

SUBSTANCE

OF

MR. STORRS' REMARKS,

AT THE MEETING OF THE

FRIENDS OF THE ADMINISTRATION,

HELD AT WHITESBORO',

JULY FOURTH, 1828,

**FOR THE PURPOSE OF NOMINATING AN ELECTOR OF PRESIDENT,
AND VICE-PRESIDENT, FOR THE COUNTY OF ONEIDA.**

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AT THE ADMINISTRATION MEETING AT WHITESBORO

JULY FOURTH, 1828.

On the adoption of the vote of thanks to Mr. Storrs, he rose and said, that it had so accidentally happened, that he had not been present for many years at a general meeting of his fellow-citizens of the County of Oneida, and made his acknowledgments to them for the kind opinion which they had been pleased to express of his humble efforts to sustain that course of public policy in the present Administration, which they had so unanimously approved, in the resolutions which had just been adopted. I have not the vanity (said Mr. S.) to estimate my services as your Representative so highly, as to think that they really deserve more than the merit of good intentions and a sincere desire that the general prosperity and individual happiness which our country now enjoys, may not be interrupted—and I receive the expression of your thanks, the rather as a testimonial of your approbation and support of the principles on which the present Administration has conducted your public affairs. The good opinion of so numerous and respectable a portion of my constituents would be grateful indeed to me at all times, but it is peculiarly so now, when it has been openly threatened that the public Press should be “*brought to bear*” on any man who dares to exercise his right of defending the Administration against that organized system of defamation by which it has been assailed. We live in fearful times indeed, if there was reason to believe that the moral tone of society had become so relaxed among us as to justify those, who spread abroad these menaces, in any well grounded hope of suppressing in that way, all examination of their calumnious imputations on the Government. Those who have been stimulated by disappointment, or tempted by the delusions of party zeal or personal hatred to believe that the spirit of free inquiry among the People can be stifled by *subsidizing the Press*, have estimated the sagacity, intelligence and virtue of their countrymen by too low a standard. The public taste, as well as the public morals, is not yet so corrupted as to find its only gratification in the indiscriminate defamation of public men, nor will a stipendiary press be ever likely by an habitual course of personal vituperation to gain so complete a triumph over the good sense and justice of the country as to establish for itself any other reputation than its vassalage to the master spirits whose bounty supplies the wages of its degradation.

I congratulate you that we find our country so eminently prosperous and happy. Whoever looks abroad in the land and surveys the blessings which surround him on every side, must feel and know, that if we continue the present enlightened public policy of the Administration, no nation can cherish brighter hopes or look forward to fairer prospects. We are at peace with all nations. The ordinary revenue of the last three years has exceeded that of the same preceding period more than nine millions of dollars. The estimated balance in the public Treasury on the first day of January last, was upwards of six millions of dollars; and of the surplus funds five millions were applied to the reduction of the public debt on the first day of the present month. The whole amount which will then have been applied to the principal and interest of the public debt since the first day of January 1825, will exceed forty millions of dollars. By a faithful application of the public revenue to this object, the whole debt is rapidly hastening to its extinction, without imposing any oppressive burden on the country. The great increase of revenue within the last three years is to be attributed to the general increase of the country in population and wealth, and the perseverance of the Government in that course of public policy of the preceding Administration, which it has faithfully continued. Nothing has occurred seriously to interrupt our relations abroad. Our friendship with the new States of South America has been steadily cultivated, and we have formed advantageous commercial Treaties with the principal Governments there. Other commercial Treaties have been renewed or entered into, with European powers. The claims of our citizens on some of them to a large amount, have been peacefully adjusted and paid, and the only serious misunderstanding with Great Britain, (relating to our Eastern boundary) is in a course of amicable adjustment. At home no man feels the hand of oppression. Our personal security, and all our civil liberties are unviolated. The arm of the law is yet stronger than any man's hand. The enterprize of the nation is every where expanding around us. The Government has not been frightened from extending its protection to our domestic industry, and the whole country is rapidly developing its resources and maturing its strength. The policy of the Administration has been peaceful towards all nations—dealing justly and impartially with others—honestly respecting their rights, and firmly maintaining our own. It seeks no glory from arms. It has hung up in the Capitol no trophies stained with blood, but is inviting all other nations, by its own example, to the cultivation of the arts of peace. It invites no confidence at home by holding out the spoils of other countries as the temptation or price of its support, and will disappoint the hopes of all who expect this policy to be lightly or rashly changed. If we believe that true glory can only be nourished by blood—if there is not already wretchedness enough in the earth—if we have not been satisfied with the sum of human misery which has afflicted the whole Christian world for the last forty years—and, if now, when half a million of bayonets are listening for the signal to renew the extirpation of the human race, we cannot patiently bear our peaceful prosperity, then, indeed, may we clamour for an Administration which shall at once appease our propensities, and extinguish the hopes of the oppressed every where. But when we look to the mass of happiness we now enjoy—the progress of our wealth, strength, and prosperity, during a period of unexampled violence and confusion in the world, and contemplate what has been peacefully accomplished in our country for the improvement and melioration of the condition of man, the diffusion of

knowledge, science and the arts, and the cause of religion, every virtuous man must feel that it is an inexcusable crime to trifle with the blessings which Heaven has bestowed on this favoured People. Yet when all which we enjoy and all we hope for, constrain us to forbearance and union, the spirit of disappointment and discontent is clamouring through the land, alluring us to party enmity and discord, and persuading us to shut our eyes and stupify our hearts, and believe that all our prosperity and happiness is a delusion and a cheat. It was well judged by those who confederated to practice this experiment upon public credulity, that nothing short of the most unexampled efforts could promise them the least hope of triumphing over the intelligence and judgment of the country. We have accordingly witnessed a systematic assault upon the Administration, marked by a violence and dexterity in defamation which has assumed the character of the most skillfully practised personal malignity. The press has been opened upon them with such shamelessness of invective, such reckless contempt of truth and decency, and so little respect for their public services, their long tried devotion to their country, and their private virtues, that those who are unacquainted with the People themselves, and the state of society among us, and who should judge of us only by the charges made against our most eminent men, would set down the whole nation as "a confederacy of pickpockets." I appeal to you to say if it is not time for all who respect our national character, or the duties and charities of life, to discountenance this demoralizing system of political detraction.

The friends of this Administration would never think of complaining of the fullest and freest inquiry and closest scrutiny of its whole policy and conduct, and its whole management of the public expenditure. They have nothing to fear from it. But they have a right to ask that the Administration shall neither be judged on naked assertions without proof—nor on vague and general charges without details—nor by any partial or cunningly devised statements, patched up from the scraps and fragments which have been picked up in mousing among the public documents. The annual official Reports of the public receipts and expenditures are in the hands of so few, and the regulations of the Treasury Department so little known, that on the point of expenditure of the public monies under appropriations made by Congress, it requires but a very moderate share of ingenuity to distort, by some vague and general statement, the most useful, just and meritorious expenditures of the government into a charge of downright prodigality and profligate extravagance. We have all very recently noticed one of the latest editions of the charges against Mr. Adams, which has appeared among us in the form of an Address to the Citizens of this County. It seems to have been the chief object of the compiler of this Address to collect and condense the ingredients of all the current political scandals of the day into one mass and to furnish in a single epitome, a complete horn-book of electioneering calumnies against the Administration. The whole production however, has very slender claims to the merit of originality. With the exception of a certain embellishment of style and language, in strict keeping with its political character and object, it is chiefly made up of the stale calumnies of the public prints, which have been repeated to the ten thousandth time with an air of assumed confidence, intended to impress a belief on the community that the authors themselves believed them to be true.

I will not detain you at this late hour of the day by an examination of any part of this paper, except the charge relating to the public expenditure.

As to the other topic which forms the chief subject of its commentary, it is too late, since the multiplied proofs have been laid before the People in vindication of the vote of Mr. Clay at the last Presidential election, for his friends to do him the injustice of suffering themselves to be drawn into a discussion of his integrity. Indeed, time would fail me, and I should tax your kindness too severely, if I were to ask of your patience that I should be indulged with an examination of all the charges of profusion in the public expenditure, which this address alleges against Mr. Adams. I shall, therefore, confine what I have to say, to a few of its principal allegations.

After a general course of angry crimination of Mr. Adams and Mr. Clay on a variety of topics, the address proceeds to say:—

“But in other instances has there been a prodigal waste of the treasures of the nation, for no other purpose that we can perceive, than to buy up and secure partizans, control the public press, silence the opposition, and stifle the voice of an indignant people.”

Among these instances of alleged profligacy and profusion, we find a very formal enumeration of the following items:—

“Billiard Table of the President,	:	:	:	\$300	00
“Paid for Boot and Shoe blacking for Indians,				215	00
“Paid for taking President Adams' likeness,				1000	00
“Paid for Newspapers in the 3 years of Mr. Adams' reign,			}	6199	00
“For printing, during same period,				57,756	51

And then follows immediately one of these general and undefined charges which it is found most convenient to offer without any further specifications or details, viz.

“In such and similar ways, the present Administration has contrived to exceed the expenditure in an equal period under the Administration of Mr. Monroe, in a single department, by the sum of one million six hundred twenty-seven thousand one hundred and seventy-five dollars, while the whole expenditure of this “economical Administration has exceeded that of an equal period under the former Administration, by the enormous sum of seven millions and a half of dollars.”

For the sake of more convenient reference to the public documents, I shall consider these charges in a different order from that in which they are alleged.

1. “Paid for taking President Adams' likeness, \$1000.”

The real expenditure which here assumes the convenient form of a charge for the “likeness” of Mr. Adams, is an amount paid by the Secretary of War to an artist out of the *Contingent Fund of the Indian Department* for the execution of the dies for medals, as presents to the Indian tribes. That you may understand the degree of truth due to the assertion that this item is one of the “ways” which this Administration has “contrived” to exceed Mr. Monroe's Administration the public expenditure, I beg leave to read to you the history of this very alarming and extraordinary practice, which has existed under every Administration we have ever had. It is an extract from the report of the minority on the committee on Retrenchment, (Messrs. Sergeant and Everett,) who failed to discover in this item of expenditure, the alarming profusion which has since startled the sensibility of so many patriots of a more excitable temperament.

“With a view to a similar effect, and to gratify the taste of the Indians for articles of ornament, it has been the practice of all modern nations,

in their intercourse with them, to furnish them with medals. In the case of the European nations, these medals have borne the likeness of the sovereign. Since the Government of the United States succeeded to the foreign monarchical Government in relation to the Indians, medals have, in like manner, been distributed to them, from the time of General Washington to the present day, bearing the likeness of the President for the time being. Orders were given by the late Secretary of War, (Mr. Calhoun,) for such a medal of Mr. Monroe, when he succeeded to the Presidency. On the election of Mr. Adams, the like order was given to the same artist, to execute for the same price, a requisite die for a similar medal. The minority of the committee find no objection to make to this charge. They have no reason to believe that its amount is excessive; nor do they perceive out of what other fund it could, with more propriety be paid."

2. "Paid for taking Portraits of Indians, \$3190."

"The minority of the committee would observe, on this head, that it is an item of expenditure which has annually appeared in the returns of the Department, since the year 1822, and no expression of an opinion on the part of either House of Congress, disapproving of such an expenditure, has come within their knowledge. Every person acquainted with the Indian character, must perceive that this application of the arts of civilized life, for their personal gratification, must be of great importance in conciliating their good will. A small sum of money expended in this way, would, no doubt, very often produce as desirable a result as much larger sums laid out in a manner less adapted to strike the imagination of the uncivilized. So far from censuring this expenditure, either in the past or the present Administration, the minority of the committee are of opinion, that, were a larger apartment provided for the Bureau of Indian Affairs, in which might be more advantageously exhibited the portraits in question, and others which may be added to them, together with an ample collection of the arms, costumes, household implements, and all other articles appertaining to Indian life and manners, it would be productive of a happy effect on the imagination and disposition of the Indian deputations; which, from time to time, repair to Washington, and with which this Government transacts very important business; and, also, form a repository, possessing a high degree of scientific and historical value."

I now ask any just or candid man what faith is due to a statement, which in the face of these facts, asserts that these items of expenditure are among the "ways the present Administration has CONTRIVED to exceed the expenditure" under Mr. Monroe's Administration? The first item commenced in the time of General Washington, and the other was introduced in the year 1822, by the then Secretary of the War Department, (Mr. Calhoun,) who is now recommended in the same address, as a candidate for the Vice Presidency, and peculiarly as one of "the friends of economy and retrenchment." What a striking example is here afforded of some of those political experiments which have been occasionally tried on human credulity. It is highly probable that but few of those who attended the meeting which adopted this address, were at all aware that they had been thus made to recommend a candidate for the Vice Presidency, whose "prodigal waste of the public treasures" they had so unanimously condemned.

3. "Paid for Printing during the same period, \$57,756 51"

The real amount of printing by all the Departments for the last three years, is 78,030 dollars. But for some reason which we must presume to

have been entirely satisfactory, it has been found to be convenient in making up this charge against the Administration, to omit the amount of 14,174 dollars which has been paid for printing for the General Post Office. If we then deduct this amount, which is about one quarter of the whole amount expended in all the other Executive Departments, we are to consider the Administration held to account for the sum of 57,756 dollars only. Had the items of this expenditure been as freely given as the gross amount, we should have found very little ground for censure. An act of Congress passed under General Washington's Administration, (March 3d, 1795,) made it the duty of the Secretary of State to cause the laws of every Session of Congress to be printed and distributed. They are also to be published in three newspapers in every State. Congress has invariably provided by law for this object. *This annual expense of printing and publishing the Laws, is included in this charge against the Administration.* The last annual estimate laid before Congress from the Treasury Department, and on which the appropriation was made, is 13,500 dollars; which, at the same rate for three years, amounts to 40,500 dollars, leaving seventeen thousand dollars for all the other printing of the Departments. If we consider for a moment the extensive and complicated relations and duties pertaining to the Government and its Departments, both abroad and at home, the extent of our population and all those multiplied details of the public service in all the Departments which go to make up this amount, there is no reason to think that there has been any remarkable extravagance in this expenditure. It would have better become those who complain of it, to have specified particular abuses in this disbursement than to have relied on any mere general surmise. If we had the means of comparing the whole expenditure for printing by the General Government, (including even the Legislative Department,) with the amount paid by our own State, we might perhaps find that we had very little to boast of on the score of economy, and nothing to censure in the General Government.

4. "Billiard Table OF THE PRESIDENT, \$300."

Yes—my fellow citizens—it is even so stated—"Of the President!" How little must they think is known of the character and habits of Mr. Adams, who can gravely call the public attention to the "Billiard Table of the President?" I will not insult that excellent man by condescending to examine the *personal* imputation which is insinuated by the phraseology in which this charge is made.

It has been usual for Congress under the previous Administrations, to appropriate a gross sum for the furniture of the President's house, on his accession to the office. On the election of Mr. Madison in 1809, the sum of fourteen thousand dollars was provided, and the same amount on his reelection in 1813. On the accession of Mr. Monroe in 1817, the amount of fifty thousand dollars was appropriated for furniture, the President's house having been destroyed during the war. When Mr. Adams came into the office, Congress made the usual appropriation in 1825, of fourteen thousand dollars. At a subsequent session, (May. 22d, 1826) Congress appropriated the further sum of twenty-five thousand dollars to be expended at the discretion of the President, for furnishing the apartments of the house which had never been occupied. Of the last appropriation, Mr. Adams has expended only six thousand dollars, and the residue of it has since passed, under the laws regulating the Treasury to the surplus fund. The purchase of such articles of furniture as may be required, has usually been made by some person selected for that purpose, who renders his ac-

counts to the President that he may settle them at the Treasury. The appropriation of fourteen thousand dollars in 1825, was expended by the President's Secretary, (one of his sons,) who probably has charge also of many of the domestic disbursements of the house. It appears that on the purchase of articles in 1825, he bought a Billiard Table at the price of fifty dollars. Of this there has been no secret. The imputation now made is founded on the concealment of another fact. On the settlement of Mr. Adams of the furniture account at the Treasury, this item was never charged to the Government. A certificate from the Treasury which shows it, has been published in many of the papers, and I beg leave to read it to you.

TREASURY DEPARTMENT, REGISTER'S
OFFICE, JUNE 2d, 1827.

"I hereby certify, That, on the settlement of the furniture account of the present President of the United States, there is not any charge made by him, nor payment made by the United States, for a Billiard Table, Cues, Balls, or any appurtenances whatever, in relation thereto; neither has there been any charge or payment made, for Back-gammon Board, Dice, or any appurtenances in relation thereto; nor for Chess Boards or Chess-men, or any appurtenances in relation thereto.

JOSEPH NOURSE, Register."

On the charge for Newspapers, which has appeared in every return of the contingent expenses of the Government, for the last ten years, it is not charged in the Address, that the amount has exceeded that of any former period. Whether it be so or not, is a matter of too trifling importance, to waste our time here in examining.

It is asserted in the address to which I have alluded, that the expenditure of Mr. Adams' Administration, has exceeded the whole expenditure of the last three years of Mr. Monroe's, by the sum of seven millions and a half of dollars. The plain and only answer that can be given to such a charge, is, that the official Reports from the Treasury Department show it to be utterly untrue, if we even include the sum of three millions of dollars, paid since Jan. 1st, 1825, on the principal and interest of the Public Debt, more than was applied to that object in 1822, 1823, and 1824. The impression which the reiteration of this charge is intended to make on those who have not the official Treasury Reports in their hands, is, that the current expenses of the Government, have been increased to that extravagant and wasteful extent. Now, what should be the measure of reprobation dealt out by an honest and just people, upon the inventors of such a calumny, when they find that exclusive of the payments on the principal and interest of the Public Debt, the whole expenditures, of all descriptions, of the last three years, exceeds that of 1822, '23, and '24, by a sum of about two millions and a quarter of dollars—that a great portion of this has been expended under highly useful and judicious appropriations made by Congress in 1825, and sanctioned by Mr. Monroe before Mr. Adams came into office, and that the whole of it has been applied to objects of a character entitled to universal approbation? This is a matter in which there can be no mistake. The whole receipts and expenditures for the last six years, as well as the objects to which they have been applied, have been laid before Congress, in the annual Reports from the Treasury. "He who runs may read" the falsity of this accusation. When I first met with the charge made in this Address, in such unqualified terms, I was at a loss to know from what materials it could have been compiled. It was accompanied with no qualification; no proofs and no details—a bold and naked assertion, seeming to rely on its audacity only for success. I was well aware, that in a report to the House of Representatives, a Committee had professed to draw such a conclusion from their statistical tables, by deducting from the expenditure under Mr. Monroe's Administration the sum of five

millions for the purchase of Florida, and charging the present Administration with all the expenditures under the appropriations made at the last session of Congress under Mr. Monroe's Administration. But this Address does not profess to make this charge with any such qualifications. It is a broad assertion, given without any explanation or details, and affirming without the least qualification or reservation, that the present Administration has "*contrived*" to exceed, in its *whole expenditures*, "*that of an equal period under the former Administration, by the enormous sum of seven millions and a half of dollars.*"

Having the Treasury Reports in my possession, (which are open to the inspection of all who desire to see them,) I have taken the pains to look into the true state of the receipts and expenditures for the last six years, and they are as follows :

Balance in the Treasury Jan. 1, 1822,	\$1,661,592 24	—Mr. Crawford's Report, Dec. 23, 1822; page 6.
Total Receipts in 1822,	20,232,427 94	—Mr. Crawford's Report, 1823.
do. in 1823,	20,540,666 26	—Mr. Crawford's Report, Jan. 5, 1825; page 5.
do. in 1824,	24,381,212 79	—Mr. Rush's Report, Dec. 22, 1825; page 5.
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	\$66,835,899 23	
Deduct Balance left in the Treasury, } January 1, 1825.	\$1,946,597 13	—Mr. Rush's Report, Dec 22, 1825 : page 6.
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	\$64,889,302 10	
Of which sum was applied to the principal and interest of the Public Debt, viz :		
In 1822—	\$7,848,949 12	
In 1823—	5,530,016 41	
In 1824—	16,568,393 76	
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	\$29,947,359 29	
Leaves the total expenditure of 1822, '23, '24, } exclusive of the Public Debt,	\$34,941,942 81	
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Balance in the Treasury, Jan. 1, 1825,	\$1,946,597 13	—Mr. Rush's Rep. Dec. 22, 1825; page 6.
Total Receipts in 1825,	26,840,858 02	—Mr. Rush's Rep. Dec. 13, 1826; page 6.
do. in 1826,	25,260,434 21	—Mr. Rush's Rep. Dec. 10, 1827; page 10.
do. in 1827,	22,878,528 68	—Report of Committee on Retrenchment; table 10.
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	\$77,026,398 04	
Deduct the Balance in the Treasury, } January 1, 1828.	\$6,269,585 29	—Mr. Rush's Report, Dec. 10, 1827; page 13.
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	\$70,756,812 75	
Of which sum applied to the principal and interest of the Public Debt as follows :		
In 1825—	\$12,095,344 78	
In 1826—	11,041,082 19	
In 1827—	10,003,668 59	
	<hr/>	
	\$33,140,095 56	
Leaves total expenditure of 1825, '26, '27, } exclusive of Public Debt,	\$37,616,717 39	
Deduct do. in 1822, '23, '24,	\$34,941,942 81	
	<hr/>	
	\$2,674,774 58	
The receipts for 1827, include the sum of 602,480 dollars, paid by the British Government, under the Slave Convention, of which \$387,079 90 is included in the expenditures of 1827, as paid to the claimants for whom the amount was received in trust.		
	Deduct	\$387,079 90
	<hr/>	
	\$2,287,694 68	

That the opposition to the Administration may not complain, I have adopted in this comparison of the expenditures for these two periods, their own assumption, that the present Administration is to be charged with the total expenditure of the year 1825, although Mr. Adams was not sworn into office until the 4th of March, *after Congress had adjourned*, and after all the appropriations for the public expenditure of that year, had been made by Congress, under Mr. Monroe's Administration. But while the friends of the Administration have nothing to fear, even from such an assumption, (whatever may be thought of its justice,) its enemies do not seem to be fully aware, that a great portion of the estimates of the appropriations for the current expenses of the year 1825, and especially of the War Department, were made up by those with whom they are now united in denouncing the expenditure as alarmingly extravagant and prodigal. The appropriations for the year 1825, sanctioned by Mr. Monroe, during the last year of his Presidency, require to be scarcely more than known, to meet with general approbation; and it is no more than a grateful duty which Mr. Adams' friends discharge to his predecessor, whose policy he has continued, when they assume the vindication of the expenditure of that year.

Charging, then, to Mr. Adams' Administration, since his enemies will have it so, the whole expenditure of the year 1825, it remains to be shown, that the expenditure of 2,287,694 dollars can be satisfactorily justified. I will advert hereafter to the propriety of allowing, as against the expenditures of 1825, 1826, and 1827, a deduction from the three previous years of five millions of dollars for the purchase of Florida. We must first know the nature of the disbursements in both periods, beyond the ordinary expenses of the Government, before we make any deductions from the expenditures of either.

The Reports of the Treasury Department laid before Congress, furnish the expenditures of the year 1825, 1826, and 1827. I have selected from them a few of the items not falling within the ordinary current expenses of the Government, which are well calculated to enable us to judge what good reason there has been for the loud complaints against the expenditure of that year.

1825. Grant to General La Fayette, (page 23) \$200,000.

And is there any one here, who will consent to blot out this fair memorial of his country's gratitude? and do we not feel that our country's honour is somewhat tarnished, when an inquiry involving that sacred benefaction, is pressed upon us in the defence of our Government against the party imputations of the day?

1825. Stock in the Chesapeake and Delaware Canal Company (page 24.)	\$122,500
The same item appears in the expenditures of the year 1826, (page 29.) being the balance of the subscription of the United States, under the act of Congress of March 30, 1825,	167,500
1826. Stock in the Dismal Swamp Canal Company, (page 29.)	150,000
1826. Stock in Louisville and Portland Canal Company, (page 30.)	20,000
1827. Stock in do. (page 43.)	30,000
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	\$500,000

This investment of half a million of dollars, in the stocks of these Companies, cannot be charged as an expenditure in any sense.

1825. Interest paid to the State of Virginia, (page 25.)	\$178,480
1826. Do. to the State of Maryland, (page 33.)	66,563
Do. to the City of Baltimore, (do.)	21,710
Do. to the State of New York, (do.)	40,261
Do. to the State of Delaware, (do.)	6,530
1827. Do. to the State of Pennsylvania, (do.)	17,577
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	\$331,121

The first act for the payment of the interest due to the State of Virginia, on loans or monies borrowed and expended by that State, for the use and benefit of the United States, in the late War, was passed March 3d, 1825. Since that period the interest on similar loans and monies, has been appropriated by Congress to pay the other States.

1825.	Building ten Sloops of War, (page 26,)	\$138,802
1826.	do. do. (page 40,)	506,163
1827.	do. in the three first quarters of the year, (page 47,)	184,804
		<hr/>
		\$829,769

By the act of March 3d, 1825, the President was authorized to cause to be built ten Sloops. The estimate for the expense of this addition to the Navy was about 850,000 dollars. It grew out of the system of piracy on our commerce, which was carried on chiefly in the West Indies, and added to the Navy a class of vessels in which it was very deficient, which might be employed in many branches of the service, in preference to the larger and more expensive ships.

1826. *Purchase of the Greek Frigate,* .. \$233,570

This purchase is included in the item for the "Gradual Increase of the Navy," in that part of the Treasury Report of 1827, which enumerates the expenditure for 1826, (page 40.) The amount was directed, by the act of Congress, to be paid out of that fund; and the price at which she was valued and purchased, was 233,570 dollars.

Paid for buildings destroyed by the enemy during the late War, under the act of March 3d, 1825, commonly called the Niagara Claims Act, appropriating 250,000 dollars for that purpose, viz :

1826.	Payment of claims for buildings destroyed, per act 3d March, 1825, (page 37,)	\$208,311
1827.	Do. (page 43,)	4,218
		<hr/>
		\$212,529
		<hr/>
1825.	<i>Creek Treaty,</i> (page 35,)	\$325,800
	do. (page 39,)	20,800
1826.	do. (page 39,)	78,600
1827.	do. (page 46,)	96,400
1827.	Removing the Creeks West of the Mississippi, (page 46. *)	29,000
		<hr/>
		\$450,600

The controversy between the State of Georgia and the Creek Nation of Indians, as well as with the General Government, must be familiar to every one. By an agreement made between the United States and Georgia during Mr. Jefferson's Administration, (April 24, 1802) the United States engaged, as soon as the same could be "*peaceably obtained on reasonable terms,*" to extinguish the Indian title to all the lands within that State. In the year 1824, under Mr. Monroe's Administration, appropriations to a large amount were made, to enable the President to effect that object. Under his Administration, the Treaty of the Indian Springs (Feb. 12,

*At the last session of Congress \$50,000 more was appropriated to carry this article of the Creek Treaty into effect.

1825,) was concluded. You well know the deplorable consequences which followed in the Creek Nation, who insisted that this Treaty had been unfairly obtained, and alleged that it had been agreed to by those who had no authority to sell their lands. A civil war ensued among them. Its first fruits was the assassination of McIntosh and some others, who had been parties to the transfer of these lands. The party of McIntosh fled to the State of Georgia for protection. Open resistance to the execution of the Treaty was threatened on the part of the Creek Nation; and a dangerous collision of feeling sprung up between the State of Georgia and the United States, which threatened at one time the most serious consequences to the Union. By the interposition of the power of the General Government, the two parties in the Creek Nation were kept at peace—deputations from both, came to Washington in the winter of 1825-6, and by a course of prudence and conciliation on the part of the Administration, they have finally succeeded in satisfying the claims of Georgia, and peaceably acquired for that state, the title to all the lands of the Creek Nation within her boundaries. The whole expense of this unfortunate controversy has amounted nearly to half a million of dollars.

Fortifications. The expenditure under the appropriations made by Congress for carrying into effect the system of defence for our ports and harbors on the sea board, which was commenced under Mr. Monroe's Administration, was,

In 1825—755,400
In 1826—754,650
In 1827—659,592
\$2,169,642

The expenditure for the same object was,

In 1822—330,062
In 1823—510,206
In 1824—528,161
\$1,368,429
\$801,216

being a greater amount by the sum of 801,216 dollars, applied towards the completion of these works than was expended for the same purpose in the three last years of the preceding Administration.

The war which broke out between the Government of Brazil and Buenos Ayres, subjected our commerce to such serious interruptions and danger of spoliations, that Congress by “an act to provide for the employment of an additional Naval force,” (April 5; 1826,) appropriated upwards of two hundred thousand dollars for sending and maintaining a squadron on the Eastern Coast of South America. It has been found necessary to continue this naval force in that quarter ever since. The expense for the two years has amounted to about the sum of 400,000 dollars.

Internal Improvements. Besides the expenditures for extending and preserving the National Road, (commenced under Mr. Jefferson's Administration) from the Cumberland, to the Western States, amounting in the last three years to more than 375,000 dollars, there has been applied under various acts of Congress, for opening and improving roads; for surveys of roads and canals; for improving and securing our harbors on the sea board, and on the lakes; and similar objects, exclusive of the subscriptions to the Canal Stocks, upwards of 650,000 dollars.

Such has indeed been the flourishing condition of our finances, that provision has been made under various other acts of Congress, for other and further objects that cannot fail to receive the unqualified sanction of all. By the act of March 3d, 1827, five hundred thousand dollars was appropriated annually, for six years, for "the gradual improvement of the Navy,"—to purchase ship timber for preservation for rebuilding and repairing our ships; for the construction of steam batteries for our harbors; for preserving the live oak timber on the public lands; for constructing dry docks for the Navy, and a marine rail-way on the Gulf of Mexico, and for improving and securing our Navy Yards. This act of Congress is now in a course of execution. Besides these, one hundred thousand dollars was appropriated by Congress for a Navy Yard on the Gulf of Mexico, on the 3d day of March, 1825, under Mr. Monroe's Administration, which is of course completing under the present Administration. Such are a great portion of the disbursements of the Government, which go to make up any alleged excess of expenditure that may have existed in the three years past, over the same period during the last Administration. Those alone, which I have hastily enumerated, exclusive of the expenditures under the laws for the improvement of the Navy and the Navy Yard at Pensacola, amount to nearly five millions of dollars, and yet *none of these form any part, of the ordinary, current expenses of the Government.* Nor was the purchase of Florida under Mr. Monroe's Administration, of that character. Still it was *an expenditure*—a wise, just, and necessary expenditure—paid for from the public Treasury—and reflecting great credit as well on Mr. Monroe as on Mr. Adams who negotiated the Treaty by which we acquired it. Is it not to be charged as an expenditure, because we may suppose that we received an equivalent for the amount in the value of the Territory? If we are to try our expenditures by that rule for the purpose of limiting the meaning of the term under one Administration, why should we refuse to apply the same test to other periods? Has the country received no equivalent in the subscription of half a million to the Canal Stocks in 1825 and 1826? Or of five millions to the Bank of the United States, during Mr. Madison's Administration? Or in the ten Sloops of War lately built? Or in the frigate purchased of the Greek Agent? In the increased expenditure for fortifications? Can it be said with propriety or justice that the Government has had no equivalent, when it pays the claims of the States for interest on monies borrowed for its service? Or in the payment of half a million of dollars for fulfilling its compact with one of the States? Or that the country finds no equivalent for the increased expenditure in the Naval service, in the protection and security of the commerce of the country? The principle which has been assumed to authorize the deduction of five millions for the purchase of Florida, proves this, and it proves no more—*that the expenditures of our own, and all other Governments, must vary from time to time as the policy, the interests, and the security of the country require.* The question of economy, is not to be settled by any arbitrary selection that we may choose to make for comparing the expenditure of different periods. It must be determined by looking to the *nature of the expenditure, and asking if they have been made for wise, just, and necessary objects?* We should do great injustice to Mr. Monroe too, if we were to try the economy of his Administration by any other rule. The average expenditure of the years 1822, and 1823, (exclusive of the public debt) was 9,805,899 dollars, but the same expenditure for 1824, (excluding the Florida purchase also.) was 10,330,144 dol-

lars; being an increase of more than half a million of dollars. Yet no candid man could be found to condemn it as extravagant or profligate, until he had informed himself of the objects to which it had been applied. The general expenditure of the Government must necessarily increase, as the country itself increases in population, wealth, industry, and enterprize, as our great National interests expend, and our intercourse and commerce extend themselves abroad, calling for the protecting hand of the Government every where. Those who have so loudly accused the present Administration of profusion, can have but little reason to expect that an intelligent People will sustain them in the accusation, until they can establish it on very different principles from those which they have assumed.

Of the expenditures for the last three years which I have enumerated, a considerable portion are made according to the usual practice of the Government through the War Department. Hence the increased expenditure on the fortifications, of upwards of 800,000 dollars, and the expense of the Creek Treaty, 450,000 dollars, were made through that Department. These two items alone, amount to 1,250,000 dollars. Besides these, the surveys for roads and canals, the payments to the States for interest on monies borrowed, and many other disbursements, appear to the charge of the "*Military Establishment*," which include *no part of the current expenses of the Army*. The charge that there has been an excess "*in one Department, of one million six hundred thousand dollars*" for the last three years, may therefore be true to the letter, but altogether false in spirit, calculated to mislead honest inquiry, and excite an impression that the *expenses of the Army* had been increased to that extent.

I now appeal to your candour, to say if these general statements of public expenditure, which give no specifications and no details, and which *conceal the objects to which the revenue has been applied*, are not calculated to mislead and deceive you? Can it have been better applied than in paying the Public Debt, perfecting the defence of the sea coast, providing for our Navy, and replenishing our dock yards and arsenals? In a letter addressed by Mr. Calhoun to General Jackson, from the War Department, on the 5th of September, 1818, in relation to his unauthorized seizure of the Floridas, he says, "In such a war, (an English and Spanish war,) I would not fear for the fate of our country, &c. We want time—time to grow, to perfect our fortifications, to enlarge our Navy, to replenish our depots, and to pay our debts." This was the policy which Mr. Monroe adopted, and why has it so suddenly become unwise, or profligate, or prodigal in the present Administration to continue it? It is not singular, however, that it has been difficult to please the present, or any opposition to the Government. We are not to expect that all will be contented under any Administration. There was much reason to think, immediately after the election of Mr. Adams, that his Administration would be assailed. Before he was sworn into office—before it was known what his public policy would be, and before it was even settled who was to compose his Cabinet, a writer in a leading opposition paper of one of the states, (the Richmond Enquirer,) openly invited a political union, against him. "Let us endeavour," said the writer, "to rally our scattered forces, and by keeping the friends we have got, and making new ones, to prepare for the crisis which many think is approaching. Surely the friends of Crawford and Jackson, *naturally brought closer together by their mutual disappointment*, can control the Administration," &c. You can readily imagine whether an alliance, to be organized under the exasperation of such a feeling, would be likely to judge

the Administration with impartiality and candour. The charges against Mr. Adams have accordingly been as diversified as the discordant doctrines of the various political schools out of which the elements of such an opposition were to be gathered. In the South, he is denounced as a friend of the 'Tariff'; while in the North, he is as loudly charged to be its enemy. The opposing candidate is supported at the same time, in the North, as the friend of our Domestic Industry; while the South look forward to their success in his election, as the propitious event which is to lead the way for the repeal of all the laws that have been passed for its protection. In the South, Mr. Adams is condemned as a friend of the system of Internal Improvement; while the supporters of his competitor in the West, claim for their own candidate the merit of being one of its most zealous and inflexible advocates. In the controversy with Georgia, he was denounced as a violator of the "Rights of the States," and is now charged with extravagance in the disbursements which include the very expense of redeeming the public faith and extinguishing the controversy between that State and the Creek Nation. He is charged with neglecting the security of our commerce on the Eastern coast of South America, and denounced, in the same breath, for the expenditure incurred in its protection. Before a People, who have far less interest in the personal disappointment of any individual among us than in a wise and prudent Administration of their affairs, consent to listen to these querulous complaints against their public men, will they not ask, and demand an answer too, **WHAT IS TO BE THE PUBLIC POLICY OF THOSE WHO ASK THEM FOR POWER AND OFFICE?** Are the laws for protecting our Domestic Industry to be repealed? Is the improvement of our harbors on the sea board and the lakes and the whole system of Internal Improvements to be given up? Are these the "*lost Rights of the States*" which are to be restored? Is the Navy to be dismantled? Shall the defence of the Sea coast be abandoned? If in none of these, then in what respect is the public policy to be changed for the better? No provident farmer who had a thriving hill of corn, would think of pulling it up to find if there might not be a worm at the root. Do those who ask you to dismiss your present faithful public servants, promise you that the civil Government of the country shall be administered by those who are **BETTER QUALIFIED BY THEIR EDUCATION, EXPERIENCE, TEMPER, AND SUPERIOR PRUDENCE?**

MR. ADAMS is a plain, unostentatious man—of somewhat scholastic, or as some have been pleased to say, of old fashioned manners, and it is perhaps to be feared—of old fashioned principles too. With that genuine courtesy which distinguishes our elder men, he has nothing of that obtrusive and unmeaning frivolity which we sometimes find in modern schools of politeness. When not engaged in public business, he is accessible to all his fellow-citizens at all hours, and may be found throughout the year, on his morning walk at the earliest dawn of light. He is a man of active, but unobtrusive benevolence, and an exemplary member of society. But few ever left him without finding their respect for him increased, and deriving from his conversation much that is instructive and useful. He was educated to an habitual respect for the laws of his country and the institutions of society.

He was born a New-England man. I may speak of that, for I am a New-England man too; and though all of you are my countrymen, I see around me many of my nearest brethren. And where is the son of New-England who does not bear her name with honest pride? Or where is that

recrulant New-England man or his child, whose heart does not swell with honest indignation when he hears her name reproached? Mr. Adams was born in that land which first poured out its blood to consecrate our resistance to tyranny—and yet, that land which is now threatened to be erased from the list of *Patriot States*—the land on whose soil, after the first year of the war, except on the corner of a remote island, the enemy never kept his foot for forty-eight hours—the land in which he never marched but a single day, and never ventured but for one night, beyond the reach of the cannon of his ships—the land which, if it could have been at any time subdued, the Revolution would have been now recorded in history as an unsuccessful rebellion. Yet this is the land of our fathers and brethren, which is to be ranked no longer with the *Patriot States* of the Union!

Mr. Adams was born in the year 1767—the year in which the Stamp Act was repealed, and though too young to have served in the Revolution, he early learned the value of our civil liberties. Before he had attained his thirtieth year, he was appointed by General Washington as Minister to Portugal, who then expressed his opinion that he was the “most valuable public character” we had abroad. He remained in the diplomatic service of the country till 1801. He afterwards served his native State in her own councils and the Senate of the United States, and was appointed by Mr. Madison, as Minister to Russia in 1809. He remained there till the late peace with Great Britain, which he was one of the Commissioners for negotiating, when he was appointed by Mr. Madison, Minister to London. On Mr. Monroe's accession to the Presidency, he selected him as Secretary of the State Department, where he served during the whole of his Administration. The chief part of thirty years of his life has been devoted to the public service, in stations which could be only filled with reputation to himself or usefulness to his country, by a man eminently qualified to fill the highest civil departments of the Government. The high reputation which he enjoys, has been well earned by a life of patient and laborious application to the public service, of faithful attachment to the Constitution of his country, of untiring zeal in the defence of her rights and honour, and an exemplary discharge of all the duties of life. Yet no man ever found him invidiously estimating the value of his public services, or grasping at the Presidency as the reward for having done his duty. It was proverbial through the country at the last Presidential election, that he was; more than any other, the only public man supported by the People for that station, who seemed to be advanced towards it without the aid of accidental circumstances, or any effort of his own.

HENRY CLAY is the son of a country clergyman. He was left at an early age with no inheritance (to speak his own expressive language,) but “rags and poverty.” By the power of extraordinary genius, without the advantage of the early cultivation of education, and by the natural force of a vigorous and comprehensive understanding, he has risen from obscurity, without the adventitious aid of family or patronage, to the first rank among the Statesmen of the age. When I look to his friendless and unprotected youth, and his whole life and conduct, and reflect how highly and justly he has been distinguished for his ardent love of liberty—his uncompromising hostility to tyranny—his devotion to the Constitution of his country—his manly defence of her invaded rights—his fearless and untiring efforts in the cause of freedom every where—and his jealous estimation of integrity and honour in public and private life, I feel a sense of humiliation and shame for my country, that a generous and grateful people

Substance of Mr. Storrs' Remarks.

have not indignantly silenced the calumniators of such a man. I consider it one of the most fortunate circumstances of my life, for which I am indebted to your kindness, that I have had the opportunity, in the station you have conferred upon me, of seeing and knowing something for myself of this accomplished orator and statesman. I have seen him, whom many yet living know only as a friendless boy, presiding over the deliberations of the House of Representatives, with a dignity which elevated the character and honoured the institutions of his country, and an impartiality which extorted universal confidence. I had scarcely taken my seat in the House in the first term of public service with which you honoured me, when I heard him pleading the cause of the Constitution and civil liberties of his countrymen, against the lawless violence, the rashness and madness of military usurpation. I have seen him since, under the sufferings of pain, and when his friends would have rather expected to find him on a sick bed, supplicating the public councils in the cause of South American Independence against the cautious policy of the Government, and while every eye was anxiously fixed on his pale countenance, and the breathless silence which pervaded the House confessed the power of his eloquence, and the lofty sentiments with which he inspired every heart, I saw the very arteries of his temples swell as he invoked their love of liberty and their hatred of intolerance and tyranny—as he implored their cheering support in the cause of human freedom, and prophetically unfolded the future glory and happiness of his country. Yet he is now marked out as the chief victim of a persecution so relentless, persevering and vindictive, that it seems to have wanted a more congenial form of government only, to have brought him to the scaffold or the halberts. He has had the firmness to MAINTAIN HIS PRINCIPLES, and disdained to bow down and worship the MILITARY IDOL OF A PARTY! It is for this, that he has been denounced—it is for this, that he has been calumniated—it is for this, that he has been openly assailed and secretly defamed in the whispers of the fireside—and it is for this, that he is to be immolated. If he could have been so insensible to public opinion, and so unmindful of his whole public life, as to have supported the Military Candidate for the Presidency, the name of Henry Clay had then been tarnished—his honour had then been stained—and he would have been set down in the history of his country, as a recreant to his principles and his fame.

His views of our true interests and public policy are too well known among you to justify me in more than referring to them very briefly on a single point. He has been the faithful, unwearied, and *unyielding* friend of *Protection to American Industry* and *Internal Improvements*. It is but bare justice to him to say, that but for his exertions, this policy in the Government would not yet have been established, and the friends of this cause cannot be so unmindful of the “signs of the times,” as not to know that even now it can only be sustained by preserving in its support the *known* influence of the public councils of the Nation. I speak “*as to wise men; judge ye what I say.*”

The change which you have been invited to make, by those who have been so much dissatisfied with the character and general policy of the present Administration, is to dismiss these public servants from the civil departments which they occupy, and to place the chief care of the Government in the hands of General ANDREW JACKSON. General Jackson has been chiefly distinguished for having risen from a humble but honourable station in life, to the renown of a Military Commander. As a soldier,

who has acquired by superior skill or good fortune a high military reputation, he is entitled to our respect and all the honours which may be justly claimed or prudently conferred in a civil Government, for more "renown in arms." Our country has, however produced many men who might claim at least an equal rank in honour with General Jackson. In the Indian Wars of New England, Miles Standish proved himself to be as gallant and skillful a soldier in that kind of warfare, as the Conqueror of the Miami or the Hero of Tallageda. We have had Greene and Brown—Wayne, Scott, and a host of as gallant men as ever

"—————Set an army in the field,
"Or mounted th' imminent breach."

But we have yet had **ONLY ONE** Washington. We have had but one man who was "first in War and FIRST IN PEACE." However honourable to the American name, as well as the gallant army and its commander who achieved it, the battle of New Orleans will deservedly stand in history, let us not be unjust to the Military reputation of Washington and the Revolutionary Army. If there was adventurous skill or stubborn resolution at New Orleans, was there none or was there less at Trenton and Princeton, or at Monmouth?—at Stony Point?—at King's Mountain?—at the Cowpens, or at Bunker Hill? Is it unjust to General Jackson's Military fame, if we remember too, that there was consummate skill and daring bravery at Bridgewater—Chippewa, and at Erie? I consider General Jackson well entitled to claim a high rank in his Military profession. God forbid that I should ever detract from his fair claims as a brave warrior and a successful General; but when he claims that the Presidency of the United States is to be the reward of him "who has risked his life for his country," we are reminded that the constitution has not established a Military Government over us, and that an enlightened, prudent, safe and prosperous Administration of the *civil government* of our country, calls for qualifications which are not to be exclusively sought for in the camp or developed by the event of a successful battle. What then, are the qualifications of General Jackson as a **CIVILIAN** or a **STATESMAN**?—what examples has he given us of his political principles—of the **TEMPER** in which he **EXERCISES POWER**—of his prudence, his reverence for the laws, and his **RESPECT FOR THE CIVIL LIBERTIES OF HIS COUNTRYMEN**?

He has not only openly avowed that **THE CONSTITUTION** of the country has given to the Commanding General of an army the power to declare **Martial Law**, so as to subject its *free citizens not in the Military service*, to arrest and trial by **COURT MARTIAL**, but he has actually attempted to put such a power into execution in charges punishable with *death*, and disapproved the sentence of a Court Martial which refused to investigate the case and dismissed the charges. Mr. Louallier of New Orleans, was arrested by his order in March, 1815, (about two months after the battle of New Orleans,) and brought to trial before a Court Martial, organized by General Jackson for that purpose, on charges of "*Mutiny*," "*Exciting Mutiny*," "**GENERAL MISCONDUCT**," "*For being a Spy*," "*Illegal and Improper conduct and Disobedience of Orders*," "*Writing a wilful and corrupt Libel*," and "*Unsoldierly Conduct*," &c.

Every specification under these charges, sets out the offence as consisting in having written and published on the third of March, 1815, an essay in a New Orleans newspaper! Some of these specifications are worth your notice in judging of the character of this attempt to subject us to trial by a Court Martial. They are subscribed with General Jackson's name.

“CHARGE 5th. *Illegal and Improper Conduct, and Disobedience of Orders.*

Specification 1st. In violating the 56th article of the Rules and Articles of War, embracing as well citizens as all others, by relieving, harboring, and protecting the enemies of the United States, by writing and causing to be published an anonymous essay in the Louisiana Courier, on or about the 3d of March, 1815, at the city of New Orleans.”

“CHARGE 6th. *Writing a wilful and corrupt Libel.*

Specification 1st. That the said Louallier did, on or about the 3d of March, 1815, at New Orleans, write and cause to be published an essay in the Louisiana Courier, under the signature of “A Citizen of Louisiana of French origin,” grossly misrepresenting the purport and tenor of a general order of the 28th day of February last.”

Mr. Louallier was brought before the Court Martial, where he denied their jurisdiction over him. They dismissed him, and General Jackson disapproved of their decision. In the order of disapproval he justifies his attempt to subject the free people of this country to trial by Court Martial, by an argument that would cost the King of England his crown. “*Martial Law,*” he says “being established, applies, as the Commanding General believes, to all persons who remain within the sphere of its operation,” &c. Again: “If Martial Law, when necessity shall have justified a resort to it, does not operate to this effect, it is not easy to perceive the reason or the utility of it.”

Again: “The Constitution of the United States secures to the citizen the most valuable privileges; yet the same Constitution contemplates the necessity of suspending the exercise of some, in order to secure the continuance of all. If it authorizes the suspension of the Writ of Habeas Corpus,” (by Congress,) “it thereby implicitly admits the operations of *Martial Law*, when in the event of rebellion or invasion, public safety may require it. To whom does the declaration of this law BELONG? To the guardian of the public safety—to him who is to conduct the operations against the enemy,” &c. “HE is the ONLY AUTHORITY present to witness and to determine the emergency which makes such a resort necessary,” &c. Have we forgotten, my fellow citizens, the history of those wrongs which the Declaration of Independence enumerates as the usurpations of “ABSOLUTE TYRANNY” over us, when even British subjects?

“He has affected to render the *Military* independent of, and superior to the *CIVIL POWER.*”

“He has combined with others to subject us to a jurisdiction foreign to our Constitution and unacknowledged by our Laws, giving his assent to their acts of pretended legislation,”—

“For depriving us, in many cases, of the benefits of TRIAL by JURY.”

It was for lawless wrongs like these, that our fathers declared that “a Prince whose character was thus marked by every act that may define a Tyrant, was unfit to be the ruler of a free People.” Against these usurpations, they flew to arms. While they stood together in the field and poured out their blood in the holy cause of Independence and Freedom, the blessing of Heaven was invoked upon them from every altar and in the prayers of every family. May we not disgrace their memory or the cause in which our Washington bled, and Laurens suffered, and Mercer died!

The lawless tyranny established at New Orleans did not pause when the liberties of every man had been violated, by the arrest of their fellow citizen, Mr. Louallier. The Judiciary had been, as yet, vainly thought to be within the sanctuary of the Constitution. The Writ of Habeas Corpus

the very bulwark of civil liberty, was vainly thought to be yet supreme in a country pretending to freedom. The imprisoned citizen obtained it. It was answered by Gen. Jackson with a file of bayonets and the Judge was committed to prison. Judge Hall applied to Judge Lewis for a Habeas Corpus for his own relief; but the same fate awaited Judge Lewis and the District Attorney. *Judge Hall was finally banished by a Military order,* and Mr. Lounellier acquitted for want of jurisdiction. During the period of violence which had existed under the order of Martial Law, the very Legislature of the State was suppressed by the bayonet, and the life of every man was placed at the mercy of a sheer Despotism. The ratification of the Treaty of Peace, only relieved the citizens of Louisiana from this mad career of Military Tyranny. After the return of peace, the government was reorganized by the return of the State authorities to their duties. General Jackson was fined a thousand dollars for his contempt of the civil authority of the State, and to mark to all future times the deep abhorrence in which the Legislature of the very State he saved held his atrocious usurpations, they voted the public thanks to the officers and army under his command, but *refused them to him.*

He was appointed Governor of Florida in 1821, after the cession of that territory to the United States, by which its citizens became entitled to the protection of the free institutions of our Government. He there exercised "*the powers of a Captain General of the island of Cuba*" over the Territory, and prostrated the Judiciary of the United States again. His sole will took the force of law, and he proceeded to issue an "Ordinance," entitled "*An Ordinance providing for the naturalization of the inhabitants of the ceded Territory,*" and another to authorize imposition of taxes in St. Augustine. Congress annulled these "*Ordinances*" at their first session afterwards, (Act of May 7, 1822,) and imposed a *punishment* by fine, not to exceed two hundred dollars, or by imprisonment, not to exceed six months, or both, on *any person attempting to enforce them, or demanding or receiving taxes under them, and ordered the monies already paid under them to be refunded.*

If with the full knowledge of THESE OPINIONS of General Jackson of the nature of free government, and all the usurpations which he has committed upon their civil liberties under them, the people of this country should call him to the Presidency, then are our political institutions a mockery and a cheat. The experiment of this Government will then have been tried, and its fate will be no longer a problem to be solved by futurity.

If more could be wanted to learn the TEMPER in which HE EXERCISES POWER, you may read it in the fate of those unfortunate victims of his tyranny, who suffered at Mobile. These were our fellow-citizens. Their rights were as well protected as yours. If the melancholy fate of these soldiers of the Militia is to be sanctioned by the laws of the country, then are your claims and mine to liberty and life supported by as slender a thread as theirs. The official record of this Court Martial I have placed in your hands. I say, the *Official Record*, and I affirm that the communication from the Department of War, to Congress, transmitting all the correspondence called for by the resolution of the House and the official record of the Court Martial, is *fairly, fully, and faithfully printed*, with the exception of some thirty or forty sheets of abstracts of muster and pay rolls. The *original printed copy of the House of Representatives* is in the Clerk's office of the County. There you may examine it for yourselves, and judge how desperate that cause must be, which, while it dares not to publish it to its

own partizans, has the hardihood to pronounce it a forgery. Would to God, it were not true, and that our land was unstained with the blood of these defamed men. It is an insult to as gallant men as ever died in battle, to charge them with mutiny. But what tyrant ever failed to reproach the memory of his victims? The laws of their country had limited their service to the day when they left the camp, unless *the President* had ordered it continued. *Where is such an order from Mr. Madison?* Let it be produced. But our horror, my fellow countrymen, at this waste of human life and happiness could be scarcely diminished if the laws of our country had even authorized that extreme severity. When and where was one of our friends or neighbors of *the Militia* executed in the Revolutionary War, or in any war except by General Jackson? I see among you here many a soldier of the Revolution. Ask them if in the whole history of that war for independence they ever knew of such a case? And under whose command was a Militiaman put to death in the late war with Great Britain? If the General who then commanded on our own frontier, who resides among us here, had singled out a Minister of the Gospel, or a father of a family, or a son of a Revolutionary soldier and shot down six of our neighbours or friends of a morning, under the pretext of mutiny or desertion in the Militia, he would have been followed to this day with the unmingled scorn and detestation of society, and his name would never have been pronounced without a secret thrill of horror and disgust. If these men had been even guilty of any military crime, the inhumanity of ordering such a sentence to be executed on them all, shows a recklessness of human life afflicting to every feeling heart. When we reflect too that by that rash and unfeeling deed of blood, fathers and husbands were lost to their families, and children taken from their aged parents, we may form some faint conception of the desolation in society that followed the execution of that sentence. Even then we see it but afar off. The blood is not on our own soil—the aged widow is not among us here—the unprotected children which have been thrown on an unfeeling world are not at our own door, and the locks of that gray haired soldier of Washington who was there bereft by General Jackson of his son, have not whitened with sorrow under our own eyes.

During Napoleon's campaign in Russia, General Malet conspired against the Imperial Government, and had nearly possessed himself of Paris. A new Revolution had almost reached the point of success when the Emperor hastened his return. By the activity and fidelity of the local authorities the treason had been crushed, and Malet with twenty-four of his associates were condemned to death. Twelve were shot on the plain of Grenelles before the Emperor reached Paris. The late biographer of Napoleon, speaking of this execution, says,—“He was startled by the number of executions and exclaimed against the indiscriminate severity with which so many officers had been put to death, although rather dupes than accomplices of the principal conspirator.” It is “a massacre” he said—“a fusillade! What impression will it make on Paris?” Such was the exclamation of Napoleon Bonaparte when he spoke of the punishment of twelve acknowledged traitors who aimed at the subversion of his throne and the destruction of his family. “It is” he exclaimed “a massacre—a fusillade!”—and yet the blood of half a million of Frenchmen had flowed to establish and preserve him on the throne of France. The officers who conspired against the throne and his life, had received their rank and honours from his hands. They had sworn allegiance to his government and were confessed traitors. Yet Napoleon was conscious that by this unfeeling severity, even in the

stern administration of justice, his very throne was weakened. The successive firing in the environs of Paris rather indicated the fusillade of platoons between contending armies than the punishment of the violator of the public security. He knew that the first feeling of Frenchmen was for the glory of the French arms; but while he knew that the French People would enthusiastically sustain the Conqueror of Europe, he knew as well that they would detest the tyrant who could approve of pouring out the blood of France so freely even under the forms of justice. Napoleon judged rightly of the human heart, when he asked, "*What impression will it make on Paris?*" May we not ask ourselves, too, in this fair heritage of freedom, *What impression has the execution of the Six Militiamen made on the Free People of America?* This question is to be answered by the free born Militia of our country. Let them LOOK TO IT. They are the SOLDIERS of THEIR COUNTRY.—May they never be SLAVES of a TYRANT. TO THEM has been committed the defence of the precious inheritance we have received from our fathers. Let them remember that while THEY are faithful to the cause of Freedom and their Country, ALL IS SAFE—but when THEIR love of liberty has been subdued or corrupted and some aspiring Chieftain shall have put his foot on THEIR necks, THEIR COUNTRY IS FOREVER LOST:

We are invoked, my friends and fellow-countrymen, by all that should animate us as fathers children and brethren, to stand up manfully in that CAUSE which has brought us together here. It is not our own cause. It is the cause of our children. The privileges with which Heaven has blessed our Country in our day, are not our own only. We hold them as a sacred trust for our posterity. To trifle with our duty on this point, is worse than folly. It is madness and impiety. "RESISTANCE TO TYRANNY IS OBEDIENCE TO GOD." In this HOLY CAUSE, humanity pleads—our violated civil liberties plead—our insulted Constitution pleads—the sufferings of our fathers, the blood of the Revolution and Religion itself pleads with the People of America that they do not disappoint the expectations of the world.