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TERMS:

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MR. CALHOUN AND THE U. S. BANK.

In the course of Mr. Miller's Speech here last week, he stated that Mr. Calhoun was the author of the bill which passed Congress in 1816, incorporating the late U. S. Bank. Gen. Saunders interrupted him, by denying that Mr. Calhoun had introduced the bill. This was done in so positive a manner, that Mr. Miller, though confident that he was right, yet did not press the point but told the General that Mr. Calhoun at least noted for it, and read his boast in 1834, that "but for him the Bank would not have been chartered," all of which Saunders admitted. Now we have evidence that satisfies us, that Mr. Miller was right and the Gen. wrong; so that the General's positive assertion was probably owing not to a knowledge of the fact which he asserted, but to a presumption that it was so. It was not at all a fact, and that he might make a denial of it, would be so long in public life, and ought to know the state of the case. To the Petersburg Intelligencer which was put to press at about the very moment of the General's denial, we find the following paragraph:—

"We of this generation do not more certainly know that George Washington was the first President of the United States, than we know that John Caldwell Calhoun was the able, zealous and efficient advocate of the charter of the Bank. He spoke in its behalf, reported the bill for its charter, and voted for it. That portion of Mr. Madison's message of 1815, which recommended a Bank to the attention of Congress, was referred to a select Committee, of which John Caldwell Calhoun was Chairman, and he reported a bill for a charter so efficient that it passed both houses, and was by the signature of the President made the law of the land. Mr. John Caldwell Calhoun voting for it."

In the "Life of John C. Calhoun," published by his friends, (pages 16-17,) it will be found that at the Session of Congress of 1814-15, a Bank bill was introduced by a Administration or Republican party, providing for a capital of fifty millions, to consist almost entirely of government stock. Mr. Calhoun had the good sense to see that such a Bank would not remedy the evils under which the country was then laboring, and proposed a substitute for the bill, which was adopted at first, but afterwards rejected, and another bill passed, which President Madison vetoed, not on Constitutional grounds, but because it would not afford the relief required by the Treasury.

At the next Session, 1815-16, in consequence of the prominence he had acquired at the preceding Session on the Bank Question, Mr. Calhoun was appointed Chairman of the Committee on the Currency. (See Life of Calhoun, page 18.) The "Life" does not say in so many words, that Mr. Calhoun introduced the bill; for that is a responsibility which the Calhounites would like now to throw off, as Gen. Saunders attempted to do. But it says, "The subject of the Currency was particularly entrusted to Mr. Calhoun." (See page 22.) That the Administration was in favor of a Bank, and the President, (Mr. Madison) recommended one in his Message at the commencement of the Session. That "the great body of the Republican party in Congress concurred in the views of the Administration, but there were many of them who had, on constitutional grounds, insuperable objections to the measure. These added to the Federal party, who had been against the war and were, in consequence, against a Bank constituted a formidable opposition."

The "Life" goes on to say, that Mr. Calhoun was opposed "in the abstract," to the whole banking system; but "perceiving that no other way of relieving government from its difficulties, he yielded to the opinion that a bank was indispensable." [Like many other of the South Carolina and Virginia "abstracts," which are fine enough to look at, or talk about, but utterly unfit for use.] When the bill was taken up for discussion, Mr. Calhoun, (evidently in accordance with the custom which gives the author of the bill the opening speech,) led off with a three hours speech in its favor, which, says the "Life," is said to have been one of the most elaborate and powerful ever delivered." (Page 25.) The bill passed, and as our readers of course know, the late Bank of the United States.—Gen. Jackson's celebrated "Monster,"—was created by it. It was followed up by another bill, which Mr. Calhoun supported, prohibiting the receipt of notes of non-specie paying Banks; and "through the joint agency of the two measures (says the "Life") the currency was brought to the specie standard, and the evil remedied."

And now, for both, the Address of the South Carolina Convention falsifies history by asserting,

that "Few men have been so efficient in saving the liberties of the country from that most dangerous of all the instruments of Federalism, U. S. Bank!" Is not this a bold declaration for the author of the Bank, and its most strenuous defender even after Jackson had vetoed a bill for its re-charter?

P. S. Yesterday's Register contains a letter from Mr. Miller, showing from the Journal of the House of Representatives, for 1815, page 136, that on the 8th of January, 1815 Mr. Calhoun did introduce the Bank Bill, which Gen. Saunders denied that he had introduced. In our next we will publish the letter, which contains other interesting facts.

Fayetteville Observer.

JACKSON'S LETTER ON THE TARIFF.

WASHINGTON CITY, April 26, 1824.

Sir: I have the honor, this day, to receive your letter of the 21st instant, and, with candor, shall reply to it. My name has been brought before the nation by the people themselves, without any agency of mine; for I wish it not to be forgotten that I have never solicited office; nor when called upon constituted authorities, have ever declined, when I conceived my services could be beneficial to my country. But as my name has been brought before the nation, for the first office in the gift of the people, it is incumbent on me when asked frankly to declare my opinion upon any political or national question, pending before and about which the country feels no interest.

"You ask my opinion on the Tariff. I answer, that I am in favor of a judicious examination and revision of it; and so far as the Tariff bill before us embraces the design of fostering, protecting, and preserving within ourselves the means of national defence and independence, particularly in a state of war, I would advocate and support it. The experience of the late war ought to teach us a lesson, one never to be forgotten. If our liberties and republican form of government, procured for us by our revolutionary fathers, are worth the blood and the treasure which they were obtained, it surely is our duty to protect and defend them. Can there be an American patriot, who saw the privations, dangers and difficulties experienced for the want of proper means of defence during the late war, who would be willing again to hazard the safety of our country, if embroiled; or to rest it for defence on the precarious means of national resource to be derived from commerce in the state of war, with a maritime power, who might destroy that commerce to prevent us obtaining the means of defence, and thereby subdue us? I hope there is not; and if there is, I am sure he does not deserve to enjoy the blessings of freedom. Heaven smiled upon, and gave us liberty and independence.—That same Providence has blessed us with the means of national defence. If we omit or refuse to use the gifts which he has extended to us, we deserve not the continuation of his blessings. He has filled our mountains and our plains with minerals; with lead, iron and copper; and given us climate and soil for the growing of our hemp and wool.—These being the grand materials of our national defence, they ought to have extended to them adequate and fair protection, that our own manufactures and laborers, may be placed on a fair competition with those of Europe, and that we may have within our country, a supply of those leading and important articles, so essential in war. Beyond this, I look at the tariff with an eye to the proper distribution of labor, and to revenue; and with a view to discharge our national debt. I am one of those who do not believe that a national debt is a national blessing, but rather a curse to a republic, inasmuch as it is calculated to raise around the administration a monied aristocracy, dangerous to the country. This Tariff—I mean a judicious one—possesses more fanciful than real danger. I would ask what is the real situation of the agriculturist? Where has the American farmer a market for his surplus product? Except for cotton, he has neither a foreign nor a home market. Does not this clearly prove, when there is no market either at home or abroad that there is too much labor employed in agriculture; and that the channels for labor should be multiplied? Common sense points out, at once the remedy. Draw from agriculture this superabundant labor; employ it in mechanism and manufactures; thereby creating a home market for your breadstuffs, and distributing labor to the most profitable account; and benefits to the country will result. Take from agriculture, in the U. States, six hundred thousand men, women and children, and you will at once give a home market for more breadstuffs than all Europe now furnishes us. In short, sir, we have been too long subject to the policy of the British merchants. It is time that we should become a little more Americanized; and instead of feeding the paupers and laborers of England, feed our own; or else in a short time, by continuing our present policy, we shall all be rendered paupers ourselves."

"It is therefore, my opinion that a careful and judicious tariff is much wanted, to pay our national debt, and afford us the means of self defence within ourselves, on which the safety of our country and liberty depends; and last, though not least, give a proper distribution to our labor, which must prove beneficial to the happiness, independence and wealth of the community."

This is a short outline of my opinion generally, on the subject of your inquiry, and believing them correct and calculated to further the prosperity and happiness of my country, I declare to you, I would not harter them for any office or situation of a temporal character, that could be given me.

I have presented you with my opinion freely, because I am without concealment and should, indeed, despise myself, if I could believe myself capable of desiring the confidence of any, by means so ignoble. I am, sir, very respectfully, your most obedient servant,

(Signed) ANDREW JACKSON.

THE LAMENTED LEGARE.

*Pallidus mors,
Equo pede, tabernas pauperum,
Tartareque regum; pulsat.—Hor.*

Eulogy and extravagance are too often synonymous. The eulogist feels himself at liberty to select his terms, at pleasure, from a whole vocabulary. In the exercise of that discretion, there is no tribunal to whose laws he is amenable. There is a plenipotentiary power which he claims, and a character starts into being, beneath his touch, whose possible existence is extremely problematical. Amplification and exaggeration, hyperbole verging upon bombast; these are the lenses through which he exhibits character—lenses which invert, and diminish, and render ridiculous what might otherwise have laid claim to mediocrity. Friendship, con sanguinity and interest, the fervor of the one, the ties of the other, and gulfing avidity of the third, lend their agency an agency stimulated into action by an over-wrought imagination and defective judgment.

It once arises doubt, with listlessness and impatience the lengthened panegyric falls upon the ear, no longer potent. The chords of feeling and intellect are still. Falsehood leads us to incredulity, and incredulity is the parent of injustice.

But let us away, for once, with the prejudices of our nature, and rise to generosity and to justice. Let us, in bending over the grave of Legare, desecrate not the sacred solemnity of the occasion by their baleful exercise. Legare, who has never, who can never be mentioned without admiration and respect. Legare, whose transcendent genius could only be associated with airy heights of Olympus, and whose patriotism lived and glowed with an inspiration caught from the immortal architect of the Phœnic's and the exiled chronicle of the Peloponnesus.

It is something to be esteemed in life, and remembered when dead. It is something to have an unsullied reputation among those with whom we are immediately associated. But oh, immeasurably higher and nobler that aspiration, which looking out upon a whole country, and over a whole people, can find only there a field meet for its exercise.

To be known—yet never seen. To have won favor and admiration, to be greeted every where with the shouts of proud and grateful hearts. A whole country for a home, and a whole nation warming into enthusiasm at the mention of a name. This is to attain a giddy elevation, to reach a height worthy of the immortality of genius. And then for once just the world, their panegyric allied with truth has placed Legare a Colossal statue for the world's contemplation.

But we shall contemplate no more in our midst that exalted character. He is gone, dissipated as it were in the mists of his sublime elevation. Gone and what remains there? The shroud—the sarcophagus and the clay.

Expende Hanibalem, quot libras.—&c.

But he is not dead. Death, though it may destroy the "sensible proof," of existence is impotent against that existence itself. It is only the mortality of Legare that the satyrist could "weigh," only the mortality that is exhibited in its insignificance.

Mors sola fatetur
Quantula sint hominum corporacula.

This is the highest eminence to which death assays, his shafts are broken here. There is that which cannot die. When mortality ceases, immortality begins—the bright immortality of Legare.

"Nam divitiarum, et formae gloria fluxa atque fragilis; virtus clara, aeternaque habetur."

It was superstition amiable and beautiful in its exercise, which sent the ancient Greek and Egyptian to Heaven, in search of the guardian spirit he had lost on earth. How touching the conviction when one of their number, celebrated for the lofty exercise of virtue or patriotism was removed, that it was to a higher sphere, where, unfettered in action, every energy could be applied in action, every energy could be applied in ameliorating the condition of those so loved in life, shield, protect and bless them. The apotheosis of the good and the brave is among the first sentiments of enlightened reason, among its latest, metaphysics can exhibit none more tender and affecting.

It has been said (Raynal Am. Rev.) "if dedication be due to man, it is undoubtedly due to that man who fight and dies for his native soil." Can this be affirmed of the warrior only whose blood purchases liberty to his country? What is there, then, for the genius of the scholar, whose wonderful resources—whose transcendent effort, untiring zeal, builds up a mighty bulwark around that liberty—preserves, confirms and establishes it?

"Peace has her victories." &c.

The laurels of Minerva, though less imposing at first sight, are more useful and enduring than those of Mars. The song of Homer is heard, to remind the world, that Ajax lived, and agamemnon was mighty. How divine the comfort which the dying Pericles is said to have drawn from the reflection, that he had never made one of his countrymen wear mourning.

Republics have been said to be ungrateful. They have been affirmed to be sterile fields, in which disinterested patriotism is choked, and perishes. And, yet, LEGARE was a Republican—born, lived, died, in a Republic. But they point us to Athens. Athens, was there ever but a flicker, transient cloud, to obscure virtue there? By the tragedy at Susa, the reputation of Themistocles was vindicated, and his memory held venerated ever after. The 'Just' was honored with a public funeral. A monument pierced the clouds for Socrates; and Demosthenes triumphed over the vindictive and vernal thunders of the Philippized Aeschines. True virtue had little to fear from the terrors of the ostracism. Its potency disarmed, and as it were, in effect, ostracised the ostracism itself.

In no country under heaven, can consummate genius and virtue reach, other than an elevated niche in the public estimation; and, least of all, in a republic, whose very soul is virtue and where, alone, it is admitted the sole criterion of excellence. The lamented Legare has exemplified this; wherever his name was heard—wherever his reputation reached, there was he revered—there is he regretted. Courted by public honor, crowned by public confidence, he has mounted upwards, challenging, by his fate, the unfeigned grief of every bosom, and spreading, not alone over Charleston or Washington the mantle of gloom, but over every section of a wide republic. Great men are the property of the nation. But how shall we improve this great national calamity? It has a two-fold action.

First. Upon our pride.—To induce humility. If man is ever humbled, it must be with an exhibition of his weakness. Speculative admonitions of it, will not suffice, there must be practical exemplifications. Speak to a man's intellect and he hears, address his senses and he understands you. Death speaks to the senses, but is not always equally impressive; when he goes down into the novel and singles out his victim from its mire, there are few laurels won in so unequal a contest, the 'victory' is little heeded. But let him seek out the palace and break its bolts and bars, the senate house, the high seats of authority; let him grapple with the strong man, and the mighty man, and the man of genius, and hail him into eternity, ah! then man fearfully trembles at the impending power and feels that it is indeed nothing to be man.

Second. Upon our Sympathies.—To induce emulation. To do this there must be a motive, and where a stronger motive than the fame of Legare? The nation that wreaths a garland for the brow of a gifted, at once, conquered at Mantinea, noble son, will soon have fresh garlands to wreath. The shouts that ascend to heaven in welcome of the patriot and the sage, may die upon the air, but they are not lost. There have been vibrations produced in the human heart, a morbid excitement succeeds, the pulsations do not cease with the removal of their cause, and those shouts are ever heard in activity as in solitude, impelling onward to fame and glory.

The public honors decreed at Athens to those who became eminent in the service of the State, accounts for Athenian glory, and explains what was to Valerius Maximus so great an anomaly, that after banishing Aristides, she could still find one virtuous and deserving citizen *inventire aliquem bonum*, &c. The monument erected at the 'pass' in Phocia, inscribed by Simonides, was seen in the heart of Attica, nerved and inspired at Marathon. The games celebrated in honor of the Phœlogenes dead, and the eloquent eulogy of Pericles, roused up in many a bosom those dormant but noble energies, and sent them eager for contest in the high fields of thought and action.

Let us not in our own country be unimpaired of Athenian excellence, we have emulated Athens in all that she was truly noble—Let us perceive that spirit of emulation.

In times that are passed we have been called upon to weep; our own Carolina has decked herself in weeds, and the tribute of her tears is the noble tribute that she pays to genius.

A few years since and a gallant son full ripe in honors and mature in usefulness. And now again is she called upon to mourn one of the brightest of all the bright stars that glitter in her galaxy. But genius in her collection, fond in her gratitude, the noble M'Duffie responded to her call, and touched in immortal colors the lineaments of Hayne.

Ever consistent—a new summons has gone forth. That other bright son has been summoned from the interior to the seaboard, to pay the same melancholy tribute to the memory of Legare. Let him come with all his power and eloquence on his mission of piety.

Thrice favored Carolina—you have lost a Hayne and a Legare—but there lives a Calhoun, a M'Duffie, and a Preston still. How shall their places be supplied, when they too are gone?

There is but one way to sustain a nation's elevation—reward distinguished merit, revive its memory, and educate the youth to emulate the virtues as well as equal the intelligence of the bright ones that have departed.

J. D.

Important Decision.—The Supreme Court of Errors at New Haven, Conn., have decided, in effect, that the proprietors of the lost steamboat Lexington are responsible for all the freight on board at the time of the destruction, although notices were posted up in the boat, and inserted in the bills of lading, that all freight was to be at the risk of the owners.

THE TARIFF.

From an excellent Speech delivered in Congress by Mr. Morris, of the democratic State of Pennsylvania, we make the following extracts:

"I shall not pursue this discussion farther, except to glance at the gist of the whole argument against the Tariff—i. e. the old exploded doctrine, that it taxes the consumer for the benefit of the manufacturer. A complete refutation of this charge is to be found in the descending prices of American goods since the imposition of the Tariff. Before 1816, the price of a yard of cotton shirting was 35 cts. and the wages of a factory boy 50 cts. per week; now the same shirting is sold for 6 cts. a yard, and the wages of the operatives have risen to \$2.00 per week. Such has been the effect upon all other fabrics made in the country—upon our woolens, hosiery and particularly upon our calicoes, which, in neatness of pattern, richness of color, and strength of texture, now maintain a successful competition with the English calicoes, both in the domestic and in the foreign market. Our cottons are now produced so cheaply that we have driven the British dealer from the South American market, and we are able to compete with him and the Hindoo, even in the East Indies. I, myself have heard American cottons cried in the streets of Constantinople, and have seen the voluptuous Turk roll his head in a turban of American cotton, and swath his luxurious limbs in the cotton stuffs of Lowell and Fall River. Our manufacturers now find their way into all the open ports of the world."

"Now, sir, from all this wide range of discussion into which I have been driven by the general attacks upon the whole policy of Protective duties, I think the following practical conclusions may be deduced.

1. That no nation has ever become prosperous, powerful, rich or really independent, but by the protection of its own manufactures and productions.
2. That such has been the policy of England, of all the great states of the world, and such the established practice of the Colberts, the Sullys, the Walsingtons, the Pitts, the Hamiltons, the Jeffersons, and all the other great statesmen.
3. That such has been the policy of the United States from their origin as a nation.
4. That the manufactures of this country have been created and developed by the Tariff, and that they are now abundant sources of national wealth.
5. That in the progress of our manufactures the corn grower of the West, the cotton grower of the South, and all the agricultural interests, have been greatly benefited by the opening of a domestic market.
6. That the charges preferred against the establishment of manufactures, as tending to corrupt and demoralize society, are entirely erroneous, as demonstrated in the condition of the manufacturing population of this country.
7. That a relaxed Tariff leads to excessive importations, which drain the country of specie, and derange all business and monetary operations.
8. That the protective policy is a policy of self defence, and necessary to the national independence.
9. That the old cry, that a Protective Tariff is a taxation of the South for the benefit of the manufacturer, is a fallacy, as evinced in their rapid growth and constant cheapening of manufactures in this country, since their establishment.

And lastly, in every point of view, national, political and social, the Protective system is productive of the greatest benefits.

Here, sir, I rest my defence of American Industry. I do not desire to see this country become a mere political power overshadowing the world like the giant form of England, but I do say, that with all our multiplied facilities, this is the very country for great manufacturing operations.—What would it be were it a mere agricultural or pastoral country? A mighty wilderness of forest and prairie, roaming by the ocean to the wide spread surface of an Aræadian solitude where a few shaggy Corydons with their herds might shelter themselves in the depths of the vast forests, or bask upon the virgin bosom of boundless prairies. Sir, were the great streams which course their way from the remote fountains of the North intended only to roll their waters between solitary shores, and lose themselves in the ocean; to the wide spread surface of the world, embracing all the agricultural staples of the world, from the cotton and the sugars of the Indies to the grain of the Baltic, and the wheat of the Crimea—to our hills covered with every variety of timber—and to the wide spread surface of the west crowned with waving crops of wheat, rye and corn, embracing all the agricultural staples of the world, from the cotton and the sugars of the Indies to the grain of the Baltic, and the wheat of the Crimea—to our hills covered with every variety of timber—and to the wide spread surface of the west crowned with waving crops of wheat, rye and corn, embracing all the agricultural staples of the world, from the cotton and the sugars of the Indies to the grain of the Baltic, and the wheat of the Crimea—to our hills covered with 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