow citizens, again and again, for the numerous proofs you have given me of your attachment and confidence. And may your fine city continue to enjoy the advantages of the enterprise, industry, and public spirit of its mechanics and other inhabitants, until it vies in wealth, extent, and prosperity, with the largest of our Atlantic capitals.

Warren R. Davis, Esq. one of the South Carolina Delegation in Congress, proposes, in a letter to a friend in Abbeville District, the following method of getting rid of the Tariff. It certainly is a singular notion to constitute the Courts of a State tribunals for the construction of the Constitution.—“I do not know, nor am I now prepared to say, what extent or character of powers should be given by the Convention to the Legislature of the State, to enable it to meet any and every emergency.—My own confidence is such, that I would consent that they should be plenary in the event of any change of our revenue

laws. My opinion of what the Convention ought to do, and indeed I think it clear to the people of South-Carolina, that the Tariff law of 1828 is unconstitutional, null, void, and of no effect, thereby absolving our citizens from all its supposed obligations.—After this declaration by a sovereign State, (a party to the Federal compact,) let the importing merchant re-examine the payment of his bond, which was extorted by an unconstitutional law, and I do not believe that a Jury (not packed) could be found in any District of the State, who would find a verdict for the Government. Trial by Jury has ever proved a palladium for political as well as civil liberty; and being a clear constitutional check, should be resorted to and exhausted before we try another. Charleston a free port, and attract commerce of the world, if the ports of our sister States did not follow the example. If the example is followed successfully in other States, the Tariff of 1828 in any and every sense will be nullified. Should the Congress of the United States change the credit to the cash system of revenue, (which I do not believe is at present practicable, as the effect of such a change would reduce commercial capital, which Congress will hardly agree to, one hundred per cent.) then, and not till then, would it be necessary for the Legislature to put forth any of the sovereign powers the contemplated Convention might think proper to give it. But I do not believe a majority of the two Houses of Congress could be obtained to make such a change of the system. What an interesting spectacle would then be exhibited to the world! An oppressive and tyrannical law, that is driving almost to madness, generous, patriotic, and high minded people, would be seen annulled, avoided, and made harmless, by the quiet and peaceful intervention of a trial by Jury.

HOW TO GET AN OFFICE.

We find in the Maine papers the following letter from Duff Green, Esq., at Washington to an applicant for office:

WASHINGTON, 3d March, 1830.

Dear Sir: since your friend Mr. Green left here, your letters to him have been at his request opened by me. The one enclosing a letter of recommendation to the President was this morning received. I observe that it is not specific in its recommendation, and the necessary consequence will be that it will be filed in the office of his private secretary and never thereafter seen.

If it had referred to any particular office, it would have been referred to one of the departments and put on the regular public files, when it would be brought up whenever his name was before the President, in case the application was under consideration.

I had a conversation with the President in relation to yourself, and also with Mr. Ingham—they are now convinced that your just claims have been pre-empted, and I am confident that the first opportunity will be seized to manifest their regard for you. I enclosed to Mr. Van Buren, by our friend Dunlap of Boston, the Richard Whig, in which a letter writer from Portland represents you as the Hercules of the Jackson party, and I feel confident that the appointment of Marshal will be tendered to you. This will be a good starting point, as many others will seek that office, and will enable you to carry stronger support in aid of your application for a better office hereafter. If I can serve you command me.

Your friend,
D. GREEN.

HON. ALBERT SMITH, Portland, (Me.)

We ask the reader to pause a moment after reading the above letter, and reflect upon the claims which the applicant had for office, and the manner in which those claims were to be rewarded. Duff explicitly says, that, because Mr. Smith had been represented as the Hercules of the Jackson party, he felt confident the appointment of Marshal would be tendered to him!—Yes! the question now put to an applicant for office are not, Are you honest? Are you capable?—But Have you been a Hercules of the Jackson party? Have you shouted for Jackson and Reform? Are you willing to bow, with the submission of a slave, to the idol of Tyranny and Proscription? These questions—as Americans we blush while we record the fact—determine the claims to office under the present Administration. We might emphatically ask, as did General Jackson on one occasion, “Are we freemen, or are we slaves?”

Alex. Gazette

[Since the above was published, Mr. Smith, the gentleman to whom the letter was written, has acknowledged that the above is an authentic copy of a letter received by him from Duff Green, but complains that it was obtained in a surreptitious manner.]

State of North-Carolina.
Rockingham County.
Court of Pleas and Quarter Sessions,
August Term, 1830.
Wm. Winchester, vs. Isaac Cummins, Adm. of
Robt. Cummins.

Motion for a decree to sell Lands. The Court appearing to the satisfaction of the Court that James Moore and his wife Margaret, Johnathan Cummins, Robert Cummins and Newton Cummins, heirs at law of Robert Cummins, deceased, are not inhabitants of this State: it is therefore ordered, that publication be made for six weeks in the Raleigh Register for them to appear at our next Court of Pleas and Quarter Sessions to be held for the County of Rockingham, at the Court-house in Wentworth, on the 4th Monday of November next, and plead, answer or demur. Test. RO. GALLOWAY, C. C. Sept. 7.