

## Wradford Aeporter.

Free Soil, Free Speech, Free Men!

E. O. GOODRICH, EDITOR. .

Towanda, Wednesday, Decem. 13, 1848.

The Message.

The great length of the Message crowds out our usual variety. News, editorial and advertisements, all have to give way to this annual infliction. Our remarks upon this document are deterred until next

THE CHOLERA IN NEW YORK.—Several cases of cholera have occurred in New York. The cases are entirely confined to the steerage passengers of the packet ship New York, just arrived from Liverpool. Twenty-nine cases and nineteen deaths had

#### Public Meetings.

Meeting in Athens.

Meeting in Athens.

At a meeting of the boro' of Athens and vicinity held in sa d borough on Wednesley evening. 22d Novembert, 1249, pursuant to public not ce, by the purpose of taking into consideration the proper means to . e adopted as a preventative of nurther amongance from horbe races in the neighborhood (iAA). A PERKINS was called to the clust, and Martin S. Roders ebosen Secretary. The following Premishe and Resolutions were adopted:—.

Whereas, The people of the borough of Athens and vicinity have for some weeks past been repeatedly disturbed by higher races in their neighborhood which have collected together lates assemblies of people, againstic to the most observable in the most character of the pince. Therefore Resolved, That in the imaginage of the Act of Assembly against horse racing we declare such hoise races—to be common invasiness. The race ground is the focus for the assembling of black-legs, pillerers, the idle, intemperate and vicious. The races are productive of no good but on the contrary promote idleness intemperance, proximity gambling and other immortalities. The Youth are induced by curios ty to assemble at the races and are thus make acquaintied with the vices at sending them.

Resolved. That as we regard the preservation of the pub-

nding mem.
Resolved: That as we regard the preservation of the pubto peace, the good morals of the community, and open ally as we would guard our youth against the contain nating influen-ce of such immoralities we feel bound to enforce the penalties of the Act against horse racing upon all, who shall volute in

in this place or veels iy.

Resolved, That Cha's Comstock, Forace Williston, Jr. N.
Lalboyt, Goo A. Perkins, C. F. Wells, Jr. L. H. Sherman and
H. W. Patrick, be appointed a commutee to see that prosecutions are instituted and prosecuted to term and on for nit volutions of said act, and that we individually will use our exertions to en orce said act against all persons violating it in raid
long or venuity. lone or vening.

Resolved. That these proceedings be published in the negre-

papers printed in Bra-Bradiord county.
(Signed by the Officers)

#### Canal Meeting in Towanda.

Camal Meeting in Tewanda.

On Monday evening, the 1th may pursuant to prev ons public notice, a large meeting of the c 1 oas of the county was held it the Method at Church's which on motion of J. C. A Imms Eng., was called to order and organized by the Select one the following officers: W.M. El. WELL, President, Henry Triery, James Ell off. George Kinney, C. L. Ward, John Passarrore, Austin Sta Kird, Hornee Williston D. Hullock, Sminnel Stavens, F. Sang, Pearle Cell in 1. tepho: Pierze, B. Listorie, Kunten Willer, Albert Naweti, Vice Presidenta—H. W. Pair ek, and Ulyssus Nerveir Secretaries. The President stated the object of the meeting to be to take into consideration the liest mode of action to ensure the speedy completion of the North Branch Camal. He explained at length the situation of the Work and showed clearly that the best interject of the Sante requires that a should without further delay provide the means for completing but in the

provine the means for completing the connecting link in the great chain of internal improvements projected by this and mater States.

In answer to calls from the meeting it was then ably and eloquonity addressed by C. L. Ward J. C. Adams, H. Will.—ton, L. G. Bancroft, U. Mercur, G. F. Mason and H. Will.—ton, L. G. Bancroft, U. Mercur, G. F. Mason and H. Will.—ton, L. G. Bancroft, U. Mercur, G. F. Mason and H. Will.—ton, L. G. Bancroft, U. Mercur, G. F. Mason and H. Will.—ton, D. Mercur, J. C. Mardi, a complete of draft a memor alto the 'Legis autre entrestly requesting the adoption of means for the immediate completion of North Branch Cantl. The chain appointed Gron that Committee Felward Overton David Cash, E. R. Myer, H. W. Patrick, and E. W. Bard, Esqrs. On motion of C. L. Ward, a comittee of correspondence was appointed. The Chair appointed C. L. Ward, C. Mercur, J. C. Adams, John F. Means, and D. P. Blarstow, Esqrs. Omention, a committee of Finance was addered to be appointed composed of two persons, for each township through which the canni passes; whereupon the chaif appointed the inflowing persons; H. W. Tracy, F. Honnet, Wyal using; H. W. Fracy, Albert Newell, Stan ling stone; Joseph Poleit, Edw. Coolhough, Wysox; D. Cash, H. Myer, Towanda boro and tp.: J. M. Pice, Gity Tracy, Ulster; Ewd. Marray, John Walkins, Aliens, The meeting manifested the most Lyrely interest apon the adopted which called it together, as well as a fixed determination to continue to demand just ce to the North at the lands of the Legislance, and to urgo upon that leady the succidal policy of renaming machery points. a urge upon that body the suicidal policy o reini

county. (Signed by the officers)

### Proceedings of the XXXth Congress. BECOND SESSION.

WASHINGTON, Dec 4. At an early hour this morning, the galleries were crowded with spectators, reporters, letter write s, &c., all impatient for the commencement of the short session of the 30th Congress. At twelve, M. ,a quorum of Senators being present, the Senate

Alter prayer— Mr. Douglass, of Illinois, rose, and after a few prelatory remarks, of an unimportant character. tated that he would at an early day introduce a bill for the purpose of organising territorial governments for the new territories of Nebraska, Minesoto, New Mexico and California.

Mr. Cameron, of Pennsylvania, gave notice that he would introduce a bill providing for the taking of the census of 1850

On motion, the Vice President appointed Messrs King, of Albany, Tumey of Tennessee, and Davis, of Massachusetts, a Committee, on the part of the Senate, so wait on the President and to inform him of their organization.

Mr. Cameron offered a resolution, an horizing the custom my number of newspapers to be taken for the use of the Senators.

House.-The attendance of members was much larger than was anticipated; and at 12 o'clock-a quorum bring present-the members were called to order by the Speaker. The roll was called by the clerk of the last House.

Mess x. Blackman, of South Carolin , and Greely, of New York, (elected to fill vacancies in the preent Congress.) ippeared-were qualified; and took their seats. Mr. G eely looked as a noncerned as if he was treading his way through his own printing office; and, for a wonder, that white coat was

A message was received from the Senata, informing the House that that body had organized. Mr. Weatworth, of Illinois, moved that a message of a like import should be transmitted to the Senate from the House, and that a Committee be appointed to wait on the President, to inform him

of such organization. Adopted. Mr. Wilson rose for the purpose of making some explanatory remarks in regard to the somewhat singular position of Mr. Sibley, a member of Wisconsin, who acts as a delegate from the new terri

tory of Minesota. Remarks were made by several members, which partook more of a colloquial than of a declamatory

character, when the whole subject was referred to the Committee on Territories.

Mr. Murphy off red a resolution to the effect that members should occupy the saine seats which they This was warmly opposed-several members on

the floor at once, in eagement to point out the injustice of adopting such a resolution. Some conlended that the principle of rotation in office should be applied to seats—und that if members at one i were unfortunate enough " o draw" bad seals, it was some consolation to think that at the next session they might have better luck. The res olution was negatived.

Mr. Erans, of Maryland, then offered a resolu tion that members should ballot, lottery fashion,

This resolution was adopted with great unanionly, and the balloting and selecting forthwith

( The proceedings of Congress up to the 9th, were unimportant, principally preliminaries.

# PRESIDENT'S MESSAGE.

It is confidently believed that we have been saved from their effects by the salutary operation of the constitutional treasury. It is certain, that if the 24,000,000 of specie imported into the country during the fiscal year ending on the 40th of June 1847, had gone into the banks, as is a great extent it must have done, it would, in the absence of this system, have been made the basis of augmented bank paper issues, probably to an amount not less than \$61,000,000 or \$70,000,000, producing, as an inevitable conequence of an inflated currency, extravagant prices for a time, and wild speculation, which must have been followed, on the reflux to Europe, the succeeding year, of so much of that specie, by the prostration of the business of the country, the sas-pension of the banks, and most extensive bankrupt Occurring, as this would have done, at a period when the country was engaged in a foreign war, when considerable loans of specie were requir-ed for distant disbursements, and when the banks, the fiscal agents of the government, and the depositaries of its money, were suspended, the public cred-it must have sunk, and many millions of dollars, as was the case during the war of 1812, must have heen sacrificed in discounts upon loans, and upon the depreciated paper currency which the govern-

ment would have been compelled to use.

Under the operations of the constitutional treasu ry, not a dollar has been lost by the depreciation of the currency. The loans required to prosecute the war with Mexico were negotiated by the Secretary of the Treasury above par, realizing a large prem wn to the government. The restraining effects of the system upon the tendencies to excessive paper isues by banks has saved the government from heavy osres, and thousands of our business men from bankruptcy and ruin. The wisdom of the system has been tested, by the experience of the last two years; and it is the dictate of sound policy that it should remain undistubed. The medifications in some of the details of this measure, involving none of its essential principles, heretofore recommended are again presented for your favorable [considera

In my message of the sixth of July last, transmit ing to Congress the ratified treaty of peace with Mexico, I recommend the adoption of measures for the speedy payment of the public debt. In reitera-ting that recommendation, I refer you to the considerations presented in that message in its support. The public debt, including that authorized to be ne otiated, in pursuance of existing laws, and including treasury notes, amounted at that time to \$65,

Punded stock of the United States, amounting to about half a million of dollars, has been purchased, as authorized by law, since that period, and the publie debt has thus been reduced; the details of which will be presented in the annual report of the Secre-

tary of the Treasury.

The estimates of expenditures for the next fiscal rear, submitted by the Secretary of the Treasury, it is believed will be ample for all necessary purposes. If the approbations made by Congress shall not exceed the amount estimated, the means in the treasury will be sufficient to defray all expenses of the government; to pay off the next in-stalment of \$3,000,000 to Mexico, which will fall due on the 20th of May next; and still a considerable surplus will remain, which should be applied to the further purchase of public stock and reduction of the debt. Should enlarged appropriations be made, the necessary consequence will be to postpone the payment of the debt. Though our debt, as compared with that of most other nations, is small it is our true policy, and in harmony with the genius of our institutions, that we should present to the world the rare speciacle of a great republic, possessing vast resources and wealt, wholly exempt from public indehtedness. This would add still more to our strength, and give to us a still more commanding position among the nations of the earth.

The public expenditures should be economical. and be confined to such necessary objects as are clearly within the powers of Congress. All such as are not absolutely demanded should be postponed, and the payment of the public debt at the earliest practicable period should be a cardinal princifour public policy.

For the reason assigned in my last' annual message. I repeat the recommendation that a branch of the mint of the United States be established at the city of New York. The importance of this measure is greatly increased by the acquisition of the rich mines of the precious metals in New Mexico and California, and especially in the latter.

I repeat the recommendation, heretofore made, in

favor of the graduation and reduction of the price moeung hac in the market, and have remained unsold, and in favor of extending the rights of pre-emption to actual settlers on the unsurveyed as well as the sur-

veyed lands.
The condition and operations of the army, and the state of other branches of the public service under the supervision of the War Department, are satisfactorily presented in the accompanying report of the Secretary of War.

On the return of peace, our forces were withdrawn from Mexico, and the volunteers and that portion of the regular army engaged for the war were disbanded. Orders have been issued for stationing the forces of our permanent establishment various positions in our extended country, where troops may be required. Owing to the remoteness of some of these positions, the detachments have not yet reached their destination. Notwithstanding the extension of the limits of our country and the forces required in the new territories, it is confidently be lieved that our present military establishment is sufficient for all exigencies, so long as our peaceful relations remain undisturbed.

Of the amount of military contributions collected in Mexico, the sum of \$769,650 dollars was applied towards the payment of the first instalment due under the treaty with Mexico. The further sum of \$346,369 30 has been paid into the treasury, and unexpended balances still remain in the hands of disbursing officers and those who were engaged in the collection of these moneys. After the preclama-tion of peace, no further disbursements were made of any unexpended moneys arising from this source. The balances on hand were directed to be paid into the treasury, and individual claims on the fund will remain unadjusted until Congress shall authorize their settlement and payment. These claims are not considerable in number or amount

I recommend to your favorable consideration the suggestions of the Secretary of War and the Secretary of the Navy in regard to legislation on this

subject Our Indian relations are presented in a most faverable view in the report from the War Department. The wisdom of our policy in regard to the tribes within our limits, is clearly manifested by their improved and rapidly improving condition.

A most important treaty with the Menomonies has been recently negotiated by the Commission ers of Indian Affairs in person by which all their land in the State of Wisconsin-being about 4,000, 000 of acres-has been ceded to the-United States This treaty will be submitted to the Senate for ratification at an early period of your present session.

With n the last four years, eight important treaties have been negotiated with different Indian tribes, and at a cost of \$1,812,000: Indian lands to the amount of more than 18,500,000 acres have been ceded to the United States; and provision have been made for settling in the country west of the Mississippi the tribes which occupied this large extent of the public domain. The title to all the Indian lands within the several States of our Union with the exception of a few small reservations, is now extinguished, and a vast region opened for settlement and cultivation.

The accumpanying report of the Pecretary of the Navy gives a satisfactory exhibit of the operations and condition of that branch of the public service. A number of small vessels suitable for entering the mouths of rivers were judiciously purchased during the war, and gave great efficiency to the squadron in the Gulf of Mexico. On the return of peace, when no longer valuable for naval purposes and liable to constant deterioration, they were soid,

and the money placed in the treasury. The number of men in the naval service authorzed by law during the way, has been reduced by discharges below the maximum fixed for the peace stablishment. Adequate squadrons are maintimed in the several quarters of the globe where

efficiency.

I invite attention to the recommendation of the Without reflecting upon the dissimilarity of our recreasy of the Nagron the subject of the marine decreasy of the Nagron the subject of the marine institutions, and of the emulition of and people and the warrequired that four officers if each of the three layer grades should be dropped from the roll. A board of officers made the selection; and those designified were necessarily dismissed, but without they adjuged from the concentrated the controlling monetary and designified were necessarily dismissed, but without was concentrated the controlling monetary and designified were necessarily dismissed, but without they adjuged from the concentrated the controlling monetary and designified with the secretary, that the service would be improved by reducing the number of landsmen, and increasing the number of landsmen, and increasing the marines. Buch a measure would justify an increasing cy-of the government itself. Great Britain had an or the politic of the sumber of the number of officers to the extent of the convention of the number of officers to the extent of the convention of the number of officers to the extent of the convention of the number of officers to the extent of the convention of the number of officers are not the convention of the operations of trade, and upon the politic of the number of the number of officers of the number of the numb

The contracts for the transportation of the mail in ateamships convertible into war-steamera, promise to realize all the benefits to our commerce and to the mavy, which were anticipated. The first | ted and enriched by the enormous taxes which were steamer thus secured to the government was lass-ched in January, 1847. There are now seven; and in another year there will, probably, he not less than seventeen affoat. While this great national advantage is secured, our social and commercial ntercourse is increased and promoted with Germany, Great Britain, and other parts of Europe, with all the countries on the west coast of our continent especially with Oregon and California, and be-tween the northern and Southern sections of the United Ptates. Considerable revenue may be ex sected from postages; but the connected line from New York to Chagres, and thence across the isthmus to Oregon, cannot fail to exert a beneficial influence, not now to be estimated, on the interesti onsideration the establishm at of the proposed line of steamers between New Grieans and Vera Cruz t promises the most happy results in cementing riendship between the two republics, and in exending reciprocal benefits to the trade and manufactures of both.

The report of the Postmaster General will make known to you operations of that department for the Daxi Year.

It is gratifying to find the revenues of the departfor the nine years immediately preceding the pas-sage of the act of the third of March, 1845, by the sident. sum of \$6,453, and exceeding the amount received for the year ending the thirtieth of June, 1847, by he sum of \$425.184.

The expenditures for the year, excluding the sum of \$94,672, allowed by Congress at its last session to individual claimants, and including the sum of \$100,500, paid for the services of the line of steamon Bremen and New York, amounted to \$4,198,845, which is less than the annual average for the nine years previous to the act of 1844, by \$300.47R

The mail routes, on the 30th day of June last were 163,209 miles in extent—being an increase during the last year of 9,390 miles. The mails were transported over them, during the same time. 41,012,579 miles; making an increase of transportation for the year of 2,124,680 miles, whilst the expense was less than that of the previous year by \$4 235.

The increase in the mail transportation within the last three years has been 5,378,310 miles whilst the expenses were reduced \$456,738-making an

increase of service at the rate of 15 per cent. During the past year there have been employed, under contracts with the Post Office Department wo ocean steamers in conveying the mails month y between New York and Bremen, and one, since October last, performing semi-monthly service be-tween Charleston and Havana; and a contract has been made for the transportation of the Pacific mails across the isthmus from Chagres to Panama. Under the authority given to the Secretary of the vavy, three ocean steamers have been constructed and sent to the Pacific, and are expected to enter upon the mail service between Panama and Oregon, and the intermediate ports, on the first of Janfor the service between Havana and Chagres; so hat a regular monthly mail line will be kept up after that time between the United States and our

erritories on the Pacific. Notwithstanding this great increase in the mail ervice, should the revenue continue to increase he present year as it did in the last, there will be These considerations have satisfied the Postmant- were taxed to increase their wealth. er General that, with certain modifications of the crease

neans of diffusing intelligence among the people, and is of so much importance in a country so extensive as that of the United States, that I recomnend to your favorable consideration the suggestion of the Postmaster General for its improvement

Nothing can retard the onward progress of our country, and prevent us from assuming and mainaining the first rank among nations, but a disregard of the experience of the past, and a recur-rence to an unwise public policy. We have just closed a foreign war by an honorable peace—a war rendered necessary and unavoidable in vindication of the national rights and honor. The present condition of the country is similar in some respects to that which existed immediately after the close of the war with Great Britain in 1815, and the occasion is deemed to be a proper one to take a retro pect of the measures of public policy which folowed that war. There was at that period of our nistory a departure from our earlier policy. The enlargement of the powers of the federal government by construction which obtained was not war ranted by any just interpretation of the constitution A few years after the close of that war, a series of measures was adopted which, united and combined constituted what was termed by their authors and advocates the "American system."

The introduction of the new policy was for a time favored by the condition of the country; by the heavy debt which had been contracted during the war; by the depression of the public credit; by the leranged state of the finances and the currency; and by the commercial and pecuniary embarrassment which extensively prevailed. These were not the only causes which led to its establishment. The events of the war with Great Britain, and the embarrasments which had attended its prosecution had left on the minds of many of our statesmen the mpression that our government was not strong nough, and that to wield its resources successfully in grea emergencies, and especially in war, re power should be concentrated in its hands. This increased power they did not seek to obtain by the legitimate and prescribed mole—an amend-ment of the constitution—but by construction.— They saw governments in the old world based upon different orders of society, and so constituted as to throw the whole power of nations into the hands of a few, who taxed and controlled the many without responsibility or restraint. In that arrangement they conceived the strength of nations in war consisted. There was also something fascinating in the ease, luxury, and display of the higher orders who drew their wealth from the toil of the laboring nillions. The authors of the system drew their ideas of political economy from what they had witnessed in Europe, and particularly in Great Britain. They had viewed the enormous wealth concentrated in few hands, and seen the splendor of the overgrown establishments of an aristocracy which was upheld by the restrictive policy. They orgot to look down upon the poorer classes of the English population, upon whose daily and yearly abor the great establishments they so much admired were sustained and supported. They failed to perceive that the scantily-fed and half-clad operatives were not only in abject poverty, but were bound in chains of oppressive servitude for the benefit of favored classes. Who were the exctusive objects of the care of the government.

It was not possible to re-construct society in the United States upon the European plan. Here there was a written constitution, by which orders and titles were not recognised or tolerated. A system of measures was therefore devised, calculated, if not intended, to withdraw power gradually and siexperience has shown their services may be most lently from the States and the mass of the people

The state of the s

never in a condition of higher discipline or greater to the European models, substituting an aristocracy of wealth for that of orders and titles.

crease of the number of officers to the extent of the enormous public d. bt, and it had become a part of reduction by dismissal, and still the corps would ber public policy to regard this as a "public bless-have fewer officers than a corresponding number of ing." Great Britain had also a restrictive policy, men in the army.

trammeled the productive industry of the mass of the nation. By her combined system of policy, the landlords and other property-holders were proteclevied upon the labor of the country for their ad vantage.

Imitating this foreign policy, the first step in es tablishing the new system in the U. States was the creation of a national bank. Not foreseeing the dangerous power and countless evils which such an institution might entail on the country, not perceiving the connexion which it was designed to form between the bank and the other branches of the mis called "American system," but feeling the embarrassments of the treasury, and of the business of the country, consequent upon the war, some of our statesmen who had held different and sounder views were induced to yield their scruples, and, indeed, settled convictions of its unconstitutionality, and to of the manufactures, commerce, navigation and give it their sanction, as an expedient which they currency of the United States. As an important vainly hoped might produce relief. It was a most part of the system, I recommend to your favorable unfortunate error, as the subsequent history and final catastrophe of that dangerous and corrupt in-stitution have abundantly proved. The bank, with its numerous branches ramified into the States, soon brought many of the active political and commercial men in different sections of the country into the relation of debtors to it, and dependants upon it for pecuniary favors; thus diffusing throughout the mass of society a great number of individuals of power and influence to give tone to public opinion and to act in concert in cases of emergency. The nent, under the rates of postage now established corrupt power of such a political engine is no longer by law, so rapidly increasing. The gross amount a matter of speculation, having been displayed in of postages during the last fiscal year amounted to numerous instances, but most signally in the poli-\$4,371,077, exceeding the annual average received tical struggle of 1832-'3-'4, in opposition to the pub-

> But the bank was but one branch of the new sys tem. A public debt of more than \$120,000,000 exsted, and it is not to be disguised that many of the authors of the new system did not regard its speedy payment as essential to the public prosperity, but ked upon its continuance as no national evil.-Whilst the debt existed, it furnished aliment to the national bank, and rendered increased taxation necessary to the amount of the interest, exceeding \$7,000.000 annually.

This operated in harmony with the next branch of the new system, which was a high protective tar-iff. This was to afford bounties to favored classes and particular pursuit, at the expense of all others. A proposition to tax the whole people for the pur-pose of enriching a few, was too monstrous to be openly made. The scheme was, therefore, veiled under the plausible but delusive pretext of a measure to protect "home industry;" and many of our people were, for a time, led to believe that a tax which in the main fell upon labor, was for the benefit of the laborer who paid it. This branch of the system involved a partnership between the govern ment and the favored classes—the former receiving proceeds of the tax imposed on articles imported, and the latter the increased price of similar arti cles produced at home, caused by such tax. It is obvious that the portion to be received by the favor-ed classes would, as a general rule, be increased in proportion to the increase of the rates of tax impos ed, and diminished as those rates were reduced to the revenue standard r quired by the wants of the government. The rates required to produce a sufficient revenue for the ordinary expenditures of the government, for necessary purposes, were not likely o give to the private partners in this scheme profits sary next, and a fourth has been engaged by him sufficient to satisfy their cupidity; and hence a variety of expenditures were resorted to for the purnose of enlarging the expenditures, and thereby creating a necessity for keeping up a high protective tariff. The effect of this policy was to interpose ar-tificial restrictions upon the natural course of the business and trade of the country, and to advance the interests of large capitalists and monopolists, at received near \$450,000 more than the expenditures. the expense of the great mass of the people, who

Another branch of this system was a comprehenact of 1845, the revenue may be still further in- sive scheme of internal improvements, capable of form rate of five cents, without an interference with as many millions annually as could be exacted from the principle, which has been constantly and proper the foreign commerce of the country. This was a second on eriday, it will be in time." By this the principle, which has been constantly and properly enforced, of making that department sustain its self.

It was to be the great absorbent of any surface danother day for deliberation, and the bills that plus which might at any time accumulate in the treasury, and of the taxes levied on the people, not for necessary revenue surposes, but for the avowed

object of affording protection to the favored classes. Auxiliary to the same end, if it was not an essential part of the system itself, was the scheme which at a later period, obtained for distributing the proeeds of the sales of the public lands among the States. Other expenditures were devised to take money out of the treasury, and prevent its coming in from any other source than th The authors and supporters of the system were the advocates of the largest expendatures, whether for necessary or useful expenditures or not, because the larger the expenditures the greater was the pietext for high taxes in the form of protective duties.

These several measures were sustained by popular names and plausible arguments, by which thou sands were deluded. The bank was represented to be an indispensable fiscal agent for the government; was to equalize exchanges, and to regulate and fur nish a sound currency, always and everywhere of uniform value. The protective tariff was to give employment to "American labor" at advanced prices; was to protect "home industry," and furnish a steady market for the farmer. Internal improvements were to bring trade into every neighborhood and enhance the value of every man's property.-The distribution of the land money was to enrich the States, finish their public works, plant schools throughout their borders, and relieve them from taxation. But the fact, that for every dollar taken out of the treasury for these objects as much larger sum was transferred from the pocket of the people o the favored classes, was carefully concealed, as was also the tendency if not the ultimate design of the system to build up an aristocracy of wealth, to control the masses of society, and monopolize the political power of the country.

The several branches of this system were so intimately blended together, that in their operation each sustained and strengthened the others. Their joint operation was, to add new burdens of taxation and encourage a largely increased and wasteful expenditure of public money. It was the interest of the bank that the revenue collected and the disburse ments made by the government should be large, be cause, being the depository of the public money, the larger the amount, the greater would be the bank profits by its use. It was the interest of the favored classes, who were enriched by the protective tarff, o have the rates of that protection as high as possible; for the higher those rates, the greater would be their advantage. It was the interest of the people of all those sections and tocalities who expected to be benefitted by expenditures for internal improvements, that the amount collected should be as arge as possible to the end, that the sum distributed might also be the larger. The States being the beneficiaries in the distribution of the land money, had an interest in having the rates of tax imposed by the protective tariff large enough to yield a sufficient revenue from that source to meet the wants of the government, without disturbing or taking from them the land fund; so that each of the branches constituting the system had a common interest in swelling the public expenditures. They had a direct interest in maintaining the public debt unpaid, and increasing its amount, because this would produce an annual increased drain upon the treasury, to the amount of the interest, and render augmented taxes necessary. The operation and necessary effect of the whole system were, to encourage large and extravagant expenditures, and thereby to increase the public patronage, and maintain a rich and splendid government at the expense of a taxed and impoverished people.

It is manifest that this scheme of enlarged faxation

soon have converted the government of the Union, fraught with incalculable mischiels, and must result intended by its framers to be a plain, cheap, and simple confederation of States, united together for For a series of years their wise councils were unsimple confederation of states, united together for a series of years their wise councils were uncommon protection; and charged with a few pecific states, relating chiefly to our foreign affairs, into a series of years their system was established. It was son apparent that its practical operation was unconsolidated empire, depriving the States of their reserved rights; and the people of their just power pairs its protection of the doministration of their government. It fortered and observed the protection of the government. It fortered and observed the protection of the government. ent. In this matter the whole form and character of the government mould be changed not by an ame endment of the constitution, but by resorting to an unwarrantable and unauthorized construction of

The indirect made of levving the taxes by a duty on imports, prevents the mass of the peop le from readily perceiving the amount they pay, and has enabled the few who are thus enriched, and who seek to wield the political power of the country, to de-ceive and delade them. Were the taxes collected by a direct levy upon the people, as is the case in he tates, this could not occur.

The whole system was resisted from its inception by many of our ablest statesmen, some of whom phied its constitutionality and its expediency while others believed it was, in all its branches, a flagrant and dangerous infraction of the constitu-

That a national bank, a protective tariff, levied not to raise the revenues needed, but for protection merely, internal improvements, and the distribution of the proceeds of the sale of the public lands, are measures without the warrant of the constitution would, upon the maturest donsideration, seem to be clear. It is remarkable that no one of these measures, involving such momentous consequences, is authorized by any express grant of power in the constitution. No one of them is "incident to, as be-ng accessary and proper for the execution of the spacific powers" granted by the constitution. The anthority under which it has been attempted to justify each of them is derived from inferences & constructions of the constitution which its letter and its whole object and design do not warrant. Is it to be conceived that such immense powers would have been left by the framers of the constitution to mere inferences and doubtful constructions? Had it been intended to confer them on the federa! government, it is but ressonable to conclude that it would have been done by plain and unequivocal grants. This was not done; but the whole structure of which the "American system" consisted, was reared on no other or better foundation than forced implications and inferences of power which its authors assumed might be deduced by construction from the consti-

But it has been urged that the national bank, which constituted so essential a branch of this combined system of measures, was not a new measure, and that its constitutionality had been previously sanctioned, because a bank had been chartered in 1791, and had received the official signature of President Washington. A few facts will show the just weight to which this precedent should be entitled as bearing upon the question of constitutionality.

Great divisions of opinion upon the subject existed in Congress. It is well known that President Washington entertained serious doubts both as to the constitutionality and expediency of the measure; and while the bill was before him for his official approval or disapproval, so great were these doubts. that he required "the opinion in writing" of the members of his cabinet to aid him in arriving at a deciston. His cabinet gave their opinion, and were divided upon the subject—General Hamilton being in favor of, and Mr. Jefferson and Mr. Randolph being opposed to the constitutionality and expediency, of bank. It is well known, also, that President Washington retained the bill from Monday the 14th. when it was presented to him, until Friday, the 25th of Pebruary—being the last moment permitted him by the constitution to deliberate, when he finally yielded it his reluctant assent, and gave it his signa ture. It is certain that as late as the 23d of February-being the ninth day after the bill was presented to him—he had arrived at no satisfactory conclusion; for on that day he addressed a note to Gen. Hamilton, in which he informs him that "this bill was presented to me by the joint committee of Congress at 12 o'clock on Monday, the 14th inst.;" and he requested his opinion "to what precise period, by legal interpretation of the constitution, can the President retain it in his possession, before it becomes a law by the lapse of ten days." If the proper construc-tion was, that the day on which the bill was presented to the President, and the day on which his action was had upon it, were both to be counted inclusive, then the time allowed him, within which it would be competent for him to return it to the House in which it originated with his objections, would expire on Thursday, the 21th of February. Gen. Hamilton on the same day returned an answer, in which he states:

"I give it as my opinion that you have ten days: exclusive of that on which the bill was delivered to and the Senate shall, invariably before it become a the 25th of February that he signed the bill; thus affording conclusive proof that he had at glast obtained his own consent to sign it not without great and almost insuperable difficulty. Additional light has been recently shed upon the serious doubts which he had on the subject, amounting at one time to a conviction that it was his duty to withhold his approval from the bill. This is found among the manuscript papers of Mr. Madison, authorized to be purchased for the use of the government by an act the last session of Congress, and now for the first time accessible to the public. From these papers, it appears that President Washington, while he e bank bill in his hands, actually requested Mr. Madison, at that time a member of the House of Representatives, to prepare the draught of a veto message for him. Mr. Madison, at his request, did gress shall, after apparen ly full deliberation, prepare the draught of such a message, and sent it to him on the 21st of February, 1791. A copy of this original draught, in Mr. Madison's own handwriting, was carefully preserved by him, and is among the papers lately purchased by Congress. It is preceded by a note, written on the same sheet, which and is presented to him for his signature. The is also in Mr. Madison's handwriting, and is as fol-

"February 21st, 1791. Copy of a paper mode out and sent to the President at his request, to be ready in case his judgment should finally decide against the bill for incorporating the national bank, the bill being then before him."

Among the objections assigned in this paper to the bill, and which were submitted for the consideration of the President, are the following:

"I object to the bill, because it is an essential principle of the government, that powers not delegated by the Constitution cannot be rightfully exercised; because the power proposed by the bill to be exercised is not expressly delegated, and because I cannot satisfy myself that it results from any express power by fair and safe rules of interpreta-

The weight of the precedent of the bank of 1791, and the sanction of the great name of Washington which has been so often invoked in its support, are greatly weakened by the development of these facts. The experiment of that bank satisfied the country that it ought not to be continued, and at the end of twenty years Congress refused to recharter it. It would have been fortunate for the country, and saved thousands from bankruptcy and ruin, had our public men of 1816 resisted the temporary pressure of the times upon our financial and pecuniary in-terests, and refused to charter the second bank. Of this the country become abundantly satisfied, and at the close of its twenty years' duration, as in the case of the first bank, it also ceased to exist. Under the repeated blows of President Jackson, it reeled and fell, and a subsequent attempt to charter a similar institution was arrested by the veto of President

Mr. Madison, in yielding his signature to the charter of 1816, did so upon the ground of the respect due to precedents; and, as he subsequently declared, "the Bank of the United States, though, on the original question, held to be unconstitutional, received the Executive sign sture."

It is probable that neither the bank of 1731, nor th t of 1816, would have been chartered but for the embarrssments of the government in its finances, the derangement of the currency and the pecuniary pressure which existed—the first the consequence of the war of the revolution, and the second the consequence of the war of 1812. Both were resorted to in the deluxive hope that they would restore public credit, and afford relicf to the government, and to

the business of the country.

Those of our public men who opposed the whole

in serious injury to the best interests of the country. protection of the government. It fostered and elevaled the money power, and enriched the favored-few by taxin, labor, and at the expense of the many. Its effects wes to "make the rich richer and the poor poorer." ... Ite landency was to estate distincti society based on wealth, and to give to the favored classes undue ech rol and sway in our government It was an organized money power, which resisted the popular will, and sought to shape and control the public policy.

Under the pernicious workings of this combined system of measures, the country witnessed alternate seasons of temporary apparent prosperity; of sudden and disastrous commercial revulsion; (fur-precedented fluctuation of prices, and depression of the great interests of agriculture, navigation and commerce, of general pecuniary suffering, and of final bankennicy of thousands. Afters revers struggle of more than a quarter of a century the system was overthrown. The bank has been succeded by a practical sys-

em of finance, conducted and controlled solely by the government. The constitutional currency ha een restored; the public credit maintained unimpaired, even in a period of foreign war; and the whole country has become satisfied that banks, naional or State, are not necessary as ascal agents of the government. Revenue duties have taken the place of the protective tariff. The distribution of money derived from the sale of the public lands has been abandoned, and the corrupting tem of internal improvements, it is hoped, has been effectually checked.

It is not doubted, that if this whole train of measures designed to take wealth from the many, and bestow it upon the few, were to prevail, the 'cflect would be to change the entire character of the government. One only dancer remains. It is the seductions of that branch of the system, which consists in internal improvements. holding out, as it does, inducements to the people of particular sections and localities to embark the government in them without stopping to calculate the inevitable consequences. This branch of the system is so inimately combined and linked with the others, that as surely as an effect is produced by an adequate cause, it is to be resuscitated and revived, and firm. ly established, it requires no sagneity to foresce that it will necessarily and speedily draw after it the re-establishment of a national bank, the revival of a protective tariff, the distribution of the land money, and not only the postponement to the distant future of the payment of the present national debt, but its annual increase.

I entertain the solemn conviction, that if the internal improvement branch of the "American system" be not firmly resisted at this time, the whole series of measures composing it will be speedily re-established, and the country be thrown which the existing policy has produced, and be destined again to witness all the evils, commercial revulsions, depression of prices, and permiary embarrassments, through which we have passed during the last twenty-five years.

To grand against consequences so minous, is an of high national importance, involving in my judgment the continued presperity of the

country I have felt it to be an imperative obligation to withhold my constitutional sanction from two hills which had passed the two houses of Congress, nvolving the principle of the internal improve ment branch of the "American system," conflicting in their provisions with the views here

expressed. This power conferred upon the President by the onstitution, I have on three occasions during my administration of the executive department of the government, deemed it my duty to exercise; and on this last occasion of making to Congress an anoual communication " of the state of the Union." t is not deemed inappropriate to review the principles and considerations which have governed my action. I deem this the more necessary, because, after the lap e of nearly sixty years since the adoption of the Constitution, the propriety of the exercise of this undoubted constitutional power by the President has for the first time been drawn ously in question by a portion of my fellow-citi-

The constitution provides that "every bill which law, be presented to the President of the United States; if he approve, he shall sign it, but it not, he shall return it with his objections, to that house in which it shall have originated, who shall enter the objections at large on their journal and proceed to reconsider it."

The preservation of the constitution from infrac-

tion is the President's highes duty. He is bound to discharge that duty, at whatever hazard of incurring the displeasure of those who may differ with him in opinion. He is bound to discharge it, as well by his obligations to the people who have clothed him with his exalted trust, as by his cath of office, which he may not disregard. Nor are the obligations of the President in any degree lessened by the prevalence of views different from his own in one or both houses of Congress. It is not alone hasty and inconsiderate legislation that ne is required to check; but if at any time Conresolve on measures which he deems subversive of the constitution, or of the vital interests of the country, it is his solemn duty to stand in the breach and resist them. The President is bound to approve or disapprove, every bill which passes Congress constitution makes this his duty, and he cannot escape if he would. He has no election. In deciding upon any bill presented to him, he must exercise his own best judgment. If he cannot approve, the constitution commands him to return the bill to the House in which it originated, with his objections; and if he fail to do this within ten days, (Sundays excepted,) it shall become a law without his signature. Right or wrong, he may be overruled by a vote of two-thirds of each House; and, in that event the bill becomes a law without his sanction. It his objections be not thus overruled, the subject is only postponed and is referred to the Senate and the people for their consideration and decision. The President's power is negative merely, and not affirmative. He can enact no law. The only effect, therefore, of his withholding his approval of a bill passed by Congress, is to suffer the existing laws to remain unchanged, and the delay occasioned is only that require I to enable the States and the people to consider and act upon the subject in the election of public agents who will carry out their wishes and astructions. Any attempt to coerce the President o yield his sanction to measures which he cannot approve, would be a violation of the spirit of the onstitution, palpable and flagrant; and if successful, would break down the independence of the executive department, and make the President, elected by the people, and clothed by the constituion with power to defend their rights, they more nstrument of a majority of Congress. A surrenler, on his part, of the powers with which the constitution has invested his office, would effice a practical alteration of that instrument, without esorting to the prescribed process of amendment. With the motives or considerations which may nduce Congress to pass any bill, the President can

have nothing to do. He must presume them to be as pure as his own, and look only to the practical flect of their measures when compared with the onstitution of the public good.

But it has been urged by these who object to the exercise of this undoubted constitutional power, that it assails the representative principle capacity of the people to govern themselves; that there is greater safety in a numerous representative body than in the single Executive created by the constitution, and that the executive veto is a cone-man power," despotic in its character. To

expose the fallacy of this objection, it is only usefully employed; and the naval service was and by construction to approximate our government and expenditures, had it continued to prevail, thus tout its progress, foresaw and predicted that it was a confederated Union. The States, before the nocessary to consider the fame and true character