

# S P E E C H

OF

## MR. CHITTENDEN, OF NEW YORK, ON THE SUB-TREASURY BILL.

*Delivered in the House of Representatives of the United States, in Committee of the Whole on the State of the Union, JUNE 27, 1840.*

MR. CHAIRMAN:—It was my intention not to trespass upon the time of this committee in the discussion of the bill upon your table, but content myself in giving a silent vote against it. I am sensible that too much of the time of this House has already been consumed in unprofitable discussion; but having reluctantly changed my first determination, I ask the indulgence of the committee for a few moments, to enable me to make a few remarks in answer to some of the arguments and doctrines advanced by one of my colleagues, a few days since, (Mr. Floyd,) and in some general remarks. I rely with the more confidence upon the patient and kind indulgence of the House, from the consideration that it is the first time, during this long and already protracted session, that I have asked this indulgence. I regret that I should have felt the necessity imposed upon me of consuming any of the time of this House in this debate, and should not have changed my first intention, but for the extraordinary *speech* which was read by my colleague from the seventeenth district. And, sir, I most deeply regret that any man should be found in an American Congress, and more especially from my own State, and from a district which was the home of my youth, and which should occupy a high and commanding position—a district which is distinguished for the intelligence, the enterprise, the industry, and high moral and religious character of its inhabitants, and which was once and many years represented in this Hall by one of the most sound and able men in this nation, (Mr. Storrs,) now no more. I say I lament that any man should be found who should have so far lost sight of that respect which he owed to himself, and to the dignity of the station which he occupies, and to the obligations due to his constituents, as to have indulged in the use of language unbecoming his station, and derogatory to the American character—language and sentiments unsuited to a grave and deliberative assembly, but calculated to feed the most depraved and morbid appetites—to engender and excite the worst passions of our nature—to array one class of our fellow-citizens against another, and produce a state of things deeply to be deplored by every friend of equal rights and equal laws, and of a free, constitutional, and republican form of government. And I mistake much the intelligence and high character of his constituents, if they shall not frown with honest and just indignation upon the man who has condescended, for the sake of gratifying party feelings, and for mere party purposes, to become the traducer of their character, and attempt to depreciate and degrade the character of his own State in the estimation of his countrymen.

Sir, I regret that some other gentleman more competent than myself, to do justice to this subject, has not undertaken the unpleasant duty of vindicating the character of our fellow-citizens and their civil institutions from the odium attempted to be cast upon them by means of the slanders, to say nothing of the gross misrepresentations, of my colleague. I mean no personal disrespect to my honorable colleague, for I have no unkind feelings towards him, but I must be permitted to speak plainly upon this subject, and to inquire of him whether he expects to add to his fame as a legislator and statesman by the language and sentiments which he has used in this debate? Does he expect to attach himself more strongly to his immediate constituents by endeavoring to scatter jealousy, distrust, “firebrands, arrows, and death” among them? By exciting the prejudices and passions of “the poor against the rich?” I will venture to say that there is “a spice of coarseness”—a vein of obscenity and of low, fulsome, and

disgusting ribaldry contained in his remarks not suited to the tastes, or adapted to the intelligence of his constituents, and unbecoming a man occupying a seat in this Hall, and I shall be greatly disappointed if the people to whose kindness he is indebted for the station which he occupies here, shall not apply to him the doctrine of the Scotch proverb quoted in his remarks—"He that cheats me once, shame fa' him—if he cheats me twice, shame fa' me."

I appeal to my honorable colleagues, who are the supporters of this Administration, and who are stockholders in banks, to know whether they are content to have the opprobrious epithets applied to them of "federal bank aristocrats, silk-stocking gentry, bank speculators, bank followers and bank vermin," who, like Satan, have power to do evil, but neither power or inclination to do good—"who are the supporters" (to use the refined and *classical* language of my colleague) "of the wrecks of the State banks scattered throughout the country in such a profusion of corruption that the whole land stank" with them? And more especially do I appeal to my honorable colleague from the twenty-second district, (Mr. Dana,) who I understand is not only a stockholder, but a director and attorney of one of these "unprincipled corporations, organized to foster the few at the expense of the many," and "against the cupidity of which there is no law, written or unwritten—no Constitution, though purchased by the death of the brave, and inscribed with the blood of patriots, which can stay the *stealthy, serpent-like* progress of *crawling avarice*." I appeal to him to say whether these charges and insinuations are just, and whether he is willing to have them applied to him? No, sir, I know that he will repudiate them, and pronounce them to be as false as they are foul, and the emanations of a disordered intellect or depraved heart.

Sir, the man who would endeavor to excite the baser passions of our nature, and enlist the prejudices of one class of our fellow citizens against the other, for the vile and unworthy purpose of making capital, to subserve mere party purposes, would, (if occasion should require it,) stimulate to deeds of midnight darkness, would furnish the torch for the incendiary, or the stiletto for the assassin.

The gentleman commenced his remarks, by informing us of the state of the currency in 1837, "when the plan of an Independent Treasury was first laid before the country by the President." He informed us that the currency, if currency it could be called, consisted of bank paper, for which not a dollar of money could be obtained, and which was, in truth, little more than a certificate of the *great gullibility of the people*, and the fraudulent bankruptcy of those who issued it," and alleged that the officers of banks were selected "sometimes for their morality and sometimes for their *knavery*."

The gentleman, in his homily, denounced the whole banking system as "a system of speculation, fraud and knavery," and took occasion to charge the opposition to this administration with being the authors of it, and responsible for all of the consequences attending it. And lest his "democracy" might be suspected, he made a pass at the old Bank of the United States, which he vainly imagined was yet in existence. I have neither time or inclination to speak of that departed victim of relentless party persecution and Executive tyranny—an institution which once supplied us with a stable, sound and uniform currency—a currency which was the pride of our country, and the envy of the whole civilized world. An institution which was brought into existence, and which received the support of the united wisdom of the soundest heads of many of the most prominent statesmen of the age, without distinction of party. Sir, it was not until since the fatal blow was aimed at that institution, that our currency became deranged, and that we have been furnished with one that was "broken, deranged and worthless." State banks were afterwards recommended by the "illustrious chief," who was at the head of this nation, and they were promised the fostering care and protection of this Government. The consequence was, that State banks were multiplied all over our country; and they were adopted as the depositaries and fiscal agents of the Government, until they were visited with and made to feel the withering and blighting influence of the specie circular—a document conceived in folly and madness—which paralyzed the energies of almost all of the banks, and ruined thousands of individuals, who had reposed in confidence upon the plighted faith of the Government.

But, sir, is it true, as has been charged upon the opponents of the administration, that they are the exclusive friends of the banking system? That they, alone, are the authors of the credit system, which my colleague has so strongly denounced, and pronounced to be "in all of its moods and tenses, a system of *rillany*"—and which, if the passage of the bill on your table could effectually eradicate and destroy, "its

passage should be announced from city to city and from village to village, by the ringing of bells and the roaring of cannon?" A system which enables the employer of the industrious and poor man to "cheat, wrong, and defraud his hard earnings, wrung from him, each Saturday night?"

We have been informed by the biographer of Mr. Van Buren, the head of the "democracy" of this country, and who his friends say, is opposed to the use of banks for any purpose whatever, that he "has been a firm opponent, throughout his whole life, of the expansion of the banking system in the State of New York, and of a Bank of the United States." A more unblushing falsehood was never propagated by man. It is a part of his history, that he was once an applicant for a branch of the "Monster," to be established at the city of Albany, and it was not until after the mandate had gone forth, that the bank must and should be put down, that he declared his "unceasing and unqualified hostility to" that institution.

In his message to the Legislature of the State of New York, he recommended the grand "safety fund system," which proved, as it was no doubt intended by its author, that it should be one of the most powerful engines of cupidity and party machinery that was ever conceived by man. That State had, at that time, forty-eight banks, with a capital amounting to a little over \$25,000,000; the charters of a large majority of which, would expire as early as 1832. Under the system recommended by Mr. Van Buren, banks were multiplied to such an extent by that and subsequent Legislatures, embracing large majorities of his party friends, that, notwithstanding the expiration of the charters of the old banks, in 1836 their number amounted to one hundred and one, and their capital to near \$38,000,000, making an increase of nearly \$13,000,000. Such was the course pursued under this "safety party system," by those exclusive friends of the people—the simon pure democrats—in granting charters to none but those who would "bow the knee to Baal"—in appointing none but Jackson men Commissioners to distribute their stocks, thereby securing "Jackson directors," that a party influence was wielded, which became so formidable, that when it was well understood by the people, was so alarming, that it contributed much to the great political revolution which has taken place in that great and patriotic State. Should any one doubt this statement, I would refer him to the celebrated letter of Doctor Ph. Maxwell, a leading supporter of Jackson, in the Legislature of New York, to one of his political friends at Sackett's Harbor, when an application was pending before the Legislature for a bank at that place.

"ALBANY, January 6th, 1832.

DEAR JUDGE—Yours just received. There are more applications for Banks this year than ever before. You must make out a complete list of Directors, Officers, &c., and if obtained, *you* must know *how*: It MUST be a JACKSON BANK, and the BANK JUNTO in this place must be allowed to have a finger in the pie. Yours, truly,

PH. MAXWELL.

Z. ALLEN, Judge, &c."

Yes, sir, the inhabitants of that enterprising village and county, could have their wants supplied only upon condition that it was a "Jackson Bank," and that the "Bank Junto" at Albany (another name for the "Albany Regency,") should have a "finger in the pie"—or, in other words, should have *their share* of the stock. Another feature in this *disinterested democratic party* legislation for the dear people was, that the *more exclusively democratic* portion of the members of those Legislatures always made it a condition of granting a charter, that *they* should have *their share* of the stock also.

If this had been the "combination of associated wealth," that my colleague had condemned, as one composed of "Federal, aristocratic, unprincipled bank speculators and bank vermin," and who were then and are now his political friends and associates, I would have made no complaint. But when he charges those things to the Opposition to Mr. Van Buren, and endeavors to fasten upon the party of which I am proud of being a member, the odium and sins of his own party friends, I am disposed to have him set right, and can come to no more charitable conclusion, than that he is,

"Too ignorant to teach, too proud to learn."

And reminding the gentleman of the old maxim, that "we often condemn in others, what we practice ourselves," and that "a man is known by the company he keeps," I leave him "alone in his glory."

But what says Mr. Van Buren, in relation to these "monopolies," and "Federal, aristocratic combinations of associated wealth?" In his annual message to Congress in 1837, he makes use of this language:

"Banks properly established and conducted, are highly useful to the business of the country. How they should be created, what privileges they should enjoy, under what responsibilities they should act, and to what restrictions they should be subject, are questions, which as I observed, on a previous occasion, belong to the States to decide."

But, Sir, I have still higher authority, one which cannot be questioned, the opinion of the "illustrious predecessor" of the present executive, and in whose "footsteps" he has promised to tread.

In his annual message to Congress, in 1835, he says :

"By the use of the State Banks, which do not derive their charters from the General Government, and are not controlled by its authority, it is ascertained that the moneys of the United States, can be collected and disbursed, without loss or inconvenience, and that all the wants of the community, in relation to exchange and currency, are supplied, as well as they ever have been before."

Again, in his last annual message, in 1836, he remarks that :

"Experience continues to realize the expectations entertained as to the capacity of the State Banks to perform the duties of fiscal agents for the Government, at the time of the removal of the deposits. It was alleged by the advocates of the United States Bank, that the State Banks whatever might be the regulations of the Treasury Department, could not make the transfers required by the Government, or negotiate the domestic exchanges of the country. It is now well ascertained, that the real domestic exchanges, performed through discounts by the United States Bank and its twenty-five branches, were at least one third less, than those of the deposit banks, for an equal period of time ; and if a comparison be instituted between the amounts of service rendered by these institutions, on the broader basis, which has been used by the advocates of the United States Bank, in estimating what they consider the domestic exchanges transacted by it, the result will be still more favorable to the deposit banks."

And for the purpose of showing that Gen. Jackson had no constitutional scruples in relation to a charter from the General Government, and that he had no such "holy horror" of such an institution, as his followers have expressed, I read an extract from his memorable veto message :

"A Bank of the United States is, in many respects, convenient for the Government and useful to the people. That a Bank of the United States, competent to all of the duties which may be required by the Government, might be so organized, as not to infringe on our own delegated powers, or the reserved rights of the States, I do not entertain a doubt. Had the Executive been called upon to furnish a project of such an institution, the duty would have been cheerfully performed."

It will be seen, therefore, that the fulminations of my colleague against "chartered monopolies," are wholly at variance with the opinions of men, whom he claims as patterns of "modern democracy," and worthy of all imitation. And when "doctors disagree, who shall decide?" When the opinions of *three* such *great* men, who have been so distinguished for their *financial talents*, are so much at variance, how shall the plain, honest, unsophisticated and substantial portion of our citizens, arrive at proper conclusions? Without intending to express any opinion of my own upon this subject, I will venture the assertion, that experience and observation have satisfied every enlightened and reflecting man, of the utility and necessity of banks, in conducting the business operations of every enterprising and commercial community. I will adduce another authority in support of the Banking and credit system, and I shall have done with this subject. That authority I trust will not be disputed, as it is from a high official source, the Van Buren Bank Commissioners, in their report to the Legislature of the State of New York, in 1835.

"Banks have justly been esteemed as among the most useful and powerful agents, in developing the resources and stimulating the industry of the country. They may be considered one of the principal levers in that complicated machinery of credit, by which the immense business operations of the world are chiefly moved. Actual capital could not have spread half the canvas which now whitens the ocean, or give motion to half the spindles which are now in operation. But credit, as a substitute for capital, has been found to answer the purpose of labor saving machinery to manufacturing industry ; and it is to the increased use of credit, in its various shapes, during the last half century, that the world is mostly indebted for the astonishing rapidity with which manufacturing, commercial, and even agricultural improvements, have advanced.

"We are probably half a century in advance of improvements, which the actual capital and industry of the country would have effected, without the aid of an extensive system of credit.—Our citizens have risen to a degree of opulence and activity—the country has attained a degree of wealth and improvement—internal improvements have multiplied—our commerce and manufactures have grown, and the settlement of the country has progressed, to an extent, which might

have been witnessed by the next generation, but which, existing now, is beyond all parallel. The axe of the settler prostrates the forest as far in one year now, as ten years since it did in five, and the progress of improvement, in every respect, defies all calculation. It is believed to be impossible to account for the rapid augmentation of wealth, which is daily witnessed, upon any other hypothesis, than that the use which has been made of credit in this country, has been exceedingly productive. The industry and enterprise of our citizens, it is true, are unbounded; but without capital, both must always be comparatively unproductive. But combined with only a moderate capital, steadily increasing by its own accumulation, and also by profits derived from a much larger amount of credit, actively employed, astonishing results are produced.

Individual credit, in this country, may be said to be sustained, in a great measure, by the banks. They furnish their own capital and credit in aid of individual enterprise; they furnish the means of exchanging all the fruits of industry, and what is of far more importance, in this respect, they give confidence to individuals in making their contracts.

Notwithstanding, banks, by their operation, may sometimes encourage overtrading, which leads to consequent changes of property, and fluctuations in its value, and notwithstanding the community have suffered some small losses by their mismanagement; whoever duly appreciates the benefits derived from them in this State, in sustaining the credit of the government and furnishing the means of defending our frontiers during the late war—in the prosecution of our extensive works of internal improvement—and, above all, in the support which they give to that system of credit, which, to a great extent, has served as capital to build up our magnificent cities and towns—to dispatch our 3,000,000 tons of tonnage abroad—to rear our numerous and flourishing manufactories—to give activity to our immense internal trade, and to subdue our forests and to improve the cultivation of our farms, can be at no loss to estimate their value and importance.

It is impossible now to see, to what extent the vast resources of this country might have been developed, or to what point we might have attained, in the accumulation of wealth and in the improvement of our natural advantages, without the use of banks and a *currency of paper*; but it is not difficult now to see that banks are so intimately connected with all the operations of trade and industry as to be *indispensably necessary to their prosecution*. So interwoven is this connexion, in the whole texture of their business operations, that we have always found business of every kind active and prosperous when the banks were so, and depressed when they were embarrassed.

An entire specie currency would undoubtedly have exposed us to fewer fluctuations, as the entire disuse of individual credit would diminish the cases of embarrassment and bankruptcy. But who would proscribe the use of individual credit? The aggregate wealth of the country is but little affected by those revulsions in business which are incident to a system of credit. Property is not destroyed, although it changes owners. But the contributions made to the wealth of the country by the increased productiveness of labor, when combined with capital, or credit as a substitute, are incalculable. If an account could be stated with the banks upon this principle, and an estimate made of the benefits derived from them, by the community on the one hand, and of the losses suffered by them, whether by their influence upon trade or their insolvencies, on the other, we have no doubt the balance would be found to be decidedly and largely in their favor.

It is true, the system of credit, as well generally, as connected with the currency, may be extended too far, and such is the tendency of it; but yet, it would be exceedingly unwise to condemn the use of a machine, whose power was capable of the most useful service, merely because it might sometimes require regulation.

Banking, in one sense, is a monopoly, because the restraining law prohibits individuals from issuing paper for circulation as money. But it is not a monopoly in the odious sense usually attached to the term."

And, under the belief that the opinions of one of the most enlightened statesmen of the last century—a man of great experience and one to whom this nation is greatly indebted, may have their due weight and influence, in opposition to the doctrines of mere ephemeral politicians of the present day—of little experience and less practical common sense, I refer, with great pleasure, to one other authority, which will be found in the writings of Dr. Franklin, vol. 4, pp. 166 and 183:

"As to paper circulating as money, it is highly profitable, as its quick passing from one to another is a gain of time and thereby may be understood to add hands to the community; inasmuch as those who would be employed in telling and weighing, will follow other business. The issuers or coiners of paper, are understood to have an equivalent, to answer what it is issued for, or valued at; nor can any metal or coin do more than hold its value. It is impossible for government to circumscribe, or fix the extent of paper credit, which must, of course, fluctuate. Government may as well pretend to lay down rules for the operations, or the confidence of every individual, in the course of his trade."

"The idea of too great extension of credit, by the circulation of paper for money, is evidently as erroneous, as the doctrine of the nonexportation of gold and silver in bullion or coin; for were it not certain, that paper could command the equivalent of its agreed for value; or that gold and silver in bullion or coin exported, would be returned in the course of trade in some other mor-

chandise; neither paper would be used, or the metals exported. It is by means of the produce of the land and the happy situation of this island: joined to the industry of its inhabitants, that those much adored metals, gold and silver, have been procured; and so long as the sea does not overflow the land, and industry continues, so long will those metals not be wanting. And paper, in the general chain of credit and commerce, is as useful as they are.

"Moreover, as incontestible advantages of paper, we must add, that the charge of coining or making it, is by no means proportionate to that of coining metals: nor is it subject to waste by long use, or impaired by adulteration, sweating, or filing, as coins may."

If the gentleman is not satisfied with these evidences of the value and importance of a system, which he has visited with such unqualified denunciations and has declared to be, "in all of its moods and tenses, a system of villany." I would advise him, when he goes home to his constituents, to inquire of them—especially of those who were the hardy settlers of that flourishing and wealthy country—those who were then poor and without the means of paying for their farms, and who, by their credit and industry, are now enjoying all of the abundance and comforts of life, and ask them if it is a system to be condemned, as one which the poor and industrious derive no advantages from. They will enlighten his mind upon that subject. They will point out to him the effect which it has had in restoring them from humble poverty to competence and wealth—and they will also point to him that most stupenduous monument of enterprise and improvement, the Grand Erie Canal, which has contributed so astonishingly to the prosperity—the wealth and glory of that State—a work which would never have been commenced or completed, but for the credit system. Sir, without this system, the western world would still have been a wilderness, the abode of the savage and wild beasts only—instead of a hardy, enterprising, industrious and wealthy population. Our canvass would not whiten our inland seas; nor would the hum of industry be heard in our manufactories, but for the system which he has denounced.

But, says the gentleman, "I will give but one instance of the effect of this system upon State credit, and I do so with deep humiliation. The State of New York, "my own, my native land," while carrying on with careful energy and good husbandry her magnificent public works, borrowed money upon her credit. She pointed the money lender to her income, and to her actual resources, for his security; and her promises to pay were eagerly sought for, and taken at a premium of from five to ten per cent. Within a year or two, the State, under a "new impulse," has embarked under the auspices of the "credit system;" and her stocks, in a single year, fell twenty-two per cent. below par; and for every seventy-eight dollars the State received, the farms of her people are mortgaged to pay one hundred dollars, with the interest on the one hundred dollars."

Sir, when a man sets about the unworthy purpose of traducing his neighbors, and bringing dishonor upon his own country, by the utterance of a grave and deliberate untruth, he ought to feel "deep humiliation." Most sincerely do I wish, that I could have discovered in the gentleman the least evidence of humiliation, or of any other feeling that is creditable to the human heart, when he used that language, for the paltry purpose of gratifying party feelings, and venting his spleen against an administration which is the just pride of his own State. He alleges that within a year or two, that State, "under a *new impulse*, has embarked under the auspices of the "credit system," and that her stocks, in a single year, fell twenty-two per cent. below par." A more unblushing slander, or a more gross misrepresentation was never uttered. Sir, it is not true that the State has embarked in the credit system within a year or two; but it is true, that she has steadily pursued that system of credit and of internal improvements, which had been adopted and pursued under former administrations, always taking care to provide for payment of the accruing interest and principal as they should become due. The same system which has contributed so much to the glory and prosperity of the "Empire State"—and the insinuation, that the credit of that State, under its present wise and prudent administration, has been so reduced, as to depreciate her stocks in market and compel her to dispose of them, below their par value—that the farms of the industrious yeomanry are mortgaged to pay one hundred dollars and interest, for what the State received only seventy-eight dollars, is a gross libel upon her character, and not entitled to serious consideration for a single moment. I am willing to concede that there was once, a sale of State stock which had been loaned to the New York and Erie Railroad Company, and which bore an interest of four and a half per cent. only, and was not redeemable until 1854.

for seventy-eight dollars on the hundred. That, I presume, is the only foundation for the charge which my colleague has made, and which produced such "deep humiliation." But if he will take the trouble to examine that transaction, and make a calculation upon it, *according to its rate of interest* and time for redemption, he will discover the gross error he has committed.

But suppose there had been a loss, it would have fallen upon the company, and not upon the State. It was not a sale under the direction of the State. Not one farthing did the State lose upon the stocks: and it is worthy of remark, that, on the same occasion, other and six per cent stock sold for 100 cents on the dollar. "But," says the gentleman, "the credit system is, in all its moods and tenses, a system of *villany*. It has destroyed honest credit; it has almost destroyed our commercial character; it has swept millions of its blind devotees and innocent victims into the whirlpool of irretrievable insolvency; it has carried poverty and wretchedness into thousands of humble dwellings, which were before the abode of competence and happiness; it has exchanged many a happy home and fireside for the poor-house; it has degraded the moral character of your people, both at home and abroad."

No blind or deluded devotee of party was ever more mistaken. It is the present weak and profligate general administration, and not the credit system, (unless it may be the credit which has been given to a faithless Administration,) which has produced that state of things which the gentleman has described, and which produced such "painful emotions."

Again says my colleague, "if it (the sub-Treasury bill) would cut up that system by the roots—eradicate it forever from the land, it would be a glorious bill indeed." In the very next line he says, "I am no enemy to credit." "Consistency, thou art indeed a jewel." And here, with the single remark that it is to the credit system that the State of New York is indebted for her unrivalled prosperity and the high rank which she holds among her sister States, I take my final leave of the gentleman and resign him into the hands of his constituents, who, I have no doubt, will award to him more ample justice than they have received.

One word, sir, in relation to the charge of federalism which has been made, and so often reiterated, against the opponents of this bill, and of the ruinous policy of the Administration. This charge comes with an ill-grace from a party whose doctrine is "passive obedience and non-resistance" to the will of the Executive, and whose ranks are filled with some of the most rank, ultra and high-toned Federalists who ever lived in this or any other country, and who are among the most confidential friends of the Executive. Yes, sir, the odium of Federalism is attempted to be fastened upon all who dare oppose the mad schemes of the Executive. And it is worthy of remark, that the honeyed accents of Democracy and the strongest denunciations of the Federalists, emanate from the white-washed throng with which the ranks of the Administration are filled, more than from any other class of politicians. They are eternally prating about democracy, in order to conceal "the leprosy (of federalism) which lies so deep within." Look into the other end of the Capitol—look, also, through this hall, and how many of this sort of politicians do we find? Men who opposed the last war with Great Britain—who were the enemies of the illustrious Madison and of his principles, and who now belong to the simon pure democratic party. Among this number is my venerable colleague from Otsego, (Col. Prentiss,) who has been so long bleaching and whitening in the ranks of "the party," that he seems to have forgotten his former hatred of democratic principles, and open and avowed opposition to the war. And to what miserable shifts has he resorted to avoid the imputation of having been a Federalist and opposed to the war? He has made it a question of *veracity* on this floor, and a statement which he made a short time since in this Hall, will be found in the columns of the Government organ in this city.

"It was true, Mr. P. said, he was a federalist at the period referred to, [the last war,] and that he edited a paper which sustained federal doctrines. The reason was that he was born and bred in Massachusetts, the hot-bed of federalism, and that it took time and reflection to eradicate early impressions. He did oppose the declaration of war, as having been made prematurely, and without adequate preparation for a contest with such a powerful nation as England, but he utterly denied that he ever opposed the war after the contest began. So much in regard to the imputation of being a federalist and opposed to the war."

After this, we find a certificate published by the gentleman, in the same paper, purporting to be signed by a number of individuals, showing that they had *no knowledge* of his having been opposed to the war, or of his rejoicing at the success of the British

arms. When I saw that certificate, it reminded me of a son of Erin who had been convicted, upon the clearest evidence, of stealing a horse, and was asked by the court what he had to say why judgment should not be pronounced against him. His answer was—"And faith, your honor, if I had time, I would prove, by a hundred witnesses, that they did not *see me* steal the horse."

But the gentleman has furnished us with much better evidence of his friendship and support of the war—his hatred to federalism, and his unwavering attachment to democracy—as will appear from the testimony which I will adduce. It is unfortunate for an individual, sometimes, that his own written and published sentiments, rise up in judgment against him. I read extracts from the "Cooperstown Federalist," a paper published by the gentleman *during the late war*.

"Democracy then arose—*DEMOCRACY, the offspring of Jacobinism*, strangled in its birth by the mighty frown of America's chief, then assumed a "title and a name." Here, then, fellow-citizens, is its origin, an origin worthy of its subsequent exploits.

"It is with great sensations of indescribable pleasure that I find myself enabled to announce the complete triumph of the Federalists. If my humble labors in the cause of my native country have produced the change in favor of Federalism, in this county, then have I arrived at the acme of my hopes, the summit of all my wishes. The frightful Hydra of Democracy begins to droop its head before the heaven-derided spirit of Federalism. Democracy! a monster wild as that which roams the Lybian waters, and joys to drench its tusks in blood—a pestilence that spreads contagion over the whole extent of our country—a pernicious blast that withers every thing it touches.

"Can the present American War be called a war for Liberty? Does *Liberty* require that we should take Canada? Does *Liberty* demand that we should fight on the side of the French Emperor? Does *Liberty* require that we should be at war with the only nation which, besides ourselves, has any pretensions to popular freedom.

"It is a low estimate to say that we have lost thirty thousand men by sickness, capture, desertion, and disastrous battles. Yet *this waste of lives is HORRID to every breast in which humanity finds a dwelling*, and will rest on the DEVOTED HEADS OF THE AUTHORS OF THE PRESENT WAR, because there has been *no correspondent advantages*. If one MURDER always wrings the heart of its perpetrator till utterance is found and a disclosure takes place, what must be the ANGER OF OUR PRESENT RULERS, on whom the GUILT of a THOUSAND MURDERS is accumulated?

"Unite your whole force in firm indivisible phalanx, and, by the exercise of your constitutional privileges, express your ABHORRENCE OF THE WAR in which our country is engaged, &c. Our rulers at Washington had gone too far to recede with honor. They must, therefore, having dismantled our navy, *having destroyed our army*, and having exhausted our Treasury, as THEIR LAST DESPERATE ACT, plunge us into the CALAMITIES of War. Our fleets and our armies, our emissaries and our savages, are sent forth "conquering and to conquer." Attempts having been made by proclamation, those mighty engines of Executive power, to *seduce the Canadians from their allegiance*, without success, a hostile force must needs be sent TO SUBJECT THEM TO OUR ARMS. OUR MILITIA MUST BE DRAGGED FROM THEIR FAMILIES AND THEIR HOMES TO BE SACRIFICED AT THE SHRINE OF DEMOCRATIC CONSISTENCY.

"It further remains for our Democratic legislators to form an alliance with France, in order to perfect the CLIMAX OF POLITICAL ABSURDITY, to crush the restiges of liberty in Europe, and to proclaim to an astonished world that a Republic "CAN SMILE AND SMILE, AND MURDER WHILE IT SMILES."

No one, I trust, will question either the *democracy* or the *reracity* of the gentleman hereafter. Other illustrious examples, of a similar character, might be given, but let this suffice as a fair sample for the whole. Mr. Jefferson said, "we are all Federalists, we are all Republicans."

I will now, sir, proceed to examine some of the arguments which have been used in support of the bill under consideration.

It has been said that the system recommended will have the effect to render the public moneys more safe in the hands of public agents, and prevent frauds and peculations. If I could believe that it would have that effect, it would be much more acceptable to me than it now is; for experience has shown the necessity of some measure to effect so desirable an object. The losses which this Government has already sustained by means of fraudulent, faithless, and unprincipled "sub-treasurers," has been one cause of our bankruptcy and ruin. The time was when the inquiry was made, in making situations for public officers, "is he honest, is he capable, is he faithful to the Constitution?" And if that system was again to be adopted, we should hear no more of our land receivers, our custom-house officers, our district attorneys,

and other receivers of the public moneys, fleeing in such numbers to Europe and Texas, in order to escape punishment for wasting and embezzling the public funds.

But a very different system obtains at the present day, and the inquiry now made in selecting public agents is, "will he be faithful to the party, and is he an influential partisan?" Honesty, competency, and services to the country, furnish no recommendations for passport to public favor, under this Administration; and so long as this system obtains, all of your "bonds, locks, bolts, bars, and safes," provided for in this bill will afford no security for the public treasures.

Again, it has been said that this bill commends itself to our support for the economy which it provides for, in the "safe-keeping and disbursement of the public revenue." The only answer which is necessary to be given to this argument, will be found in the provisions contained in the 12th section, which reads as follows:

**SEC. 12.** *And be it further enacted,* That the Secretary of the Treasury shall be, and he is hereby, authorized to cause examinations to be made of the books, accounts, and money on hand, of the several depositaries constituted by this act; and for that purpose, to appoint special agents, as occasion may require, with *such compensation* as he may think reasonable, to be paid and declared at the time of each appointment.

I consider *that* one of the most dangerous and alarming features of this bill—as it confers most unlimited powers upon a subordinate officer. Mr. Van Buren, in his annual message to us, has said that, "simplicity and economy in the affairs of state, have never failed to chasten and invigorate republican principles, while these have been as surely subverted by national prodigality, under whatever *specious pretexts it may have been introduced or fostered.*" This is certainly sound and wholesome precept, and it may be useful to compare it with a little practice. What are the powers conferred upon the Secretary of the Treasury in that section? A power, which I will venture to say, was never conferred upon any subordinate officer, under any government, before. The power to appoint as many special agents as he pleases, and pay them any compensation which he may deem proper.

It will be recollected, sir, that the Secretary of the Treasury is an officer subject to the will and control of the Executive, and it will not be forgotten, that the power of the Executive has once been exercised in the removal of an honest and patriotic Head of that Department, for no other reason than because he refused to do the will of the Executive, in violation of his duty.

I have always understood that it was the policy of wise legislation to limit and circumscribe the powers delegated to subordinate officers. But what do we see here? A delegation of most unlimited powers, which may be perverted to the use of some ambitious demagogue, to minister to his "unchastened ambition." We are now in a state of great agitation and excitement. We have been told that, "the People expect too much from the Government;" and the doctrine which has been proclaimed from high places is, "Let the People take care of themselves, and the Government will take care of itself." We are a jealous, watchful, and confiding people. On the one hand, we have exhibited the grand, moral, and sublime spectacle of a great and powerful nation, struggling for liberty, and determined to be rid of an administration characterised by its broken promises—its extravagant expenditures—its empty Treasury, and which has brought general depression, stagnation, bankruptcy and ruin upon the country. And on the other, we see an army of office-holders, using the whole Government power and machinery, including the treasure of the nation, to secure their places and perpetuate that power, which they have most shamefully abused. On the one hand, it is a struggle for liberty. On the other, for arbitrary power and despotic sway. The struggle is a fearful and desperate one; and may well be compared to our former struggle for liberty and independence. Sir, we have a most ambitious man at the head of this Government. He is living in all the pageantry, extravagance, and profligacy of a European Monarch, at the expense of the People. He has the power of controlling your Secretary, and if the present one would not consent to minister to his ambition; in imitation of the example of his "illustrious predecessor," he can dismiss *him*, and appoint another who *will*. Under pretence of appointing "special agents," for making "examinations" of your "depositaries," as many agents as you have depositaries (and the number is alarming) may be appointed, as travelling political missionaries, with the whole Treasury of the nation in their hands, by way of "compensation," for the purpose of corrupting the people, and buying them in to the support of this administration. This is not fancy. We know that men *have* been employed and

paid by the Government, for mere party purposes; and we have good reason to believe that there will be more so employed. And what security have we against additional acts of this kind, and to any extent that may be deemed necessary? Sir, I would not confer such a dangerous and unlimited power upon the purest man living. That power may be honestly and properly exercised; but it may be converted into an engine of party tyranny, to overthrow the liberties of this country.

There is one other section of this bill which is entitled to a passing notice, in connexion with the one which I have just annexed. I refer to the 27th section, which provides "that for the payment of the expenses authorized by this act, other than those hereinbefore provided for, a *sufficient* sum of money be, and the same is hereby appropriated, to be paid out of any money in the Treasury not otherwise appropriated." Did any man ever hear of such an appropriating clause in a bill as this? A *sufficient* sum of money—just so much as the wants of an ambitious demagogue may require to have placed in the hands of his travelling emissaries, by his obsequious Secretary, is appropriated, to be paid out of any money in the Treasury. This provision has probably been inserted from the necessity of the case. As the number of officers, agents, and clerks is *unlimited*, and their compensation *undefined*, it was difficult to fix any particular sum to be appropriated, and hence this most extraordinary provision. I would propose, sir, as an improvement in legislation hereafter, and one which will certainly have economy to recommend it, as it will be attended by a great saving of time and money, that we pass a general act of appropriation in these words: "*Be it enacted*, That for the payment of the expenses of this Government, other than those now provided for by law, a *sufficient* sum of money be, and the same is hereby appropriated, to be paid out of any money in the Treasury not otherwise appropriated." This would be "a simple machine," which, in the hands of this Administration, would answer its purposes exceedingly well.

And while upon the subject of economy, about which so much has been said, but which has never been practised by this Administration, I desire to say a few words more, and furnish a little evidence. It is a fact well established in the history of parties, that the present Administration owes its existence to the hue and cry against the extravagance and prodigality of the Administration of Mr. Adams, and to the promises of economy, retrenchment, and reform, in case of a change. Now mark the sequel, and see how those promises have been violated—promises which were false, hollow, and insincere—intended to be violated, and made only to deceive and impose upon the honest and unsuspecting portion of the community—as a means of securing a passport to power and place.

The following table exhibits the expenses of the present and former Administrations:

1825,	-	-	-	-	-	\$11,490,459
1826,	-	-	-	-	-	13,062,316
1827,	-	-	-	-	-	12,653,095
1828,	-	-	-	-	-	13,296,041
Mr. Adams's Administration,						\$50,501,911
Average for each year, \$12,575,477.						
1829,	-	-	-	-	-	\$12,660,490
1830,	-	-	-	-	-	13,229,533
1831,	-	-	-	-	-	13,861,067
1832,	-	-	-	-	-	16,516,388
1833,	-	-	-	-	-	22,713,756
1834,	-	-	-	-	-	18,425,417
1835,	-	-	-	-	-	17,514,950
1836,	-	-	-	-	-	30,868,164
Gen. Jackson's Administration,						\$145,792,735
Average for each year, \$18,224,095.						
1837,	-	-	-	-	-	\$39,164,745
1838,	-	-	-	-	-	40,427,218
1839,	-	-	-	-	-	31,815,000
Mr. Van Buren's three first years,						\$111,416,955
Average for each year, \$37,135,651.						

From this statement, it will be seen that the expenses under this "people-loving, money-saving, economical, democratic administration," have amounted to more than *three* times what they were under the "prodigal, wasteful and extravagant adminis-

tration of Mr. Adams." What a magnificent improvement in economy is here exhibited? And how do the friends of the administration account for this extraordinary increase of our expenses? Generally, the answer given is, that our population has increased in a similar ratio with our expenses. But this is untrue. A much better answer can be given. By looking into the increase of officers, the increase of their salaries, the sums which we are charged by the government harpies under the head of "*contingent expenses*," (amounting in some cases to more than their salaries,) including the moneys that have been squandered, in pursuing a miserable remnant of Indians, in the swamps and everglades of Florida, and embracing the amount which has been lavished upon "party tools," without authority of law, a most satisfactory answer will be found.

I ask the attention of the committee for a few moments, to a report, made to this House, by the Secretary of War, on the 1st of February, 1839, containing an account of a government agent, (R. H. GILLET,) a "stern democrat," and warm, *disinterested* friend and supporter of this administration, embracing a statement of the expenses of a "Seneca delegation of Indians." It should be borne in mind, that this agent resides at Ogdensburgh, near Mr. Senator Wright, and that the Indians reside in the western part of the State of New York, several hundred miles from this honest and patriotic agent. He was probably selected, because he was more "purely democratic," than any person who could be found in the neighborhood of the Indians. Let us look into some of the items of the account rendered by this "faithful and disinterested" supporter of this administration, who has grown rich, at the expense of honesty, and the sacrifice of *principle*.

" FEBRUARY 15, 1838.

" Paid Ferris & Eaton,			
For various articles of clothing,	-	-	\$17,00
Do.	Do.	-	14,25
Do.	Do.	-	77,87
Do.	Do.	-	70,00
Do.	Do.	-	60,63
Do.	Do.	-	90,25
Do.	Do.	-	108,00
Do.	Do.	-	47,00
Eight different items, at one place, in the same day			\$515,00 "
" For expenses of eight persons from New York to Philadelphia, (stated that the vouchers could not be taken for their payments.)			\$28 00
For expenses of eight persons from Philadelphia to Baltimore, (stated that vouchers could not be taken for their payments.)			32 00
For expenses of eight persons from Baltimore to Washington, (stated that vouchers could not be taken.)			20 00
For three and a half days board for delegation at Albany.			46 00
For expenses, &c., at New York. (the vouchers for which has been <i>mislaid</i> .)			83 00
For one day's board of eight persons, <i>fire, champagne, cigars, &amp;c.</i> ,			21 00
For board of eight persons, <i>cider and cigars</i> ,			19 75 "
<i>Note.</i> —The three last charges are for expenses in New York, when <i>travelling to Washington</i> , and embrace the <i>expenses</i> of the honest agent, who (as will be seen) charged \$8 per day for his services, besides expenses.			
" For board 1 day of eight persons, <i>champagne</i> , and <i>fire</i> in chamber, at Barnum's Baltimore.			20 00
For <i>incidental</i> expenses from Buffalo to Washington, (furnishes only a few bills of on the road, &c.)			310 00
For board and lodging of the Seneca delegation of New York Indians, including <i>agent</i> and interpreter, being 8 persons, from March 9th, 1838, to June 16th inclusive, one hundred days, at \$2 50 per day,			2,000 00 "
(It should be borne in mind that good boarding could be obtained in the City, for less than \$10 per week.)			
" For <i>shaving and cutting hair</i> for the Seneca delegation in Washington 3 months			15 00
For expenses of returning from Washington to Buffalo			200 00
For board of the Seneca delegation, including agent, ten persons, for eight days, at \$2 a day, and for washing and shaving, and refreshments, (City Hotel, New York,)			169 25
For <i>incidental</i> expenses on the way to Buffalo,			200 00
For <i>incidental and contingent</i> expenses during three months stay at Washington, and on the return homewards, on the road to New York, for ten persons,			240 00
For cash advanced to the delegates for <i>private</i> expenses,			210 00

For his services as commissioner, in travelling from his residence at Ogdensburgh to Washington, 704 miles and back, at \$8 per day, 20 miles travel	563 20
For 111 days spent at Washington in attending to his official duty, at \$8 per day	880 00
For copying commissioner's special report	10 00
For provisions furnished to the New York Indians at Council to wit, 58 1-4 barrels of pork and 98 barrels of flour,	2,168 75"
(The council lasted 9 days, and the number of Indians in attendance was about 80. What appetites they must have had!)	
"For services as commissioner, between 14th of July and 22nd January, 1839,	- 2,718 00"

Here is an exhibition of *economy*, that is worthy of the attention of all, especially of the laboring portion of the community, whose wages are to be reduced, by the measure, now in progress.

Such an account, I will venture to say, was never made by any man, who had any just pretensions to honesty. More than \$14,00 per day, nearly 100 miles excess of travel, besides excessive and exorbitant charges for travelling expenses, including *segars, champagne, cider, &c.* Who will doubt, for a moment, that this man is a *conscientious* supporter of Mr. Van Buren? This is a fair sample of a variety of accounts, which may be found in the various departments, and is a specimen of that "simplicity and economy in the affairs of State," recommended by Mr. Van Buren, and which he says "have never failed to *chasten and invigorate Republican principles.*"

Accounts of this kind, made by men "wanting principle and wanting bread," and sanctioned by a profligate administration, furnish some of the reasons of our being so deeply in debt, and being obliged to resort to loans in the shape of Treasury Notes, to carry on the operations of government.

And it may be useful to look into the condition of this economical administration now, and compare it with what it was at its commencement. In so doing, we shall obtain information desirable to every man, who has the happiness and prosperity of his country at heart.

The act authorizing a distribution of the surplus revenue, directed that on the 1st day of January, 1837, there should be retained in the Treasury \$5,000,000, and the balance should be distributed, among the States.

There was, in fact, retained upwards of	\$6,000,000
Three bonds given by the United States Bank, for the stock owned by the United States in said Bank, and since collected by Mr. Van Buren.	6,000,000
Bonds for duties due before 1837, and which were extended on account of the great fire in New York, and which fell into the <i>receipts</i> after Mr. Van Buren came into office, about	6,000,000
The fourth instalment of surplus, directed to be distributed to the States, and which has been withheld from them, by the act of October, 1837, about	9,000,000
If we regard the \$2,000,000 of Treasury notes <i>as paid</i> , which were outstanding and which have not yet been called in, then we must charge the lately authorized issue of Treasury notes,	5,000,000

Making in the aggregate \$32,000,000

Thus it will be seen that Mr. Van Buren has expended, since he came into power, <i>over and above all the accruing revenue</i> , the sum of	\$27,000,000
And run the country in debt	5,000,000

The total amount of expenditure beyond the income of the Government, is \$32,000,000

Suppose that there had been no means on hand to support the government when Mr. Van Buren came into power, except the regular income of revenue, provided for by law, from imports and sales of public lands, what would have been our present condition? We should have been \$32,000,000 in debt, without any other means of paying it, except a resort to *direct taxation*, and to this we must come, in case this profligate administration should be continued in power. There is no other escape from *Direct Taxes*, but by changing the administration and having retrenchment and economy carried into *practice*, instead of existing in *profession* only. We have had *profession without practice*, until the nation has been brought into a state of bankruptcy and ruin.

Mr. Van Buren has been in office a little more than three years, and has expended \$32,000,000 of capital, besides the income of the government, and in case he should be re-elected, and proceed in the same ratio, at the end of his eight years, he will have in-

volved us in a debt of more than \$71,000,000! And if it be true, that "a national debt is a national blessing," then will Mr. Van Buren have covered this country with a *blessing* that will endure until removed by the hands of the *tax-gatherer*.

But, sir, the increase of power and patronage conferred upon the Executive by this bill, is one of its most alarming features. Mr. Jefferson in a letter to James Madison, dated March 15th, 1789, has well said that, "The Executive power in our government is not the only, perhaps not even, the principal object of my solicitude; the tyranny of the Legislature, is the danger most to be feared, and will continue to be so for many years to come. *The tyranny of the Executive, however, will come in its turn, but at a more distant period.*

*That period has now arrived.*—The power and patronage of the Executive has become truly alarming, and should not be increased. He has already more than 100,000 office-holders at his command, and more obsequious and subservient slaves are no where to be found. Besides, there are clerks and other subordinates, almost without number. For the purpose of intimidation, and of overawing those who are occupying places under the government, and preventing them from exercising the elective franchise, a right "inestimable to freemen and formidable to tyrants only," the mandate has already gone forth, through the columns of the *Globe*, that none but *democrats* shall be retained in office, after the next election. The influence of this army of officers, especially at our elections, has become truly alarming, and unless it can be checked, will become irresistible and overwhelming.

In addition to this power, the Executive is the Commander in Chief of your Army and Navy, and we have recently seen with trembling solicitude and fearful anxiety and alarm, the attempt which has been made of arming and disciplining 200,000 militia, and placing them at the disposal and under the control of a "Democratic President." And the attempt is now being made to place the treasury of the Nation at his command—to unite the purse and the sword in the hands of one individual. And what additional power could the most designing, the most ambitious, and the most aspiring demagogue seek or desire? Indeed, what more could be given him? Pass this bill, and the People will have surrendered *every thing*, and the Executive will possess *all power*. We have already seen the fulfilment of the prediction of a distinguished individual, who now occupies a seat in the other end of this Capitol, (T. H. Benton,) and who holds a high rank among the friends of this Administration. I beg leave, sir, to refer to a celebrated report of his, upon the subject of Executive patronage, some years since. It is a report, drawn up with distinguished ability, and is full of instruction. One which should be perused by every supporter of this Administration—its contents become the subject of deep and constant reflection, and of the most earnest solicitude, for the stability of our Government. I read from the report which was made to the Senate on the 4th May, 1826. Congress Document, Vol. 4, pp. 133, 137.

"The exercise of great patronage in the hands of one man, has a constant tendency to sully the purity of our institutions, and to endanger the liberties of the country."

After giving an example of this power of patronage, by referring to the Custom-house in the city of New York, the report proceeds:

"A formidable list, indeed! Formidable in numbers, and still more so from the vast amount of money in their hands. The action of such a body of men, supposing them to be animated by one spirit, must be tremendous in an election; and that they will be so animated, is a proposition, too plain to need demonstration. Power over a man's *support*, has always been held and admitted to be, power over his *will*. The President has power over the support of all these officers, and they again have power over the support of debtor merchants to the amount of ten millions of dollars per annum, and over the daily support of an immense number of individuals, professional, mechanical, and day-laboring, to whom they *can* and *will*, extend or deny, a valuable private, as well as public patronage, according to the part which they shall act in *State* as well as *Federal* elections.

"The power of patronage, unless checked by the vigorous interposition of Congress, must go on increasing, until Federal influence, in many parts of this confederation, will predominate in elections, as completely as British influence predominates in the elections in Scotland and Ireland, in rotten borough-towns, and in the great naval stations of Portsmouth and Plymouth.

"The whole of this great power will centre in the President. The King of England is the fountain of honor—the President of the United States is the source of patronage. He presides over the entire system of federal appointments, jobs and contracts—he has power over the support of the individuals who administer the system—he makes and unmakes them—he chooses from the circle of his friends and supporters, and *may* dismiss them, and, upon all the principles

of human action, *will* dismiss them, as often as they shall disappoint his expectations. His spirit will animate their actions, in all the elections to State and Federal officers. Patronage will penetrate this body—subdue its capacity of resistance—chain it to the car of power, and enable the President to rule as easily, and much more securely with, than without the nominal check of the Senate.

“We must then look forward to the time, when the public revenue will be doubled; when the civil and military officers of the Federal Government will be quadrupled; when its influence over individuals will be multiplied to an infinite extent; when the nomination by the President *can carry any man through the Senate, and his recommendation can carry any measure through the two Houses of Congress*; when the principle of public action will be open and avowed.—*The President wants my vote and I want his patronage; I will vote as he wishes, and he will give me the office I wish for.* What will this be but the government of one man, and what is the Government of one man but a *Monarchy*? Names are nothing. The nature of a thing is in its substance, and the name soon accommodates itself to the substance.

“The President may, and in the current of human affairs, will be, *against the People*; and in his hands the arbiters of human fate must be against them also. This will not do. *The possibility of it must be avoided.* The safety of the People, is the “Supreme law;” and to ensure that safety, these arbiters of human fate must change position, and *take part on the side of the People.*”

Sir, what was once prophecy is now history, and the time has arrived, and we now witness it, “when the nomination of the President *can carry any man through the Senate, and his recommendation can carry any measure through the two houses of Congress.*” And what is this but a *monarchy*? It is a Republic only in name. Since the making of that report, the power and influence of the Executive has been increased to an alarming extent. Instead of there being but one hundred and seventy-five officers attached to the custom house in the city of New York now, as under the Administration of Mr. Adams, (an Administration which will ever occupy a bright page in our history;) by examining the “Blue Book” of the present year, it will be found that their number has been increased to *four hundred and ninety-one*, almost three times the number. Their salaries at that time amounted to only \$161,178 89. Under this “democratic and economical administration,” they amount to \$543,540 99, more than *three times* the amount!! The salaries of clerks, were then from \$500 to \$650, now they amount to from \$600 to \$1,250, making a difference of nearly one-half; and among those high custom house officers will be seen the names of individuals belonging to a party in 1837, which were thus described in the Albany Argus, the leading organ of Mr. Van Buren in that State, and were among his most devoted supporters:

“No portion of the Republicans of this county or State, we trust, entertain any feelings in common with the distinctive views of that faction, originating in the city of New York, KNOWN AS THE LOCO FOCOS, and of which we have a small number in this county; that we regard their doctrine and principles as utterly abhorrent to all principles of republicanism or morality and of the good order of society, and at war with the safety of our civil and religious institutions; and that any attempts by any party to court their favor or support, for any purpose whatever, we are satisfied would and *should* produce defeat and disgrace.

The same party that Mr. Ritchie, in the Richmond Enquirer, the leading organ of this administration in Virginia, in the same year, (when it was opposing this Sub-treasury system,) declared to be “the *rabble followers of the camp—the Loco-loco Destructives*, who constituted no part of the *Republican party.*” The same men who are now, and were then, at war with our civil and religious institutions, are the leading men in the ranks of the administration in the city of New York!! Yes, sir, the influence of this array of Custom-house officers is brought into conflict with the purity and freedom of our elections in that city, and exercises a most overwhelming and controlling influence. They are all electioneering partizans—that is the tenure by which they hold their offices. Swarms of Custom-house officers are scattered all along the shores of our Northern and Southern Lakes, who are the most seditious and active partizans to be found, and some of whom are appointed to perform *no other duties.* Yes, sir, to perform the services for the party, and not duties to the country. I know of an instance in my own district, where an individual was employed by a collector to *peddle Administration newspapers* on the eve of an election, and *paid out of the Public Treasury*, at the rate of \$30 per month—and he performed no service appertaining to the customs! These are among the fruits of a weak and corrupt administration, which claims to have so much *love for the people.*

Mr. Chairman. We have arrived at a period in the history of our country, which is truly alarming. The attempt is being made to *force* upon the American people, a scheme of the Executive, which one of his most ardent supporters once declared to be "disorganizing and revolutionary, subversive of the fundamental principles of our government, and which would expose the Treasury to be plundered by a hundred hands where one cannot now reach it." A system which a distinguished *Federal Senator* who is a friend of the administration, has recommended to us, because "*it will be the means of bringing down wages and prices, to a level with the world, and cover our country with blessings.*" A system which will reduce and degrade the most numerous, hardy and industrious portion of our fellow citizens, the bone and sinew of the country, to a level with the mere serfs of Europe. "Power is always stealing from the many to the few." The attempt is being made to concentrate all power in the hands of one individual. A most fearful measure is to be forced upon this country, by means of party discipline, in obedience to an Executive mandate. This is the *fourth* time that it has been urged upon Congress and upon the country, and it has been pursued and persevered in, with a pertinacity, unbecoming the head of a great, magnanimous and intelligent people. It is a system, which, in my judgment is fraught with the most imminent danger to the liberties of this great Republic. When this measure was first urged upon us, it met with little favor, even among its present most ardent admirers and supporters. The history of our country does not present a parallel, to the extraordinary means which have been resorted to by an unscrupulous administration, to force this measure upon the country. It has been so obnoxious, so revolting to the good sense of many of the supporters of this administration, that it has been three times rejected by an American Congress, a majority of whom were friends and supporters of the administration. In order to ensure the success of this scheme of mad ambition, emanating from a man, who never originated a single measure in his life, that was calculated to benefit his country, whose whole life has been characterised by the most sheer selfishness, the most unscrupulous means have been adopted.

Sir, the whole machinery of party has been put in operation, and all the appliances of a cunning and ambitious demagogue, have been brought into requisition, to carry into effect a system, which will confer more power upon an American President, than was ever conferred upon a crowned head in Europe. Yes, sir, and I say it "more in sorrow than in anger," members of congress have been cajoled, threatened, and even *bribed* into the support of a measure, which was revolting to their principles, and which their consciences and better judgment condemned. Yes, sir, more than one member of Congress, has been induced, at the sacrifice of principle, but in submission to the will of the Executive, to

"Crook the pregnant hinges of the knee,  
That thrift might follow fawning."

Sir, "men change, principles never." Some men change from interest or ambition; others, from an honest conviction of error. The one should be avoided, despised and contemned—the other should be sustained, encouraged and respected, by all.

The country has yet been preserved from the blighting and withering influence of this astounding scheme of the Executive, by means of a Spartan band, who were found in the ranks of the administration, and who realized that they "had a country to save as well as a party to serve." Men who dared be honest and act like freemen, uncontrolled by party machinery, unawed by Executive powers, and unsubdued by promises of reward—men who preferred the path of duty, of patriotism, and of honor, to the allurements of office, or the triumphs of party. Those men will receive the plaudits of "well done, good and faithful servants," and their memories will live in the grateful remembrance and affections of their countrymen, while those who have pursued and persecuted them with partizan vengeance and hatred, will be consigned to the shades of oblivion, or remembered only for their party servility.

Gen. Jackson, on surrendering the Executive Chair remarked, that "at the moment when I surrender my last public trust, I leave this great people prosperous and happy." And will it be pretended that this is our condition now? No, sir, the ruinous experiments of this administration have spread suffering and devastation all over the land. We have been told, however, that there is no distress in the country. But this is not true; and I pity the ignorance of the man who does not know better. Look at your sea board and see your vessels rotting at your wharves, and your sailors without employment. Look at your manufactories where the hum of industry was once heard,

but is now hushed; and see them prostrate and decaying. Look to your agricultural and mechanical interests, and see if they are prospering under the benign and fostering care and protection of this Government? Ask the farmer and manufacturer whose products are wasting upon their hands for want of a market—or the laborer who is vainly seeking employment, if there is no distress? The Executive has been appealed to by his suffering countrymen to stay his rash and ruthless hand—to put an end to his reckless and ruinous experiments. But the appeal has been made in vain. The answer has been, “the people expect too much from the Government;” and under the cherished name of “democracy,” he asks more power.

Have the people ever asked for the passage of this bill? Never. So far from it, sir, the people of the “Empire State,” which is the residence of that Senator, who has been the “humble instrument” of the Executive, in forcing it upon the country, have three times set their seal of condemnation upon it. She has already spoken in a voice which cannot be mistaken; and the next time she speaks, will carry dismay to the heart of her faithless Senator, and terror to the heart of her recreant and “rejected son.” Yes, sir, the voice of a large majority of the votes of the unpurchased freemen of that State, which I am proud to call my own, will, the next time it shall be heard, sound the political death-knell of the “Northern man with Southern principles,” and teach her faithless Senator a lesson which he will never forget.

Sir, we have fallen upon evil times. We are apparently in the midst of revolution. A nation which, but a short time since, was “prosperous and happy,” with an overflowing Treasury, is rising almost in mass to regain power, which has been wrested from them in the name of democracy. They have been insultingly told to “take care of themselves, and that the Government would take care of *itself*.” They have taken the Government at its word, and determined to redress their own grievances; and as certain as the “Ides of November” shall come, they will do so. Under promises and professions of economy, they have witnessed the excess of extravagance and prodigality. Under professions of a just regard to the rights of the people, and the safety, welfare, and prosperity of the country, they have seen the frontier portions of our country exposed to a foreign enemy and neglected—a total disregard to the improvement of our harbors, and the security of navigation upon our inland seas—and individual, but meritorious claims, entirely disregarded. In the name of democracy, they have seen a most desperate grasp for unlimited power. They have witnessed an attempt to unite the purse and the sword, of this great and powerful nation, in the hands of one man; and to accomplish this unholy purpose, they have seen a sovereign State disfranchised and her representatives driven from this Hall, and their violated and bleeding Constitution, consecrated by the blood of her noblest sons trampled in the dust. They have seen the head of one of the Departments, enjoying a salary of \$6 000 a year, who has grown rich at the expense of the people, under the miserable pretence that “the excitement produced by political writing would improve his health,” and that by “poverty” required it, resign his office, abandon his salary, and become a “beggarly mendicant,” in order to insure the passage of this odious bill and to retain power, which has long been abused. They have seen this “prince of ingratitude” become a base calumniator of every good man who dare oppose the designs of an administration which is literally festering in its own corruption. Yes, sir, all these things, and many more, have a jealous, watchful, and confiding people seen with the deepest solicitude and alarm, and their slumbering energies have been aroused to action. The contest is a fearful one; but stimulated by their sufferings, and impelled by every obligation of duty, of honor, and of patriotism, they have determined to buckle on their armor, and maintain those rights which were secured to them by the best blood of the Revolution. The day star of their hopes has risen in the West to light them to victory, to happiness, and to glory.