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THE PAST—THE PRESENT—FOR THE FUTURE.

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It will be seen by our journal that the general appropriation bill has passed the house of representatives and been read, &c. in the senate. The proceedings on some of its items are very animated and highly interesting. It received its third reading in the house at about 1 o'clock on Friday night, or rather Saturday morning, after a very arduous session. The fate of this bill in the senate is very uncertain, but it is believed that many amendments, which failed in the other house, will be made to it.

It will be seen that a resolution offered by Mr. Selden, of New York, to appoint a grand committee to take into consideration the state of the currency, failed only by the casting vote of the speaker. It is reported that another serious attempt will be made to restore confidence and relieve the pressure on the public—which, if it fails, will be followed by a general disposition on the part of the opposition to adjourn, forthwith; that the members may see and commune with the people, and meet again in November next, better prepared to act on the subject.

In the wreck of public confidence, it is impossible that the body of the people should be able to make just discriminations—and one evil is the beginning of many. The late failure of the "Maryland Savings Institution," caused a severe run upon the *Savings bank of Baltimore*, an old and old fashioned establishment, *really* doing business for the benefit of the industrious and economical poor, without pecuniary profit or the hope of reward to the managers thereof; and which, from the nature of its operations, it is hardly possible should fail to meet all its engagements—*never having yet lost one dollar out of the many millions of savings which have passed through it*. A sudden demand, however, might embarrass even the bankers *Rothschild*. But the available credits or funds, of this bank were abundantly equal to the emergency, and any amount of assistance might have been had from another institution that was as able as willing to afford it, to this well managed and truly meritorious charity, if so it may be called, for the benefit which it confers on the working people. We are informed, that many who withdrew their deposits early in the morning, restored them before the closing of the bank; and it is probable that on Monday (the only day that this bank is open) the greater part of the sum drawn out will be replaced, where we think that it is quite as safe as in any man's double-locked *iron* chest, to say nothing of the *risk* and *temptation* that attends persons not used to the possession of considerable sums of money in their pockets; and we hope that all those who have provided something for "a rainy day" will *save* it, in the Savings bank. When that goes—all's gone—and credit will have "perished," indeed!

We publish the able speech of Mr. *Lincoln*, (who has changed places with Mr. *Davis*, as governor of Massachusetts and representative in congress, at the call of the people, in both cases) on the concerns of the general post office. It will be read with much interest. It was, *until recently*, the greatest evil which beset the American public, that the postmaster general was made a member of "the cabinet," and that party political preferences were introduced into the concerns of this department of the government. It ought to have remained as free from them as the judicial establishment! It is to the lasting credit of Mr. *McLean*, the predecessor of Mr. *Barry*, that he decidedly rejected them.

The whole business of this department "cries aloud" for "reform"—*real reform*. The mere money that is apparently wasted, is nothing; but the organization of its officers, into political agents in numerous instances, cannot be too severely rephended, or carefully guarded against. We have suffered much by the sheer incompetency or rank dishonesty of some of the deputy post-

masters. We care not who is *in* or who is *out*, but desire that capable and worthy men may be continued or appointed, without regard to any thing beyond a faithful performance of their several duties!

We meet with the following extract from judge *Story's* "commentaries," and cannot refrain from giving it a place—it was not written with a view to any existing state of things, though many may think that it was, from the closeness of its application to circumstances as they are:

"The great anomaly in the system is the enormous patronage of the postmaster general, who is invested with the sole and exclusive authority to appoint and remove all deputy postmasters; and whose power and influence have thus, by slow degrees, accumulated, until it is, perhaps, not too much to say, that it rivals, if it does not exceed, in value and extent, that of the president himself. How long a power so vast, and so accumulating, shall remain without any check, is a question for statesmen and not for jurists. But it cannot be disguised that it will be idle to impose constitutional restraints upon high executive appointments, if this power, which pervades every village of the republic, and exerts an irresistible, though silent, influence in the direct shape of office, or in the less inviting form of lucrative contracts, is suffered to remain without scrutiny or rebuke. It furnishes no argument against the interposition of a check, which shall require the advice and consent of the senate to appointments, that the power has not hitherto been abused. In its own nature, the post office establishment is susceptible of abuse to such an alarming degree; the whole correspondence of the country is so completely submitted to the fidelity and integrity of the agents who conduct it; and the means of making it subservient to mere state policy are so abundant, that the only surprise is that it has not already awakened the public jealousy, and been placed under more effectual control. It may be said, without the slightest disparagement of any officer who has presided over it, THAT IF EVER THE PEOPLE ARE TO BE CORRUPTED, OR THEIR LIBERTIES ARE TO BE PROSTRATED, THIS ESTABLISHMENT WILL FURNISH THE MOST FACILE MEANS, AND BE THE EARLIEST EMPLOYED TO ACCOMPLISH SUCH A PURPOSE."

The following also presents itself to us in one of the newspapers—it offers a picture that is too true:

The post office department of Great Britain, during the last ten years, has not sustained any loss by the defection of postmasters. What a reflection on our department, where these things have now become of almost daily occurrence, owing to the selection of persons for their devotion to "the party," without consulting character and honor.

Party has been oftentimes called "the madness of the many for the benefit of the few"—and so, indeed, it frequently is, even when rallied on a real or honestly believed in attachment to acknowledged principles, or established rules of action: but when built upon personal preferences or personal dislikes, "madness" stands confessed, and reason appeals to the understanding in vain. Every thing is carried by discordant and senseless noises; and thousands, after having exhausted the strength of their lungs and limbs, find themselves in the condition of poor Cuffee, when informed that it was not the rev. Mr. Whitfield who was preaching to the multitude of which he was a member; and they know and feel that they have committed very foolish, if not mischievous or wicked extravagancies, in the "madness" which had held dominion over their passions, and captivated their judgment.*

*Such immense crowds of persons attended to hear the preachings of Mr. Whitfield, that thousands, on some occasions, could not either hear nor see him; but they waited with the hope of catching some of the words that fell from his richly gifted lips. On one of these occasions, on the outer edge of the multitude, a black man was observed to be vociferating loudly and rolling himself on the ground, in a high excitement, when one of his acquaintances demanded "what was all that for?" The other spoke of it as the effect of the preaching of Mr. W. "Why you fool," said the first, "it is not Mr. Whitfield at all; he couldn't come, and Mr. — is preaching in his place." "What," exclaimed Cuffee, brushing his clothes, "all this for nothin'?" or words to this effect, as the story goes.

Look at a political gathering, and you will see very many persons precisely in the state of this negro. They applaud or reject persons addressing them, without hearing or understand-

We pretend not to a total exemption from the state that we have briefly described—but, in the habit of reading, and of endeavoring to look at both sides of a question, and of regarding men as subordinate to measures, whether approved or rejected, we have been enabled, sometimes, at least, to separate persons from things, and place the merit or demerit of individual action on the character of the matter suggested or performed; and though an act may be condemned by our judgment, it is still possible, very possible, that the motive which led to it may relieve the actor from personal blame: and this happens the more easily from a serious conviction that, not having had "a view of the whole ground," or incapable, perhaps, of viewing it as we ought—after-events have demonstrated not only that the motive was honest, but that the thing itself was "necessary and proper" to be done, though it had not been so regarded by us.

With all the checks which such habits of thinking are calculated to furnish, and a certain degree of experience, we shall not deny that circumstances, (unapparent to others, in certain cases), have led, and may lead us, into indiscretions, even when writing about things—always legitimate subjects of discussion; but unless on the defensive, we still wish to respect persons, except notoriously base or desperately wicked—or stupidly ignorant of things over which they have, and exert, an unhappy and baneful influence. And even their violence is not the indispensable precursor of victory!

We trust too, that we can make reasonable allowances even for the dominion of party—for, in early life, we honestly believed that gun-boats were the "sovereignest things in all this world" to batter ships-of-the-line into atoms! This was the "madness" of party in the many; but the now almost universally regarded European object of the influence that led us into that "madness," was a long time hidden from the view of those over whom it had nearly an absolute control; and so it may be with some, in the present state of affairs, on another and much more important subject. We have long since thought that those who started the gun-boat system had not much faith in the ability of such boats to resist ships-of-the-line—and now believe that those who organized the present opposition to the bank of the United States, never entertained an idea that a sound and convenient and wholesome currency would be sustained without the aid of a bank of the United States. Indeed, the president said that he would himself have furnished a plan for one, had he been called on for it—though now utterly opposed to any one, and demanding the establishment of a specie currency, only. The personal popularity of president Jefferson built up a fleet of "whiggle-whaggle" gun-boats—but that "experiment" cost us only a trifle, and became a subject for merriment long before the boats themselves were rotten: the personal popularity of president Jackson has so far supported his "experiment" on the currency and business of the country—but this has already cost the nation hundreds of millions on account of labor unemployed and property wasted—and plunged the whole people, as it were, from a state of unrivaled prosperity into one of unprecedented adversity—a condition far more oppressive than the season of war through which we recently passed—unless, indeed, this oppression may be compared with that which ensued after the war, for the want of such a national currency as the president seems resolved to destroy!*

The dominion of the "rag barons" at the the time we are just speaking of, was not a party question—nor should the present opera-

ing a single word that is said—performing either operation by the direction of some who act as figleinen on such occasions. This is a great misfortune, and the fulness of party spirit. It agrees, as it were, that some cannot do any thing right—that others cannot do any thing that is wrong.

*We beseech those who passed through the period alluded to, to look back, and call to recollection the wide ruin that prevailed, the cruel changes of property that took place, the destitution of the laboring poor, and the aggrandizement of the rich, who had money, and prudently speculated in real estate, or stocks of the United States, &c. The principle of all such oppressions is to make the rich richer and the poor poorer.

After a great effort, we cast down the "rag barons," and placed the bank of the United States and the state banks, generally, on a wholesome establishment; but we well remember the cost of it, and heartily pray that it may not be encountered again.

tions against the currency be so considered. They come too near the "hearts and homes" of the people to permit their continuance, as party measures. How many anxious days and sleepless nights have they already caused—how have they baffled the calculations of the old, and frozen the hopes of the young? What business man does not look back with mourning, and forward with fear? The past seems to have "done its worst," but the future is enveloped in the blackness of despair. Verily, verily, these are not rightful party or political matters! But such is the force of party preferences and party pride, such the organization of the public press, supported by an army of office holders, drilled like the Swiss regiments formerly in the pay of the Bourbon princes, that scores of thousands yet earnestly sustain the individual, while deeply lamenting and secretly reprobating his acts, without having the pretence of necessity to support them, and altogether inexpedient and unwise; considering also the idea of a metallic currency to be as impracticable as a present enjoyment of that peace which the millenium promises, without a total revolution in the pursuits and property, and the advancement or hopes, of every man and every woman in the United States. These are not political questions! They force upon us, (conditioned as we are), the serious consideration, whether there shall be a return to that prosperity which so lately blessed the land, and diffused a super-abundance of good things amongst us—or a retirement into a state of society closely allied to that in which men were "clothed in skins, and resided in dens and caverns."

It is not pretended that a refusal to charter the bank of the United States can produce these effects. We have reference to a carrying-out of the president's projects concerning the circulation—for the habits of the people must be changed in every respect, before they can bear the establishment of a metallic currency and live, after having so long had another, even from the early planting of these once feeble colonies which now compose the great American republic.

The expediency of the removal of the public deposits, and the manner in which that operation was performed, is rejected by thousands who stand opposed to the bank even on constitutional principles. Witness the result of the late elections in Virginia, in which state every possible effort, (honest or dishonest), was made to impress the people with a belief that the real question to be decided at the polls, was "bank or no bank"—aye, and the same persons, who, while acknowledging themselves defeated, take back all that they lately shouted, and congratulate themselves that a majority of the members of the legislature elected is opposed to a bank. It may be so—but before and after an election are very different periods of time!

Perhaps there is hardly one man in business in a thousand, not having some private interest or secret motive to influence his judgment, who truly believes that the removal of the deposits was an intelligent and correct proceeding—so much for the measure; but as they are removed, many would not have them restored, that the president's infallibility may stand unimpeached, though suffering much damage themselves by that rude act. These are personal, and not party considerations, in the lawful meaning of the latter term; and hence the revolution in public opinion that is going on.*

*As politicians, if resolved, at any expense, to cause a retirement of president Jackson, at the end of his term, in disgrace, and prevent Mr. Van Buren from filling the place that he holds—we should urge on the present pursuits of what is slavishly called "the government;" but we aim at much higher and more precious objects! We know that we have personally suffered heavy losses in consequence of those pursuits, and fearfully expect to be reduced from a state of independence, (though not of wealth), to one of embarrassment, (though not of poverty, we hope), if these pursuits are prosecuted to their accomplishment. It is well that we do not owe much—for the much that is owing to us, and other means that were available a few months ago, and afforded a plentiful supply to make all things work smoothly, have lost their former full power, and afford only a limited support, and those means are almost every day reduced by the bankruptcy of persons indebted to us, &c. for the ability to earn and luck of getting money, are unquestionably necessary to the payment of money!

We think that if every man, in business, especially as a mechanic or manufacturer, will look over his affairs, it will be agreed that, on the average, those have at least lost one year's

The *personal* support of the president is not excusable on account of a *personal* opposition. He has been twice elected to what we regard as the most dignified office in the world—and the gratitude of the country has, without stint, flowed upon him. He is *not* a candidate for a second re-election. The measure of the good will of the people for him is filled—and why then the necessity of forcing personal feelings into the adjustment of the most interesting public concerns? Is it indispensable, that, in a due respect for president *Jackson*, all which is done by him, or in his name, *must needs be approved?*—all his *veto*s of the people's will be submitted to as oracles not to be doubted—in which he has exercised a power which no king, in a constitutional government, could exert, and yet hope to maintain his seat on the throne? Admit that his motives are good—all his purposes honest, is the judgment of the representatives of the people and of the states to be coldly set aside by the *veto* of an individual? Thousands are asking themselves this question, and thousands have already decided it in the negative, and party lines are becoming extinct, in the distress and bankruptcy and ruin which besets the people—and the poverty which threatens all classes of persons, except those who derive their subsistence from fixed salaries, or other permanent incomes. Labor is without demand unless at greatly reduced wages—real property is almost "without price" in the market—money is wretchedly scarce, and getting scarcer every day, and specie is rushing into the vaults of the bank of the United States, as if they were the only places of safety; while the holders of stocks and bank notes, in general, are in instant apprehension of some new calamity falling upon them. Never before was there such a state of excitement. Every intelligent man feels that he is injured, and is beginning to ask, why?—and to compare the *speculative* evils which he hears of in the bank of the United States, with the *real* ones suffered by himself, and his neighbors.*

The veto of the bank bill, by the president, speaking of foreign capital, says—

"The interest on it carried to Europe is a burthen upon the industry, and a drain of the currency, which no country can bear without occasional distress."

Such was the doctrine of the party a short time ago—for whatever is uttered in "high places" is received with that same sort of reverence which the prescriptions of the ancient oracle at Delphos obtained.†

And what *is* the doctrine now?—what the practice of "democratic" Pennsylvania for years past—with the "right honorable" lords and ladies that glitter on the lists of *her* creditors? And every one thought that Pennsylvania acted wisely in introducing foreign capital—no

labor, or profit that ought to have been made on capital, already, by the president's "experiment." What will be the loss in a winding up of their affairs? The man who thought himself clearly worth 10,000 dollars in September last, will feel happy in a belief that he is worth \$7,500 in September next, if so he shall dare to believe, and in this proportion—unless the "experiment" is ended before that time. We are too far advanced in life, and have too many children, to be *politicians* at this ruinous rate of loss—and especially when our best judgment is satisfied that no possible public good is to be derived from it, except in the awful *instruction* which it may afford to those who may hereafter desire to meddle with the currency.

*Is this view too highly charged? We think not—and offer one simple matter in proof. There is no deposit bank in *South Carolina*—the state banks would not receive the public money from the office of the bank of the U. S. or the president would not trust them, we know not which—and, though the price of cotton has declined in the general stagnation of business, there is no other difficulty about money in that state, and all the banks possess the old confidence that was reposed in them by the people.

†To resist any opinion advanced by the president, in the estimation of some, is to be—condemned. If the idea of the following, extracted from a late number of the "Globe," (as we find it quoted in the "Telegraph") be not blasphemous, it is disgraceful to the character of any being "created in God's own image." The secretary *denied his MASTER—betrayed his MASTER!*

From the *Globe*. "He (Diane) may be very honest and veracious, but we think he was wanting, on one occasion, in courage, to defend these very respectable virtues. We cannot expect the ex secretary to be any better than the apostle who 'denied' his master, and if he be not content with being classed with him, why will we class him with that other apostle who 'betrayed' his master."

one any more supposed the interest to be a "burthen" than was a payment for any sort of foreign goods which it was not convenient to manufacture at home!—for money, like every thing else, is merchandise, and, like codfish or tobacco, seeks its best market. And up to the time of this veto, it seemed a settled principle in the political economies of this country, that we ought to import foreign money, as a *raw material*, to furnish employment, and make profits on labor, in the use of it.

And how stands the case now? Is it not recommended that *New York* and *Pennsylvania* shall borrow foreign capital to sustain their money corporations, or carry on their public works? The shout is for a specie currency, and the way of bringing that about seems most direct in *borrowing money*, (though all who depend on borrowed capital "ought to break!") to *sustain a paper circulation!* Isn't this beautiful? *Risum teneatis?*

New York is at the head of the states—the "empire state"—and exerts a mighty power in support of the *veto* principles, anti-credit proclamations and hard-money recommendations of president *Jackson*. Let us see how the *practice* of her politicians corresponds with their *preaching*.

The following is from the "New York Evening Post" of May 7—and the reader will please to recollect, that this is now the only "by authority" paper in that great city of subsistence.*

Both houses of the legislature adjourned yesterday *sine die*. We shall publish to-morrow the titles of the acts passed, which are 294 in number. Among these acts are TEN INCORPORATING NEW BANKS, one increasing the capital of an existing bank; thirty four incorporating joint stock companies; ten renewing or extending the privileges of existing joint stock companies, such as manufacturing, rail road, bridge and turnpike companies, &c. and upwards of thirty acts creating corporations of other kinds. Exclusive privileges! Exclusive privileges! We are a bank-governed people, and every year the number and weight of our manacles are increased. These exclusively privileged associations—these chartered rights—these corporations, if the people do not awake to the subject, and "by opposing end them," will, ere long, change the whole nature of government, as they have already materially corrupted the morals of society.

And in a subsequent number of the same paper, it is said—

"The Albany Argus speaks of the proceedings of the legislature in its session just concluded as 'proceedings which show a devotion to public interests, not surpassed by any preceding legislature.' Will the Argus please to put its finger on the evidence of this patriotism. We cannot find it. There has been as much selfishness and as little true public spirit in the last legislature as in any previous one for years. The Argus, in the same paragraph with the compliment we have quoted, mentions that among the acts passed by the legislature, 'are the charters for eight new banks,' and one increase, with an aggregate increased capital of \$3,800,000. Perhaps the Argus thinks this a proof of devotion to the public interests. We consider it quite the contrary; and all must consider it so, who know how bank charters, and rail road company charters, and insurance company charters, and all other charters granting exclusive privileges, are obtained, and how they operate on the interests of the community. The Argus has opposed earnestly and ably the United States' bank. Why not extend its opposition to our whole rotten and oppressive banking system?"

Remarks are useless: but the multiplication of money-corporations, as they are called, is among the strongest reasons that can be offered in favor of a recharter of the bank of the United States—to regulate and balance, and restrain their operations, by *compelling* them to keep up a sound currency, or shut up their shops. Without some such regulation, those corporations will run wild in issues of paper, and the whole country be filled with rags, rags, rags—which, even now, by the policy of "the government," have much uncertainty of value at the very places of their issue, and depreciate as much as from 12 to 15 per cent. as they are carried distances from home, compared with the *uniform value* of the bills of the bank of the United States.

The committee of the house of representatives, appointed to investigate the affairs of the bank of the United States, have returned to Washington. The facts heretofore suggested, as to their requisitions appear to be true. As we may soon expect reports of the proceedings had, it does not seem required, at present to

*Since this was written, a new paper has taken the place of the dead one.

do more than insert the following paragraphs from Philadelphia papers.

The "United States Gazette" says—The following resolution of the investigating committee, will show to what lengths and depths it was their wish to make inquiry:

"Resolved, That the president and directors of the bank be requested to furnish the committee with copies of all correspondence between the president of the bank or any of its officers, with members of congress; or of unanswered letters received from one of them, since the 1st day of July, 1832, touching the renewal of the charter of the bank, the removal or restoration of the public deposits, or touching the business transactions of such members with the bank."

And the "National Gazette" informs us that—

On Friday last, (10th inst.) the marshal of the district served upon the president and directors of the United States bank, a subpoena, *duces tecum*, in the name and behalf of the house of representatives of the United States, whereto was appended a seal. At noon on Saturday, the directors attended at Mrs. Yohe's, the North American hotel, and their counsel, J. R. Ingersoll, esq. presented to the investigating committee, a protest against the procedure. We understand that the committee then adjourned, to meet in Washington city on Thursday next.

The writ which the marshal served upon the bank directors, was printed at Washington, and contained an order to examine into the affairs of the bank; but in the blank left for the place at which the committee was to meet, was added in writing, an order for the directors to produce the credit books of the bank, showing the indebtedness of individuals.

It is deposited in an hotel, out of the keeping or guardianship of the bank! We suppose that such a thing was never heard of, or thought of, before. But the demand for private letters of members of congress goes far beyond that. Both demands were, of course, resisted. It was impossible that they could be complied with; and we cannot believe that either of the committee expected that they would be. It may be, that the bank has no such letters from members of congress—but if even so, no honorable man, we think, would have plead the fact, against such a demand.

The following gentlemen, it is stated in the National Intelligencer, are said to have been nominated, by the president of the United States, to the senate, to be government directors of the bank of the United States for the current year, viz *Henry Horn, Roberts Vaux, Charles McAllister*, of Philadelphia; *Joseph White*, of Baltimore; and *Saul Alley*, of New York.

A new bank has been authorised at Buffalo, New York, under the charge of seven commissioners, who, according to the "Journal," are all office-holders—viz: two postmasters, one Indian agent, one collector of customs, one surrogate and two judges of county courts. The four first, we suppose, belong to the United States "army of Feds."* The profits of the place of commissioner to make a bank, is estimated in the New York papers, at from 500 to 1,000 dollars! We know not how they are realized.

The "New York American" states certain things in relation to the legislative operations concerning banks at the last session, which are well calculated to surprise us—yet being local in their character we shall not particularly notice them. But the facts stated in the preceding paragraph are matters of general interest, as shewing the ar-

*These are the days of political names! The "Jacksonmen," and "National republicans," are now called by the former party "democrats" and "federalists," and by the latter party "ories" and "whigs." But the *Harrisburgh Intelligencer* has raised up a third party, calling it the "Feds"—and an excellent name we think that it is. On this subject the "Intelligencer" says—"There is a party in the United States, that may with great propriety be called 'Feds;' not federalists, for federalists are much less interested men. There are about forty or fifty thousand 'FEDS' in the United States. We had 'Feds' in the time of the revolution—they were sent here by the British king 'to harass our people and eat out their substance;' and they were, right or wrong, supported by the Tories. A 'Fed' is a man who is fed by the government, and some of the 'Feds' of the present day, are well fed; all of whom, as in the time of the revolution, are supported, right or wrong, by the advocates of power."

The remarks, however, are too general. There are many exceptions to the rule laid down by the "Intelligencer"—a good many public officers, who, content with honestly performing their public duties, have little time to spare, or wish to indulge in the business of elections.

rangement of public officers, as a privileged class, separated from the people, and entitled to the "spoils."

We mentioned in the last REGISTER that bills of the bank of the United States had been refused at some of the offices in exchange for specie. On this subject the "Richmond Whig" of the 9th inst. making some remarks on a wholesale article from the Washington "Globe" says—

It is a fact well known in this city, and we appeal to the merchants of it, and even to the directors of the state banks here, for the truth of our assertions, that the United States bank has forborne to draw on the state banks for balances to an extent which would astonish any one not conversant of the fact, that it is the direct interest of the United States bank, to sustain the state institutions, by all the means in its power. We know the fact to be so in this city, and we have, in the absence of all other testimony, a sufficient guarantee in the interest of the bank, that such is the fact elsewhere. It will be recollected, that a statement made by the Enquirer, some month or more ago, certainly not for the purpose of benefiting the U. States bank, that the branch in this city had refused to give its own notes for specie. This we know to be true, and we further know that the officers of the bank have uniformly acted in this manner and the reason is plain, because it is well known such is the demand for the United States bank notes, (now at a premium of 1½ to 2 per cent.) that our state banks would quickly be drained of their specie if the United States bank would receive it on deposit. The United States bank avows this motive, and it is a matter of public notoriety. In connection with the following:—

Extract from a letter to a mercantile house in this city, from their correspondent in Charleston, dated 1st May.

"I was rather surprised to-day, by the receipt of a communication from Mr. Bacot, cashier of the branch bank at this place, stating that no more bills on Virginia could be negotiated through that office for the present, in consequence of orders from the mother bank to that effect. On asking him the reason, he told me that funds could not be remitted from Norfolk and Richmond to the north, without hearing hard on the state banks, with which the bank of the United States did not wish to come in contact."

The facts here stated are in exact accordance with our remarks. The bank of the United States, as we said, "stands, and must stand, like a strong man armed, between a sound currency and a circulation of rag money"—and, to carry out its own purposes and preserve its own interests, sustains, and will sustain, all the local banks who have "just claims to a liberal support." Specie, perhaps, is more abundant in the U. States at present than at any former period, but more of it is needed because of the diminished confidence of the people in paper money—and, as a general confidence declines, the U. States bank gathers an individual strength. Hundreds, perhaps, we might say thousands of new accounts have been opened in this bank and its branches, within a short time past—from the utter inability of the local banks to afford former facilities to their customers; for the reason, perhaps, that large sums are "locked up" in large loans, or accommodations, made some time, and prudently then, but which are not, and cannot be, retired, or made available, in the present general derangement of monetary matters.

Mr. *Rush* wrote a long letter to the committee of the house of representatives (appointed to examine into the affairs of the bank), on the acceptance of his resignation of the clerkship to which they had appointed him! It is published in the "Pennsylvanian" of the 10th instant.

A report prevails that the committee have censured Mr. *Rush*, by a resolution, for the publication of his letter. We think that he well deserved it.

It appears that the legislature of *Rhode Island* has substantially repassed the "perpetuation act," as it is called, which was repealed to make Mr. *Potter* a member of the U. S. senate, in the place of Mr. *Robbins*! Mr. P. is a member of the present legislature of Rhode Island. We live in strange times.

A "victory" seems to have been claimed in this state which was not won. Mr. *Francis*, the anti-masonic governor, was elected by a majority of 150 votes, being also supported by the Jackson party. For Mr. F. 3,676—Mr. Knight 3,520—and it was said that the "opposition" had been defeated both in the election of the senate and house of representatives. But the new legislature was convened the day after the old one had passed the "perpetuation act," as above stated, and passed a set of

resolutions against the removal of the deposits and in favor of a bank, &c. as inserted in a subsequent page—the resolution concerning the latter being passed by a majority of 46—a great one, indeed, if the legislature consists of only 72 members as we see it stated in the papers, for the vote must have been 59 to 13. Were all these “bought up by the bank?”—and the governor also, who is said to hold the opinions expressed in the resolutions!

[It appears by a subsequent statement, that the resolutions above alluded to only passed the house of representatives, and that the senate refused to concur, notwithstanding gov. Francis used all the influence that he possessed to bring about a concurrence. Shall we call *this senate* “factious,” and say “down with it?” No—but is it not as “factious” as the senate at Washington, and placed in precisely the same relation, though on opposing points?]

The grand lodge of Rhode Island has surrendered its charter, and so have been the charters of many subordinate lodges. The same things have happened in other states. In this season of peril, we have other things to think of than *speculative masonry*, or *political anti-masonry*. If either offend, or stand in the way of the public prosperity and public peace, let either, or both, be buried, with the chariot wheels of Pharaoh, in the Red Sea! To effect this, however, moderation and liberality, with justice, must be exerted by both parties. Reason will accomplish what force may attempt in vain.

There has been much excitement in Boston for some months past, on account of a report that a “figure head” of president Jackson was to be placed on the bows of the *Constitution* frigate. It was, at length, ascertained that such a head had been prepared by com. Elliott—but it thereafter appeared that the design of setting it up was abandoned, when many publications on the subject had been made. The fact, however, is, that such a figure-head was placed on the bows of the *Constitution*, about two or three weeks ago.

This proceeding has elicited much feeling—and, independent of *political* sentiments involved, the propriety of placing on the bows of a national ship the head of any *living* person, is earnestly questioned. We always thought it wrong that one of said ships was named after a *then* president of the United States—the “John Adams”—for we would not build up such monuments to the *living*; and we think that there are also other reasons why such things should not be allowed, and especially in this—that no public man escapes the prejudice or censure of some portion of the people, while on this theatre of action; and it has been the happy lot of few, indeed, to pass into history with names so pure as those of WASHINGTON and FRANKLIN, after whom two ships of the line are worthily called. And besides, to prevent the perpetuation of unworthy names—for some who have stood highest in the public favor have been handed over to the public execration, and others will be), a rule was established as to the naming of our vessels of war, ships of the line to be called after the states, frigates after rivers, and sloops after cities or towns. This was a wholesome provision, and, if carried out in its whole extent and spirit, may forbid unpleasant occurrences, in future times—for it would be a very awkward thing to make a *formal* change of the name of a public ship, or to direct that she should be divested of some particular ornament.

These remarks have only a general application, and we think that every reflecting person must see the propriety of them. But with respect to the *Constitution* frigate, she ought to remain, and be preserved, as a *national* concern, for ages, if possible, and just as she was when she met and humbled the British *Warrior*, [*Guerriere*], in perpetual remembrance of that and other “triumphs on the ocean.”

Another earnest attempt is making at Boston to complete the Bunker Hill Monument—the progress of which was sometime ago arrested by the withering blast of despicable party politics.

At the late election in *Connecticut* no choice of governor was made, three candidates being supported by three

different parties; but the legislature having convened, Mr. Foot, who had much the highest vote of the people, was elected—for Mr. Foot, the “whig” candidate 154, Mr. Edwards (Jackson) 70, scattering 3. Anti-Jackson majority 81. And then a salute of 100 guns was fired at New Haven.

A business-member of the house of representatives is thus lost to the people of the U. S. and we have few of them to spare. But we fear the loss of another such from the same state, who will probably be appointed its chief justice.

In Connecticut, it was some time since said, that a “healthy majority,” through the “aid of the general government” might be expected; and, as leading to it, there was nearly a complete “reform” of the officers of the U. States located within it.

The city of New York is exceedingly unfortunate by fires. Since the destruction of the Phenix Buildings on the 29th ult. other extensive ranges of stores and houses have been destroyed. A full supply of water ought to be obtained—if possible.

The New York *Standard* says—
We have it from undoubted authority, that after 12 o'clock this day, when two new ships are to be launched, there will not be on the stocks in any ship yard in New York, a single vessel of any sort building. This we take to be an indication more decisive than any other single one, of the baleful effects of that “experiment” which has caused, is causing, and will until it is arrested, continue to cause, commerce and credit to perish. At no period, we presume, since the embargo of 1807, has such a state of things, in regard to ship building, existed in this city.

A new daily paper called “*The Times*” has appeared in New York, and taken the place of the “*Standard*” lately deceased.

The “*Times*” of Monday last has a lofty account of the reception of Mr. Lawrence, the new mayor, the preceding Saturday, and details the various honors and compliments paid to him, and especially describes the ornamented steamboat Independence, in which he was conveyed from South Amboy to New York, which among other things displayed a broad white flag bearing the motto—

“THE CONSTITUTION IS SAFE
FOR JACKSON IS THE PILOT;”

and gives a relation of the ceremonies, the cheerings of the people, and the salutes of cannon fired on the occasion—the procession to the Park, and reception in the governor’s room in the City Hall, &c. The “opposition” papers speak of this matter as a complete failure, in all its parts—they say that the procession contained only 590 persons, “duly counted,” who dwindled down to 300 before they reached the Park—that the houses on Broadway were closed, the ladies refusing to appear at the windows, &c. And the “*American*” says—

“One more incident connected with this celebration! we must add—the rather, as we witnessed it ourselves.

“On the return to South Amboy of the Independence to receive the passengers from Philadelphia by the 10 o’clock line—who were already on the wharf, and waiting with some impatience for the boat—a white flag, with the legend, “The constitution is safe, for Jackson is the pilot,” was desecrated. A cry of “Down with that flag!” instantly arose, which, as the boat came to the wharf, became more earnest. The captain said it should be hauled down as soon as possible. In attempting it, however, the violence of the wind having twisted the flag around the staff, the halyards broke. Meantime all the passengers, to the number probably of a hundred, remained drawn up on the wharf, declaring that they would not set a foot on board the boat till the offensive emblem was removed. A voice then cried out “all that are in favor of that flag being pulled down say aye.” A shout ensued which did indeed make “the hills of Jersey” ring. The contrary—no—and not a solitary voice was raised! Immediately one of the hands of the boat climbed the flag staff, while others took boat hooks, and in tatters the banner was soon torn down. Three hearty cheers greeted its descent, and then all were soon under way in the Independence, with the broad flag of the union only flying above them, and no man’s private signal to mark them as slaves.

“We add, lest it might be conjectured that personally we had some agency in bringing it about, that we were during the whole of it a silent and passive, though not ungratified, spectator.”

[We have obliterated two *hard* words, and also struck out a brief paragraph not necessary, in our opinion, to a correct judgment of the character of the incident stated.]

The new city councils were organized on Tuesday. *James Monroe* was chosen president of the board of aldermen, 10 to 5; and *George W. Bruen* president of the board of assistant aldermen, 8 to 6. They are both of the party called "whigs."

The Albany election for supervisors, &c. resulted as follows:

Wards.	Jackson.	Anti-Jackson.
1st.....	404.....	609
2d.....	377.....	460
3d.....	117.....	202
4th.....	419.....	479
5th.....	256.....	298

The latter party having a majority in every ward. There is to be a public festival at Albany to celebrate this "glorious victory" of the "whigs," as the anti-Jackson party call themselves, and no doubt there will be grand salutes of artillery. The election in the city of New York has caused no small consumption of gunpowder, at various places!

The anti-Jacksonians of New York are also loudly exulting at their victories won at Syracuse, Auburn, &c. and we notice that a meeting is called at *Ithaca*, by the signatures of fifteen hundred persons. It is apparent that a great change has been effected in the political opinions of the people of this state, or else that there is a new zeal to give them effect. A convention has been called with a view to unite all the elements of the "opposition." The "Jackson and Van Buren" party is also rallying its strength—and, through its organization and numbers, is very powerful.

The charter election of the city of *Troy* was held on Tuesday last, and, according to the private advices of the N. Y. Commercial, resulted in giving to the anti-Jackson party a majority of 635, being an increase of 550 since the election of 1832.

The charter election of the city of *New Brunswick, New Jersey*, took place on Monday last, and the whole anti-Jackson ticket for common council and town clerk, was carried by a small majority.

It is calculated that the anti-Jackson majority in the legislature of Virginia is from 25 to 30. Preparations are making for a general jubilee throughout the state.

It is said that the largest meeting ever held in western Pennsylvania was convened at Pittsburgh on the 6th inst. "to celebrate the victory of the whigs at New York." *Gen. Marks* presided over the ceremonies and over the feast, supported by many vice presidents, &c. There was a good deal of speaking, and much eating, and drinking of toasts; and, on motion of *Benjamin Bakewell*, the meeting then adopted their congressional and legislative ticket, *Mr. Denny* being nominated for re-election to congress. They also appointed delegates to a convention that is to be held at Harrisburgh on the 27th inst.

The first resolution may show the character of this meeting—as follows:

Resolved, That this meeting do reaffirm the solemn judgment of the American senate, "that the president of the U. States, in the late executive proceedings in relation to the public revenue, has assumed upon himself authority and power not conferred by the constitution and laws, but in derogation of both."

The number present were computed at from six to eight thousand. Several salutes of cannon were fired during the day. A salute of 100 guns was fired at Cincinnati on the same occasion. Another account says that *one hundred and fifty* guns were fired in consequence of an attempt to prevent the firing of 100, by removing the deposite of powder, and spiking the cannon that were set aside for the salute. A great meeting of the people was also held in this city to celebrate the "victory" at New York.

The "Baltimore Republican" of Saturday last has the following:

Attention!!! Those young men of Baltimore, who are willing to pledge *life, fortune and sacred honor*, in the support

of their *patriotic chief magistrate*, against the *lawless course of a FACTIOUS SENATE*, are requested to assemble on Thursday evening next, the 15th inst. at $\frac{1}{2}$ past 7 o'clock, at the Columbian Gardens. The object of the meeting will be explained, in an address from a friend to the cause of *equal rights and universal suffrage*.

A Boston paper of April 29, says—

The Northampton broadcloths, to be sold at Quincy Hall, tomorrow, were opened for exhibition to day, and may be examined until the commencement of the sale. We never witnessed a more gratifying exhibition, nor one that made us feel prouder of New England. There are six hundred pieces of broadcloths, handsomely displayed on tables in the centre of the hall, giving every opportunity for minute examination. The first thing that strikes the eye is the richness and diversity of colors—corresponding to the fitness of fabric, softness, firmness, and finish, of the cloths.

The cloths were sold the next day—and it is said "The prices obtained were at least equal to what might have been anticipated, from the recent stagnation in business of all kinds."

There has been considerable agitation at New York, in consequence of some apparently violent proceedings of the anti-slavery society to bring into disrepute the Colonization society. Multitudes have assembled to hear certain examinations and discussions. The *abolitionists* seem to be in a very small minority, but are resolute and thorough-going. *Mr. Noah* congratulates the people of the south, that all the fighting about the emancipation of their slaves is to be done *north of Mason and Dickson's line!*

Large additions have been made at Saratoga, for the accommodation of visitors in the ensuing season. It needs not the gift of prophecy to say, that the removal of the public depositories will much diminish the depositories of trangers at Saratoga.

Some generous individuals at Philadelphia are making considerable exertions to obtain contributions for the present relief of the Polish exiles arrived at N. York. They have been sent to us at an unhappy season. Few that are both able and willing to assist the distressed, have not a sufficiency of calls or *demands* upon both; but a trifle from many to these few strangers would render good service to them, and evince a national feeling that we might have a just pride in.

At a meeting, on Monday, the 5th inst. of the board of directors, *James Howard*, esq. was unanimously elected president of the Franklin bank of Baltimore, in the place of *Philip Moore*, deceased.

There are again strong reports that *Mr. McLane* is about to resign the place of secretary of state, and credit seems given to them. Such reports ought not to be started on slight grounds; but in times of excitement, the people are always rife for them.

The "Telegraph" says that the "Globe" calls *Mr. Duane* an "upstart"—but the former adds "Mr. D. has the advantage of education and we know who his father is."

Away at *St. Louis*, the following were the rates of exchange of the bank notes named for those of the bank of the United States, a few days ago:

Louisville Union bank	5 per cent discount.
Virginia bank notes	10 " " "
Ohio banks	8 a 10 " " "
New York safety fund notes	10 " " "

The business of robbing houses and stores and of picking pockets, and in general of removing private depositories, without assigning any *reasons* for so doing, is very lively! The chief operators are *foreigners*, recently arrived in this "land of liberty;" but some of them are cruelly used! Instead of being permitted to run at large, and explore the country which they have adopted, many of them are seized and shut up in the penitentiaries, and there compelled to labor. We do not know why it is—but, certainly, depredations on property have rapidly increased, within a short time past—the principal actors being associated villains from the British islands. We are glad,

however, to observe that four murderers, who had actually embarked for the United States, were arrested at Liverpool, and carried back to Dublin, a short time ago.

Canada is much agitated. Politics run high. The native population, [French] against those of the British islands, the United States, &c. Social communications between persons of the adverse parties seem to be nearly at an end. In Lower Canada a very large majority of the people are Canadians proper—that is, descendants of the original French settlers.

Mr. Macadam, the celebrated road maker, has been knighted by the king of England. He would not find much favor at Washington, on a windy day! The Pennsylvania avenue is among the most beautiful roads that have ever been made, in wet weather—but "awful" in dry and blowing weather; almost impassable, at times, from the clouds of sharp stones, which now supply the place of its former more honest dust—which, indeed, was often abundant!

The Madrid Revista Espagnola, of the 25th ultimo, states, that in consequence of an attempt to assassinate the commandant general of Mexico, that officer issued the following extraordinary proclamation, dated March 19:

"The criminal attempt to assassinate me in my own house on the evening of the 17th, although not effected, calls for precautionary measures, consequently, if a similar attempt be made on any of the authorities appointed by the queen, or even against any person attached to her cause, I will immediately imprison 30 persons, taken from those most known for their enmity to the government of her majesty, and, after summary trial, I will cause four of them to be shot, and the rest transported to the colonies, whatever their station in society may be.
(Signed) PEDRO RAMIES."

THE CURRENCY AND THE TIMES, &c. The following were the rates at New York on the 10th instant, of the notes of banks regarded solvent.

United States bank and all its branches, par. All of Maine, New Hampshire, Massachusetts, Rhode Island, Connecticut and Vermont, with two or three exceptions only $\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. dis. New York city banks, par, with many of those in the interior—some at $\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. dis. but the safety fund banks generally at 1 discount, two or three at $\frac{1}{4}$. New Jersey, some at par others generally from 1 to $\frac{1}{4}$ dis. Pennsylvania—Philadelphia $\frac{1}{2}$ —country banks from 1 to $\frac{1}{2}$, a few at 5 dis. Delaware 2. Maryland—Baltimore 1—country notes 2 to 4 dis. Virginia from 3 to 5. District of Columbia $\frac{1}{2}$. Ohio, generally, 5. North Carolina, South Carolina and Georgia 5. Tennessee, Louisiana, Alabama and Mississippi 10 dis. Michigan $\frac{1}{2}$. Canada $\frac{3}{4}$ to 6.

The uniformly good credit of the numerous banks in New England, is not a little remarkable, in this season of pressure. The credit of the "safety fund" banks has also rallied.

MISCELLANEOUS ITEMS.

On the 8th inst. a great crowd was collected in the new Roman Catholic church at New Haven, Con. to witness the ceremony of its consecration by the bishop, when the gallery across the front end of the house gave way, breaking in the middle, and precipitating many persons. Only one was killed on the spot, but two or three others died soon after, and several others were fearfully mangled.

The ship Ceres sailed from Wilmington, Delaware, last week, on a three years' whaling voyage to the Pacific. She has been purchased and completely fitted for this service by the whaling company recently formed in that town.

It is said that the late severe frosts have been very injurious to the growing cotton crops of Tennessee.

The gross amount of tolls collected on the Erie canal in the last month was \$91,930 compared with \$88,606 collected in the same month last year. The reduction of the tolls is said to be a fair offset for the 5 days gained to the navigation this year, by the opening of the canal.

A straw factory near Boston yet employs between 150 and 200 persons, chiefly females in weaving straw, by hand looms, &c. after the manner of what is called the *Tuscany*, as imported from the Mediterranean. We hope that a knowledge of the fact that the chief part of the *Tuscany bonnets* used in the United States are made in New England, will not render them less fashionable than they have been; but the much reduced price has already caused this beautiful manufacture to be rejected by some, who will not wear any thing that is common.

The hon. Mr. Grennell, of Massachusetts, in crossing the bridge over the basin, near the Centre market house, on Sunday the 4th instant, learned from some boys that a negro lad had

fallen into the basin, and sunk, some minutes before. Finding any other means of recovering the body hopeless, he threw off his coat, and plunged into the water, (about eight feet deep), and, after going down once or twice ineffectually, at last found the body, and conveyed it to the wharf, to all appearance dead. After a short time, however, he had the happiness to perceive that his efforts, and the risk he incurred, had not been in vain. The lad gradually recovered. [Nat. Int.]

The fisheries on the Potomac have been unusually successful the present season. The Alexandria Gazette says "somewhere about the middle of this month, at a fishery 14 miles below Greenway, at one haul, a million and a half of herring, and between eleven and twelve hundred shad, were taken! On the 28th April, in like manner, were caught eleven thousand shad at the same landing!

The scarlet fever is making dreadful ravages in some parts of South Carolina.

Polari, who was arrested at N. York, for stealing the Jewels of the princess of Orange, and carried to Holland, was executed at the Hague on the 2d April last.

Several negro traders have been recently put to death by the commodities in which they dealt.

The Salem Gazette says—We were struck a few days ago, with the enormous size of some ladies' combs standing in our neighbor Lakeman's window. On inquiry, we found they were destined for the South American market, where they are actually worn by the ladies, although the rim is from two to two and a half feet in breadth, and six or eight inches high. They are made of horn, in Newburyport, elegantly finished, and very handsome, notwithstanding the vulgar material of which they were composed.

The U. S. schooner Grampus arrived at St. Thomas on the 22d ult. having, in a gale thrown over eight guns, and lost her boats.

In Paris, with a population of 935,000 there are 925 physicians; in Berlin, with a population of 249,000, there are 174; in London, with a population of 1,500,000, only 203; in Boston, with a population of 71,000, there are 75; in New York, which is estimated at 250,000 we have 530.

The following account of a "rail road accident," is copied from a Philadelphia paper of May 7—

"An accident occurred on the Camden and Amboy rail road yesterday, which detained the cars for about forty-five minutes; but we rejoice to learn that no person was injured. It appears that as the engine from Amboy was proceeding along the road at the rate of about fifteen miles an hour, it came suddenly in contact with another engine from this end of the road, which was also proceeding at a very rapid rate. The concussion took place just at a turn of the road, and thus prevented the engineers of the different engines from seeing each other until the engines were within a few yards of meeting. The concussion was very great, and both engines were materially injured. That from the Camden end of the road was unattended by a train of cars. The passengers in the cars attached to the other were for a few minutes considerably alarmed. It was certainly imprudent on the part of those in charge of the engine from this end of the line, to proceed on the road, and at a rapid rate, when the cars from the other end were expected."

Should this be called by the soft name of an "accident?" Had a person been killed, what jury would not have found the conductor of the locomotive (without the train) guilty of murder, or, at least, of manslaughter? There is no excuse for an act like this, and such acts must be punished.

The Norfolk Herald says—a female mule belonging to a gentleman in Suffolk, lately brought forth a colt! This is the first case of the kind we ever heard of, and the general belief has been that this mixed generation of animals was incapable of reproduction.

Cargoes of ice, from the North sea for London, are expected to prove profitable investments. One already had been entered at the custom house at the value of £80.

There are 15 large steam packets on lake Ontario, and there are 30 on lake Erie, besides 150 schooners.

Several persons convicted of arson in the agricultural districts of England, have been left for execution, according to sentence.

Out of twenty persons composing the select vestry of Morpeth, (Eng.) one is a brewer, four are publicans, two are beer-shop keepers, two are brewers' clerks, and one a porter-seller, and the mother of one, the wife of another, and the uncles, aunts and cousins of another, are parish paupers.

In a work lately published by a Spaniard, there is a comparison between the produce of the gold and silver mines in America and the coal mines in England, from which it appears that the gross value of the annual produce of the coal mines, which is 18,000,000 tons, amounts to 450,000,000 francs, including the wages and other charges; whilst the produce of the gold and silver mines, including the same charges, is only 220,500,000 francs; showing a balance in favor of the coal mines of England, over the gold and silver mines of the new world, of no less a sum than 227,500,000 francs.

The Baltimore Gazette of May 9 says—Yesterday some fishermen at Carpenter's Point, took at a single haul, upwards of eight hundred rock fish, of the largest size we ever saw. Some of them weighed upwards of 100 pounds, and the most of them averaged between 50 and 100 lbs. They were selling this morning in market, at from 50 cents to one dollar for the largest, say one cent a pound for such fish as this!

TWENTY-THIRD CONGRESS—FIRST SESSION.

SENATE.

May 9. Mr. Knight presented a memorial signed by 2,338 mechanics of the state of Rhode Island, praying the restoration of the deposits, which was read, referred, &c.

The bill making appropriations for the support of the army for 1834, was read the third time, on motion of Mr. Webster, amended and passed.

The bill for the continuation of the repairs of the Cumberland road was read the third time and passed.

A communication was received from the department of state, stating that the publication of the diplomatic correspondence of the United States, from 1783 to 1789, had been completed and published.

Mr. Clayton reported the bill to revive and amend the act for the relief of certain insolvent debtors, with amendments;

Also the bill in addition to an act to provide for the punishment of certain crimes against the United States; which latter bill was twice read and ordered to a third reading.

The bill authorising the admission of the territories of Michigan and Arkansas into the union as states, was taken up; and after a speech from Mr. Tipton in favor of the bill, and an answer from Mr. Clayton, the bill was laid on the table.

The bill making a donation of land to the Polish exiles was taken up, amended so as to give to each settler five hundred instead of three hundred acres, passed, and ordered to be engrossed for a third reading.

The bills to extend the commissions under the treaty with France and with Naples, and the bill to equalise the representation in the legislative council of Florida, were severally read the first and second time and referred to appropriate committees. The senate adjourned.

May 12. Memorials were presented in favor of the restoration of the deposits, &c. by Mr. Webster, from Rochester, signed by 1,371 persons; by the same from citizens of Mifflin county, Pa. by the same from nearly 400 citizens of Detroit. Mr. McKean presented memorials on the subject of public distress, the removal of the public moneys from the bank of the United States, and the finances of the country generally, from Chester, Cumberland and Luzerne counties, Pa. all which were read, referred, &c.

Mr. Wright presented memorials from Warren and Schenectady, N. Y. approving the conduct of the president of the United States, in relation to the public finances—read, referred, &c.

Mr. Clay was elected a member of the committee of foreign relations to supply the vacancy occasioned by the resignation of Mr. Rives.

The general appropriation bill from the other house, was twice read and referred.

The bill in addition to the act for the punishment of certain crimes committed against the United States, and for other purposes; and

The bill granting a donation of land to the Polish exiles, were respectively read a third time and passed.

Mr. Waggaman called for the yeas and nays on the question, and they having been ordered, the bill was passed by the following vote:

YEAS—Messrs. Benton, Calhoun, Clay, Clayton, Ewing, Frelinghuysen, Kent, King, of Georgia, Knight, McKean, Moore, Morris, Naudain, Poindexter, Porter, Prentiss, Preston, Robbins, Silsbee, Smith, Tallmadge, Tipton, Tomlinson, Webster, Wilkins—25.

NAYS—Messrs. Black, Brown, Grundy, Hendricks, Hill, Kane, King, of Alabama, Robinson, Shepley, Swift, Tyler, Waggaman, White, Wright—14.

So the bill was passed, and sent to the house of representatives for concurrence.

The report on the Rhode Island election of senator, was taken up and made the order of the day for Monday next.

The senate proceeded to consider the report of the judiciary committee, on the subject of the pension agency, when

Mr. Clayton, after some remarks, moved to amend the resolution of the committee, by adding the following words: "except when specially authorised to do so by act of congress."

So that the resolution may read—

"Resolved, That the department of war is not warranted in appointing pension agents in any state or territory where the bank of the United States or one of its branches has been established, except when specially authorised to do so by act of congress."

The amendment having been agreed to—

On motion of Mr. Wright, its further consideration was postponed until to-morrow.

The resolution authorising the purchase of thirteen copies of American state papers, now in progress of publication by Gales & Seaton, was taken up, and ordered to be engrossed for a third reading by a vote of 20 to 13.

On motion of Mr. Poindexter, the senate then proceeded to the consideration of executive business, and after being engaged

therein some time, the doors were opened, when the senate adjourned.

May 13. Memorials, &c. favorable to the restoration of the deposits, were presented by Mr. McKean from a numerous meeting of citizens of Adams county, Pa.; by Mr. Frelinghuysen from 300 citizens of Morris county, from 241 citizens of Elizabethtown, from 201 citizens of Livingston, and from 100 citizens of Union township, in the state of New Jersey; by Mr. McKean from 850 citizens of Adams county, Pa.; by Mr. Tyler from 425 citizens of Norfolk county, Va.; by Mr. Ewing from a large number of the citizens of Licking county, Ohio; by Mr. Silsbee from 4,600 citizens of the third congressional district of Massachusetts; all which were read, referred, &c.

Mr. Frelinghuysen presented a memorial from 1,445 citizens of Middlesex county, and the city of New Brunswick, in New Jersey, opposed to the recharter of the United States bank, which was read, referred, &c.

The senate then proceeded to the consideration of the report of the committee on the judiciary concerning the pension books in the United States bank.

Mr. Wright addressed the senate in opposition to the resolution reported by the committee; when he had concluded,

On motion of Mr. Clayton, its further consideration was postponed until to-morrow.

On motion of Mr. Benton the senate proceeded to the consideration of executive business, and after the doors were opened, the senate adjourned.

May 14. A message was received from the president of the United States, communicating copies of a treaty with France, and of a convention with the two Sicilies; which on motion of Mr. WALKER were respectively referred to the committee on foreign relations.

The chair presented the proceedings of a democratic meeting of New Castle county, Delaware, approving the removal of the deposits—read, referred, &c.

Mr. Bibb presented a memorial from upwards of 500 citizens of Nelson county, Kentucky, condemning the conduct of the executive in the removal of the deposits, and praying congress not to adjourn until some remedy has been provided for the existing evil—read, referred, &c.

Mr. Morris, of Ohio, presented the proceedings of a meeting of Seneca county, Ohio, sustaining the course of the executive; which was read, referred, &c.

Mr. Morris also presented the proceedings of a meeting in Columbiana county, Ohio, similar in its tendency. He stated that one of the resolutions was objectionable, as using the term "vindictive" in reference to the resolutions introduced by Mr. Clay; but he did not consider them as disrespectful to the senate.

Mr. Poindexter said as the gentleman from Ohio had described one of the resolutions as objectionable, with a view to put a stop to this practice of passing and sending here improper and indecorous resolutions, he objected to the reception of the paper.

Mr. Ewing, of Ohio, said he hoped the memorial would be read; and the more violent and denunciatory it might be, the better. The people of the state of Ohio, he said, were a sober, calm and reasoning people; and if this paper contain violent abuse or denunciation, it will be conclusive evidence to my mind that a small portion of the people of any county in that state have joined in it.

The memorial having been read—

Mr. Ewing said: The thing, Mr. President, is not so bad. I hope my colleague will give us the rest which he has by him, and which, it seems, he is ashamed of.

The memorial having been read, and the resolution, alluded to above, containing indecorous and improper reflections upon the other senator from Ohio,

Mr. Frelinghuysen moved to lay the whole subject on the table, which motion prevailed by the following vote:

YEAS—Messrs. Bell, Bibb, Calhoun, Chambers, Clay, Clayton, Frelinghuysen, Hendricks, Knight, Mangum, Moore, Naudain, Poindexter, Porter, Prentiss, Robbins, Silsbee, Sprague, Swift, Smith, Tomlinson—21.

NAYS—Messrs. Benton, Black, Brown, Forsyth, Grundy, Hill, Kane, King, of Alabama, Linn, McKean, Morris, Preston, Robinson, Shepley, Tipton, Waggaman, White, Wilkins, Wright—19.

Mr. Ewing then asked and obtained leave, and presented a memorial which he thought would wipe off the blot, if any were cast upon his state by the memorial just offered by his colleague, and which the senate had refused to print. This memorial is signed by 1,029 voters of Athens county, Ohio. Another copy which he had received, but which was not on his table, contains the signatures of 72 citizens of the same county, and three townships are yet to be heard from. At the last presidential election, that county gave 1,344 votes, of which, 627 were for the present chief magistrate, and 717 against him.

This memorial was of a contrary character, and after some conversation between Messrs. Ewing and Morris, the memorial was read, referred, &c.

The senate then proceeded to consider the report and resolution of the judiciary committee on the pension books, &c. in possession of the United States bank.

Mr. Clayton addressed the senate in reply to Mr. Wright; but before he had concluded gave way to a motion to adjourn; and, on motion of Mr. Ewing, the senate adjourned.

May 15. A communication was received from the president of the United States, transmitting a copy of the treaty recently made with the republic of Chili.

Mr. *Naudin* presented the proceedings of a public meeting recently held at Wilmington, in the state of Delaware, expressing their disapprobation of the protest sent to the senate by the president, which were read.

Mr. *Naudin* then moved that these proceedings be printed for the use of the senate.

Mr. *Forsyth* opposed the motion to print.

Mr. *Kane* moved to amend the motion to print by including the printing of the protest.

This motion was opposed by Messrs. *Clay*, *Clayton*, *Forsyth*, *Preston* and *Pointexter*.

It was stated in the course of debate that the protest had already been printed and published by the executive, and that 40,000 copies had been issued from the Globe office.

The amendment was almost unanimously rejected, and the motion to print agreed to without a division.

Mr. *Clayton* then resumed and concluded his remarks; in the course of which, he moved to amend the resolutions reported by the committee, by substituting for them the following:

Resolved, That the act of congress for the relief of certain officers and soldiers of the revolution, passed on the 15th of May, 1833, and the act supplementary to that act passed on the 7th of June, 1832, are properly acts providing for the payment of military pensions.

Resolved, That no power is conferred by any law upon the department, or secretary of war, to remove the agency for the payment of pensioners under the act of the 7th June, 1833, and the funds, books and papers connected with that agency, from the bank of the United States, and to appoint other agents to supercede that bank in the payment of such pensioners.

Mr. *Kane* then addressed the senate in reply to Mr. *Clayton*, and in vindication of the opinion of the attorney general, and continued for some time, when he yielded the floor without having come to a conclusion; and the senate adjourned.

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES.

Friday, May 9. Mr. *Allen*, of Va. reported a bill further to amend the act incorporating the Chesapeake and Ohio canal company; and

Mr. *Vinton* a bill to provide for erecting a fire proof building for a patent office, and for other purposes; which bills were twice read and committed.

On motion of Mr. *C. P. White*, a resolution was adopted authorizing the printing of a thousand copies of the amended rules and regulations for the navy.

Mr. *Banks*, on the part of the minority, from the committee of elections, presented a counter report, to that presented by the majority, in the case of the contested election of Mr. Moore and Mr. *Letcher*, which he moved to have printed, and its further consideration postponed until Tuesday next.

The house then took up the general appropriation bill,

The question pending on yesterday, being on the original amendment submitted by Mr. *Vance*, which had been so modified as to read as follows:

"In no case, shall the compensation, by salary, fees, or otherwise, be permitted to exceed; of a collector, three thousand dollars per annum; of surveyors and naval officers, two thousand five hundred dollars per annum; and of weighers, gaugers, markers, appraisers, and all others connected with the collection of the customs, two thousand dollars per annum."

Mr. *Vance* said, that as the question had been amply discussed, he would now ask that it be decided by yeas and nays; and the yeas and nays being ordered, appeared as follows:

YEAS—Messrs. H. Allen, J. J. Allen, C. Allan, Wm. Allen, Banks, Barringer, Beatty, Beaumont, Binney, Bull, Bunch, Burd, Burges, Casey, Chambers, Chilton, Wm. Clark, Clayton, Clowney, Connor, Corwin, Coulter, Craze, Warren R. Davis, Deberry, Deming, Denny, Dickson, D. W. Dickinson, Duncan, Evans, Horace Everett, Ewing, Fillmore, Forrester, Foster, Fulton, Ganble, Gholson, Grennell, Griffin, H. Hall, Hamer, Hard, James Harper, Harrison, Hazeltine, Hiester, Jabez W. Huntington, Jackson, Jarvis, Seaborn Jones, King, Kinnard, Lane, Laporte, Lincoln, Love, Lucas, Mardis, McComas, McKennan, Moore, Peirson, Potts, Ramsay, Reed, Rencher, Aug. H. Shepperd, Wm. Slade, Charles Slade, Sloane, Spangler, Stewart, William P. Taylor, Tompkins, James Turner, Tweedy, Vance, Wagener, Webster, F. Whittlesey, E. Whittlesey, Wilde, Williams, Young—85.

NAYS—Messrs. John Quincy Adams, John Adams, Archer, Ashley, Baylies, Beale, Beardley, Bodle, Briggs, Brown, Bynum, Cambreleng, Chinn, Samuel Clark, Clay, Coffee, Day, Dickerson, W. K. Fuller, Galbraith, Gillet, Gilmer, Gorham, Jos. Hall, T. H. Hall, Halsey, Hardin, Jos. M. Harper, Hathaway, Hawkins, Howell, Hubbard, Abel Huntington, Noadiah Johnson, Cave Johnson, Kavanagh, Lansing, Luke Lea, Thomas Lee, Levitt, Loyal, Joel K. Mann, Martindale, Moses Mason, McKay, McKim, McLene, McVean, Miller, Robert Mitchell, Murphy, Osgood, Page, Parker, Patterson, Polk, Schley, Selden, Shinn, Standifer, Sutherland, P. Thomas, Thomson, Turritt, Vanderpool, Van Houten, Ward, Wardwell, Wayne, C. P. White, Wise—72.

Mr. *Vance*, thereupon, as he had previously intimated, withdrew all the other clauses in the amendment proposed by him

(the clause thereof preceding the above having been disagreed to yesterday.)

Mr. *White*, of Florida, moved an amendment increasing retrospectively, the salary of the U. S. Judges in Florida, which was agreed to.

Mr. *Sutherland* moved an amendment authorising the secretary of the treasury to pay to the collectors, naval officers, surveyors, clerks, gaugers, weighers, provers, markers and measurers of the several ports of the United States, respectively, the same compensation for the year 1833, as if the act of July, 1832, had not gone into effect.

Mr. *Clayton* opposed the amendment, and went into a statement to shew the vast increase in the number of custom house officers in New York since 1838—66 clerks, instead of 35; 7 appraisers, instead of 2; 16 clerks in an office that had but 1; 120 inspectors, instead of 63, &c. &c. That the annual expense had increased from \$150,000 to \$300,000. And then argued to prove that this increase was far beyond the proportional increase of the business of that custom house.

Mr. *Huntington* was opposed to the amendment, the true effects of which he stated to be, to give men salaries for duties they had no longer to perform.

Mr. *Sutherland* modified his amendment, so as to confine it to collectors, naval officers and surveyors.

Mr. *Harper*, of Pa. stated some facts, showing abuses which existed in the custom house at Philadelphia.

Mr. *Vance* now offered an amendment to the amendment before the house, directing the collector in New York to dismiss a long list of officers in the custom house there, including 1 deputy collector, 2 assistant collectors, 30 clerks, 4 assistant appraisers, 31 night-watchers, &c. amounting in all to 101. He briefly advocated this amendment.

Mr. *Cambreleng* warmly resisted the amendment moved by Mr. *Vance*.

Mr. *Pearce*, of R. I. and Mr. *Brown*, of N. Y. advocated with great earnestness Mr. *Sutherland's* amendment.

Mr. *Huntington* demanded the yeas and nays on Mr. *Sutherland's* amendment, and they being ordered, appeared as follows: yeas 74, nays 117.

Mr. J. Q. Adams now renewed the motion which had been made in committee by Mr. *Fool*, to strike out the words "Great Britain" and "Russia," from the appropriation for salaries of foreign ministers; and accompanied his motion by a succinct enumeration of the grounds on which he opposed it.

Which motion after debate was negatived, yeas 68, nays 122.

Mr. *Jarvis* moved to reconsider the vote in favor of a part of Mr. *Vance's* amendment, on the subject of the salaries of the custom house officers; and the question of reconsideration being taken by yeas and nays, appeared as follows: yeas 87, nays 94. So the house refused to reconsider.

Mr. *Davis*, of S. C. now moved the following amendment.

"Provided that so much of the sums herein appropriated for the payment of the salaries of the ministers to Great Britain and Russia, shall not be expended, unless the appointment of said ministers shall have been made with the consent and advice of the senate; nor shall any part of the sum herein appropriated for the contingent expenses of all the missions abroad, or for the contingent expenses of foreign intercourse, be expended in the salary or outfit of such minister or ministers, unless such appointment shall be made during this session of congress, by and with the advice and consent of the senate."

Mr. *Davis* supported this amendment by an eloquent speech, in which he urged the house to make one united effort to effect a resurrection of the constitution. Alarming as were the usurpations on the part of the executive, those by the house were ten times more so.

Mr. *Bynum*, of N. C. replied in an exceedingly earnest speech, in which he repelled the charge of usurpation on the part of the executive, and alluded to the attack upon the bank, as affording only a second part of the victory of New Orleans.

Mr. *H. Everett* remarked with alarm on the position taken in Mr. *Bynum's* speech, that the president was responsible alone to the people, which he conceived to be setting aside the constitution entirely, in its provisions relating to the legislative power, and tending to annihilate the structure of our government. Mr. *E* was led by the course of things, in and out of the house, to doubt whether the executive did not purpose to appoint ministers without the concurrence of the senate; and he called upon his friends, if they had authority to do so, to disavow, on the part of the president, all claim to the right of doing so.

Mr. *Ewing* spoke with much earnestness in reply to Mr. *Bynum*, reproaching the practice, now becoming, he said, so common in the house, to answer all arguments by a reference to the battle of New Orleans. There had been no remonstrances before congress against that battle. Mr. *E* venerated general Jackson; but against the acts of president Jackson he must protest, on behalf of his constituents.

Mr. *Wise* moved to amend Mr. *Davis's* amendment by adding the words "unless a vacancy shall happen during the recess of congress."

Mr. *Davis* accepted this as a modification.

Mr. *Boon* moved the previous question; but the house refused to second the motion—yeas 77, nays 82.

After a long and animated debate, Mr. *Davis's* amendment was lost, yeas 45, nays 122.

Mr. J. Q. Adams moved to amend the bill, (as he had previously proposed in committee of the whole) by striking out the

outfit and salary of a charge des affairs to Buenos Ayres; which motion was negatived, ayes 53, noes 101.

Mr. Lincoln moved to strike out the item of "\$31,000 for extra clerk hire in the post office department."

Mr. L. briefly supported his motion. He stated the debts of the department to be \$1,089,000, and said the postmaster general had admitted that he could not get along without aid from congress to the amount of \$450,000.

Mr. Connor replied to Mr. Lincoln, and stated the department was not in debt more than \$300,000 beyond its available funds.

Mr. Pearce was authorized to say that \$400,000 would pay all claims against the department.

Messrs. Wilde, Bates, Whittlesey and Reed, severally addressed the house in favor of the amendment, and were replied to by Mr. Hawes.

Mr. McKay moved an amendment prohibiting the postmaster general in future from employing extra clerks.

Mr. Cave Johnson moved the previous question; but afterwards withdrew it.

Mr. Lincoln opposed the proviso moved by Mr. McKay, and the latter gentleman withdrew it.

The question was now taken on Mr. Lincoln's motion to strike out the item for extra clerk hire, and it was decided as follows, yeas 56, nays 96. So the motion was rejected.

Mr. Wilde now moved to strike out the clause "for an agent at Havana, \$4,500."

Mr. Polk insisted that the appointment was useful and important.

Messrs. Wilde and McKay admitted its usefulness but denied the principle of creating, by an appropriation, an officer unknown to the law.

The yeas and nays being ordered, the motion to strike out failed by a vote of 69 to 91.

The bill was now ordered to be engrossed and read a third time on Monday next.

On motion of Mr. Wardwell, after a session of fourteen hours, the house adjourned at one o'clock, in the morning, to meet on Monday next.

Monday, May 12. The general appropriation bill was taken up, read the third time and passed.

The bill making appropriations for the army, returned from the senate with amendments, was taken up in committee of the whole, the amendments reported to the house and agreed to, and the bill finally passed by the house.

On motion of Mr. Stewart, the bill from the senate for the repair and extension of the Cumberland road, was taken up, twice read and referred.

On motion of Mr. Selden, the house then again took up the consideration of the memorial from the county of Oneida, which was presented on Monday last, by him, accompanied by a motion that a committee, consisting of one member from each state, be appointed to consider, and report, in form of a bill, a plan for a safe and uniform currency, under authority of the U. States; and that the memorial of the citizens of Oneida county be referred to that committee.

Mr. Selden delivered his views at large in support of the object of the memorial; and particularly in reply to the previous remarks of Mr. Beardsley.

Mr. Beardsley replied.

Mr. Plummer, of Mississippi, now obtained leave of the house to explain in reference to the report in the National Intelligencer of the reply of his colleague Mr. Cage, and read certain paragraphs which he said had not been delivered in the house, and that he should hold the editors of the Intelligencer responsible for the personalities therein contained.

The chair interposed, and arrested his remarks as transcending the leave of the house.

Mr. Cage obtained leave to reply, and went into an explanation, in which he exonerated the editors of the Intelligencer, and assumed the responsibility of the speech published, but declined a personal discussion with his colleague on the floor.

Mr. Plummer rejoined.

After a few words of rejoinder by Mr. Cage,

Mr. Brown, of New York, moved to lay the memorial from Oneida county and the resolution on the table.

Mr. Selden remonstrated, and wished only for a vote, without debate.

Mr. Brown refusing to withdraw his motion,

Mr. Williams demanded the yeas and nays.

Mr. Clay moved a call of the house; but it was negatived.

The yeas and nays were then taken, and had been proclaimed by the chair to be yeas 89, nays 89; and that the chair voted in the affirmative.

Mr. Garland, who had voted in the negative, but whose name had, by mistake, been recorded as in the affirmative, had the record corrected.

Whereupon, Mr. Hawes changed his vote from the negative to the affirmative.

This left the state of the vote as before, as follows:

YEAS—Messrs. Wm. Allen, Beale, Bean, Beardsley, Beaumont, Bookee, Bodie, Boon, Bouldin, Brown, Bunch, Burns, Bynum, Cambreleng, Chaney, Chinn, S. Clark, Clay, Clayton, Cramer, Day, P. Dickerson, Dunlap, Felder, Forrester, Foster, Fowler, Wm. K. Fuller, Galbraith, Gamble, Gholson, Gillet, Gilmer, Gordon, Joseph Hall, Thomas H. Hall, Halsey, Hamer, Harrison, Hathaway, Hawkins, Hawes, Howell, Abel Huntington, Jarvis, Richard M. Johnson, Noahiah Johnson, Seaborn

Jones, Benjamin Jones, Kavanaugh, Kinnard, Lane, Lansing, Luke Lea, Thos. Lee, Loyall, J. K. Mann, Mards, Moses Mason, McEntire, McKay, McKim, McKinley, McVean, Miller, Robert Mitchell, Page, Parks, Parker, Patton, Patterson, Peyton, F. Pierce, Pinckney, Plummer, Polk, Schenck, Schley, Shinn, Standifer, Sutherland, Wm. Taylor, Wm. P. Taylor, John Thomson, Turral, Van Houten, Wagener, Wardwell, Webster, Whalon, C. P. White—89.

NAYS—Messrs. J. Q. Adams, Heman Allen, John J. Allen, Chilton Allan, Anthony, Ashley, Banks, Barber, Barnitz, Barrington, Bates, Baylies, Beatty, Binney, Briggs, Bull, Burges, Cace, Campbell, Chambers, Chilton, Wm. Clark, Clowney, Connor, Corwin, Coulter, Crane, Darlington, Davenport, Deberry, Deming, Denny, Dickson, Duncan, Horace Everett, Fillmore, Philo C. Fuller, Fulton, Garland, Gorham, Graham, Griffin, Hiland Hall, Hard, Hardin, James Harper, Hazeltine, Henderson, Heister, Jabez W. Huntington, William C. Johnson, King, Laporte, Lewis, Lincoln, Love, Lucas, Lyon, Martindale, Marshall, McCarty, McKennan, Mercer, Milligan, Moore, Murphy, Osmond, Potts, Ramsay, Reed, Roucher, Selden, Wm. B. Shepard, W. Slade, C. Slade, Sloane, Spangler, Stewart, Philemon Thomas, Turner, Tweedy, Vance, Vinton, Ward, Watnough, Elisha Whittlesey, Wilde, Williams, Wilson, Wise, Young—89.

The speaker voting in the affirmative, the memorial from Oneida county, with Mr. Selden's resolution, thereupon was laid upon the table.

Memorials, resolutions, &c. favorable to the restoration of the deposits, &c. were presented, by Mr. P. C. Fuller, from 358 citizens of the town of Westport, Monroe county, N. Y.; by Mr. Dickerson, from inhabitants of Elizabethtown, N. J.; by Mr. Parker, the proceedings of a state convention held at Trenton; by Mr. Chambers, of Penn. from citizens of his district; by Mr. Fowler, from a meeting in Warren county, N. J.; by Mr. Barnitz, from two public meetings in York county, Pa.; by Mr. Banks, from 680 citizens of Mifflin county, Pa.; all which were read, referred, &c.

Memorials, resolutions, &c. approving the removal of the deposits, &c. were presented, by Mr. Whalon, from 700 inhabitants of Warren county, N. Y.; by the same from a public meeting of Essex county, N. Y.; by Mr. Parker, from a meeting of citizens of Middlesex county, N. J.; by the same from 1,443 citizens of the same county; by Mr. Henderson, from a meeting of citizens of Huntingdon, Pa.; by the same from citizens of Mifflin county, Pa.; all which were read, referred, &c.

The house adjourned.

Tuesday, May 13. The further consideration of the reports on the contested election between Messrs. Letcher and Moore, was postponed until Tuesday next.

Mr. Wise presented a memorial from Yorktown and the adjacent counties of Virginia, relative to the erection of a marble column at Yorktown commemorative of the surrender of Cornwallis, &c.

Mr. Wise also presented a memorial from the county of Gloucester, Va. protesting against the removal of the deposits of the public money from the bank of the United States, and praying the restoration thereof, which memorial was read; when

Mr. Wise moved that the said memorial be referred to a select committee of seven members, to be chosen by ballot, with instructions to report the following resolutions:

Resolved, That the custody and control of the moneys of the United States, not appropriated by law, and not disbursed under appropriations by law, are, by the constitution, placed under the order and direction of the congress of the United States, which order and direction must be made by law in the form of bills or joint orders, votes or resolutions, upon which the president of the United States has simply the power of a negative, subject to a vote of two-thirds of each house of congress.

Resolved, That no change of the constitution of the United States is necessary to authorize the congress of the United States to entrust the custody of the public money, not appropriated by law, and not disbursed under appropriations by law, whenever or howsoever obtained, to other agency than that of the executive department, and that the custody of the public money must not be necessarily, under the constitution, intrusted to the executive department.

Resolved, That congress can take out of the hands of the executive department the custody of the public property or money, without an assumption of the custody of executive power, or a subversion of the first principles of the constitution.

And that said committee be further instructed to report such measures as it may deem necessary and proper to provide for the future safe-keeping, control and disposition of the public property and moneys, and to assert, maintain and protect the constitutional powers of congress over the public property and public purse.

Mr. Boon asked the unanimous consent of the house to take up the joint resolution heretofore submitted by him, fixing a day (the 31st inst.) for the adjournment of congress.

Objections being made, Mr. Boon asked and obtained leave of the house to suspend the rule, by a vote of 152 to 12.

After some explanations, Mr. Boon moved his resolution in a modified form, to read as follows:

Resolved, That the president of the senate, and the speaker of the house of representatives, close the present session of congress by an adjournment of their respective houses on Monday the 16th day of June next.

After various amendments being suggested and considerable debate had, the further consideration of the subject was arrested by the orders of the day.

The speaker laid before the house the following communication:

"SIR: I have this day resigned my seat as a member of the 23d congress.
Yours, very respectfully,
SAMUEL A. FOOT.

"New Haven, 9th May, 1834.

"The hon. the speaker of the H. R."

The house took up the commutation-pension bill, and after a warm debate, in which several took part, it was finally recommitted to a committee of the whole house; and then the house adjourned.

Wednesday, May 14. After disposing of a large number of private claims,

The house took up the bill making appropriations for the Indian department for 1834.

Various amendments being offered, discussed and withdrawn, Mr. Lewis, of Ala. moved *pro forma*, an item of \$500,000 to enable the government to extinguish Indian claims to lands in the state of Avamara—negative.

After some further progress being made in the bill, it was laid aside to be reported, and the committee took up the Indian annuity bill, and after undergoing various amendments, was, together with the other bill reported to the house; and then the house adjourned.

Thursday, May 15. After some minor business had been disposed of,

Mr. Boon, asked the unanimous consent of the house to take up the resolution heretofore submitted by him proposing an adjournment of congress on the 16th June, proximo.

Objection being made, the house by a vote of 136 to 23 agreed to suspend the rule, and the resolution was taken up, when

Mr. Hardin moved to strike out "the 16th June" and insert "the 2d July." Mr. H. supported his amendment, in a speech of considerable length, on the ground that the public and private business could not be advantageously disposed of before the time contemplated by his amendment.

Mr. Cambreleng thought it was evident, under the present state of the business before the house, that they were not prepared to fix a day for the adjournment of congress, and he therefore moved to postpone the further consideration of the resolution until Thursday the 29th instant, which motion, after a long and animated debate, prevailed by a vote of 116 to 95.

The bill making appropriations for the Indian department for 1834, was taken up, amended and ordered to its third reading. The house in committee of the whole, took up the Cumberland road bill from the senate, and no amendment being proposed, it was reported to the house.

The harbor bill was taken up, amended, and laid aside for the present; and then the house adjourned.

DEBATE ON THE AMERICAN TREATY.

From the National Gazette. (Translated from a Paris newspaper.)

Mr. George Lafayette rose to speak on a personal subject. (Attention.) I have been, said the honorable member, so clearly designated by the member who spoke last, that I think myself entitled to request of the chamber a moment's attention. I do not rise to defend the commission, of which I had the honor to be a member, from the charge of being under any influence whatever, while deliberating on the important subject committed to it; but I wish to state a matter of fact, on which I find there is some misapprehension. My father was not a member of that commission; I, alone, was one of the commissioners. Surely, I did not pretend to exercise there any personal influence; but the strength of my conviction was not sufficient to induce the majority to agree in opinion with me, and I remained in the minority, though strongly convinced that there was more due to the U. States, than the majority were willing to grant.

Mr. Jay, reporter of the committee, then rose, and in support of the bill of appropriation, he read a letter, addressed to him by general Lafayette, (detained at home by sickness), in order to prove the good faith of the United States. The letter is in these words:

"While I regret that I cannot take part in the debate respecting the American treaty, the almost unanimous report of the committee, and the more profound knowledge acquired during this year respecting this great interest, in which justice, policy, commerce, and the freedom of the seas are involved, render it useless for me to repeat the observations which I made at the last session, but there are facts, which I might have attested as a witness, and which I now submit to my honorable colleague, the reporter of the committee.

"1. I know that the date of the repeal of the Berlin and Milan decrees, is anterior to the seizures and destructions for which an indemnity is claimed. I was myself the bearer of a message on the subject.

"2. Although the United States are the only power that remained unconnected with the coalitions against France, an offer was made to them by the allies, then all powerful, to join their claims to those which they preferred, and the payment of which they obtained. That offer was worthily declined by Mr. Crawford, the American minister at Paris. He declared that the United States, far from making common cause with the enemies of France, would wait until their accounts could be settled as between friends.

"3. I saw Mr. Barlow set off for Wilna in the full conviction, from the correspondence of the imperial cabinet, that the American claims should obtain a favorable decision; and at the moment of our revolution of July, Mr. Rives thought himself sure of terminating his negotiation, even with the ministry of the restoration; which, nevertheless, felt no obligation to the United States, for having remained the friends of France, while France was in friendship with her enemies.

"4. Among the classes of claims admitted in the report, I do not perceive the *Intwerp seizures*, although my memory was perfectly clear on the subject. I had recourse to the recollections of the duke of Bassano, whose contemporaneous authority, in his situation at that time, is superior to any distant and posthumous assertion. I am then able to say, that no confiscation was decreed, and that the sale of the property had no other object than to prevent its deterioration; that there was a disposition to admit the justice of a claim, supported by the act of the government itself, which, in short, considered the merchandise deposited in the *caisse d'arrondissement*, as American property, which makes an additional sum of more than two millions, without reckoning the *Maria* and her cargo, involved in the same measure.

"It is from these positive data, and others of the same kind, founded on the fact of moneys, which, in my opinion, unjustly, but, nevertheless, have entered into the public treasury, that even after allowing for the French claims, I had in my conscience, as an honest arbitrator, estimated the American claims at the sum of thirty millions, and this amount is not so unjustifiable as some have thought proper to say, while I yield all the honor due to the administration which has reduced the treaty to narrower limits."

Extract of a letter from general Lafayette to his correspondent in Philadelphia, dated 2d April, 1834.

"It is with the deepest affliction and with the liveliest displeasure that I write to you, and to you alone, on the subject of what happened yesterday; the American treaty was rejected by a majority of a few votes. M. de Broglie very honorably sent in his resignation this morning; general Sebastiani, the author of the treaty, has done the same. You will be, as I have never, surprised to see that several members of the *cole gauche* have sided against the treaty. I am still sick, but with a fair hope of recovery, provided I do not commit any imprudence; that danger, however, would not have prevented me, as you may well suppose, from appearing in the house; but my friends used so many arguments to dissuade me from going, that I, at last, was obliged to yield. It is best, perhaps, that I should repress the expression of my feelings upon this subject; I shall therefore speak of my sentiments for you," &c.

RHODE ISLAND.

A special session of the Rhode Island legislature, just elected, having been convened by gov. Francis, in order to supply the state senators who failed of their election, the following joint resolutions have passed that body:

STATE OF RHODE ISLAND, &c.

In general assembly, May session, A. D. 1834.

Resolved, That in the opinion of this general assembly, the removal of the public money from the bank of the United States, in which by law and contract it was required to be deposited, was a measure unwarranted, ill-advised and injurious to the public interest.

Resolved, That in the opinion of this general assembly, the public interest requires, "that the deposits of the money of the United States shall in future be made in the bank of the United States and its branches," and that the said bank be allowed to perform its duties to the United States enjoined by its charter, viz: "To give the necessary facilities for transferring the public funds from place to place, within the United States or the territories thereof, and to distribute the same in payment of the public creditors, without charging commissions, or claiming allowance on account of difference of exchange, and to do and perform the several and respective duties of commissioners of loans for the several states."

Resolved, That in the opinion of this general assembly, a national bank is necessary to the exigencies of the government; necessary to the maintenance of a sound, uniform and permanent national currency; to the maintenance of the general credit and confidence; and to the accommodation of the internal and foreign trade and business of the country.

Resolved, That to guard against fluctuations in the national currency, to prevent the embarrassments and derangements in business, which must always be experienced and practised between the closing of the concerns of one great national bank and opening of another; and to avoid the speculations always practised upon such occasions, it is the opinion of this general assembly, that the greatest possible stability ought to be given to a bank, established as a national institution, for national uses and purposes.

Resolved, That his excellency, the governor, be requested to forward copies of these resolutions to each of our senators and representatives in congress.

On motion, the question on the resolutions was taken by sections, and passed by the following votes: 1st resolution, 18 majority; 2d do. 18 maj.; 3d do. 46 maj.; 4th do. 28 maj.; and the 5th resolution, unanimously—and sent to the senate for concurrence. The house then adjourned.

BALTIMORE JACKSON MEETING.

Pursuant to a call from the Jackson republican convention of the city of Baltimore, a meeting of the friends of the national administration assembled in Monument Square, on the evening of Wednesday, the 7th instant. On motion of col. U. S. Heath, the meeting was organized, and *William Frick*, esq. was called to the chair, and Messrs. Henry R. Lauderman, Walter Price, Nicholas Myers, John E. Stansbury, Joshua Turner, Michael Klinfelfter, Abraham Sliver, John McAllister, Edward Priestley, Jonathan Fitch, Joel Vickers, Thomas Parkin Scott, James Webb, William J. Wight, George Gardiner, Jesse P. Wight, James George, John C. Rau, Jacob Zimmerman, Stephen Waters, John Buddy, William Ball, sen. Charles Perego, were chosen vice presidents; and, Charles Howard, Richard Lilly, Alexander Waters, Joshua Vansant, Samuel Lucas, William Lindeberger, were appointed secretaries.

The president stated the object of the meeting, when the following preamble and resolutions were offered by col. B. C. Howard, and seconded by Mr. Samuel Brady—viz:

Whereas, measures have been recently adopted by the opponents of the national administration, in this city, eminently calculated to agitate the public mind, and to call for a reiterated expression of the firmness of its friends—therefore, be it

Resolved, That the Jackson republicans, of Baltimore, retain the warmest feelings of gratitude, affection, and respect towards the venerable president of these United States, and repose entire confidence in the wisdom and purity of his administration; and that they regard with disapprobation, exceeded only by their regret, the violence which characterises the general course of the opposition.

Resolved, That they decidedly condemn and earnestly deplore the appeal to force from the decision of the ballot box, which has so repeatedly been urged by leading members of the opposition in congress, and their partisans of the press, and among the people—because, whilst so rash and mistaken a course would fail to change the measures of the administration, or shake the resolution of its friends, it would in lawless disregard of the injunctions of the constitution, introduce confusion into a now peaceful community, and bring lasting discredit upon our republican institutions.

Resolved, That it is the essential principle of our government, that the popular will should be deliberately consulted and truly expressed upon all questions of national policy; that the president has, throughout his administration, faithfully conformed to the wishes of the people, clearly manifested, and that in the "late executive proceedings in relation to the public revenue," he has "not assumed to himself authority and power, not conferred by the constitution and laws," or "in derogation" of either.

Resolved, That the Jackson republicans of Baltimore disapprove and deeply regret the conduct of a majority of the senate of these United States, in assuming in its capacity as a legislative body, judicial authority; and in recording, in violation of decorum, justice and of the spirit of the constitution and in contemptuous disregard of the known will of the constituents of several who concurred in the act, a sentence of condemnation against the president for measures, which, had they been of the character imputed, would justly have subjected him to an impeachment, for the unprejudiced trial of which the senate, under the constitution, is the designated tribunal.

Resolved, That in this perversion of the high functions of the senate, is displayed the consummation of a system of persecution which has been continued against Andrew Jackson from the close of the late war, when he was found in the enjoyment of vast and well earned popularity, when it was foreseen what an obstacle he would prove to the career of ambitious rivals. Hence, that unsuccessful struggle to tear from his brow the laurels of the Seminole campaign. Hence the hardy attempt to cross the popular design to raise him to the presidency. Hence the declaration of uncompromising opposition when the president had scarcely taken the oath of office and the course of his administration was yet unknown. Hence the unprecedented spectacle which so long offended the delicacy of the American people, of an individual notoriously a candidate for the highest office in their gift, traversing the country to utter inflammatory harangues and fill the public ear with abuse of his rival.

Resolved, That the unjust course pursued by the senate is the more reprehensible, as having been effected under cover of evasive generalities, by an unnatural coalition of nullifiers and determined opponents of state rights, for the purpose of embarrassing the administration of Andrew Jackson, whose moderation and firmness, in carrying into effect the popular will, have controlled the errors of both.

Resolved, That in the opinion of this meeting the present crisis is pregnant with the fate of our national institutions. That a contest is raging between the popular and the aristocratic principle, upon the issue of which it will depend whether the American people shall continue free.

Resolved, That under the auspices of a political party, marshalled by leaders of distinguished abilities, a moneyed corporation created for national purposes by the national legislature, but which has proved superior to and regardless of legislative restraint; a corporation which avowedly controls the whole industry of the country, which by its insidious and oppressive policy has carried distress and ruin into the dwellings of thousands, now collects its energies for the vital struggle which shall decide the question of supremacy between itself and the people. Ambitious aspirants for political station, and many

well meaning but mistaken citizens have enlisted in its cause. Private patronage is lavished or withdrawn to seduce or intimidate opposition, and an unlimited control over the treasury of the bank (including what belongs to the nation) is placed at the disposal of a single officer, to be applied as he sees fit for the promotion of its designs. Against this vast array of influence and power, but confident in the virtue and patriotism of his countrymen, Andrew Jackson stands the undismayed champion of the people. On their intelligence he relies to sustain their dearest rights. To their justice he appeals for the vindication of his private honor, and on either issue they will firmly sustain him.

The meeting was addressed in support of the resolutions by col. B. C. Howard, Mr. Samuel Brady, Mr. Wm. Geo. Read, Mr. John Neilson and col. U. S. Heath, and the question being put, they were adopted unanimously.

WILLIAM FRICK, chairman.

Henry R. Lauderman, Walter Price, Nicholas Myers, Jno. E. Stansbury, Joshua Turner, Michael Klinfelfter, Abraham Sliver, John McAllister, Edward Priestley, Jonathan Fitch, Joel Vickers, Thos. Parkin Scott, James Webb, William J. Wight, George Gardiner, Jesse P. Wight, James George, John C. Rau, Jacob Zimmerman, Stephen Waters, John Buddy, William Ball, sen'r. Charles Perego—*vice presidents*.

Charles Howard, Richard Lilly, Alexander Waters, Joshua Vansant, Samuel Lucas, William Lindeberger—*secretaries*.

THE POLISH EXILES.

IN SENATE, TUESDAY, APRIL 29, 1834.

Mr. *Forrest* made the following report, (accompanied by a bill to carry into effect the object recommended.)

The committee on public lands, to which was referred the petition of Lewis Banczakiewicz and others, acting as a committee for and in behalf of two hundred and thirty-five Poles, transported to the United States by the orders of the emperor of Austria, have had the said petition under consideration, and submit the following report:

The committee do not admit the justice or policy of granting any portion of the public domain to emigrants from foreign countries who voluntarily seek an asylum on our shores from arbitrary governments of Europe.

Neither the usages of civilized nations, or the principles of our free institutions require of this government more than is due to the rites of hospitality and the protection of the laws, to the inhabitants of the old world who come among us to enjoy the blessings of liberty, and partake of the general prosperity and happiness of this highly favored country. These have been uniformly extended, and in no instance denied, to foreigners of every nation, besides the privilege of becoming naturalized citizens according to the liberal system established by law for that purpose.

To justify a departure from this general rule, in any particular case, facts and circumstances, appealing forcibly to the benevolence of the nation, ought to be clearly demonstrated as the basis on which the exception is founded. The committee have attentively considered the peculiar condition of these unfortunate exiles from their native land, in connection with the strong claims which they seem to present for relief, and have unanimously agreed to recommend their case to the favor of the senate. The history of the recent revolution in Poland is so well known and understood, that any attempt to recapitulate the events of that glorious and arduous struggle in the great cause of human liberty may be deemed superfluous and unnecessary. These petitioners constitute a small remnant of that gallant army who engaged in the desperate and unequal conflict with the overwhelming power of the Russian empire, and who firmly resolved that Poland should be free or be blotted forever from the map of nations. They bravely fought for the independence of their country, to which they were bound by every feeling of patriotism and affection; they won many battles by prodigies of valor never surpassed in any age or country; they stood undismayed by the powerful enemy against whom they had to contend, and confidently appealed to the sympathies of the civilized nations of Europe to sustain them in a cause so just; but their appeals were made in vain, and their hopes were destined to end in cruel disappointment.

This short and bloody war terminated in the overthrow of a persecuted, brave, and generous people, contending for their long lost liberty, and the restoration of their ancient rights, as one of the great family of independent nations. Overpowered by numbers, and driven by repeated defeats to the verge of despair, the noble chivalry of Poland retired from the contest, and bade farewell to freedom, country, and every thing dear to the heart of civilized man. These petitioners, it appears, sought refuge and protection in the provinces of Austria and Prussia, asking only a passage into France, which, they allege, was promised them by the Austrian government. They assembled at the city of Brunn, in Moravia, to receive their passports according to previous assurances given them, when they were suddenly arrested, thrown into close confinement, and, after an imprisonment of three months, the alternative was presented to them of returning to Russia, or of embarking on board an Austrian vessel for transportation to the United States of America. They accepted the latter proposal, and were removed to Trieste; again imprisoned three months, and finally embarked on board two Austrian frigates prepared for the purpose; and, at the expiration of a voyage of four months and ten days, were landed in the city of New York, at which place their petition is dated. These

facts are set forth by the petitioners, and the committee have no reason to doubt their accuracy. The question then arises whether this government ought to extend its beneficence to these petitioners, and grant to each of them a few acres of land for actual cultivation, on which they may find a new home, where, by honest industry, they may earn a comfortable subsistence for themselves and their families, free from the persecutions of their inexorable oppressors?

The committee believe that both principle and precedent combine to recommend the adoption of such a measure, under suitable modifications and restrictions. The emigrants from France, in the year 1817, who were expelled from their country soon after the downfall of the emperor Napoleon, received a grant of four contiguous townships of land in Alabama on the most favorable terms, amounting nearly to a donation. Many similar grants are to be found on our statute book, made to individuals and associations for useful or benevolent purposes. Again, in the year 1812, congress actuated by like feelings and considerations, appropriated the sum of \$50,000 to the sufferers by an earthquake at Venezuela. But, without regard to these cases, in which the general principles of legislation were departed from, the committee perceive in the circumstances, under which these emigrants ask of congress a grant of land, enough to warrant the conclusion at which they have arrived in favor of the prayer of the petitioners. Poland, so often the theatre of sanguinary wars, originating in violations of solemn compacts on the part of those powers by whose combined arms that ill-fated country was conquered and partitioned, made a last desperate and expiring effort to regain her freedom and independence. The surrounding nations looked with cold indifference on the struggle, evidently prepared, if necessary, to render their aid to the emperor of Russia in the subjugation of the Polish army. The result, though for some time suspended by the valor of that small and inadequate force, was at no period of the conflict doubtful. The army was dispersed, the country desolated, the fugitives who escaped the general slaughter were denied the hospitality of neutral states, and could find no resting place on the territories of the crowned heads, whose despotic rule they had resisted in asserting the natural and inherent right, as freemen, to govern themselves. Expelled from their own country, imprisoned in Austria and Prussia, refused permission to enter France, they were left to choose between despotism, and perhaps the gibbet, by returning to Russia, and involuntary transportation to these states, where they now enjoy, for the first time, the protection of the laws, and the rights and immunities which belong to the human race, wheresoever they may be cast by the dispensations of Divine Providence.

Humbled by misfortunes; deprived of a country and a home; destitute of the ordinary means of subsistence; in a strange land, whose language they do not speak or understand, and with whose customs they are wholly unacquainted; these petitioners throw themselves on the liberality and clemency of a magnanimous people, and a free government, for a habitation where they may repose in peace and safety, and where, by the labor of their own hands, they may be enabled to rescue themselves from their present wretched condition of want and dependence. The committee think that, in granting the prayer of the petitioners, this government will manifest a proper regard for the sufferings of the unfortunate of all countries who may be cast on our shores; a comity due from one portion of the human family to another, which ought to be acknowledged and felt by all; and thereby exhibit to the civilized world a glowing contrast between the arbitrary rulers who oppress and persecute these exiled patriots and fallen defenders of liberty, and the chivalry of a free people who receive them with a friendly welcome and provide for their immediate necessities. The noble example may not be lost in its effects on the great cause of free principles. The history of our own glorious struggle for liberty and independence, and of the distinguished foreigners who mingled in the conflict, is well calculated to urge the claim of the petitioners to the relief which they ask at our hands. Shall the countrymen of Pulaski, of De Kalb, and of Kosciusko, supplicate in vain the descendants of the patriots of the revolution for succor and support, when the tyrants of Europe refuse them a resting place, because they are the soldiers of liberty? The committee think not, and, in this opinion, they confidently rely on the cordial co-operation of the senate, and of the great body of the American people. The committee, therefore, without entering into the question of pecuniary assistance which they respectfully leave to the sound discretion of the senate, unanimously concur in recommending that a donation of one entire township of land, to be located under the direction of the president of the United States, in the state of Illinois, or territory of Michigan, be granted to the two hundred and thirty-five Poles, and divided among them in equal proportions, for actual habitation and cultivation; for which purpose they report a bill.

GENERAL POST OFFICE.

SPEECH OF MR. LINCOLN, OF MASSACHUSETTS,

In the house of representatives, April 25.

In committee of the whole, in support of his motion to strike from the appropriation bill the provision for extra clerk hire in the post office department.

Mr. Chairman—Fully aware, as I am, of the impatience of gentlemen to get this bill through the committee, it is with unaffected embarrassment and distrust that I oppose any obstacle to their progress in the accomplishment of the object. I pray the committee to believe that a sense of public duty, more im-

perative than any regard to personal considerations, constrains me to the humble part which I may take in this discussion. I shall make no protestations of a disinclination to embarrass the debate, or create unnecessary delay in its issue; nor will I stop to disclaim intentions to impede the operations of the government, or vex its administration. Such purposes would be unworthy the position of a representative on this floor, and no one can have a right to impute them. Neither will I enter into any stipulations for brevity in my remarks, or repeat promises, too often made, to save time, and too little regarded in the very apologies for its consumption. For whatever attention I may receive, I shall be grateful, and shall best requite it by avoiding an unreasonable claim to indulgence.

Certain extraneous circumstances have been forced into the debate upon this bill, to which it is proper I should give a passing notice. When I had last the honor of addressing the committee, upon a preceding clause in the bill, it was my misfortune, surely not an intentional fault, to have excited a tone of reply equally unexpected and unmerited. Sir, I was greatly misapprehended; and, so far as the animadversions of gentlemen may reach, I shall be somewhat injuriously misrepresented. It may, therefore, be pardoned to me, if I first attempt to place these matters in a proper point of light. I would fain stand well abroad, but I would, at present, more earnestly desire not to be misunderstood in this house. An honorable gentleman, on that occasion, whose attention I had neither provoked nor coveted, did me the injustice to charge upon me two or three *panis* speeches, as he was pleased to term them, on the subject of the bank and the deposits. The charge was alike uncalled for and unfounded. It did not occur to me as worth while, at that time, to repel the offensive insinuation which was conveyed in the remark; but now, in my place, I take leave to say, that, in a period of eight weeks in which I have had the honor of a seat here, I have presented but a single memorial, and that from my immediate constituents, accompanied with such explanations as, within the rule, were permitted without interruption by the honorable speaker. I have, in a single instance only, addressed myself to the attention of the committee, occupying by their indulgence, some fifteen or twenty minutes of the time of the house, and once I have risen in my place to ask the indulgence of the house in permitting me to offer a resolution for information from one of the departments, which indulgence I was not so happy as to obtain. Will the gentleman now say that this was obtusive? Sir, *my offending hath this extent—no more.*

Another honorable gentleman, on the same occasion, saw fit to rebuke what he was pleased to regard as an attack on the personal character of the postmaster general. This intention, on my part, was promptly disclaimed. With the personal character of that high officer, I neither, at that time, nor shall I now, intermeddle; but as I may have occasion now as then, to advert to the department over which he presides, and shall doubtless again speak with some degree of freedom of its management and condition, I should hope no again to be misunderstood. Whatever, therefore, of reference shall be made to him, will have respect to his official conduct. It is no part of my design to render the postmaster general personally obnoxious to this house, or to this nation. In the unpropitious circumstances of the times, I see nothing of encouragement to such an effort, should it even be successful. I have no hope of improvement from any change which is likely to be made. In the character or qualifications of those most frequently named as competitors for the office, there is to my mind, little of preference over the present incumbent. On this subject I take counsel from the homely adage, that "in looking further we may fare worse."

Another honorable gentleman thought it becoming the opportunity, to object to my sentiments, that they were in accordance with that course of opposition to measures of supply, which, in a former period of the history of the country, characterized my predecessors on this floor, and my constituents at home; and to indulge in taunts and sarcasms on the habits and manners of the people of the state. I did not reply to these remarks then, nor shall I now, further than to say, that neither my predecessors nor my constituents would feel obliged to me, by any admission of an occasion for their defence against an attack so unmanly and illiberal. But in reference to the allusion made by the honorable gentleman, to one of the sources of employment and subsistence of the people of Massachusetts, I beg leave to say, that it will be received by them as cause, least of all, of offence. Let me assure that honorable gentleman, that if he shall ever do the "ancient bay state" the honor of a visit, the proudest of her sons will rejoice in the opportunity to take him by the hand, and, conducting him to the hall of her house of representatives, exhibit to him there, conspicuously displayed, even over the chair of the speaker, the emblem of the industry, and frugality, and enterprise of her citizens, in the ill-selected object of his wit—the image of a fish. Mr. Chairman, the people of Massachusetts are not ashamed of their occupations, or their manner of living. They are as adventurous, at least, as they are economical. Their fisheries are no less a source of national wealth, than of individual benefit. Does the honorable gentleman needs be told, that her hardy souls have vexed every sea by their daring enterprise, pursuing line and lance the tenants of the deep, from the Atlantic shores to the Arctic regions. Does he not know that the fisheries of Massachusetts were the early nurseries of our seamen, those gallant men who have carried your flag in triumph among the nations, and made the very name of America

glorious? Let the gentleman, in future then, spare himself such gratuitous allusions. Reflections upon sectional occupations are always in bad taste; and, if for no other reason, had better never be indulged.

This much I have thought required of me, on this first opportunity of obtaining the floor since I was so severely attacked, in reply to the personal remarks, which, in no sparing measure, were directed towards me.

I now move, sir, to amend the bill under consideration, by striking out the clause which was last read.

That clause relates to the post office department, and is in the following words:

"For additional clerk hire for the year one thousand eight hundred and thirty-three, thirty-one thousand seven hundred and thirty-one dollars and forty-four cents."

The honorable chairman of the committee of ways and means has said, that those who are opposed to the grant of an appropriation have the burden of proof upon themselves. Surely, the condition of the *minority* of this house is sufficiently onerous, without this extraordinary imposition. The burden of proof upon the objectors! It would seem a little more reasonable that those who ask for, and those who would vote the supplies, should show their occasion. But, if this be not so; if, indeed, it were otherwise, it might surely be expected that time and opportunity should be allowed to maintain the issue, on the part of those upon whom the *onus* is so singularly and unexpectedly cast. Yet, what do we witness? From the very moment that the bill was introduced into this committee of the whole, a manifestation of impatience, on the part of the majority, to get it through without debate. And how are the minority treated? Hardly, sir, I will not say oppressively and unjustly; but *hardly*, indeed. Every motion to amend has been considered as captious. Delay is deprecated. The word is, *onward*. Upon a motion to rise, an ominous voice comes up from the very depths of this hall, audible throughout the committee, crying, "I hope not, sir;" and an almost magical response is given to the aspiration, in the accordant vote of the majority. An obstinate and unyielding determination is manifested to force the bill into the house. I ask, Mr. Chairman, for what purpose does the house resolve itself into a committee of the whole? Is it not, that there may be the most free and full discussion of the merits of every provision in the bill; that here, and without restraint by the more formal and rigid course of procedure applicable to the house, we may prepare and mature, and, as far as may be, perfect this measure of legislation for the subsequent sanction of the house. And how has this been proposed to be done? It was the astounding declaration of the chairman of the committee of ways and means, but yesterday, that, when he came into the house the preceding day, it was his fixed determination *not to leave the hall until he had carried the bill through*, (taking it up almost from its very beginning), and *had it reported to the house*. And the subsequent experience which we suffered, in an uninterrupted session of nine hours, was, doubtless, in execution of this high-handed predetermination. Sir, it should be known to the country, and, as far as my voice can reach, it shall be made known, that on a measure of the first and highest importance to the interests of this nation, the passage of an *appropriation bill*, authorising the disbursement of *millions* of the public money, and embracing provisions which involve principles of high constitutional moment, as well as of expediency and the soundest discretion, it was contemplated to preclude discussion, by a direct process of coercion over the physical powers of the minority. There are, indeed, as we have seen, more modes than one of applying violence in the business of legislation: the previous question—laying on the table—and exhaustion by fatigue. Abstinence, also, from food and sleep, if long enough continued, will silence speech. Sir, I admonish the chairman of the committee of ways and means not to repeat this "experiment." If the minority must submit to it, their constituents may not. Such a course of procedure, in a matter of personal concern, by one having the power to enforce it, would render void a civil contract. It is nothing short of dures and of impudency. The bill may not be disposed of this day, perhaps not even this week, with the utmost faithfulness and diligence. There are grave questions growing out of its proposed appropriations, which are yet to be deliberately considered. The clause now before the committee; the appropriation for ministers to foreign courts, to which, if no one else shall offer an amendment, I shall feel it a duty, (deferring, however, to any gentleman who will move it), to propose a limitation of the application of the money to the payment of the salaries to such ministers only as have been, or may be, appointed pursuant to the constitution, by the nomination of the president, *with the confirmation of the senate of the United States*, except in case of a vacancy which may happen during the recess of that body. I may also find it necessary, as I have on another occasion intimated, to offer in the proper time and place, an amendment, to secure the deposits of the public money, for the payment of these appropriations, in the bank of the United States. Let us proceed, then, calmly and dispassionately in the discharge of our duties. On all these subjects there may be, it is manifest there must be, discussion, more or less extended. Does the honorable chairman of the committee of ways and means again demand of me whether I speak for my friends, as well as for myself? I reply in the manner of my respected colleague, (Mr. Adams), to whom the chairman made the singular proposition, the other evening, of consenting that the committee should rise, upon condition that my colleague

would enter into recognition for the good behavior of his friends on the coming day. It was a *proposition* only, not a "*bargain*." It would have been the latter, if my colleague had assented to it. He answered, however, that he was not the keeper of his friends. Neither was I authorised to give pledges for others. There is little occasion for concert and combination between those who have but a single object in the execution of a public trust. Theirs is a direct and obvious path, in which intelligence and integrity impel their efforts to produce the same result, in the promotion of the public interests, and the protection of the people's rights.

The appropriation proposed in the clause of the bill which I ask to have stricken out, is objectionable on two grounds. 1st. Because the expense it is intended to reimburse to the post office department, in the employment of extra clerks, the last year, was unauthorised by law; and 2d. Because, it was wholly, or in a great proportion, unnecessary.

The appropriation bill of the year 1833 made provision for the pay of all clerks, whose employment had been previously authorised by congress. Upon recurrence to that bill, it will be seen that the sum of \$41,100 was appropriated for the payment of clerk hire in the post office department. A further recurrence to the treasury estimate of that year, will also show that the compensation to all the officers in the department was proposed in strict conformity to the existing provisions of law in reference, to the creation of their respective offices. The aggregate of the estimate was \$53,100. Deduct from this amount the salary of \$6,000 for the postmaster general, and \$5,000 for two assistant postmasters general, and the remainder is the exact sum of the appropriation for clerks by the bill of 1833, viz: \$41,100. It is to be remarked also, that the estimate makes direct reference to the acts of congress under which, at different periods, and from time to time, as the increase of business in the department required, the number of clerks were authorised. Thus, "clerks per act of 20th April, 1818; clerks per act of 26th May, 1824; clerks per act 2d March, 1827; clerks per act of 24th May, 1828." Both the estimate and the appropriation were thus restrained by relation to the several acts which authorised and limited the number of clerks in the department. By what authority, then, does the postmaster general increase this number two fold, and augment the expense of clerk hire, (by an extra charge of more than \$31,000, now sought to be provided for by a clause in the present bill), from \$41,100 to \$73,831 44? Will congress permit, in this indirect manner, the creation of new offices upon the sole responsibility, and in the pleasure alone, of the chief of a department? By the mere will of the postmaster general, more clerkships have been constituted in a single year, than by all preceding acts of legislation on the subject.

Hitherto, whenever it had been found necessary in the business of the department to increase the number of clerks, congress was called upon to pass a law for the purpose. So it was in 1818, 1824, 1827 and 1828. But not so is it in this era of reform, and strict construction of delegated powers. The postmaster general may, at one sweep, displace old, and faithful, and efficient officers, to make room for inexperienced, unprofitable and subservient dependents; and thus create an occasion for twice-told the legalized number. He obtains from congress an appropriation according to the provisions of law, and, increasing the expense two fold, without consulting congress, claims to be indemnified by a grant to make up the deficiency. Of what avail is legislation upon the subject, under the practice which is now sought to be sanctioned by this committee? Is it not, in truth, a mockery, that laws should be referred to, when the restrictions they impose are utterly disregarded? The very claim of the department is in derision of the authority of congress. We are gravely pointed to the law of 1818, and to subsequent statutes, as the foundation for the estimate of appropriations for clerical expenses in the office of the postmaster general; while nearly one-half the aggregate of those expenses rests upon no estimate, is incurred without law, and comes only to the knowledge of congress in the shape of a demand for its reimbursement.

If additional clerks were wanted in the department, why was not the occasion communicated to congress? Was it less necessary in 1833 to seek authority for the appointment of some *twenty or thirty* clerks, than it was in the year 1828, for instance, to obtain that authority for the appointment of *five*? The case presents this extraordinary aspect; the law limits the number of clerks; the postmaster general, the officer of law, makes the number illimitable. Congress appropriates a sum certain for the payment of clerk hire; the postmaster general, without regard to the appropriation, makes the expense uncertain, by an indefinite amount of extra services. The incident becomes greater than the principal matter. In other times, and under the administration of the same department, by different men, it required the warrant of law to create a single clerkship; now, the discretion or the pleasure of the postmaster general may constitute them by fifties. Formerly, an appropriation was necessary to justify an expenditure; but now, charges are first incurred, and appropriations are sure to follow. We are now, even here, engaged in playing the merest farce. Why debate an appropriation bill? Why not the whole number of clerks whom the postmaster general shall see fit to appoint, be as well provided for without a specific grant? If he may incur an expense exceeding 31,000 dollars, without the previous authority of congress, why may he not the whole sum of the charges of his department? It seems worse than idle

specially to appropriate 41,100 dollars, and leave him at liberty to swell the tax upon the treasury to nearly double that amount. Is it the intention of gentlemen in this house—of the committee of ways and means more especially—to sanction this extraordinary and irresponsible exercise of patronage and power? If so, let them come forward and boldly avow it, and it will then no longer be matter for argument.

But the present bill makes no prospective provision for compensation for clerk hire in the department the *current* year, beyond the amount appropriated the last year. Yet we are told that the deficiency for that year was more than \$31,000. Will less clerical service be required, or fewer clerks employed hereafter, than heretofore? If otherwise, wherefore comes it, that, with the experience of the past, an adequate sum is not proposed for the future? Why make an appropriation of but \$41,100, when it has been made apparent that \$72,831.44 is again to be expended? Is it to conceal from this house and the people the enormous and unmitigated expenses of a prodigal department? Whatever it is to be the cost, let it be fairly understood, not covertly and disingenuously encourage a delusive expectation, that a given sum will suffice, which experience has already shown is, by almost double the amount, to be exceeded. As a striking illustration of the unwarrantable excess of expenditure, and the utter disregard of the authority of law, I have only to refer to that authentic record of departmental abominations, "the Blue Book," so called. It there distinctly appears, that there are five assistants to the messengers, when, by law, and the very last appropriation bill, provision is made but for two; and in the same unauthorised manner, though in somewhat a less proportion, have the number of clerks been increased.

I proceed now to show, that the expense for extra clerk hire, sought to be reimbursed to the department through the instrumentality of this bill, was altogether, or in a great degree, unnecessary, and uncalled for, by any corresponding increase of business. I say *reimbursed*, because it is not to be pretended that the clerks are, to this moment, without compensation for their services in the year 1833. They have doubtless long since received their stipulated wages. The postmaster general, from those ample resources of a revenue of two and a half millions of dollars annually, or from the loans he has negotiated with the banks, his over-draughts, or anticipations of the revenue of the present year, has satisfied the claims of these pensioners upon his official liberality. The object, I repeat it, of the present appropriation is to reimburse the department the money which has thus been advanced. Let no one suppose it is to pay the faithful, hard-laboring clerk. The advancement has been made, and when the postmaster general shall show a justification for the expenditure, either by law, or in the exigencies of his office, I will be the last to oppose its being refunded. Mr. Chairman, it is to be regretted that, in relation to this department, the minority of this house, upon whom the chairman of the committee of ways and means would cast the *onus probandi*, are left to grope in the dark. Whatever may be the knowledge of others, all information is denied to us. A resolution, which I felt it my duty to offer a few days since, asking only for a communication of facts in relation to the number of clerks in the department, their assigned and appropriate duties and employments, and the fund from which they had received their pay, has met with no favor in this house. I say, sir, that this most important information, essential to an intelligent discussion of the subject before the committee, and interesting to the whole people, is withheld, unreasonably withheld, as I must think, from us.

In the absence of the best evidence, therefore, we are compelled to resort to secondary proof. I rely, then, in support of the position that the number of clerks in the post office department, in the year 1833, was unnecessary, upon the fact, that no authority was asked by the department, or given by congress, for their employment. Upon reference to the appropriation bill for that year, it will be perceived that there was a provision for the payment of extra clerk hire in the preceding years 1831 and 1832. But neither the treasury estimate, nor the appropriation bill for 1833, furnish the slightest suggestion that any such cause of expense was to continue. The estimate for clerk hire in the department in the latter year was but 41,100 dollars, and this sum was all that was appropriated. Let the honorable chairman of the committee of ways and means, in his ingenuity, and devoted fidelity to the administration, assign a reason for such an estimate and appropriation, if it had been anticipated that the proposed sum was to be, nearly to an equal amount, exceeded. And wherefore is it, if so great a number of clerks had become necessary, congress was not called upon, either by a committee of this house, or by the department itself, as had always before been the case, whenever occasion rendered it proper to pass a law authorising an additional number.

Mr. Chairman, it is quite time that the concerns of this department were more strictly inquired into, and its management severely scrutinized. It is the foulest spot, as I verily believe, in an unfaithful, corrupt and corrupting administration of the government. It is the Augean stable which, with Herculean labor, must be cleansed and purified. If gentlemen, to whom is assigned the unenviable task of defending the department, will not afford the information which, doubtless, themselves possess, in relation to its affairs, they must not complain, even should there be some misapprehension in respect to the manner of its conduct. Those who are less fortunate in the means of intelligence, must proceed with such lights as are allowed to them.

It appears, then, from the "Blue Book," that no less than *ninety two* persons, including the postmaster general, two assistants, a treasurer and a general agent, are employed in the department, at an annual charge of \$88,540. Of these, seventy-five are clerks, six messengers, two watchmen and four agents. By the Register of officers, for the year 1827, it will be seen that there were, at that time, but thirty-nine persons in all attached to the department, at an annual charge of \$47,200. Of these, thirty three were clerks, one messenger and two assistants. In the year 1828, congress authorized the addition of five more clerks; and these, with the thirty-nine persons before mentioned, are the whole number, it is believed, out of the ninety-two now employed, which are warranted by law, the residue having been appointed upon the sole, uncontrolled, and, as it now seems to be held by some gentlemen on this floor, irresponsible and unlimited discretion and pleasure of the head of the department. It might not be impertinent to inquire, before passing the appropriation, how this tribe of subordinates are employed. In the days of the predecessor of the present postmaster general, and while the business of the office was undergoing a course of systematic arrangement, and the facilities to communication were developing and being greatly extended, that distinguished officer, to whom the country is under lasting obligations for the efficiency, punctuality and certainty, given to mail transportation, was content with the number of clerks assigned to his department by law. This number, as appears by the register, never exceeded thirty eight. There might have been some excess of expense for extra service, but, if so, it was casual and inconsiderable. Whence comes it, that more than twice the number of officers are now found necessary? It may well be admitted that the operations of the department are very greatly extended, but, with the preservation of method and orderly arrangement, this need not occasion a corresponding increase of clerkships. If the same system of regulation and accountability is continued, the additional labor would, in a great degree, consist in causing a few more entries in the same set of books, filling a few more blank forms of proposals and contracts, and following out more extensively a like course of duties conforming to the enlarged scope of similar operations. It cannot seriously be pretended that, for an increase to double the extent of former post routes, and number of post officers, an addition of one-fourth the number of clerks could have been required. Does the merchant, who adds to his capital in trade, find it necessary to multiply, in the same proportion, the clerks in his counting house? A given number are necessary to his well regulated order of business. Each has his assigned department of service, and, although the capital may be increased an hundred per cent. there may be but little additional labor in its management. Before the committee shall agree to an appropriation of more than 70,000 dollars for clerk hire only, for a single year, in this department, let them be advised of the new occasion, since 1828, which has given rise to one half this expense. How were all these officers employed? The chairman of the committee of ways and means may be presumed to have knowledge on this subject, or the resolution, proposing to ask for information from the postmaster general, would not have been refused. I respectfully put it, then, to the chairman to instruct this house, what are the assigned, distinct and appropriate duties of the general agent, the examiner, and clerks of the examiner's office, solicitor and clerks of the solicitor's office, and clerks of appointments. These are designations of officers unknown to the law. On such inquiry as I have been able to make of honorable gentlemen about me, I find much diversity of impression on this subject.

The respective offices of these clerks, of various character, seem to be little understood, and are often confounded. There are five solicitors and six clerks of appointment. What are their appropriate duties? Since the policy of the government has proffered so liberally the spoils of office as the reward of victory, it may be that one set of these characteristic denominations find sufficient employment in canvassing the pretensions of candidates for preferment, while the other are equally well occupied in following out the consequences of unsuitable appointments. I mean no reproach, in this, to the clerks themselves. I am quite ready to do justice to the intelligence, capacity and fidelity of many of them. Doubtless there are those who assiduously and meritoriously devote themselves to the public service. But I maintain, that so great a number are unnecessary. The honorable member from Kentucky (Mr. *Hardin*) told us yesterday, that one of these public servants, at 1,600 dollars per annum, was a practitioner at law, attending the courts in his own state; and that another, at 1,000 dollars per annum, might be seen daily in this house in the character of a reporter for the GOVERNMENT OFFICIAL. How many more have similar indulgencies cannot be known, until the house shall please to require more accurate information of their duties and employments. A clerkship is a most convenient place in which to retain the services of political partisans; and the position of a post office establishment, in the command of the great channels of communication, the best suited to give direction and effect to the machinery of party organization and arrangement.

The financial condition of the department should furnish an additional and insuperable objection to the passage of this appropriation. It should be brought, at once, to the necessity of a full and explicit disclosure of its situation to the representatives of the people. There is ground to believe that its pecuniary affairs are in a deranged and embarrassed state, beyond a

reasonable hope that they can ever be retrieved by the skill or good fortune of those to whose management they are, at present, committed. There must be, sooner or later, a deep and searching operation, an overhauling and overturning of the doings of the department. It needs to be probed to the bottom. It was once a prosperous and creditable concern to the nation; conducted with order and method; affording all desirable facilities to communication; abstaining from associations and arrangements foreign to the object of its institution; giving universal satisfaction, and enjoying unbounded confidence.

Under the able and successful administration of the predecessor of the present postmaster general, it had become a source of certain and rapidly increasing revenue to the state. The last annual report of Judge McLean, in 1828, transmitted by the president to congress, with the documents accompanying his message, states the amount of accumulated surplus to the credit of the post office department, to be \$332,105 10. In the report of the present postmaster general, the following year, (1829), after giving a precise and critical review of the financial operations of the department, and particularly adverting to the balance of credit stated by his predecessor, he reduces the amount, by subtractions for various causes, and places the true and actual balance on the 1st of July, 1829, at \$230,849 07. Here, then, is a distinct admission that the net available funds, after he came into office, exceeded the sum of \$330,000. Nor is this all. He somewhat boastingly adds, in the same report, that "the new contracts have been made, including all the improvements, for \$19,195 37 less than the sums paid under the expiring contracts for the transportation of the mail," in a section of country to which he refers, and that "the advantageous terms of these contracts will effect a saving to the department, of about 95 per cent. in proportion to the services to be performed." He also admits that "the department has always been sustained by its own resources, and that no money, at any time, has been drawn from the treasury for the transportation of the mail, but that it has contributed to the revenue of the government."

These references are intended to prove to this committee, beyond all controversy, the prosperous state of the department, when the present officer entered upon its administration. Subsequently, and as late as November, 1832, its condition was made a subject of congratulation by the president, in his annual message to congress. "From the accompanying report (says the message), of the postmaster general, you will perceive that that department continues to extend its usefulness, without impairing its resources, or lessening the accommodation which it affords in the secure and rapid transportation of the mail."

The report referred to, fully sustains the message, and contains the express assurance that, "with all the increase of mail facilities during the year, ending the 30th of June, 1832, the revenues of the department have, within an inconsiderable sum, equalled its expenses." The surplus available fund, although somewhat reduced, is stated at \$202,811 44. There is also to be found, in that report, another assurance eminently worthy of being remembered at this occasion, that "if the ratio of increase in the nett proceeds of postages, for the year which will end on the 30th of June, 1833, shall equal that of 1832, it will amount to the sum of \$196,823, 06 above that of the last year, which will exceed the additional amount required for transportation, by more than one hundred thousand dollars, provided no further improvements shall be made, without estimating anything for postages which may arise on new routes." Following up this anticipation of the postmaster general, it will be seen by his report for 1833, that the increase of the nett proceeds of the postages of that year over the year 1832, instead of being only \$196,823, did, in fact, amount to \$247,156 16. This sum, added to the former balance of \$202,811 40 of available funds in his hands, according to his preceding report, put at his disposal, in the year ending on the 30th June, 1833, \$449,967 56 more money, than the greatest amount of the expenditures of the department in any preceding year. The gross amount of the postages of that year is given in the report at \$2,616,538 27. Yet how stands the account at the end of the year? In the very words of the report, "THE DEPARTMENT WAS INDEBTED, ON THE 1ST OF JULY, 1833, BEYOND THE AMOUNT OF AVAILABLE FUNDS DUE TO IT, IN THE SUM OF \$195,208 10!"

The manner in which the postmaster general endeavors to get rid of the former balance of 202,811 dollars to the credit of the last year, by the discovery that it had been absorbed in the expenses of the department previous to that time, speaks little in favor of that system of strict accountability which, he announced in his first report, he had introduced into the department for the correction of the "looseness and irresponsibility" which had before been permitted to exist. It might be sufficient to answer, that so gross an error in the statement of an account, with no other explanation than that "it is now ascertained, that the expenses incurred for transportation which had actually been performed, prior to the 1st of July, 1832, beyond the amount stated in that report, were \$205,656 97," without showing how those expenses had been incurred, or even suggesting the manner in which the error was committed, evinces great ignorance of the real condition of the department, or want of fidelity in the management of its affairs.

For the purpose of the present argument, however, it is entirely immaterial whether the balance was exhausted in 1833 or in the preceding years. Confessedly it existed when the department came into his hands. Admitting, then, the correction claimed by him in his last report, it only follows, that, between

the 30th of June, 1829, and the 30th of June, 1832, he had expended the whole of the surplus balance which he received from his predecessor, besides the vast accruing annual revenues of the department, and had created a debt, on the last mentioned day, according to the last account, of \$2,844 67, which, with a still increasing revenue, he had augmented, on the 30th June, 1833, to \$195,208 10 over and above all the available funds of the department. It is, moreover, to be observed, that, in his report of the preceding year, he had given a pledge, that, if the ratio of increase in the nett proceeds of the postages should continue as great as the previous year, it would exceed the additional amount required for transportation by more than \$100,000, and that, in point of fact, this ratio of increase was \$50,000 more than that of the former year. Yet what was the result? the expenditures of the year exceeded the receipts by about two hundred thousand dollars. Regarding the date to which the accounts are made up, (the 30th of June), it must be obvious that the amount could not have been greatly affected by the establishment of new mail routes at the intervening session of congress. But even this is not the worst of the condition of the department.

Mr. Chairman, I have no faith in the accuracy of the accounts as they are last stated, I have no belief that the department itself knows the extent of its own indebtedness, or, knowing, dare encounter the scrutiny which a disclosure of the truth would inevitably produce. Sir, my word for it, the deficit is not merely two hundred thousand dollars—it is now HUNDREDS of THOUSANDS MORE. I may not be able to show precisely how much, for we are here without the means of proof. But let this house adopt the resolution which seeks from the department information on the subject; grant but the subpoena; and there will be full and ample testimony to the truth. In the want of that evidence, which I repeat is withheld, I am warranted by representations quite satisfactory to my own mind, to assume, that THE DEPARTMENT IS DEEPLY INSOLVENT, that it OWES, at this moment, from EIGHT HUNDRED THOUSAND to a MILLION of dollars. That it is in debt to banks for moneys borrowed, at least, three hundred and twenty-five thousand dollars—and for over drafts upon credits for deposits exceeding one hundred and fifty thousand dollars—that it has already, to some extent, anticipated the revenue from post offices, the current quarter; and is largely in arrearages to mail contractors, upon contracts executed, or continuing, where, by the terms of the contracts, the money has become payable, to its own great discredit, and the dishonor of the nation.

Sir, the honest creditor of the government is denied or delayed his dues. If he asks for payment, he is shown a list of forfeitures, and, by insisting upon his money, he comes to understand that he may provoke a set-off in fines, or hazard the rescinding of his contract for the non-fulfilment of its severe and inexorable exactions. There is derangement, disappointment, and vexation through all the operations of the department. It has been made the instrument of political advancement, and its legitimate purposes are held in subserviency to this unwarrantable end. Complaints have been heard, loud and long, from every quarter of the land, of its irregularity and mismanagement. It has been devoted to personal as well as party objects. Post offices, in to many instances, have been unnecessarily established, and even the course of the mail made devious and sinuous in reference to post office appointments. Faithful and acceptable post masters have been removed from office for opinions' sake, and executive sycophants and demagoguing partisans rewarded with their places.

I say these things in no willingness to find fault. I would do no injustice to the postmaster general. He may, to a great degree, have been influenced by misrepresentations, and suffer wrong from the abused confidence which, weakly or inconsistently, he has reposed in others. Yet he is the responsible head of this highly important department of the government, and for much, very much, of the present embarrassment, he is most justly to be held accountable to congress and before the people.

Mr. Chairman, in rising to address the committee, it was not my purpose to become the accuser of the postmaster general. This, to me, would be an unaccustomed and a thankless office. Nor was it with a vain ambition to be heard on this floor. In competition with the many experienced and gifted men of this house, I can have nothing to hope for distinction here, and elsewhere my public course has been accomplished. This bill seemed to me to present important topics for discussion. The appropriations it proposes, involve the applications of some of the most essential principles of republican government. To these, rather than to sums of money, it will, at all times, behoove the faithful representative to give his earnest attention. Seeing those with whom I accord in sentiment, on these most interesting subjects, wearied with unceasing efforts, pressed by the votes of an unyielding majority, and almost disheartened by the conviction that further resistance or remonstrance would be alike unavailing, I felt impelled to proffer my humble aid to their relief. It was no less an obligation imposed upon me by the position, which, on a former occasion, I had assumed. I have moved the amendment to the bill in sincerity, and from a deep conviction, under the circumstances to which I have adverted, of the impropriety of making the appropriation which it proposes. However the question shall now be disposed of, there will remain to me the consciousness, that, in whatever I have said, I have intended nothing more than to discharge my duty, as I humbly trust I ever shall do, here and elsewhere, faithfully and fearlessly.