to have execution done, upon that unhappy journal, which the verdict of millions of freemen finds guilty of bearing on its face an untrue, illegal, and constitutional sentence of condemnation against the approved President of the Republic.

But, while declining to re-open the argument of his question, and refusing to tread over again the grouud already traversed, there is another and a different task to perform; one which the approaching termination of President Jackson's administration makes peculiary proper at this time, and which it is my privilege, and perhaps my duty, to execute, as being the suitable conclusion to the ardious contest in which we have been so long engaged: I allude to the general tenor of his administration, and to its effect, for good or for evil, upon the condition of his country. This is the proper time for such a view to be taken. The political existence of this great man now draws to a close. In little more than forty days he ceases to be a public character. In a few brief weeks he ceases to be an object of political hope to any, and should cease to be an object of political hate, or envy, to all. Whatever of motive the servile and time-serving might have found in his exalted station for raising the altar of adulation, and burning the incense praise before him, that motive can no longer exist. The dispenser of the patronage of an empire—the chief of this great Confederacy of States—is soon to be a private individual, stripped of all power to reward, or to punish. His own thought, as he has shown us in the concluding paragraph of that message which is to be the last of its kind that we shall ever receive from him, are directed to that beloved retirement from which he was drawn by the voice of millions of freemen, and to which he now looks for that interval of repose which age and infirmities require. Under these circumstances, he ceases to be a subject for the ebulition of the passions, and passes into a character for the contemplation of history. Historically then shall I view him; and limiting this view to his civil administration, I demand where is there a chief magistrate of whom so much evil has been predicted, and from whom so much good has come? Never has any man entered upon the chief magistracy of a country under such appalling predictions of ruin and wo! never has any one been so pursued with direful prognostications! Never has any one been so beset and impeded by a powerful combination of political and moneyed confederates! Never has any one in any country where the administration of justice has risen above the knife or the bowstring, been so lawlessly, and shamelessly, tried and condemned by rivals and enemies, without hearing, without defence, without the forms of law or justice! History has been ransacked to find examples of tyrants sufficiently odious to illustrate him by comparison. Language has been tortured to find epithets sufficiently strong to paint him in description. Imagination has been exhausted in her efforts to deck him with revolting and inhuman attributes. Tyrant, despot, usurper; destroyer of the liberties of his country; rash, ignorant, imbecile; endangering the public peace with all foreign nations; destroying domestic prosperity at home, ruining all industry, all commerce, all manufactories; annihilating confidence between man and man; delivering up the streets of populous cities to grass and weeds, and the wharves of commercial towns to the incumbrances of decaying vessels; depriving labor of all reward; depriving industry of all employment; destroying the currency; plunging an innocent and happy people from the summit of felicity to the dephts of misery, want, and despair. Such is the faint outline, followed up by actual candemnation, of the appalling denunciations daily uttered against this one MAN, from the moment he became an object of political competion, down to the concluding moment of his political existence.

The sacred voice of inspiration has told us that there is a time for all things. There certainly has been a time for every evil that human nature admits of to be vaticinated of President Jackson's administration; equally certain the time has now come for all rational and well-dispesed people to compare the predictions with the facts, and to ask themselves if these calamitous prognostications have been verified by events? Have we peace, or war, with foreign nations? Certainly, we have peace! peace with all the world! peace with all its benign, and felicitous, and beneficent influences! Are we respected, or despised abroad? Certainly, the American name never was more honored throughout the four quarters of the globe, than in this very moment. Do we hear of indignity, or outrages in any quarter? of merchants robbed in foreign ports! of vessels searched on the high seas? of American citizens impressed into foreign service? of the national flag insulted any where? On the contrary, we see former wrongs repaired; no new ones inflicted. France pays twenty five millions of francs for spoliations committed thirty years ago; Naples pays 2 millions one hundred thousand ducats for wrongs of the same date; Denmark pays 6 hundred & fifty thousand rixdollars for wrongs done a quarter of a century ago; Spain engages to pay 12 millions reals vellon for injuries of fifteen years date; and Portugal, the last in the list of former aggressors admits her liability, and only waits the adjustment of details to close her account by adequate indemnity. So far from war, insult, contempt, and spoliation from abroad; this denounced administration has been the season of peace and good will, and the auspicious era of universal reparation. So far from suffering injury at the hands of foreign powers, our merchants have received indemnities for all former injuries. It has been the day of accounting, of settlement, and of retribution. The long list of arrearages, extending through four successive previous administrations, has been closed and settled up The wrongs done to commerce for thirty years back, and under so many different Presidents, and indemnities withheld from all, have been repaired and paid over under the beneficient and glorious administration of President Jackson. But one single instance of outrage has occurred, and that at the extremities of the world, and by a piratical horde, amenable to no law but the law of force. The Malays of Summatra committed a robbery and massacre upon an American vessel. Wretches! they did not then know that JACKSON was President of the United States! and that no distance, no time, no idle ceremonial of treating with robbers and assassins, was to hold back the arm of justice. Commodore Downes went out. His common and his bayonets struck the outlaws in their den. They paid in terror and in blood for the outrage which was committed; and the great lesson was taught to these distant pirates—to our antipodes themselves—that not even the entire diameter of this globe could protect them! and that the name of American citizen, like that of Roman citizen in the great days of the Republic and of the empire, was to be the inviolable passport of all that wore it throughout the whole extent of the habitable world.

At home the most gratifying picture presents itself to the view: The public debt paid of; taxes reduced one half; the completion of the public defences systematically commenced; the compact with Georgia uncomplied with since 1802, now carried into effect, and her soil ready to be freed, as her jurisdiction has been delivered, from the presence and incumbrance of an Indian population. Mississippi and Alabama, Ceorgia, Tennessee and North Carolina, Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, Missouri and Arkanas, in a word all the states encumbered with an indian population have been relieved from that incumbrance; and the Indians themselves have been transferred to new and permanent hopes, every way better adapted to the enjoyment of their existence, the preservation of their rights, and the improvement of their condition.

The currency is not ruined! On the contrary SEVENTY FIVE millions of specie in the country is a spectacle never seen before, and is the barrier of the people against the designs of any banks which may attempt to suspend payments, and to force a dishonoured paper currency upon the community. These seventy-five millions are the security of the people against the dangers of a depreciated and inconvertible paper money. Gold, after a disappearance of thirty years is restored to our country. All Europe beholds with admiration the success of our efforts in three years, to supply ourselves with the currency which our Constitution guaranties, and which the example of France and Holland shews to be so easily attainable, and of such incalculable value to industry, morals, economy and solid wealth. The success of these efforts is styled in the best London papors, not merely a reformation, but a revolution in the currency! a revolution by which our America is now regaining from Europe the gold and silver which she has been sending to them for thirty years past.

Domestic industry is not paralyzed, confidence is not destroyed, factories are not stopped, workmen are not mendicants for bread and employment, credit is not extinguished, prices have not sunk, grass is not growing in the streets of populous cities, the wharves are not lumbered with decaying vessels, columns of curses rising from the bosoms of a ruined and agonized people, are not ascending to Heaven against the destroyer of a nation's felicity and prosperity. On the contrary, the reverse of all this is true! and true to a degree that astonishes and bewilders the senses. I know that all is not gold that glitters; that there is a difference between a specious and solid prosperity. I know that a part of the present prosperity is apparent only, the effect of an increase of fifty millions of paper money forced into circulation by one thousand banks; but after making due allowance for this fictitious and delusive excess, the real prosperity of the country is still unprecedently and transcendantly great. I know that every flow must be followed by its ebb, that every expansion must be followed by its contraction. I know that a revulsion in the paper system is inevitable; but I know, also, that these SEVENTY-FIVE millions of gold & silver is the bulwark of the country, and will enable every honest bank to meet its liabilities and every prudent citizen to take care of himself.

Turning to some points in the civil administration of President Jackson, and how much do we not find to admire! The great cause of the constitution has been vindicated from an imputation of more than forty years' duration. He has demonstrated by the fact itself that a national bank is not "*necessary*" to the fiscal operations of the Federal Government, and in that demonstration he has upset the argument of General Hamilton, and the decision of the Supreme Court of the United States, and all that ever has been said in favor of the constitutionality of a national bank. All this argument and decision rested upon the single assumption of the "*necessity*" of that institution to the Federal Government. He has shown it is not "*necessary*;" that the currency of the Constitution, and especially a gold currency, is all that the Federal Government wants, and that she can get that whenever she pleases. In this single act he has vindicated the Constitution from an unust imputation from an unjust imputation, and knocked from under the decision of the Supreme Court the assumed fact on which it rested. He has prepared the way for the reversal of that decision; and it is a question for lawyers to answer, whether the case is not ripe for the application of that writ of most remedial nature, as the Lord Coke calls it, and which was invented lest in any case there should be an oppressive defect of justice! the venerable writ of *audita querela defentis*, to ascertain the truth of a fact happening since the judgment will be vacated. Let the lawyers bring their books, and answer us if there is not a case here presented for the application of that ancient and most remedial writ?

From President Jackson the country has first learned the true theory and practical intent of the Constitution, in giving to the Executive a qualified negative on the legislative power of Congress. Far from being an odious dangerous, or kingly prerogative, this power, as vested in the President, is nothing but a qualified copy of the famous *veto* power vested in the tribunes of the people among the Romans, and intended to suspend the passage of a law until the people themselves should have time to consider it. The qualified veto of the President destroys nothing; it only delays the passage of a law, and refers it to the people for their consideration and decision. It is the reference of the law, not to a committee of the House, or of the whole House, but to the committee of the whole Union. It is a recommitment of the bill to the People, for them to examine and consider; and if upon this examination they are content to pass it, it will pass at the next session. The delay of a few months is the only effect of a VETO in a case where the people shall ultimately approve a law; where they do not, the interposition of the veto is the barrier which saves them the infliction of law, the repeal of which might afterwards be almost impossible. The qualified negative is, therefore, a benificent power, intended, as General Hamilton expressly declares in the Federalist, to protect, *first*, the Executive department from the encroachments of the Legislative department; and, *secondly*, to preserve the people from hasty, dangerous, or criminal legislation on the part of their representatives. This is the design and intention of the veto power; and the fear expressed by General Hamilton was that Presidents, so far from exercising it too often, would not exercise it as often as the safety of the people required; that they might lack the moral courage to stake themselves in opposition to a favorite measure of the majority of the two Houses of Congress and thus deprive the people, in many instances, of their right to pass upon a bill before it become a final law. The cases in which president Jackson has exercised the veto power has shewn the soundness of these observations. No ordinary President would have staked himself against the Bank of the United States, and the two houses of Congress, in 1832. It required President Jackson to confront that power—to stem that torrent—to stay the progress of that charter, and to refer it to the people for their decision. His moral courage was equal to the crisis. He arrested the charter until it could go the people, and they have arrested it forever. Had he not done so, the charter would have become law, and its repeal almost impossible. The people of the whole union would now have been in the condition of the people of Pennsylvania, bestrode by the monster, in daily conflict with him, and maintaining a doubtful contest for supremacy between the Government of a state, and the directory of a moneyed corporation!

To detail specific acts which adorn tho administration of President Jackson, and illustrate the intuitive sagacity of his intellect, the firmness of his mind, his disregard of personal popularity, and his entire devotion to the public good, would be inconsistent with this rapid sketch, intended merely to present general views, and not to detail single actions howsoever worthy they may be of a splendid page in the volume of history. But how can we pass over the great measure of the removal of the public moneys from the Bank of the United States in the autumn of 1833? that wise, heroic, and masterly measure of prevention, which has rescued an empire from the fangs of a merciless, revengeful, greedy, insatiate, implacable, moneyed power! It is a remark for which I am indebted to the philosophic observation of my most esteemed colleague and friend, (pointing to Dr. Linn) that, while it requires far greater talent to foresee an evil before it happens, and to arrest it by precautionary measures, than it requies to apply an adequate remedy to the same evil after it has happened, yet the applause bestowed by the world is always greatest in the latter case. Of this the removal of the public moneys from the Bank of the United States is an eminent instance. The veto of 1832, which arrested the charter which Congress had granted, immediately received the applause and approbation of a majority of the Union; the removal of the deposites, which prevented the bank from forning a recharter, was disapproved by a large majority of the country, and even of his own friends; yet the *veto* would have been unavailing, and the bank would inevitably have been recharted, if the deposites had not been removed. The immense sums of public money since accumulated, would have enabled the bank, if she had retained the possession of it, to have coerced a recharter. Nothing but the removal could have prevented her from extorting a recharter from the sufferings and terrors of the people. If it had not been for that measure, the previous *veto* would have been unavailing; the bank would have been again installed in power, and this entire Federal Government would have been held as an appendage to that bank, and administered according to her directions, and by her nominees. That great measure of prevention, the removal of the deposites, though feebly and faintly supported by friends at first, has expelled the bank from the field, and driven her into obeyance under a State charter. She is not dead, but holding her capital and stockholders together under a state charter, she has taken a position to watch events, and to profit by them. The royal tiger has gone into the jungle! and, crouched on his belly, he awaits the favorable moment for emerging from his cover, and springing on the body of the unsuspicious traveller!

The treasury order for excluding paper money from the land offices is another wise measure, originating in an enlightened forecast and preventing great mischief. The President foresaw the evils of suffering a thousand streams of paper money, issuing from a thousand different banks, to discharge themselves on the national domain. He foresaw that if these currents were allowed to run their course, that the public lands would be swept away, the Treasury would be filled with irredeemable paper, a vast number of banks must be broken by their folly, and the cry set up that nothing but a national bank could regulate the currency. He stopped the course of these streams of paper; and in so doing, has saved the country from a great calamity, and excited anew the machinations of those whose schemes of gain and mischief have been disappointed, and who had counted on a new edition of panic and pressure, and again saluting Congress with the old story of confidence destroyed, currency ruined, prosperity annihilated, and distress produced, by the tyranny of one man. They began their lugubrious song; but ridicule and contempt have proved too strong for money and insolence; and the panic letter of the ex-president of the denationalized bank, after limping about for a few days, has shrunk from the lash of public scorn and disappeared from the forum of public debate.

The difficulty with France: what an instance it presents of the superior sagacity of President Jackson over all the common place politicians who beset and impede his administration at home! That difficulty inflamed & aggravated by domestic faction, wore at one time, a portentuous aspect! the skill, firmness, elevation of purpose, and manly frankness of the President, avoided the danger, accomplished the object, commanded the admiration of Europe, and retained the friendship of France. He conducted the delicate affair to a successful, and mutually honorable issue. All is amicably and happily terminated, leaving not a wound, nor even a scar, behind—leaving the Frenchman and American on the gound on which they have stood for fifty years, and should forever stand; the ground of friendship, respect, good will, and mutual wishes for the honor, happiness and prosperity of each other.

But why this specification? So benificent and so glorious has been the administration of this President, that where to begin, and where to end, in the enumeration of great measures, would be the embarrassment of him who has his eulogy to make. He came into office the first of generals; he goes out the first of statesmen. His civil competitors have shared the fate of his military opponents; and Washington city has been to the American politicians who have assailed him, what New Orleans was to the British Generals who attacked his lines! Repulsed! driven back! discomfitted! crushed! has been the fate of all assailants, foreign and domestic, civil and military. At home and abroad, the impress of his genius and of his character is felt. He has impressed upon the age in which he lives the stamp of his arms, of his diplomacy, and of his domestic policy. In a word, so transcendant have been the merits of his administration that they have operated a miracle upon the minds of his most inveterate opponents. He has expunged their objections to Military Chieftains! He has shown them that they were mistaken; that military men were not the dangerous rulers they have imagined, but safe and prosperous conductors of the vessel of State. He has changed their fear into love. With visible signs they admit their error, & instead of deprecating they now invoke the reign of Chieftains. They labored hard to procure a military successor to the present incumbent, and if their love goes on, increasing at the same rate, the Republic may be put to the expense of periodical wars, to breed a perpetual succession of these chieftains to rule over them and their posterity for ever.

To drop this irony, which the inconsistency of mad opponents has provoked, and to return to the plain delineations of historical painting, the mind instinctively dwells on the vast and unprecedented popularity of this President. Great is the influence, great the power, great than any may ever before possessed in our America, which he has acquired it? Not by the arts of intrigue, or the juggling tricks of diplomacy; not by undermining rivals, or sacrificing public interests for the gratification of classes or individuals. But he has acquired it, first, by the exercise of an intutive sagacity which leaving all book learning at an immeasurable distance behind, has always enabled him to adopt the right remedy, at the right time, and to conquer soonest when the men of forms and office thought him most near to ruin and despair. Next, by a moral courage, which knew no fear when the public good beconed him to go on. Last, and chiefest, he has acquired it by an open honesty of purpose, which knew no concealments; by a straight-forwardness of action, which disdained the forms of office, and the arts of intrigue; by a disinterestedness of motive, which knew no selfish or sordid calculation; a devotedness of patriotism, which staked every thing personal on the issue of every measure which the public welfare required him to adopt. By these qualities, and these means, he has acquired his prodigious popularity and his transcendent influence over the public mind; and if there are any who envy that influence and popularity, let them envy, also, and emulate it they can, the qualities and means by which they were acquired.

Great has been the opposition to President Jackson's administration; greater, perhaps, than ever has been exhibited against any Government, short of actual insurrection and forcible resistance. Revolution has been proclaimed! and every thing has been done that could be expected, to produce revolution. The country has been alarmed, agitated, convulsed. From the Senate chamber to the village bar-room, from one end of the continent to the other, denunciation, agitation, excitement, has been the order of the day. For eight years the President of this Republic has stood upon a volcano, vomiting fire and flames upon him, and threatening the country itself with ruin and desolation, if the people did not expel the usurper, despot, and tyrant as he was called, from the high place to which the suffrages of millions of freemen had elevated him.

Great is the confidence which he has always reposed in the discernment and equity of the American people. I have been accustomed to see him for many years, and under many discouraging trials; but never saw him doubt, for an instant, the ultimate support of the people. It was my privilege to see him often, and during the most gloomy period of the panic conspiracy, when the whole earth seemed to be in commotion against him, and when many friends were faltering, and stout hearts were quailing, before the raging storm which bank machination, and Senatorial denunciation, had conjured up to overwhelm him. I saw him in the darkest moments of this gloomy period; and never did I see his confidence in the ultimate support of his fellow-citizens, forsake him for an instant. He always said the people would stand by those who stand by them; and nobly have they justified that confidence? That verdict, the voice of millions, which now demands the expurgation of that sentence which the Senate and the bank then pronounced upon him, is the magnificent response of the people's hearts to the implicit confidence which he then reposed in them. But it was not in the people only that he had confidence; there was another, and a far higher Power; to which he constantly looked to save the country, and its defenders, from every danger; and signal events prove that he did not look to that high Power in vain.

Sir, I think it right, in approaching the termination of this great question, to present this faint and rapid sketch of the brilliant, beneficent, and glorious administration of President Jackson. It is not for me to attempt to do it justice; it is not for ordinary men to attempt its history. His military life, resplendent with dazzling events, will demand the pen of nervous writer; his civil administration, replete with scenes which have called into action so many and such various passions of the human heart, and which has given to native sagacity so many victories over practised politicians, will require the profound, luminous and philosophical conceptions of a Livy, a Plutarch, or a Sallust. This history is not to be written in our day. The cotemporaries of such events are not the hands to describe them. Time must first do its office,—must silence the passions, remove the actors, develope consequences, and canonize all that is sacred to honor, patriotism, and glory. In after ages the historic genius of our America shall produce the writers which the subject demands,—men far removed from the contests of this day, who will know how to estimate this great epoch, and now to acquire an immortality for their own names by painting, with a master's hand, the immortal events of the Patriot President's life.

And now, sir, I finish the task which, three years ago, I imposed on myself. Solitary and alone, and amidst the jeers and taunts of my opponents, I put this ball in motion. The people have taken it up, and rolled it forward, and I am no longer any thing but a unit in the vast mass which now propels it. In the name of that mass I speak. I demand the execution of the EDICT OF THE PEOPLE; I demand the expurgation of the sentence which the voice of a few Senators, and the power of their confederate, the Bank of the United States, has caused to be placed on the journal of the Senate, and which the voice of millions of freemen has ordered to be expunged from it.

CAMBRIDGE:

MONDAY, FEBRUARY 6, 1837.

We publish in to days paper, the Hon. Thomas Benton's, able and concluding speech on the Expunging resolution. It is a masterly and triumphant effort, and will highly repay the reader, for the time occupied in its perusal.

MEXICO AND THE U. STATES.

The relations existing between these two Governments, are, at present, not of the most friendly character. Mr. Gorostiza, the Mexican Minister to the U. States, has returned home, and Mr. Ellis, our Minister to Mexico, has quit that country and arrived in the U. States. These steps somewhat disturb the harmony heretofore existing between the two nations. We, however, do not think that there is much occasion to suppose, that war will be the result. If it should, it would be a mere skirmish. Distracted and rent asunder, as the Mexican people already are at home, it would be impossible for them to carry on a fierce offensive war, with a foreign nation. She has now her hands full, in the attempt to subjugate Texas. California, another of her provinces, is in a state of insurrection—and the very centre of the empire, the city of Mexico, is now in a state of commotion, between the conflicting claims of rival aspirants for supremacy. Bustamente is now at the head, but Santa Anna, is on his way thither, and hostile contention, will be the order of the day. In the midst of this confusion, we have no doubt, Texas will establish her independence. The policy of this Government, is, as far as possible, to act as a pacificator, treating Mexico upon the inflexible principles of international justice, not waiving any of our uncontested or disputed rights. By this course, the peace of the two nations will be preserved, or if war should happen, the responsibility will be on their own heads.

Michigan has been admitted into the Union, as a State.

There are now 26 States, composing this confederacy. When the proposition to admit Michigan came up for consideration in Congress, several of the members from this State, took an active part in the discussion. Some analogy existing between certain proceedings in Michigan and the course adopted by the 19 Van Buren electors, and their colaborers in Maryland, a theme was thus afforded, for the revival of the Reform question, before another forum. Mr. Francis Thomas, it is said, made a very able and satisfactory speech, in defence of the Reformers of his own state.

THE FREEDOM OF ELECTIONS.—Mr. Bell, late speaker of the House of Representatives, has proprsed some measures, to the consideration of Congress for the purpose, of preventing any improper influence being exercised at the election of Federal officers. There cannot be a doubt, that at many of the elections, both for the General & also the State Governments, the most disreputable and corrupt means are frequently resorted to. Whether it is possible, to restrain such practices by legislation is but problematical. In reference to the elections in our own State, every one who has paid any attention to the subject, must have become satisfied, that the most pernicious efforts are used to secure the ascendancy. The regulation of this matter is under the control of our own State Legislature. If any measures can be adopted, in addition to those already provided, the cause of republicanism, might be benefitted. It is essential in a free government like ours, that the elective franchise should be preserved inviolate. The unbiased voice of the people, should be heard. Perhaps at last, however, the only effectual remedy, that can be provided, is the general diffusion of information among the people. In the absence of this, there is a wide and unobstructed field, for the operation of the vicious and depraved.

Maryland Legislature.

HOUSE OF DELEGATES.

Monday, Jan. 23rd, 1837.

On motion of Mr. Coombes,

Ordered, That a select committee, to consist of five members, be appointed to enquire into the expediency of reducing the number of magistrates in the several counties in the State;

In pursuance whereof, the speaker appointed Messrs. Coombes, Hicks, Matthews, Harding and Comegys, to compose said committee,