[Mr. PEYTON arose, and said he could tell the Gentleman from Ohio, and would do so then, if he desired it; or would do it after he got through, whichever he pleased. Mr. HAMER remarked that it would be better, perhaps, for Mr. P. to give his sentiments after he had closed.]

I presume, sir, (said Mr. H.) the gentleman from Tennessee refers to the Gwin letter, written by the President in defence of some charge made against him in a Nashville paper. It is some time since I saw that letter; but such is the tenor of it, according to my recollection.

[Mr. Peyton again arose, and made some remarks respecting this letter, contending that the article in the Nashville paper was not an attack upon General Jackson, but that it had been made a pretext for writing the letter, which denounced every body in advance who would not support Mr. Van Buren.]

Mr. H. proceeded. Let the nature of the article be what it might, one thing is certain—the letter was neither in form nor in substance, a "*nomination*" of Mr. Van Buren. It advised union and harmony in the party, and spoke favourably of the proposed convention at Baltimore.

Suppose the President was favorable to him, was there any thing wrong in this? Does a Chief Magistrate lose the freedom of thought by his election to that office? This would be a new doctrine in our country. It is not unnatural that he should be favorable to Mr. Van Buren. He knew him well. The latter had been associated with him for years in the administration of the Covernment. They agreed in opinion with respect to all the leading measures of the administration, and Mr. Van Buren was pledged, if elected, to carry them out, and pursue the policy of General Jackson. To such a candidate he could not well be opposed; but how did this influence the election? Where was the President's influence effectually exerted in favor of his successors? Not in Tennessee, for that State went against him. If there was any one State in the Union which could be influenced by him, it must be Tennessee; and yet that went for Judge White! Where then, is the evidence of this "*appointment of his successor*," so confidently charged upon all concerned?—No where but in the imagination of those who have asserted it so often, that I dare say they begin to believe it themselves. Suppose the President had been for Judge White or for General Harrison? Would there have been any complaints then? Not a word.—They would have said, "well, the President has got his eyes open at last to the true character of Mr. Van Buren; he can be deceived no longer; he has detected the imposition, and, with his characteristic independence, the noble old General has come out openly against him." He would have been "glorified" from one end of the country to the other, by those who now abuse him.

The Baltimore Convention nominated the Vice President, and made him the candidate of our party. This too is a grievous offence; and smacks of dictation too strongly to please the opposition. Pray, who first resorted to national conventions for such purposes? Who held the conventions at Baltimore that nominated Mr. Clay and Mr. Wirt, in the campaign of 1832? Who held the Young Men's National Convention in this District, in the same year? We all know it was the Whigs and the Antimasons. Yet these are the men who now abuse us in unmeasured terms, for merely following their example.

But his locality greatly displeases some gentlemen, and they have abused New York in almost every debate that has occurred here for the last three years, and she is treated in the same manner in all their newspapers. And why may not New York have the honor of giving us a President? The South has given us four; New England has furnished two and the West one; whilst New York and Pennsylvania, two great States, occupying a central position in the confederacy, each of them a nation within itself, have never furnished us one. What has New York done that she is to be proscribed? Has she not signalized herself by a devotion to liberty, an an attachment to democratic principles, in all the great emergencies which the country has seen?

Where was she in the revolutionary war? Battling among the foremost for independence.—What was her position in the great political revolution that brought Mr. Jefferson into power? She stood side by side with her democratic sisters, struggling for the rights of the States against federal usurpation and monarchial principles. And in the war of 1812, where was she found? Sustaining the cause of the country as efficiently as any state in the Union, and holding at bay the Hartford Convention party, who were not permitted to cross her territory into the middle and southern States. If this State has a distinguished son, worthy of the Chief Magistracy why may he not be presented as a candidate for the suffrages of the people of the United States? So far from their being any thing wrong in it, there was a peculiar propriety, under all the circumstances, in taking the candidate from New York at the recent election. Mr. Van Buren was thus made a candidate for the Presidency of the United States. He encountered an opposition, combining more talent, with less scrupulousness in regard to the means employed to defeat him, than were ever met before by any successful candidate for the same office. Their untiring exertions induced thousands of good men and sound patriots, to vote against him, who were utterly misled with respect to his true character.

In some places he was denounced as a Catholic, for the purpose of inducing protestants to vote against him. Many did so, in every State in the Union, believing that if he succeeded, there would be a league formed between him and the Pope, and our religious liberties would be prostrated for ever. Yet every intelligent man, of every party, knew this charge to be utterly false.

To the open, honest, straight forward voter, he was denounced as a political intriguer.—We all know how easily this charge is made—how strongly inclined the people are to believe it when made against public men, and how difficult it is to disprove it in any case. During the late campaign, his friends have roundly denied the charge, and demanded the proof. What answer has been given? why, that "*he is so smooth and so sly in his operations, that you cannot* catch him at it!"—Ah! and pray how was it ever discovered in the first instance, if he leaves no trace behind him?

At the South he was declared to be an abolitionist; and the people were persuaded, that if he succeeded, the constitutional guaranties for their domestic institutions, peculiar to that region, would be all broken down. In the North he was abused for being opposed to the abolitionists; an enemy to the freedom of speech and of the press, and in favor of slavery Such was the hostility to him in that quarter, that nineteen out of every twenty, and perhaps ninety-nine out of every hundred, abolitionists in the United States voted against him. This was to be expected; for all who have taken the pains to ascertain his sentiments, know that he is opposed to the doctrines and practices of the modern abolition party, in every shape and form.

In one place he was alleged to be in favor of giving all negroes the right of suffrage; and, in another region, he was censured for being an enemy to the poor; and against allowing them the privileges of voting for public officers. Both charges were without foundation in fact. By the same men he was declared to be a federalist, and an opposer of the war of 1812, when the history of that period proves him to have been a member of the Legislature of New York, and one of the most efficient friends of the war that then figured in public life.

In some places his talents were dedied, although but a few years back, the same men charged him with writing all Gen. Jacksons messages, and frankly admitted that they were drawn up *with great ability*.

It would be a Herculean task to enumerate all the falsehoods propagated, and impositions practiced, to accomplish his defeat. They all failed. Notwithstanding the people were appealed to in pathetic terms to come to the rescue; were assured that they would be ruined if they elected him; still they marched to the polls and gave him their votes—The people had been twice ruined by electing General Jackson; and as they found it rather an agreeable operation, they concluded to try it the third time, and let Mr. Van Buren ruin them again.

He has been elected by the unbought suffrages of his fellow-citizens, and in a most remarkable manner. The vote received by him is diffused throughout the union, so as to prove most clearly that nothing like a geographical division of parties exists in the country. All the efforts made towards that point have been unsuccessful. Including Michigan, he has received the votes of fifteen States out of twenty six. He obtained the votes of a majority of the old thirteen States, and a majority of those of the new States.—He has a majority of the electoral votes of the slaveholding, and a majority of those of the non-slaveholding States of the Union.—He has one hundred and seventy electoral votes, being a majority of forty-six over all his competitors put together; and he has a majority of all the individual votes of the people of the United States of from ten to twenty thousand. The exact number cannot be ascertained, because in South Carolina the people do not vote; the Legislature appoint the electors of President. Without this state Mr. Van Buren has a majority of about twenty-two thousand, according to the calculation of the opposition newspapers themselves.—But to make him out a "usurper," a "minority President," they count South Carolina as forty thousand—the whole number being set down against Mr. Van Buren, and none for him. Now, the Union party of that State compose from a third to one half of its population, and they are openly for him, and would have so given their votes, if permitted by the State Government to go to the polls and vote directly for President. If, then, the State can give forty thousand votes, fifteen thousand at least, and perhaps twenty thousand, would have been for Mr. Van Buren, for many nullifiers would have voted for him, I have no doubt, in preference to any other candidate before them. Allowing him but fifteen thousand, there would be a majority of ten thousand against him in the State. Deduct this from the twenty-two thousand majority he has in other states, and he has still a clear majority of the individual votes of the Union of at least twelve thousand!

He is elected according to all the forms of the constitution, and by these large states, electoral and individual majorities; & yet gentlemen call him a "usurper!" No: he is the constitutional lawful President; and from the fourth of March next, all men will be bound to obey him as such, within the pale assigned to him by the institutions of his country.

Suppose Mr. Van Buren had received one vote less than enough to elect him, and the question had come before this House? In that event, General Harrison, with seventy-three or Judge White with twenty-six votes, might have been elected. Such a result was by no means impossible. A distinguished gentleman from Kentucky (Mr. Hardin) stated upon this floor, in a debate which occurred here last session, that the member who held the seat in the contested election from North Carolina, might possibly give the casting vote for President, should the question come before us. In voting by States, no one can tell what the result would have been. If one of the gentlemen named had been successful, and we had risen and denounced him as a usurper, and declared war upon him in advance, because he was a *minority* President, what astonishment would have been expressed by the opposition! What lectures would have been delivered upon constitutional law and obligations! The motto would then have been, "judge him by his acts." But now, when our candidate is fairly elected by a majority of the independent voters of the Union, he is a Usurper, because General Jackson was for him, or because the opposition do not like "the man!"

But if the war is to be commenced immediately, under whose banner do gentlemen propose to fight? Who is the candidate of the several parties opposed to the coming administration? Is it Judge Mangum, with the eleven votes of South Carolina to start upon? Who ever thought of him for President, until that state voted for him the other day? Is it Mr. Webster, with the fourteen votes from Massachusetts; or Judge White, with the twenty-six votes of Tennessee and Georgia? Why, Sir, I mean no disrespect to either of these gentlemen; but really with such a capital as either of them has, we should say in the Western phrase, "*it would be rather a dull chance!*" Shall we have a distinguished gentlemen from Kentucky, who was not a candidate in the late campaign?—We have beaten him two or three times already, and *we can do it again*, whenever his friends choose to bring him forward. Shall we have the hero of Tippecanoe upon the track once more? the worthy gentleman who was at the head of the Clay electoral ticket of Ohio in 1824, and who three years ago, in a public speech, declared that the surplus revenue ought to be applied to the purchase of slaves in the Southern States, for the purpose of colonization? He, of course, adopted the doctrines of the great "American System," he is a politician of that school. He desires too, that the taxes levied upon the South over and above what are needed by the Government shall be expended in buying up their slaves; or in other words, *he would tax them to obtain money to pay them for their own property!* Will the South support that doctrine?

What are to be the opinions and sentiments of the candidate; whoever he may be upon whom all the parties can unite? Who are to be his supporters? They are the nullifiers, the ant-masons, the abolitionists, the black cockade federalists, and their regular successors who hold the same principles; and the honest, but misguided democrats, who are led away by the acts and professions of those various parties. What a crew would this be to put on board the old vessel of state? Suppose their President were now elected, how would it be possible for him to sustain himself? I take it for granted his cabinet would not be made up of distinguised men, taken from the different fragments of his party; for to be supported, he must consult the wishes of his friends in the selection of important officers, and in the recommendation of public measures. It has been said that a President elected by this House would have been *brought to terms*, in regard to public policy. True, if you could have agreed among yourselves upon *what the terms should be!* But let that pass. Imagine you see the new President, at the "White House," preparing to send in his first annual message to congress, with his cabinet around him. The message is carefully read through, and each member is desired to give his opinion freely with respect to it.

The first one who speaks is a thorough going bankite, who believes the Government cannot mannage its fiscal concerns without a "mammoth." He insists that there shall be a positive recommendation of a national bank and refuses to give his approbation to the document, because there is no such paragraph in it. This brings to his feet the southern strict constructionist, who denies the authority of Congress to legislate on the subject, and who declares his utter abhorrence for any such proposition; declaring furthermore, that it will break down the administration to avow this sentiment. The nullifier gives his opinion that there is a strong inclination, in two or three places, towards "centralism," that these passages must be altered, and a few remarks added on the subject of "concurrent majorities." To this the federalists strenuously objects, and insists that the centrifugal force is much the most powerful in our republic; the great danger being, that the parts will fly off from the common centre.

Next comes the anti-mason, who says the message is altogether defective. "You must give us a little Fee-faw-fum in it." "Say something about the outrages committed upon the person of Captain William Morgan; and give them a touch about extra judicial oaths, and secret societies, plotting the overthrow of our liberties." "That is all very well," says the abolitionist; "but I shall never give the message my sanction, unless it contains something in favor of '*human rights*,' '*natural equality*,' and "the great danger of national judgments, on account of our national sins!"

What would the Executive chief do in this state of perplexity? Would he reject a part of the propositions, and adopt the remainder? Which individuals would he follow? Who would be the favorites? No man on earth can tell any thing about it. The people saw this; they perceived that, to follow the opposition, was like taking a leap into the dark—whilst, in voting for Mr. Van Buren, they were walking in the light of open day. They knew his principles, and could foresee the policy of his administration; and they very wisely preferred him over all his political competitors.

Against whom is this war to be waged with such fury? It is against the democratic party, with Martin Van Buren at its head.—Gentlemen may sneer at this, if they choose, but it is so. Men may call themselves what they please, but there is one infallible mode, and ONE only, of deciding to what party an individual belongs. A federalist may call himself a democrat, and a democrat may claim to be a federalist; but ask for his principles, his political creed, and then you can soon determine to what party he is really attached. Try us by this rule, and it will be found that we are the democratic party, "*par excel ence*," if gentlemen choose to apply that term.

In this country, Thomas Jefferson is universally acknowledged to have been the great "Apostle of Democracy." Whatever party of this day comes nearest to his principles is the Democratic party; let others call themselves what they may. What were his principles? He was against the Bank of the U. States. So are we. He was opposed to the high tariff; collecting from the people large sums of money, annually, which are not wanted for any of the legitimate purposes of the Government. So are we. He was against the construction of works of internal improvement, under the authority of the General Government, chequering the whole country with roads and canals, made by the funds drawn from the industry of the nation. So are the friends of the present Administration. He believed, that Senators and Representatives were bound to obey the instructions of their constituents; or to resign their places and allow others to take them who would. So do we. Look at the evidences exhibited within the last few years of the truth of this position; whilst the opposition have generally disregarded instructions, and boldly retained their offices, in defiance of the public will.

Upon all the cardinal points and doctrines of the old democratic party of 1800, we of the present dominant party are agreed. There is a unity of sentiment among us in regard to these principles, which proves, conclusively, that we are the democracy of the country. The opposition have no common creed; but so far as their general principles are concerned, we find them constantly making war upon them in practice.

The means employed in this war will be similar to those always employed against the democratic party; and such as have signalized the opposition for some years past. They arrogate to themselves "all the talents" of the country, particularly in both Houses of Congress; and their puffers and letter writers aid them to make that impression upon the public mind. Every prominent man upon our side is denounced as greatly deficient, either in talents, or in political honesty: he is either knave or fool. "Demagogue" is the common appellation applied to all who advocate popular rights and popular doctrines.

"All the religion and morality" are claimed to be on the side of the opposition; and it is evidenced by that portion of them who weep and wail over "poor Indians" and "poor Negroes!" The "decency," too, all belongs to them. Witness the poetry upon "dusky Sally," published against Mr. Jefferson; the coffin handbills circulated against Gen. Jackson, and the violent and abusive harangues and publications against almost all the prominent men of our party.

The newspaper on our side are universally denounced as unworthy of confidence, whilst their own, even the most abandoned and profligate, are held up as prodigies of truth and patriotism. And last, though not least, they resort to various schemes for buying up the people, *with their own money!* No plan will be left untried upon this subject. A distribution of land or of its proceeds; a deposite or distribution law to be passed annually; or any other plan which will effect the object, will be resorted to. This policy leads the people, when the election is approaching, to inquire, "which candidate is in favor of giving us money," or, "who will get the money for us?" In this contest about money, *principle* will be overlooked; and we shall be governed by the most low, grovelling, and mercenary motives which ever controled the human mind.

The North and the South, the East and the West, have been invoked to join in this crusade against the new administration. The gentleman from South Carolina (Mr. Pickens) called upon the south to come to the rescue; and confidently predicted that Massachusetts, and the country on both sides of the Ohio, would aid in the prostration of Mr. Van Buren. Sir, the gentleman will find himself in a like condition, with a celebrated character in English history, who could 'call spirits from the vasty deep;" but, unfortunately, *they would not come* when he called them. The people of these United States are a just people, and they are disposed to bestow upon every man the reward which his conduct has merited. They will not condemn a public officer until he has done something worthy of condemnation. I know that politicians sometimes act otherwise. That "ill weav'd ambition," which prompts men to rash and dangerous experiments, may induce a public man to condemn, whithout a hearing; but private citizens will hear before they strike.

As many gentlemen have recently ventured to prophesy in regard to future events, I will follow the example. I hope, however, to be more successful than the opposition have been for the last eight or ten years. My prediction is, that the next administration will pursue a calm, prudent, and wise policy, both at home and abroad. That it will bear about the same relation to General Jackson's, that Mr. Madison's did to Mr. Jefferson's administration, with the exception that there will be no national bank chartered. And if Mr. Van Buren should be a candidate for re-election, he will get all the States he did at the late election, and the votes of Georgia, Ohio, Indiana, and I believe Tennessee in addition. The country will proceed in its career of prosperity; and the close of his administration will see him one of the most popular Presidents that has ever occupied the Executive Chair of this great Republic.

With regard to the resolution now before the House, I have but little to say. I am in favor of a thorough examination of any department, where there is reason to believe that either fraud, corruption, or dishonesty exists. Let there be some evidence to warrant the House in adopting the resolution; some definite charge, some distinct statement, to warrant the procedure; and I will go as far as any gentleman to ferret out the fraud and drag the culprits to light. But I do not like the language of the original resolution. It is too general, too sweeping in its phraseology. It includes *all* the transactions of *all* men with the departments, whether direct or indirect, official or unofficial. The contracts and dealings of every private citizen, who has ever had any thing to do with any department of the Government, may be thus subjected to the inspection of a committee of this House. It is to that I object.

Still, sir, I do not know but I shall vote for it, as it is, if I cannot get it altered. I have not heretofore voted for such propositions; but, after all that has been said by the opposition, I think it is due to the President, to ourselves, and to the coming administration, that we should throw open the doors, and let these gentlemen examine for the corruption, about which so much has been said. It is due to the President, whose term of service is drawing to a close, that the condition of the departments be made known to the country; and if fraud be found there, that the innocent should be justified, and the guilty punished. It is due to ourselves, because we have been indirectly charged with a desire to smother and conceal the mal administration of public affairs. And it is due to the President elect, that we should deliver the Executive Departments into his hands thoroughly purified from all iniquity, so as to make him responsible only for the misdeeds of his own subordinates, committed whilst he is in power. For these reasons I shall vote for a strict and general scrutiny, such as shall be satisfactory to all reasonable men, of every political party.

One word, Mr. Speaker, in conclusion, with respect to this kind of discussion in which we are now engaged. No one dislikes it more than I do. What I have said has been absolutely provoked by the course which gentlemen on the other side of the House have pursued. I have listened to their attacks upon the administration, and upon its friends, for a long time, in hopes that some one of more age and experience, and of greater ability, would meet these assaults, and repel them as they deserved. No one did so, and I considered it my duty to assume the position I have taken. I am aware that I have subjected myself to violent attacks here and elsewhere. I surveyed the whole ground before I commenced, and having come to the conclusion that it was my duty to take the field, I am not the man to be deterred by consequences.

I have endeavored throughout the discussion to confine myself within the rules prescribed by parliamentary law. I have avoided all personalities, striking at masses of men, their movements and principles. These I consider fair game. If I have done injustice to any individual, I shall be ready to make such explanations as the circumstances may require; but to what I have said of parties, their conduct and principles, I shall firmly adhere, until convinced that I have been mistaken.

ELECTION OF PRESIDENT AND VICE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES.

This being the day specially set apart for the two Houses to convene in joint meeting, for the purpose of opening and counting the electoral votes given by the several States for President and Vice President of the U. States,

Mr. PATTON moved that the ladies be admitted to the privileged seats within the hall; agreed to.

The CLERK was then directed to proceed to the Senate and notify that body that the House was in readiness to receive them, and count the votes for President and Vice President of the U. States.

Soon after the Senate entered the Hall with the President of that body, Mr. KING of Alabama, at their head, preceded by their Secretary and Sergeant at Arms, and were conducted to the seats assigned them, all the members of the House remaining standing and uncovered.

THE PRESIDENT OF THE SENATE took his seat at the right of the Speaker, and the tellers, Messrs. GRUNDY of the Senate, and THOMAS and LINCOLN, on the part of the House, having taken their places at the clerk's table,

The PRESIDENT OF THE SENATE rose and said, that the two houses being convened for the purpose stated above, he would, in pursuance of the provisions of the Constitution, proceed to open the votes and deliver them to the tellers, in order that they might be counted. He then presented to the tellers the electoral votes of the State of Maine.

The tellers then counted the votes, and announced them to the House, severally in their order, reading, also, the qualifications of the electors, and the certificate of their election; the same process being observed in each case respectively.

The result was announced as follows:

FOR PRESIDENT OF THE U. S.

MARTIN VAN BUREN, with the votes of Michigan,	170
Without those votes,	167
WILLIAM H. HARRISON,	73
HUGH L. WHITE,	26
DANIEL WEBSTER,	14
WILLIE P. MANGUM,	11

So MARTIN VAN BUREN having a majority of all the electoral votes, was declared duly elected PRESIDENT OF THE U. S. from the 4th day of March 1837.

FOR VICE PRESIDENT OF THE U.S.

For RICHARD M. JOHNSON of Ky., with the votes of Michigan,	147
Without those votes	144
For FRANCIS GRANGER of N. Y.	77
For JOHN TYLER of Va.	47
For WM. SMITH of Ala,	23

So no person having a majority of all the votes for Vice President of the U. States, the election, under the Constitution, devolves upon the Senate.

The Senate then retired in the order they came, and the house having, on motion of Mr. THOMAS; adopted the customary resolution to notify MARTIN VAN BUREN of his election,

Adjourned.

The Senate afterwards went into the election for Vice President of the United States, which resulted in the choice of RICHARD M. JOHNSON, by a large majority.

For R. M. JOHNSON	33
For FRANCIS GRANGER	18

Messrs. CALHOUN, PRESTON and WHITE declined to vote.

RESOLUTIONS

OF THE COMMISSIONERS OF THE TOWN OF CAMBRIDGE.

AT a meeting of the Commissioners of the Town of Cambridge, held on the 18th of February, 1836, the following resolutions were unanimously adopted:

Resolved, That the streets in Cambridge hereinafter named, be paved with brick, at least FOUR FEET wide, viz: High street, from the river, on the North side, and from Commerce street, on the South side, to Poplar street; Poplar street, on both sides entire; and Race street on both sides entire, to the outlines of the town.

Resolved, That the owners of the property fronting on the above streets, or their tenants, cause the said pavements to be done, or the materials obtained for the purpose, by the FIRST OF AUGUST NEXT; and should the expense of the paving be defrayed by the tenant of any property, he is authorised to deduct the amount so expended out of the rent next due from him.

Resolved, That if the above resolutions be not complied with by the time specified in the second resolution, the Commissioners will instruct the Bailiff to have the same done at the expense of the owners thereof.

Resolved, That the Commissioners shall procure the necessary flag stones to pave the cross streets of the pavement aforesaid; and the costs of the same, when ascertained, to be levied on the taxable property of the town.

Resolved, That from and after June next, no stove pipe shall be used in any shop in Cambridge, without a brick chimney, and a stone jar, or some such non-conductor, where the pipe passes through a floor, under the penalty of EIGHT DOLLARS *for every week the same is continued.*

By order of the Board,

WILLIAM REA, Clerk.

Feb. 18 3w

WANTED immediately, an apprentice to the Printing Business. One from the country would be preferred. His board only will be allowed for the first year.

December. 5 1836