

THE STAR,
and North-Carolina Gazette,
Published weekly, by
BELL & LAWRENCE.

Subscription, three dollars per annum—No paper will be sent without at least \$1.50 in paid in advance, and no paper discontinued, but at the option of the Editors, unless all arrears are paid. Advertisements, not exceeding 50 lines, inserted three times for one dollar, and twenty-five cents for each additional insertion. All letters to the Editors must be post paid.

MR. EDWARDS.

To the Editor of the Louisville Public Advertiser.

MR. PERRY—Your paper contains the only full account of the proceedings of the House of Representatives of the Congress of the United States, that I have seen, on the subject of my vindication against Mr. Crawford's vindictive and unfounded attack upon me. There is nothing in the character of the debate, on that subject, that surprises me, or that I was not prepared to expect, and determined to disregard. It must have been frequently observed, by all who have attended to the course of political events, for a few years past, how much any man, who dares to question Mr. Crawford's infallibility, has to encounter from a party, distinguished by the illiberality and persecuting spirit, with which it has constantly assailed the President, certain members of the administration, and every other conspicuous individual, whose prostration could, in the slightest degree, contribute to promote the ambitious aspirations of its chief.

The first to agitate the presidential question, as the papers of Georgia and Tennessee will show, this party, with unparalleled effrontery, has been foremost in reproaching others for following its own example. Constantly engaged in vilifying and calumniating Mr. Crawford's competitors, and every other man, who, it is feared, might stand in the way of his elevation to the presidential chair, it has not been less distinguished, by its intolerance of those vindications which it has attacked, and rendered necessary, than by the eloquent vociferations, and bullying menaces, with which it has endeavored to overawe the most decent and respectful inquiries into the pretensions of its chief. Professing the most ardent desire, from pure patriotic considerations, to consummate a general work of expurgation of all abuses, its patriotism, unfortunately, has never had sufficient impetus, to transcend the threshold of the Treasury Department; and those who have had the temerity to indicate any want of faith in the absolute perfection of the administration of that, as well as other departments, by instituting inquiries to ascertain whether something might not, possibly, be found therein not exactly as it should be, if not directly met with the all-convincing "argumentum baculi," have seldom escaped pretty distinct intimations that, all such inquiries might, be very soon, be terminated by "burning gunpowder."

It is therefore, not to be wondered at, that it should be considered an act of unpardonable "audacity" and "unblushing effrontery" in me, to attempt to vindicate myself against such a trifling affair, as an imputation of *having sworn falsely*, maliciously made by the Hon. Secretary of the Treasury. But, if a sober-minded, and impartial public, should happen to think that, "gunpowder and lead" should not be the only umpire in such cases; or that *high station* does not sanctify a flagitious attempt to ruin the reputation of "an American citizen;" great allowances, I freely admit, ought to be made for those whose sensitiveness to the danger of losing the reward of so much toil, so much industry, and so many dangers," renders their ruling passion too uncontrollable to admit of any toleration of an effort on my part "to leave behind me a character free from the disgraceful blot which Mr. Crawford's malevolence has endeavored to fix upon it; lest by my doing so, it might, in some degree, lessen the probability of his acquiring the power to afford them those proofs "of his confidence" and "of his favor," which they so ardently long for, and have so faithfully merited by their "perfidious malignity" and "political juggling."

It is quite amusing to contemplate the lengths, to which their fear of losing the opportunity of retaining their golden dreams of power, and glory, have carried them. It has been observed—very gravely—very emphatically—in a tone well measured, solemn and terrific—and with a manner sufficiently arbitrary, authoritative and dictatorial, to look down all opposition from any one, who had not witnessed such displays of theatrical power, often enough to laugh at them, that my vindication "contains nothing but a reiteration of the charges

made by the "A. B. conspirators," and that these charges were investigated, at the last session of congress, by committees, then appointed for that purpose. Now, sir, however presumptuous, it may seem to be, to contradict assertions deliberately made, on the floor of the House of Representatives, by a distinguished member thereof I will venture to say, (awful as the consequences may be,) that, the communications of "A. B." which contained the most important charges against Mr. Crawford, were actually both written and published, after the adjournment of the last congress; and that my vindication, in itself, without reference to its accompanying documents, contains no charge that has ever been investigated, of any committee. Of this you may be convinced by advertg to your own files, & examining the separate reports of the committees alluded to. What then, are the people to think of such bold and unwarrantable assertions? They may, indeed, give a claim to Mr. Crawford's "favor," but none, to the people's confidence. It is probable, however, that, like similar ones, made two or three years past, in the same public manner, in regard to certain alleged interpolations, in a military work, these may be retracted, when ascertained to be equally erroneous. This is the more to be hoped for, from the regenerated respect for *Clerks in the Departments*, and its accompanying rebuke to me, with which we are now presented so inconsistently, with professions, sentiments, or allusions contained in a certain memorable and edifying controversy with the Secretary of State, which it would be unpardonable, if not impudent, to suppose the public can have forgotten.

Considering the manly and independent spirit with which this able orator recognizes the equal rights of "every American citizen," whether in or out of office, and his professed desire for a fair and impartial trial, it is a pity that he should have spoiled all these pretty professions, by such a palpable manifestation of his determination to justify the high officer in question, and to prejudice and condemn me without any trial whatever. I say nothing about his having made the motion, which rendered it the Speaker's duty, according to established usage, to place him at the head of the committee before which my defence is to be made.

A rigid and unmerciful Inquisitor in regard to the heads of every other department of the government, it is to be regretted, that he cannot bear with more patience, and that he appears to consider as even irreverent, any attempt, however decent and respectful, to investigate the conduct of the exalted gentleman that presides over the Treasury. And, hence he denounces the publications of A. B. as "an infamous conspiracy, &c. &c." without being able to show that they contain a single indecorous expression, or that the facts they allege are not supported by the documents furnished by Mr. Crawford himself. These publications, as to all substantial facts, rely exclusively upon those documents for support. If, therefore, they contain any misrepresentation, nothing can be more easy, than to show it, by the production of the document to which it refers. The honorable gentleman is invited—nay, more, I challenge him to point out any thing in those publications that is indecorous, untrue or inconsistent with the acknowledged right of decently investigating official conduct, or that can, in any degree whatever, justify his denunciations of them. He stands committed to the public, by his own declarations, and being thus called upon, he owes it to himself to justify, or retract them. Seeing that, if he is right, it is so easy to prove himself so, bold assertions merely will not satisfy the people, and silence will inevitably be considered as an admission, that he is utterly unable to maintain his assertion.

If, like "a flying Parthian," I have thrown my arrows behind me, it will be seen that they were pointed with truth; and the "flattering" already exhibited shows, that my supposed hurry did not prevent me from taking pretty good aim. "The game-cocks of the walk," however, have strutted and crowed a little too soon. The summons reached me on the afternoon of the 12th inst, and though sick in bed, and under the operations of medicine, (which I have been obliged to repeat every day since,) I instantly began to prepare, with alacrity, to obey it; left home the next day, and am now this far on my journey to Washington City, rejoicing in an opportunity, that seems to be tendered to me, of putting to shame the wicked contrivance that was intended to do me irreparable injury, and felicitating myself upon being able to prove more than I stand pledged to maintain.

I shall not, however, suffer those fiery spirits that have figured so conspicuously

in this affair, or any one else, to divert me from my purpose. Mr. Crawford has maliciously arraigned me at the bar of the public. There I will meet him—and there I will keep him, till he shall become perfectly ashamed of his conduct, and learn from experience, that it is not, *always*, safe to trust to temporary expedients. Supported as he is, by a host always ready to fight his battles, and not expecting the least assistance on my part from any one, the odds against me, in this contest, would, indeed, be fearful, were it not for my confidence in the justice of my cause, and in the good sense and virtue of the people of these U. States, to whose ultimate judgment, I will cheerfully submit.

My friends need not give themselves any uneasiness about the result. They ought to know me too well, to believe, that I would rashly undertake more than I sincerely believe I can accomplish. I have not time to write to any one of them. On their account, therefore, I will barely say, that I have got the most irresistible proof, that "the Receiver at Edwardsville did write the letter mentioned in my examination, &c. &c." and that Mr. Crawford did write a letter to the Receiver directing him to continue the deposits in the Bank of Edwardsville, as stated in my examination. And if I cannot also prove to the satisfaction of any impartial mind, that Mr. Crawford did receive the letter in question, I shall be greatly disappointed. No other retreat from this scandalous attempt against me, shall be left him, than to deny that he intended to make any insinuation against me. And this would require a far greater subtlety, than the substitution of "riding" for "writing," to obtain for it the slightest degree of credit with any man of common sense. For, I have never met with one individual, friend or foe to him, that has not given the same construction to his report. But, even should such a subterfuge be attempted, it shall not avail him, but will only add another, to the many illustrations of the sentiment that "*quem deus vult perdere, prius dementat*."

In justice to myself, I do most solemnly declare, that no man, Mr. Crawford excepted, can regret this controversy more than I do; and that I never would have engaged in it, had I not sincerely believed, myself, and been advised by my most dispassionate friends and other impartial gentlemen, that it was absolutely and essentially due to my own character. None can justly blame me, who would not himself be willing to submit to the imputation "*of having sworn falsely*." I therefore do not intend to suffer myself to be placed on any other than defensive grounds—I had a right to state facts against Mr. Crawford, which could be fairly used to impeach and invalidate his statements against me. These facts I hold myself bound to maintain for defensive purposes. But I do not choose to be made his prosecutor. I know too well how difficult it would be to procure any trial on such grounds, within any reasonable length of time; and with all his advantages over me, I have not the least inclination to take issue with him on his intentions. In my defence I have admitted, that they all may have been innocent, because it was not necessary for me to show the contrary. No ingenuity, therefore, shall impose upon me any other responsibility, than for the naked facts I have alleged—and this I am very willing to meet.

NINIAN EDWARDS.

Louisville, May 18, 1824.

From the Washington Republican.

The following is a copy of the letter of the Receiver which has created so much excitement; which, we understand, Gov. Edwards obtained from the Land Office at Edwardsville:

"Sir: My absence from this place on a necessary and indispensable visit to Kentucky, has put it out of my power, by an earlier opportunity than the ensuing mail, to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 6th of August last, in which you express a wish to be informed why the public money in my hands has not been deposited in the Bank of this place, in conformity with your instructions.

I should certainly have continued to make the deposits in the bank, had it not been for your letter of the 9th of April, in which you requested me to pay certain bills which you expected to be drawn on me, by the Indian agents of Chicago, Green Bay, Michilimackinac, Fort Wayne, and Piquet, at the same time apprising me that the sum which would be required at the close of each quarter, was estimated at 11,000 dollars.

Knowing that if I deposited the money in the bank to the credit of the Treasurer of the United States, I could not, without special authority, draw it out, I conceived that I was fulfilling your wishes by retaining the money in my own hands, for the purpose of paying, when presented, the drafts mentioned in your letter of the 9th of April; and I presume that the same construction has been given by the Receiver of Public Money at Kaskaskia, to a similar letter, which I have been informed, he received from you, as he also, for a considerable time past, has made no deposits in the bank.

As your letter of the 6th August makes no

reference to that of the 9th of April preceding, I should, at all events, feel somewhat at a loss how to act, but I believe I should make the deposits, were it not for other considerations which I feel it my duty previously to communicate to you.

You are, doubtless, apprised of the hostility of the Bank of Missouri and citizens of St. Louis, towards the bank of this place, supposed to be produced in consequence of certain deposits being withheld from that bank, and placed in this. It seems to be believed, with what justice I do not pretend to say, that their object is to destroy this bank, with a view to coerce the retaining of the deposits in that, and under the impression that they employ the public funds for the purposes of accomplishing that object, stockholders in, & several directors of the bank, have, in disgust, either withdrawn, or declared their intention to withdraw, from any further concern in the bank. Some of them seem even willing that the bank of Missouri should regain the deposits, professing to believe it would be the readiest means of causing the state pride and public feelings of this, and some of the neighboring states, to react upon that institution with the more effect.

In this state of things, the principal part of the stockholders have declined paying the instalments that otherwise were expected to be paid upon their stock. Two of the directors have already resigned—others talk of doing so—and the publication of Governor Edwards, herewith transmitted, shows the course he is disposed to pursue.

Though these measures, adopted probably with too much irritation, may not produce any serious evils to the bank—and I hope they will not—yet I feel that they impose a greater responsibility upon me than I am willing to take upon myself, without the full disclosure of the whole circumstances to you, and such instructions as you may think fit to give thereupon.

The situation of the bank, at present, I consider as favorable as could either be expected or desired; and under the control of the directors, who have hitherto had the management of it, I should apprehend no kind of danger to the public, or to individuals, but I know not who may succeed those that have resigned, and intend to resign, or who may be elected at the next annual election on the 1st of January next. It is true, that I have no reason to apprehend, nor do I anticipate, any unfavorable changes in the directors, but under all the circumstances of the case, I would not wish to risk the responsibility of making the deposits in the bank till after the 1st of January next, without your instructions, given upon a knowledge of the facts above disclosed.

I am the more averse to doing so, from the difficulty that the bank must constantly encounter in converting land office notes into specie, so as to be prepared, at all times, to meet your drafts; and from the fear that those drafts may fall into the hands of persons, who, under the influence of St. Louis, would be disposed to insist upon specie, when notes would answer their purpose equally as well, merely for the purpose of harassing and distressing the bank.

In fact, while such a variety of notes are receivable for public lands, and specie so much in demand, I do not consider it any advantage to the bank to receive the deposits on terms that subject it to the payment of cash as often as you may find it necessary to draw for it—unless the terms of payment could be fixed upon at certain regular periods, that would afford ample opportunity for the necessary preparation. The land offices now receive but little money of any kind. This consists of notes on such a variety of banks, so remotely situated from each other, that it must be a considerable time before the notes upon any one bank would accumulate sufficiently to bear the expense of sending for the money—and in most cases there is no other opportunity of converting these notes into specie, owing particularly to the locality of the banks from which they issue.

To make the deposits of any advantage, the time of payment ought to be fixed as above suggested, or the drafts made payable in such notes as should be land office money at the time of presenting these drafts; or, partly the one and partly the other. To continue to convert all the notes receivable in this office into specie, and concentrate it at a single spot, must be utterly impracticable, and, if practicable, would be attended with great expense.

I beg leave to add, that the bank of Edwardsville has received foreign gold under the expectation that it would be taken by the Government even at the 1st November next, and it is now held ready to be paid in consequence of notice from you of an intended draft for \$30,000. It is to be hoped that no difficulty upon the subject will arise, if the expected draft should not be presented till after the 1st November."

Upon the paper from which the above is taken, is an indorsement, in the handwriting of the Receiver, who has been dead about eighteen months, in the following words, viz: "Copy to the Treasury Department, Oct. 1819."

REPORT

Of the Select Committee to whom was referred the address of Ninian Edwards.

[CONTINUED.]

A very large part of the address is occupied with observations on the transactions between the Treasury and the Bank of Edwardsville. This bank was made a depository of public money, at the solicitation of Mr. Edwards himself, in December, 1818. It stopped payment in September, 1821, owing, at that time, a balance to government of forty-six thousand two hundred and two dollars and forty-three cents.

It is not deemed necessary here to repeat all that is said on that subject, in the address and the answer. The address, in this part of it, seems to have two objects, one, to clear Mr. Edwards himself from any imputation, on account of having procured the public deposits to be made in the bank originally, and to repeat the proposition that he had been the means of continuing them after they became unsafe, the other, to charge the Secretary with continuing the deposits, after he ought to have been alarmed for their safety,

and with receiving uncurrent notes from that bank, against law, and also with the negligent omission of proper means to collect the debt due from it to government.

It appears to be for this double purpose, that the address alleges that in 1819, as a favor made a publication, mentioning his intention to withdraw from the bank in which he had been a director, and no longer to be considered responsible for its engagements, which publication, as is alleged, was transmitted to the Secretary; that he also advised the Receiver of public money to withhold the deposits from the bank, until he should receive further orders from the Treasury; that the Receiver, thereupon, wrote to the Treasury, enclosing Mr. Edwards' publication, and as he afterwards declared, received a letter from the Secretary, directing him to continue the deposits. The Secretary has said, that no such letter from the Receiver was on file in the Department, and that none of its officers had any recollection of such letters, and, moreover, that there was no record of any answer. The address, notwithstanding this declaration, aims to prove, that such letter was written, and among other arguments, adduces the fact, that there was, about this time, an actual suspension of deposits at that bank; which the address attributes to the caution of the Receiver, under the advice which had been given to him. To this it is answered by the Secretary, that this suspension was owing to the negligence, not the caution, of the Receiver; that the Receiver was directed frequently and repeatedly to continue his deposits, and to make them regularly and punctually; danger then being apprehended, not from the bank, but from the continuance of large sums in the hands of the Receiver.

Without entering into a detail of all the facts connected with this subject, it seems to the committee, that there is no doubt that Mr. Edwards did make a publication in the newspaper in 1819, as he represents, and that he gave such advice as he represents, to the Receiver. But there is no evidence that the Receiver communicated it, or wrote on the subject of it, to the Secretary. Indeed, it is not very probable he would have done so. It is to be remembered, that he was President of the bank, as well as Receiver of public money, and he would hardly advise the Secretary that he, as Receiver, could not repose confidence in the bank, the President and head of which he was. The committee does not deem it at all material to inquire whether the Secretary received or saw a copy of Mr. Edwards' publication. There is nothing in that communication which should have alarmed him for the safety of the public money in the Edwardsville Bank; for, although Mr. Edwards announces his intention of withdrawing from a participation in the direction of it, he speaks in most decided terms of its solvency and safety. While the committee sees no reason to believe that Mr. Edwards acted with any impropriety in procuring the deposits of the public money in that bank, or in regard to the continuance of such deposits, it perceives, on the other hand, no reason whatever for supposing that the Secretary continued the deposits after being admonished by the Receiver, that they were unsafe. On the contrary, the committee thinks the correspondence fully shows, that the deposits were omitted, or thought to be so, through negligence and default, and that, in enforcing and insisting on them, the Secretary was governed by a proper regard for the security of the public funds. The committee, however, would take this occasion to observe, that, in their opinion, the appointment of the Presidents of the local banks, in which public moneys are deposited, to be Receivers of the public moneys, to be deposited in the same bank, is injudicious; that it has happened in several cases; and that inconvenience or mischief may be not unlikely to result from such a practice.

As to the charge of receiving uncurrent notes from this Bank also, contrary to law, the committee thinks that the construction, which appears to have been contended for by the bank, and acquiesced in by the Secretary, of the first article of the arrangement between them, is not the true construction; especially, if nothing be regarded but the terms of the contract. The words of the first article are, "That the public moneys shall be entered to the credit of the Treasurer as cash." It would seem impossible that these terms could mean any thing else than that, for the amount of these deposits, the Bank should become directly debtor to the United States, and that this debt, thus assumed, should, like others, be legally paid. If this construction, which the committee has given to the contract, be correct, these notes were illegally received.

The Secretary's view of the case appears, however, to have been different. He says, the term "cash" was used in opposition to the term "special deposits," and was not intended to subject the Bank to the payment of specie for notes which were not convertible into specie; and that it was not understood by either of the parties, that the Bank was responsible for the credit of other Banks whose notes were deposited in it. The correspondence sufficiently shows, that the Bank expressed the same opinion, at an early period of the connexion, and long before this case arose. The construction insisted upon was, in effect, that the Bank was to receive such bills as the Receivers had lawfully taken, and valued to deposits; and, as these would be of different Banks, more or less remote, the Bank should, for the compensation which it received, be at the expense of collecting them, so that the proceeds might be transferred, without farther expense or trouble on the part of the Government, to the order of the Treasury; but that, nevertheless, if any such bills became discredited, while in this process of collection, by the failure of the Bank which issued them, the loss should fall on the Government.

Although the committee do not agree to the correctness of this construction, yet they see no reason to doubt, that the Secretary may have honestly supposed that the Bank entered into the arrangement with this understanding of its meaning; nor any ground to believe his conduct, in this respect, to have

[See 4th Page.]

* See paper C, annexed.