

discovered, it is presumed that in less time more will be sacrificed, unless the people rise in their might and put an end to such mad and reckless folly.

But the circular says, all the Secretaries, preceding Mr. Taney "claimed and exercised, without being questioned, the absolute and unconditional power, &c. &c. This is an assertion, which I am constrained to say, is absolutely false, and glad would I be to find an apology in the ignorance of our author: I would much rather impute to him ignorance, however humiliating, than an intention to deceive and impose upon the public. Mr. Hutchison, who writes with such freedom, ought at least to have the documents in his possession, otherwise write with a little more caution: and I have no doubt, but he has the letters relied upon for proof, as they were published in the Globe, from which the circular is extracted. I have no doubt, I say, but Mr. H. has these documents, and therefore my difficulty in finding an apology consistent with his moral character. The only possible apology, arises from his constant perusal of the reckless assertions of Blair, Kendall and Lewis, until he has become confused, and it is not the first aspiring politician that has mistaken white for black and black for white. Examine the orders of Alex. Hamilton, Gallatin, Dallas, Crawford, Rush and Ingham, and you will not find a line, to authorise the above sweeping assertion. These orders and letters are now before me and there is nothing to justify the circular. In these documents there is evidence of the right and power of the Secretary to make remittances—to draw from the Bank to meet appropriations; but Mr. H. knows this is a vastly different thing from removing the deposits from where the law has placed them. There is one document, which by withholding all the facts, may justify the assertion, so far as Secretary Crawford is concerned. He had in some cases like Mr. Taney, diverted the public funds, to sustain the local Banks, and what was the result? an investigation of his conduct, and though the committee of the House of Representatives, acted as favorably towards him as possible, yet they were compelled by regard to truth, expressly to declare "that this is no legal employment of public funds: it is nothing but a gratuitous loan." With this solitary fact before him, is it not passing strange, that the author of the circular writes with the freedom which he does. The only instance, which bears upon the case, condemned by a committee of the House of Representatives—I have said the only instance; but there is another claim set up, though never acted upon. Mr. Ingham at that time the staunch friend of the President, threatens to withdraw the deposits from the Bank because the Bank refused to turn out the President of the Branch at Portsmouth and put in one favorable to Gen. Jackson. But observe, Mr. Ingham never put his threat into execution. He found the "monster" Biddle, a man of too much moral worth to lend his influence to destroy the liberties of his country, and interfere with the freedom of elections. He found him a man of too much integrity to be cajoled by flattery or driven by fear. Had Mr. Biddle loaned the influence of the Bank to that of the administration, nothing could have prevented a regular succession of Presidents, in the line, the President might have chosen. And now the people are called to put down that Bank, which has stood mainly in the way of executive usurpation, and therefore been a safeguard to our political institutions. Because the Bank refused to be corrupted, the whole power of the executive has been brought to bear upon it. First the cry of Mad dog was set up, in which all the curs, Tray, Black and Sweetheart joined: the Bank was not safe,—it had not specie enough. This led to an investigation as to its concerns, and the House of Representatives pronounced it safe, and directed the deposits to be continued. The second charge brought against the Bank, in the last message, was, that it had too much money. Did ever any body see such a perverse Bank? First, I told the people, it had not money enough, and all the train joined in the cry—still the Bank would not part with any of its capital. Then I told the people, it had too much money and all the pack, from Mr. Kendall up to the author of the circular, faithful to their master, cried out "too much capital." Now what is to be done with such a perverse Bank? Instead of throwing away any of its gold and silver, it is actually accumulating.—Dog's take it this beats me. Notwithstanding the hard measure meted out to the Bank—notwithstanding the Secretary combined in his own person, the character of Judge, Jury, prosecutor and executioner—Notwithstanding such persecution the Bank continued to pursue the even tenor of its way—Notwithstanding all this, some have been found so selfish in their schemes, as to endeavor to ride into power over the misfortunes of the Bank; and in their ambitious schemes, to thrust at the freedom of our institutions. Such would seem to be the view of the author of the circular, for having invested his Secretary with "absolute and unconditional power," he next furnishes the reasons for a breach of the public faith, in the removal of the deposits.

1. He brings up the antiquated and thread bare story of the three per cent. and makes a heavy draught upon the credulity of his readers. Like a Parrot that has been taught to repeat certain words, and certain

cant phrases, he, by conning over the Globe which contains the offals of the Kitchen, has learned certain things, (and among others these things called reasons) as put as A. B. C. and because he is able to repeat them, he ventures upon their publication, presuming that his fellow citizens are as really devoid of information as himself. In the year 1832, the Bank was required to pay of about 12 millions of debt, bearing interest at 3 per cent. Something like 5 millions of this was held in Europe. The President of the Bank foreseeing that the payment of so large a sum, would likely embarrass the trading community; as the Bank would not be able to accommodate to so great an extent borrowers, wisely judged that if the foreign stockholders would consent to wait a twelve month, it would accommodate the public. The proposition was accordingly made and they, glad of the opportunity, at once embraced it. The Bank therefore assumed the debt, and the European stockholders looked to the Bank for payment when the time came round. The arrangement was happily conceived, and wisely executed, and so far from subjecting the officers of the Bank to unfavorable reflections, it should call forth the gratitude of all who do not wish to see the community unduly embarrassed. It was an arrangement I say, happily conceived, for it averted embarrassment—injured no one, but benefited all concerned. The Bank paid 3 per cent. and loaned out at 6 per cent. and by the transaction, the Government, as a stockholder, realized 30,000 dollars, and which, by the by, comes very opportunely to relieve it in its bankrupt condition. Now who is there in the whole of this transaction that has any reason to complain? Not the Government, for the debt was paid, and the Government received by the transaction 30,000 dollars, or rather 29,000, as Mr. Hutchison is careful to inform us, that Gen. Cadwallader received 5,000 dollars for his services, and as the Government is a stockholder to one fifth in the Bank, so it was 1000 dollars out of Uncle Sam's pocket,—accordingly the account must stand thus: The Government received 29,000 dollars by the arrangement—the Bank 120,000,—borrowers were accommodated—and the European stockholders preferred to receive three per cent. on their stock, for a year longer, rather than receive pay at once. It is a master piece of imagination, that can fault the Bank in this transaction, and if reasons were as plenty as blackberries I would never think of offering another. But we have another, and pretty much of the same kind, only the character of the Secretary does not appear quite so amiable.

2. The second reason which Mr. Hutchison gives, by way of justifying the removal, is drawn from the conduct of the Bank in regard to the French Bill. It appears that the citizens of the United States have claims on France for spoils, to the amount, principal and interest, of 51 million. Mr. Rives as Minister to France, succeeded in getting an allowance, by way of indemnification, to the amount of 25 millions of France, which is only about the tenth of what is said to be due justly: but preferring to receive this, rather than run the hazard of getting nothing, he closed the treaty on these terms. The administration, as usual, began to trumpet up the fame of the Minister, and it was a new diadem in the cause of the present Chief Magistrate. The French Minister seeing the transaction blazed abroad, and paraded in every administration paper from Maine to Georgia, concluded that there must be some latent cause for such congratulation, and as a matter of course, thought that the Government of France had been imposed upon in the claims presented, and that Mr. Rives had overreached in the transaction. Coming to this conclusion, payment was refused. Well, when the time stipulated for the first instalment came round, the Secretary of the Treasury drew a bill of Exchange upon the French Government for \$900,000. The Bank proposed to collect it and pay over the proceeds, when received. But the Secretary would not employ the Bank as an agent, but sold the Bill to the Bank, and therefore the absurdity of Mr. H. saying in the last sentence of the paragraph, "Does such conduct comport with the character of a faithful agent?" Now Mr. H. either knew that the Bank had bought this bill, or he did not know it. If he knew it, and yet attempts to fix a stigma on the Bank, insinuating that this was a part of its fiscal agency, then he is guilty of attempting deceit upon those whom he is so anxious to represent in the House of Commons, and resorting to foul and dishonourable means, in order to carry his point. If he did not know it, he ought not to carry with him such a portion of assurance. Confidence was ever a retainer to ignorance.

To return. The bill was presented in Paris, payment refused, and the bill protested. It was taken up by a friend of the Bank and returned with the amount of damages accruing. The Bank of course, returned it to the Secretary, requiring payment in full. The fact stands thus, If the Secretary had a right to draw upon France, then France must pay the damages—But if not, then the Government must do so. If Mr. H. sells me a claim, and I find that he has no right to such a claim, I hold him accountable not only for the claim, but for the loss I may sustain by it. If the officers of the Bank had not demanded damages they had been unfaithful to the stockholders, and

unworthy of their post. It would have been a most aggravated and wanton dereliction of duty. The difficulty every one perceives arose from the boastful Administration. Had there been less vaunting at the successful treaty, the payment of the bill would have been promptly made: But it is not the first loss the community has sustained, through the flattery and adulation of the minions of the court; nor the first onset which has been made upon the Bank, to screen their profligacy, and other misdeeds.

3. A third reason assigned for the removal of the deposits, is the supposed interference of the Bank in elections, and influencing the press. This is based upon the extension of its loans. But the wise contrivers of this design ought to have recollected that the loans were greatly extended in 1831, when no election was pending and never was extended beyond the wants of the community. Why did not the Secretary in 1832 remove the deposits when he discovered such political manœuvring? The reason is obvious, there was no ground for such a charge—and as to the case of influencing the press referred to, it has no place except in the brains of the wicked enemies of the Bank. Besides the friends of the administration should be very cautious as to charges of this nature—the thirty Editors who have received rewards for labouring in the cause of Jacksonism, has a great tendency to stimulate others to enter into the same service. People that live in glass houses, should be very careful of throwing stones. The principle of "rewarding friends and punishing enemies," is peculiar to the administration. In the time of Jefferson, the enquiry respecting the character of a candidate for office, was, "Is he faithful? Is he honest? Is he competent?" But now it is, "what has he done for the present administration? And what will he engage to do, provided he is appointed?"

4. A fourth reason, assigned in the circular for the removal of the deposits is "that the government directors were excluded by the Bank directors from all knowledge and agency in the transaction of the important business of the Bank." This is a sweeping declaration which must have startled the author of the circular himself. It is what no one who has any acquaintance with Banking matters, will credit. Every director has an opportunity, every day, to inspect the books of the Bank. How then, in the face of such a privilege, the above assertion can be made, consistently with a good conscience, I leave to others to determine. It is true, the Government directors were not placed upon the Committee of exchange; and why? Most probably because their fellow directors had not so high an opinion of their talents as they had themselves. All the members of the House of Commons are not upon the same committee, except it be the Committee of the whole, and how would it look, provided Mr. H. be elected, and the Speaker not duly appreciating his talents, should not put him upon a certain committee, to hear him whining and complaining of exclusion. Certainly not more childish than these Bank directors. Besides, in the course of time it was discovered that they were acting the character of spies. And how odious is the character of a spy? What honourable soul would consent to serve in such capacity and what honourable administration would consent to employ them in such an office?

5. The last reason assigned, is the power given the President of the Bank for spending the money of the Bank, in publications and otherwise. The charge is putting the whole Capital and influence of the Bank at the disposal of the President. He was authorized according to the resolution, to procure stationary and furnish information to the public in relation to the Bank. Accordingly in the four years, 58,000 dollars were expended. Some of it in printing Mr. Gallatin's pamphlet on Banking—Congress Reports and Congress speeches, and paper and books for the use of the Bank; and the enemies of the Bank very charitably judge that all this was spent in electioneering for the Bank. Well, how stands the account current. The enemies of the Bank say, 5,000 dollars was given to the European agent, and 24,000 is charitably judged to have been spent in publishing and circulating pamphlets, confessedly in defending itself against its enemies—and how stands the administration expenses. When President Jackson and his partisans began their attacks upon the Bank, every share of the Bank was worth 130 dollars, and now 105 is more than can be obtained. So that there has been a direct loss of 25 dollars on every share, by depreciation. The Government of the United States owns 70,000 shares in the Bank, and therefore has sustained a direct loss of 1,750,000 dollars. The Government by the attack of the administration has sustained a direct loss of one million seven hundred and fifty thousand dollars—the Bank has lost by the attack of its enemies 25 dollars on the 280,000 shares belonging to its stockholders, which amount to seven millions of dollars, and thus by the attacks of the President and his vassals, the institution has lost 8,750,000 dollars. One would think, this might go pretty far towards justifying the expenditure of the few thousand dollars complained of by Mr. Hutchison. At all events it shows us on which side, there has been prodigality and wastefulness. The Bank has been a faithful friend to the Government—has paid 1,

500,000 dollars for the privilege of a charter—has collected the revenue and paid out for the Government, wherever required, between 4 and 5 hundred millions of dollars, without the loss of one single cent to the Government; and what is more, has kept a sound and healthy currency. A Bank of a national character is absolutely necessary, and was so admitted by Mr. Forsyth, the leader of the administration forces in the Senate. There will and must be a Bank. Even Gen. Jackson himself, says in his veto, that had he been consulted he would have submitted a plan of one. The only question then is where will it be? Mr. Van Buren then in New York, where it will be under his management. And as he is the chief Magician it is probable it must be there. Any place to get rid of Mr. Biddle, who has so nobly resisted executive power and usurpation.

Having finished his reasons, the author of the circular adverts to the universal prostration of business in the country and the unparalleled distress which pervades the community, and as in duty bound, ascribes it to the Bank. But the legs of the lame are not equal. The Secretary gives it as his reasons for withdrawing the deposits, that he might compel the Bank to curtail its discounts so as to prepare for winding up its charter. And to keep it in check, the Secretary kept three million of Treasury drafts, floating between the cities of Baltimore, Philadelphia and New York for the use of the Banks which had been selected as Banks of deposit. It had been usual from the commencement of the Bank, for the Secretary to give daily notice to the Banks of the drafts which would be made upon it and the place where. To prevent fraud the name of the person in whose favor the draft would be drawn was not inserted,—at the expiration of a week, the draft was forwarded. Thus the Bank had always a week's notice, until the commencement of the present unjust and ungenerous warfare. The Secretary in order to keep the Bank in check and enable the Pet Banks to sustain themselves, kept drafts floating about in the principle cities, so as to call upon the Bank at any moment, and now after the withdrawal of the deposits, the complaint is made that the Bank has curtailed its discounts and thus the community is oppressed; and yet this is not true, for at the last returns, the Bank had not curtailed by about one million, as much as had been withdrawn. What comes then of this charge that the Bank has occasioned the pressure. It is like the other charges, an ignis fatuus—a phantom of the brain. Any body with a very small portion of common sense can see that the Bank has not occasioned the distress; and every body with a small portion of common sense, and an honest heart, will at once admit, that all the distress arises from the wanton and reckless act of the Secretary acting under the dictatorship of a superannuated and infatuated President.

But Gen. Jackson is a true republican. If so, he has a wonderful queer way of showing it. He selected for his cabinet some of the leading Federalists of their day, as for instance, Mr. Livingston, who by the bye, would do honor to any station; also, Mr. Woodbury and Mr. Taney, who, while they are the servile flatterers of Jackson will honor no station. I do not object to the laying aside of the old party distinctions, and selecting from them indiscriminately, for offices of honor and trust. All I affirm is, that selecting warm partisan Federalists, is a queer way to evidence true republicanism. A true republican, will be ready to commiserate with the condition of a distressed community. But how did our "true republican" receive the numerous deputations last winter. In the coarsest and most vulgar manner. A "true republican" will act in a republican way. But how did our "true republican" act. He surrounded himself with a set of bullies, in order to compel obedience to his will. Witness the attack proposed against Ingham—Houston's attack upon Staunton—Blair's upon Green—all of which were justified by the President, as has been well authenticated. A "true republican" will be economical in expenditures, and how has our "true republican" acted? He has wasted more than all the administrations put together, which have preceded him. A "true republican" respects the laws of his country, and how is it with our "true republican,"—he tramples upon all law, claiming all power, and making his will, the rule of his conduct. These are but a few out of many facts, and if I desired to see my country ruined, I could hit upon no better expedient, than support the present dynasty—and vote for those who are pledged to support it.

A FRIEND TO TRUTH.

[COMMUNICATED.]

Fellow-Citizens: There is a party spirit which is pervading our Government, under all manner of masks and disguises, of the fairest pretences to liberty, that requires cautious jealousy. Not jealousy of our venerable chief magistrate, Andrew Jackson—for we have given him our confidence, which he has honestly and firmly maintained: but of those who are endeavoring to defeat his administration, by calling themselves Whigs and friends to Liberty and Andrew Jackson a Tory. Be jealous, therefore, of those self-styled patriots, who have insulted the republicans of this county by intruding themselves as political teachers; whose principles have given no other proof of their progress in any

thing, except a blind devotion to the most dangerous aristocracy America ever saw. Mark well, then, fellow-citizens, the deep laid plans of this diabolical conspiracy, formed by the union of Federalists, Merchants and Nullifiers, to lessen the confidence of the people in Andrew Jackson, thereby expecting to defeat the republicans of this county in the approaching election. But of all, watch with an industrious eye, those dark midnight caucuses, that burn blue lights and flood our county with puillanous pamphlets, (signed no Jackson man) teeming with falsehoods, malice and personal invective against the administration of Andrew Jackson, who has grown grey in the service of his country—who, in the various dignified and responsible offices he has filled, have discharged their duties with ability and faithful integrity. Yet, in the face of all this, and in the midst of achieving a victory over the monied aristocracy, or the British Tyrant, which ought to have gained him double glory, is made the cause of his loudest persecution. And fellow-citizens for what? Because the President has crushed the hopes and chafed the ambition of certain men, by giving the British Lord a sedative. To the veto then of this growing demon, we may justly ascribe the unhappy disturbance of mind that has existed among the Federalists and Merchants since its death. But fellow-citizens, these disappointed aspirants, who like the untamed lions which majestically traverse the deserts of Arabia until they satiate and gorge their voracious and gripping appetite—hence you see the lion of the west, who has aggravated the country with his offensive tariff—John C. Calhoun, who came very near precipitating the government into a civil war, under the pretext of getting rid of the evil, and Daniel Webster, who emanated from the consolidated bed of the ultra and blue light Federalists, and who owes his seat in the Senate to the conspicuous part he played in the Hartford Convention, nullifying the laws of Congress, have cordially united in one cause, that is, if possible, to seduce the people to believe, by pathetic appeals, that Andrew Jackson is unfriendly to their rights and liberties, and have destroyed the true interest of their country by putting down the United States Bank. In all the wild, frantic and fortuitous career of faction, from the earliest records to the present time, there is no record of such an amalgamation of so dissimilar principles. But these mushroom politicians about town, who arrogate to themselves a superior order of natural policy, explain it quite satisfactory upon the laws of whiggism: they say to you with a sagacious sneer and a political look, that these aspirants congealed not for self-interest, but to twist from old Jackson, the usurper's breeches pocket, the purse-strings of the nation, which he had irresistibly taken without law or gospel.

This, fellow-citizens, may to some of you seem incredible. It ought to be impossible. But it is, nevertheless, true, and is capable of the most complete judicial proof. I could name individuals of the utmost worth in all the social relations, except that which they bear to their country, who have fervently and repeatedly exclaimed, that they would have rather seen Orleans sunk, than to have seen Andrew Jackson President and to have had the deposits transferred from one Bank to another. The mere transfer of the deposits from one Bank to another, you readily perceive then, gentlemen, is the great usurpation that has been tortured, twisted and screwed into all its most awful features, to which public attention was attracted by every species of theatrical declamation on the floor of Congress. But in vain are all those horrible pictures of usurpation minutely drawn: in vain did the orator describe in appalling language, the face of the country that had changed from a scene of unparalleled prosperity to a scene of unparalleled desolation; that the canal was a desolation, commerce destroyed, ships dismantled and industry paralyzed. Now, fellow-citizens, is there a man under the canopy of heaven, who is beyond the bounds of an idiot, that can swallow this without suffocating. It is not only untrue, but it is the reverse of truth. I refer you, therefore, gentlemen, to the Secretary's report, which has clearly demonstrated to the world, that national prosperity is growing—commerce increasing—arrival of ships increasing, and more money in the country than ever was in it at any time before. Do you not, fellow citizens, observe that it is an unnatural and factitious scene of distress, got up in the midst of real prosperity? Do they flatter themselves that by their alarm speeches they will be able to trample upon our venerable chief Magistrate with impunity. Do you Coalition men think you can revolutionize this country, by calling your selves, Whigs and the Jackson men Tories. Do you imagine that the republicans will allow themselves to be tamely smothered. And by whom? A coalition of Merchants, Nullifiers and Federalists, whose united efforts are to defeat, the democratic candidate of this county. Rarely have ever existed stronger motives to arouse every spark of public spirit or patriotism that has lain dormant for ages. As republicans we ought to cleave to and support our democratic Chief Magistrate, who has preserved the poor man's liberties, by putting down the United States Bank. But these joint Prognosticators about Town tell you with prophetic eye, that the soundness of our circulating medium and the lifeblood of our country depends upon this Bank, and to