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ADDRESS OF THE NATIONAL REPUBLICAN CONVENTION,

To the People of the U. States.

FELLOW-CITIZENS:—The period will soon arrive when you will be called upon to exercise a right, which, of all the independent nations of considerable power on the globe, you alone possess—that of electing, by your own free choice, and from among yourselves, the person who is to be entrusted with the high functions of your Chief Executive Magistrate. It is sometimes said that it is of little importance what individual is clothed with that character: that a President of the United States has no great personal influence either for good or evil, and that, in the present prosperous condition of the country the public affairs would be transacted just about as well under one President as another. Such opinions can only be entertained by persons who have reflected very little on the theory or the practical operation of our Government. The whole course of the public affairs depends, in a very considerable degree, upon the direction which is given to the influence belonging to the office of President. It is no doubt true that the political machine may continue to move on a while with apparent success under very unskillful direction by the effect of a favorable impulse received at other times; but it is obvious, that if such a state of things continues long, the favorable impulse will be lost, and the principle of prosperity destroyed, perhaps forever It is generally acknowledged that the pure and lofty character of Washington contributed more than any other cause to carry our institutions into successful operation, and that the eminent virtues and acknowledged talents of his successors in the Presidency, have aided very powerfully in sustaining and perfecting the work which he began. It is equally apparent, that if the Chief Magistracy should ever be committed for any great length of time to persons of an opposite character, the condition of the country must undergo, in one way or an other, a disastrous, perhaps a fatal revolution.

Such being the importance of the right which you will soon be called upon to exercise, you owe it to yourselves, to your children, to your country, to the cause of humanity, which is so deeply involved in the issue of the political experiment that is now making among us, to exercise it with full and mature deliberation—without any bias from party feeling or more personal advantage and with a single view to the public good. You owe this, not only to the interest, but to the honor of the nation It is important to the preservation of the fair fame which we have already acquired throughout the world, that the seat of Washington, and his successors, should be worthily filled: that persons should be chosen to succeed these illustrious men, who shall be able, like them, to do honor, by their manner of discharging its duties, even to the high office of President of the United States that the personal conduct of the head of the Executive department should be marked, as it always was in former days, with dignity, judgment, good temper, discretion, and moderation; that the youth of our Government should not be sullied by the foul stains of immorality that disfigure the antiquated and corrupt institutions of other countries, and that our citizens and the world at large should be able to look up to the high places of this Union for examples of public and private virtue.

Under these impressions of the importance of the crisis, a numerous portion of our fellow-citizens residing in all parts of the country, and who have acted together in political affairs for some years past, under the name of *National Republicans*, have directed us to meet together and deliberate upon the course which they ought to pursue, and the persons whom they ought to support for the great offices of the Government at the approaching election. In preparing to exercise this delicate trust, we have been naturally led to take a careful and deliberate survey of the political condition of the country, and of the manner in which the public affairs have been conducted by the present Administration. This survey has resulted in a full conviction that the public good imperiously requires a change; and in proposing to you as Candidates for the Presidency and Vice Presidency the distinguished citizens whose names accompany this address, we have deemed it our duty to lay before you a concise statement of the principal circumstances which have led us to this conclusion.

No President ever entered on the duties of his office under circumstances more favorable to a successful discharge of them than the present incumbent. The country, thanks to Providence and to the ability and good fortune with which the public affairs had been carried on by preceding Administrations, was in a high state of prosperity.—All public establishments, and all the great branches of private industry were in the most flourishing condition. Agriculture was rapidly extending itself in all directions, and particularly through the wide and fertile regions of the West—manufactures were advancing with unprecedented rapidity—commerce, internal and foreign was animated with a corresponding vigor—our relations with foreign powers were of the most amicable character—at home, tranquility and general contentment pervaded every corner of the Union—the parties that formerly divided the citizens and distracted the country, had in a great measure become extinct under the operation of time—the growing prosperity of the nation, and the judicious and liberal conduct of the Government.—In the pride and pleasure which we all felt in claiming the character of citizens of the United States, we were ready to forget that our fathers had been classed as Republicans and Federalists. The name of *American* had, by a sort of common consent taken the place of all other political distinctions. *American Principles* had become the common creed of the high-minded and patriotic adherents of all the parties In a word, the best friends of the country had little more to wish or hope, in regard to our political situation than that we might proceed in the course which we were then pursuing, and remain, in every thing belonging to character and principles of Government, substantially as we were.

This state of things, afforded, of course, the best evidence that could possibly be had in favor of the administration under which it had grown up. Much of it could be traced directly to the character and opinions of the leading members of that administration. It was, however, under these circumstances, that a vigorous, and, as has been shewn by the issue, successful effort was made to effect a change and to place in the Chair of the Chief Magistracy the present incumbent. On the comparative qualifications of the President and his predecessor, for the high station which they have successively filled, we will not here speak. We cheerfully resign a task so ungrately in one of its divisions, to the impartial and unshrinking hand of Hickory. Nor will we here enlarge on the means by which the change in question was accomplished—the reckless and persevering calumny, which was constantly poured forth from hundreds of presses, on the best and the purest men in the nation,—the false pretentions to exclusive republicanism—the factious clamor which was kept up in Congress—the artful combination of conflicting personal and party interests for a common object, and the various other unworthy arts, that were brought into action on this occasion. Suffice it to remark, that the change was effected—in form, at least—in a legal and constitutional way; and however, justly offensive the circumstances that brought it about, might and must have been to the friends of the last administration, however deficient the present incumbent might have been supposed to be in the qualities most requisite for the station to which he had been raised, it is believed that when he entered on his office, there was no disposition in any portion of the people to commence a premature or factious opposition to his measures.—It was alarming enough to prudent and well meaning men that the Government of the country had fallen into such hands, and far from attempting to perplex or embarrass the administration, they would rather have lent all the aid in their power to carry the country safely through so dangerous a crisis.—On the other hand, the military successes of the President had gained him an extensive personal popularity, which would have enabled him, had he known how to turn it to account, to carry on the Government with extraordinary facility. Under this combination of circumstances, it is believed, that had the public affairs been managed with tolerable prudence and discretion, General Jackson might have gone through his term of official life without a show of opposition, and have been re elected, had he been so inconsistent as to desire it, by a very unanimous vote.

Nor were the friends of the country without strong hopes that such a result would follow. Deficient as the President was known to be in the qualities and accomplishments most essential to a civil magistrate, it was yet anticipated that he might be found to possess the courtesy, the generous feelings, the high sense of decorum and propriety which form the appropriate ornaments of the military character, and would have secured him from any open offence against the dignity of his office. After the letter to the venerable patriot Monroe, in which he had so emphatically recommended the oblivion of the old party distinctions, it was confidently expected that nothing would be done by himself that should tend to revive them. He had given, on several public occasions, opinions on points of administration which—however at the time incorrectly applied—would have served excellently well as guides for his own conduct in office; and it was perhaps not unreasonable to hope that his actions would correspond, in some imperfect degree at least, with his previous professions. Had this been the case, his administration would have given complete satisfaction to the country.—Whether its complete and acknowledged failure has been owing to defects in his own character, or to the influence of evil councils on his mind and measures, is a point which it is unnecessary and would be ungrateful to discuss. We should regret to visit with too severe censure the last days of one who, in another line of duty, has done the State much service, and whom nothing but the imprudence of injudicious friends, or rather the efforts of political partizans, who found it convenient to make use of his name and popularity for their own selfish purposes, has prevented from going down to posterity with a high military reputation, and filling an honorable place in our history. We are rather willing to believe that placed in a situation for which he was by education and character wholly unfit, worn out by toils, infirmities and the natural progress of age, he acted under influences which, morally speaking, he could not well control. However this may be, it is certain that the expectations and hopes which some persons may have been disposed to indulge of the success of his administration, have been signally disappointed, and that his failure has been more complete than even his enemies could have possibly anticipated. The political history of the Union for the last three years exhibits a series of measures plainly dictated in all their principal features by blind cupidity or vindictive party spirit, marked throughout by a disregard for good policy, justice, and every high and generous sentiment, and terminating in a dissolution of the Cabinet under circumstances more scandalous than any of the kind to be met with in the annals of the civilized world. The voluntary dissolution of the Cabinet authorizes the remark which we have made above, that the failure of the administration of Gen. Jackson was not only signal and complete, but *acknowledged*; and it is remarkable that, after this public acknowledgement of his incapacity to execute the duties of his office, through agents appointed by himself, even to his own satisfaction, he should deem it expedient to offer his services to the nation for a second term.

The first official act of the President indicated, in a striking and painful manner, in how small a degree any favorable anticipations that might have been formed of his conduct were likely to be realized. We allude to his Inaugural Address to the People, in which he levelled against the administration of his predecessor a sweeping charge of incapacity and corruption. A charge of incapacity to conduct the civil affairs of the country, preferred by Andrew Jackson against such men as Mr. Adams, Mr. Clay and their distinguished colleagues in office, was of course merely ludicrous; but the imputation of corruption was of a more serious character. Had there been the least foundation for it in fact, it is obvious that the last person who ought to have made it his business to denounce it to the public was the President of the United States, who has no other constitutional agency in regard to such offences but the power of pardon. The indecorum of this denunciation was hardly less glaring than its essential injustice, and can only be paralleled by that of the subsequent denunciation of the same administration, on the same authority, to a foreign government.

This proceeding awakened in the mind of every good citizen very painful forebodings as to the consequences which were to follow upon such a commencement.

These forebodings were too soon realized. The next act of the Admistration was a general removal of such of the public agents as were not recommended by attachment to the person or party of the President. The extent to which this system was carried is strikingly evinced by the fact, that within a month after the inauguration of Gen. Jackson, more persons were removed from office than during the whole forty years that had elapsed since the adoption of the Constitution. The motive which led to this policy is illustrated by the fact, that it was applied principally in States where the majority of the people were opposed to the Administration, while in the others there were comparatively few removals. Such was the practical comment on the text of the Inaugural Address which denounced the preceding Administration as having brought the patronage of the Government into conflict with the purity of elections. The Foreign Ministers were abruptly recalled at large expense to the country, in some instances before they had reached their destination, and in all, without the observation of the common forms of civility towards them, or the Governments near which they were accredited. Among the victims of proscription at home were some of the most respectable and interesting persons in the community—veterans who after fighting the battles of the war of independence, had been placed by the justice of the Government in the offices they held, and were now rudely thrust out of them to endure, at an advanced age, the miseries of actual want, as a reward for the devotion of their whole lives to the public service. This was not all This universal proscription, taken in connection with the tenor of the Inaugural Address, amounted to a charge of universal corruption. Common justice required that the individuals against whom such a charge was brought should have opportunity to defend themselves. None was given. No enquiry was ordered. No specifications were made. No examination was had. When a public servant of unblemished character, now a member of Congress, demanded of the late Secretary of State an explanation of this implied charge of corruption, under which he had been removed from his place as a Clerk in the Department of State, he was coolly informed that no harm was meant, and that no explanation would be given. Even this was not the worst. Attempts were made in more than one instance, under pretext of a stricter control of the public accounts, to deprive these victims of persecution of the scanty remnant of their means of subsistence. A public servant of most respectable character and venerable years, was not only removed and thrown upon the word, at the age of more than eighty, but actually had his furniture seized, under a Treasury warrant of distress, upon a false pretence of peculation, at a time when, as appears from a subsequent decree of the competent tribunal, the U. S. owed him more than twelve thousand dollars. Other cases occurred of a precisely similar character. Can there possibly be any thing behind more revolting than this? There is. In the case of the Assistant Postmaster General, there is too much reason to fear that there occurred in the Post Office Department an actual alteration of the public accounts, for the purpose of fixing upon that most meritorious public servant, the blame of some supposed malversation in office, which had really been committed by his successor. We cannot but hope, for the honor of the country, that some explanation will yet be given of this transaction, consistent with the probity of the individuals at the head of the Post Office.

The history of the administration of civilized Governments presents no parallel to this scene. Many of the partizans of Gen Jackson have shrunk from the task of defending it and taken refuge in a bold denial of the fact. Public writers of some respectability did not scruple to affirm that there had been no removals on account of political opinions, as if—to use the indignant language of a Roman historian—they thought they could blot out the record of their doings from the memory of the human race. After a while, the charge of corruption seems to have been abandoned, and in his first message to Congress the President justified himself on the principle of rotation in office; affecting to suppose that the public would derive an advantage from employing new agents as fast as the old ones acquired, by experience, the capacity for performing their duties with ability and success. This doctrine, which, if applied to practice in private life, would be thought to argue a degree of imprudence, equivalent in its effects to insanity, and would immediately ruin the most prosperous establishments—was gravely announced as an acknowledged truth. It was affirmed that the natural effect of possessing an office was to create negligence and corruption in the person holding it; that the public lost more in this way than was gained by the additional experience and dexterity resulting from the same cause—that frequent changes in office were highly expedient—that all offices should be held for short terms, and, in particular, that the constitution ought to be so amended, that no person should be eligible a second time for that of the President of the United States.

These principles whether true or false, are irrelevant to the subject, because the removals from office by Gen. Jackson were not made, either really or professedly, for the purpose of change or rotation, but professedly, because the incumbents were incapable or corrupt, and really for the purpose of 'rewarding his friends and punishing his enemies.' No disposition has been shewn to apply this wholesome principle of rotation to the President's partizans, and the best illustration of the real meaning of the language used on this occasion, is to be found in a letter written from the President's house, under the Presidents frank, to a member of the Pennsylvania Legislature, requesting him to use his influence to procure from that Legislature a nomination of the President for re-election. The doctrine of rotation in office had, therefore, nothing to do with the matter. The motives assigned, in the first instance, by the President, viz: the incapacity and corruption of the incumbents, would have been sufficient had they been founded in fact; but it was felt that no removal for such reasons would be tolerated by the public, unless the supposed incapable or corrupt functionary was first put upon his trial, and allowed an opportunity of defending himself against the specific charges, whatever they might be, which had been preferred against him. It was therefore found necessary to abandon this ground, and for want of a better, resort was had by the President's counsellors to the stale sophistry of rotation in office.

On the appointments which were made to fill the numerous vacancies occasioned by these removals, we shall not enlarge. Among them are to be found the names of some persons very honorably known to the public; but they were made, in general, almost avowedly for no consideration but that of party, and in many instances, with so little discretion that they were rejected, in one or two cases, almost unanimously by the Senate. And occurrences of this kind, is we believe, without a parallel at any previous period of our history, and would be sufficient of itself to throw discredit on the Administration. Of the persons so rejected, some were recommended anew, under circumstances amounting to an attempt by the President to force them into office against the known opinion of his constitutional advisers. On this occasion was also exhibited a striking example of the inconsistency between his professions before his election, and his subsequent practice. Although he had himself signalized the appointment of members of Congress to office as a great abuse, he selected four of the five heads of Departments from that body, and appointed its members to other places to an extent which had never been known before. Although he had inveighed with warmth against the supposed corruption of the public Press under the preceding Administration, and in his Inaugural Address had even denounced his predecessor for having brought the patronage of the Government into conflict with the purity of elections, partizan editors were now among the most favored classes of pretenders to employment Under these circumstances the first year of the present Administration presented little else than an eager and tumultuous scramble for place. The offices which were instituted for the public service and ought to be conferred with a view to no other object, were apparently, and even avowedly, treated as prizes to be distributed among the conquerors in the struggle of parties. What have we been fighting for—was the language of some of the leading Administration prints—if the public offices are not to be spoils of victory?

Such were the auspices under which the present Administration commenced their career. They were not of a kind to create very high expectations from the result of their labors. The subsequent progress of events has shewn very clearly that the least favorable expectations that could possibly have been formed of their policy were yet too sanguine—that our most important institutions are now seriously threatened, and that a continuance in the course that we are pursuing, will probably plunge the country, at no distant period, into dangerous—perhaps irremediable confusion.

In the conduct of the foreign affairs, there has been, however, an appearance of success, in consequence of the fact that several arrangements with foreign Powers which had been matured, and in some instances concluded, under the preceding Administration have been made public under this. Such was the case with the treaties with Austria, with Brazil, with Denmark, and with Turkey. In announcing the conclusion of these arrangements a President of an elevated and generous disposition would have taken delight in doing complete justice to the merits of a political competitor. General Jackson took to himself, without scruple or ceremony, the whole credit of these negotiations, and on this and other occasions affectly avoided to mention the name of his predecessor. In the recent treaty with France the principle adopted by the last administration in the arrangement with Denmark were proposed as the basis of a compromise and in consequence of a favorable change in the internal policy of the former Power, who assented to. The treaty with Great Britain, supposed it even, which may well be doubted, to have been the best arrangement which circumstances rendered practicable, was obtained by concessions derogatory to the honor of the country and the dignity of the Government.

The Administration have, in other respects, mistaken the leading principles in the true foreign policy of the country. With Russia, our most important, powerful, and useful political ally, our relations have been wholly neglected At a critical moment in the political affairs of Europe, when our influence with the Emperor of Russia might have been turned to the best account in favor of the cause of free government, when the breaking out of a general war may render his influence in Europe of the highest importance to ourselves, a distinguished citizen, who had for many years represented the country with extraordinary credit and success at St. Petersburgh, and who was known to be personally agreeable to the Imperial family, is abruptly recalled, and the affairs of the Legation left in a wholly uncertain state.

On the great subjects of internal policy which have given rise to conflicting opinions and adverse feelings among the citizens, the course of the President has been so inconsistent and vacillating that it is impossible for any party to place confidence in his character, or to consider him as a true and effective friend. By avowing his approbation of a judicious tariff, and at the same time recommending to Congress precisely the same policy which had been adopted as the best plan of attack by the opponents of that measure: by admitting the constitutionality and expediency of internal improvements of a national character, and at the same moment negativing the most important bills of this description which were presented to him by Congress, the President has shewn that he is either a secret enemy of the system, or that he is willing to sacrifice the most important national objects in a vain attempt to conciliate the conflicting interests, or rather adverse party feeling and opinions, of different sections of the country. How can the President be regarded at the North and West as the friend of the Tariff and Internal Improvements, when his only recommendation at the South is the anticipation that he is the person through whose agency the whole system is to be prostrated? With a Chief Magistrate who acts upon so temporising and uncertain a policy it is obviously impossible that any abatement can take place of the excitement that prevails upon these disturbing topics. It is only through the intervention of a statesman, in whose known sentiments and elevated character all parties can place confidence, that a hope can be entertained of so regulating these delicate subjects as to extend a fair and impartial protection to all the great branches of industry, whether agricultural, commercial, manufacturing, or mechanical, without exciting the just apprehensions of any sincere and enlightened friend of the Constitution and the Union.

Next to the great measures of policy which protect and encourage domestic industry, the most important question, connected with the economical policy of the country, is that of the Bank. This great and beneficial institution by facilitating exchanges between different parts of the Union, and maintaining a sound, ample, and healthy state of the currency, may be said to supply the body politic, economically viewed, with a continual stream of life-blood, without which it must inevitably languish, and sink into exhaustion. It was first conceived and organized by the powerful mind of Hamilton. After having been temporarily shaken by the honest though groundless scruples of other statesmen, it has been recalled to existence by the general consent of all parties, and with the universal approbation of the people. Under the ablest and most faithful management it has been for many years past pursuing a course of steady and constantly increasing influence. Such is the institution which the President has gone out of his way in several successive messages, without a pretence of necessity or plausible motive, in the first instance six years before his suggestion could with any propriety be acted upon, to denounce to Congress as a sort of nuisance, and consign, as far as his influence extends, to immediate destruction.

For this denunciation no pretect of any adequate motive is assigned. At a time when the institution is known to all to be in the most efficient and prosperous state—to be doing all that any Bank ever did or can do, we are briefly told in ten words, that it has not effected the objects for which it was instituted, and must be abolished. Another institution is recommended as a substitute, which, so far as the description given of it can be understood, would be no better than a machine in the hands of the Government for fabricating and issuing paper money without check or responsibility. In his recent message to Congress, the President declares, for the third time, his opinion on these subjects, in the same concise and authoritative style as before, and intimates that he shall consider his re-election as an expression of the opinion of the people that they ought to be acted on. If, therefore, the President be re-elected, it may be considered certain that the Bank will be abolished, and the institution which he has recommended, or something like it, substituted in its place.

Are the People of the United States prepared for this? Are they ready to destroy one of their most valuable establishments, to gratify the caprice of a Chief Magistrate, who reasons and advises upon a subject, with the details of which he is evidently unacquainted, in direct contradiction to the opinion of his own official counsellors? Are the enterprising, liberal, high-minded, and intelligent *Merchants* of the Union willing to counteract such a measure? Are the cultivators of the West, who find in the Bank of the United States a never-failing source of that Capital, which is so essential to their prosperity, and which they can get no where else, prepared to lend their aid in drying up the fountain of their own prosperity? Is there any class of the People or section of the Union so lost to every sentiment of common prudence, so regardless of all the principles of republican government, as to place in the hands of the Executive Department the means of an irresponsible and unlimited issue of paper money—in other words, the means of corruption without check or bounds? If such be, in fact, the wishes of the People, they will act with consistency and propriety in voting for General Jackson, as President of the United States; for, by his re-election all these disastrous effects will certainly be produced. He is fully and three times over pledged to the People to negative any bill that may be passed for re-chartering the Bank, and there is little doubt that the additional influence which he would acquire by a re election, would be employed to carry through Congress the extraordinary substitute which he has repeatedly proposed.

It may be said, indeed, that the President's councillors do not agree with him on this subject, and may perhaps over rule his opinion before the time of action shall arrive. In his recent Report to Congress, the Secretary of the Treasury has, in fact, undertaken an apology for the Bank, which, coming from him can be viewed in no other light than as a formal defence of that institution against the attack made upon it by the President, although he concludes with the intimation, that his views may be modified in compliance with those of the Executive; as if he were not himself the head of the financial branch of that Department. It is one of the singularities of our present political situation, that while we are told on the one hand, by the President's partizans, that his acknowledged incapacity may and will be remedied, by the employment of an 'able Cabinet, we are now told, on the other hand, by this 'able Cabinet,' that they cannot control the President's conduct, and that their sounder notions must be modified so as to meet the views of the Executive In what we are apt enough to consider as the corrupt and servile Courts of Europe, a Cabinet Minister who cannot prevail upon the 'Executive' from whom he holds his commission to adopt his views, resigns his commission. He deems it improper to modify his opinions, in order to suit them to the views of the Executive—in other words to make himself responsible for a scheme of policy which he does not approve. But supposing that the present Secretary of the Treasury, if continued in place, would be able, when the time of action should arrive, to over-rule the President's opinion, substitue his own views for those of the Executive, and stay this great mischief—what security can the country feel that he will be so continued? Who can assure us that some explosion, resulting from causes too frivolous to be even made, with propriety, the subject of distinct allusion in a serious political document will not scatter the present Cabinet, like the last, to the four winds of Heaven, and introduce into the councils of the nation a new set of advisers still more ready than those who now occupy that place to accommodate their opinions to the views of the Executive? The only security which the country can have for the proper discharge of the duties of the Executive, as of every other branch of the Government, is the capacity, fidelity and industry of the individual who is by law responsible for that Department—that is, the President; and experience has amply shown, that an individual who is unfit for the office himself, is equally unfit to select those who are to assume his responsibility, and be virtually Presidents under him.

The Judiciary Department, an institution still

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