CAROLINA WATCHMAN.

BY HAMILTON C. JONES. SALISBURY, N. C. SATURDAY, MARCH 29, 1834. VOL. II—NO. 36.—WHOLE NO. 88.

TERMS.

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TWENTY-THIRD CONGRESS

FIRST SESSION.

DEBATE IN THE SENATE.

Tuesday, Feb. 25, 1834.

The Senate having, on motion of Mr. Mangum, resumed the consideration of a Memorial presented by him, some days ago, from a number of citizens of Burke county, N. Carolina, remonstrating against the measure of the removal of the Public Deposites from the Bank of the U. States.

Mr. MANGUM rose, and said, that he had, upon a former occasion, moved to lay the memorial & resolutions on the table to enable the Sen'r from Pennsylvania to proceed in the debate upon the principal question. Remarks having been made by several gentlemen, which in his judgment, required a specific notice, he gave that direction to the subject with a view of resuming the consideration of it, at as early a period as the state of the business and convenience of the Senate would allow. No earlier occasion having offered, he would now proceed to bestow that brief notice on the subject, which the remarks of gentlemen seemed necessarily to suggest. The resolutions came in a form so usual, and withal so unpretending, that he had not expected they would receive more than a passing notice. They had, however, elicited much debate, and had been assailed on various grounds; and especially that they had emanated from partisan zeal, and had been vindicated, if not conceived, by a disappointed political character. Something was said of "put house politicians," and "miserable petitions." Mr. M. said he had stated, upon the presentation of the resolutions, that they had been adopted, as he had been informed, without distinction of party, and that they might be regarded as embodying the sentiments of a large majority of the intelligent and substantial freemen of that fine and prosperous region of North Carolina. He had since that statement was made, availed himself sedulously, of all the means of information within his reach, and he had seen letters that morning, and the result had been to add strength to his first impressions, in reference to the state of public sentiment in the mountain region of N. Carolina, and to enable him to state, with confidence, that a similar sentiment prevaded a large majority of the entire State. The resolutions did not, therefore, in his opinion, emanate from partisan feelings, and party prejudice, but were the result of a strong sense of the general inconvenience, not to say distress, brought upon that portion of the country by the usurpation and abuse of power on the part of the Executive.

Mr. M. said his information deceived him most grossly, if, throughout the whole State of North Carolina, the approach to unanimity in opposition to the administration upon the Deposite question, was wholly unparalleled upon any other great question emanating from an Executive of their own choice.

The remark in reference to a supposed disappointed political character, he could not misunderstand, and was compelled to regard it as exceedingly unjust, & still more unkind: He understood it to refer to his honorable & most excellent friend Mr. Carson, lately a member of the other House. He had hoped that his friend was so well known here, and so truly appreciated, that no hand would be found to aim a shaft unkindly at him. It is true, the remark was accompanied with the admission that he was an honorable man, well entitled to all respect, but yet it sounded in his ears as harsh and unkind. Mr. M. said he had known Mr. Carson long and intimately, and he believed the estimate he had formed of him, was held in common by all who knew him—that a man of higher honor, purer principles, and a warmer heart, perhaps, does not live, and of whom it may be said truly and emphatically, that he is 'without fear and without reproach.' That he is wholly incapable of assailing this or any other Administration, for acts that his sound judgment does not disapprove. If there be any ground for the imputation that these resolutions emanated from mere partisan efforts, we shall probably have evidence of it in another branch of Congress. Let us, before we make too certain of it, wait to see what will be the vote of the member representing that district.

Mr. M. said he knew that honorable member well, he knew him to be a warmly attached friend to the Administration, and that he would approve the adoption by it of any line of policy, which a sense of duty to his constituents might compel him to depart. That he was well acquainted with the sentiments of his district, and would truly represent them, did not admit of question. Mr. M. said, he knew the honorable member by his firmness of purpose; the sterling character of his virtues was equal to any exigency, to the performance of every duty. We shall see what his course will be, and if I am not greatly mistaken, said Mr. M. he will fully vindicate all that I have said on his behalf.

I firmly said Mr M. is my belief, that the state of public sentiment in the western part of N. Carolina, is as I have represented it, that I do not think a little of conflicting testimony can be procured from a source that may be regarded as totally impartial. I know, sir, that if you look to those who live and make profit by the offices, the contracts or the bounties of the Government, they may get any sort of testimony. The blue book can furnish you with those whose 'name is legion,' to defend any and every act of this or any other Administration. It is their vocation. They may be regarded at head quarters as a part of the army. Those tens and hundreds of thousands of dollars, in the shape of *extras* to mail contractors, that deface and blacken the blue book, which have contributed to cripple the whole post office establishment, so as nearly to put it on the footing of a bankrupt establishment, would be a rich equivalent for a good deal more or good service in a moment of need. It is to those who live by Government pay, that I look for public sentiment; rain or shine, they get their pay; and the harder the times the more they buy for their money. It is to the people, the real people, not office holders or contractors; but to the people, who have nothing to ask from the Government but Justice and moderation and a wise economy, that I look for the public sentiment. I do not mean, said Mr. M. to convey the idea, that there is no party in North Carolina, that supports with zeal and anxiety the whole course of the Administration, in reference to the deposites. I know full well there is such a party; small I believe it to be; but by force of a severe drill and exact discipline, it will be felt in all its evolutions, and is by no means to be despised. A party animated by a principle of ambition, as active and almost as dangerous as poison, with its eye steadily fixed upon the elevation of the executive favorite, and its heart upon the loaves and fishes, and flesh pots, and all those good things, that come in the train of power. That party defends the violent and lawless seizure of the deposites, as it will continue to defend every act of the Administration, so long as there is a fair prospect that it will ride out in safety and in triumph the storm of the public indignation.

Nor do I mean to say that there are not others, out of the pale of this party, honest and honorable men, who support this measure. I know that there are some influenced by strong prejudices against the Bank, or strong attachment to the Chief Magistrate who are as incredulous of merit, on the part of the former, as they are slow to admit error, on the part of the latter. But, sir, if I do not mistake the signs of the times, this party active, indefatigable, and concentrated, as it is: sustained, as it is, by the countenance and patronage of the Federal Government, will be beaten and overwhelmed by that great undisciplined corps of militia, the free and sovereign people. Sir, we are unaccustomed to that political discipline by which, in other States, whole committees change front at the word of command, with the celerity and precision that a battalion may be wheeled in the open field. We are mere militia; we refuse the drill, and hold in contempt the political tactician. We have no central agency which kindly takes from the shoulder of the people the burthens of self government. We have no Junto of patriots who kindly assume the toils of Government for the paltry equivalent of the people's money only. We recognize no organizations, unknown to the Constitution, to ride and rule over the laws; to manufacture public opinion; to order and to club the wits of dishonest men; to seize upon the Government and plunder a confiding community.

Sir, we have seen in the history of other States, and great States too, that bad men have established regencies, self-constituted, ambitious, and unprincipled, which, by means of perfect organization, comprehending every county, and every township of every county, controlled public opinion, subdued all spirit of resistance, and acting in phalanax, and by concert, secured an echo from every organ; even the most diminutive, to the expressed will of the central Junto. Illustrious talent, ripe experience, and well-tried patriotism, must fall into the ranks, bow, to the central power, and wheel at the word of command, or be proscribed by the ruthless despotism. A sort of political Procrustean bed—talent and worth go for nothing. Exact discipline, and perfect obedience, the only tests of excellence. Sir, we have no such regency, we can have none. It cannot live among us in power. It would only in doggeril or in pasquinade, the sport of the wit, the butt of the wag, and the scorn of honest citizens. It would be an organization without power, a Government without subjects—a mere *caput mortuum* with 'none so poor as to do it reverence.'

As we have no man, or set of men, who control public opinion, at will, so I think no man, or set of men, can transfer, at will, popularity to another. I regard the idea that the suffrage of North-Carolina can be transferred to the Executive favorite, as deeply insulting to the intelligence and independence of our citizens.

I know that the opinion is entertained, and warmly cherished, but I think it is founded in a profound misconception of the character of our people. They cannot, they will not, be transferred—they will judge and decide for themselves—wisely, I trust; independently, I am sure.

The people of that State had borne much, they were less excitable than some of their more merciful neighbors; but there was a point beyond which the experiment now making upon them and the country not be safely carried. It had been stated by his honorable colleague, and doubtless from his conviction of its truth, 'that he had no doubt that North-Carolina would always sustain the Administratation: that the opinions of the people, republican as they were, were decidedly against domestic foes, as well as foreign enemies, and would support the Government against both.' It became Mr. M. to speak with modesty in regard to his State, but of her virtue for consistency, and a steadfast adherence to her principles, he might speak, as he should only echo the voice of her whole history. He should then feel that he had assumed weighty responsibility, to affirm of his State, that she would always support any *man*, or any administration. But he should feel that he risked nothing in affirming that she would be found steadily supporting her principles. She, in common with her sisters, was under the influence of that devotion to public benefactors, which distinguished a generous and honorable people; she might occasionally err, under the influence of a generous enthusiasm, or temporary excitement; but, in the long run she would be found on the side of those great principles that had marked every period of her history—and none might be so bold as to count upon her support, who were themselves untrue to those principles; occasional aberrations, or slight delinquencies, she might generously overlook; but, depend upon it, that no man, or set of men, who habitually disregard her principles, can safely count upon her support.

That State had suffered as little of pecuniary distress from the removal of the deposites and the destruction of confidence consequent upon the violence and usurpation which marked the whole procedure, as perhaps any other on the Atlantic border. Perhaps, from circumstances peculiar to herself, she had suffered less than any other—certainly much less than her sister States to the North and East. The whole amount of debt in that State, foreign and domestic, was perhaps much smaller than it had been for several years, and yet by reason of the gradual winding up of the business of all the local Banks, there had been a sort of stricture, not to say uneasiness, in money matters. The shock given to public confidence—the entire uncertainty as to the future—had unquestionably increased that uneasiness. The evils of that act were moving apace, and were pervading every part of the interior, and must be felt with more or less severity. But the opposition of that State, to this measure, did not arise from a feeling of distress—for that opposition existed before the consequences of the measure were felt at all—but it rested upon a deep sense of violated law, the startling pretensions of power, and the manifest tendency to the isolation of all power in the hands of one man. He regarded it as highly honorable to his State, that she was moved, not by mercenary considerations, but by a feeling of justice, and her love and veneration for the Constitution and the laws. North Carolina was emphatically a law-loving and law-abiding State. Not the worshipper of idols and the devotee of power—but as firm to resist usurpations on the part of power, as ready to yield obedience to rightful authority.

Nothing (said Mr. M.) indicates more clearly the unsoundness of the times than the true character of this controversy—Strip it of all extraneous matter—of the mystification of language, and remove the rubbish that encumbers it—and this whole deposite question is a contest for the use of the public money for the purposes of gain—to make interest out of it. It is a contest for the use of it *after* it leaves the pockets of the People and *before* it is disbursed in the public service; as if this Government has any right to take money from the pockets of the people, before it is needed, to lend either to partisan Banks or political partisans. The law places this money in the United States Bank, mainly for safe keeping, and for a safe and easy transmission to the different points of the country where it is needed for the public service. The great object is safety. Neither the President, nor the President and Congress together, have the shadow of right to raise money, by taxing the People, to lend either to his or their friends; nor have they any right to use money, after it is raised, for their benefit or the benefit of their friends, either for pecuniary or political speculation—either to make fortunes or to make Presidents. And yet, no one can shut his eyes to the fact, that the whole struggle here, is to take the public money from the place designated by law, and to give the use of it to certain affiliated Banks, that must of necessity, be more or less controlled by a political party. In the worst period of the Roman empire, the imperial purple was put up at auction by the prætorian guards. God forbid that we shall ever see the time in this country when trained political cohorts shall seize upon the public moneys to open the way to the Presidency by corruption; when the patronage of the Government shall be combined with the People's money, to bring into power an Executive favorite.

I shall decline, said *Mr.* M., going into the arguments upon the deposite question. The argument has been exhausted, and the pretexts, I do not say the reasons, of the Administration for this measure, have been utterly annihilated. That is my opinion; and such, I do not doubt, will be the opinion of the country.

It has been said that a great effort is making to put out of power particular men, and, with them, to put out or to put down the principles of this Administration, and to bring others into power with opposite or different principles—My views have not taken so wide a scope. My object is to check, if possible, bold and lawless usurpation, and to avert from the country the evils consequent upon it—to arrest the deep and wide-spread distress so painfully experienced in some quarters, and so fearfully anticipated in all.

What motive, asked Mr. M. can any gentleman have especially from his State, to throw himself into the ranks of opposition to this Administration? The Administration is now in its second term and it must live out the time for which it is elected—a longer continuance of it under the present Chief Magistrate is not contemplated by any one. What motive then, can one have, causelessly—and, indeed, unless under the influence of a stern necessity—to place himself in the opposition? No motive can be assigned. On the contrary, every consideration of prudence, or personal advancement, or individual ease, conspire to recommend that he should take the direction of the times, and float gently down upon the current of the President's popularity.—In the State from which he came, that popularity was known to have been great. It was a confidence given to him suddenly, but voluntarily. If recent events have deeply alarmed, not to say shaken that confidence, yet it may supposed still to be strong; opposition therefore, will necessarily have to encounter preconceived partialities, and to brook the misrepresentations and calumnies of a servile and degraded press—a press, in its ramifications, penetrating every portion of the Confederacy—drilled and disciplined—moved by an impulse from the centre—a ready organ of every slander and calumny; and a sure echo of Executive denunciations. Does not every one see and feel that when the allurements and blandishments of power shall fail of their object—when fealty shall not be secured by flattery, reward, or the hope of reward—that the fears or the weakness of the public man are sought to be acted on by the terrorism of denunciation?—Does not every one see that independence and manliness are not the virtues required? That submission to the drill is exacted? That he must go the whole length in advancing the great primary object of the managers—the election of the successor the Executive favorite—or make up his mind to meet the denunciations of the official organ in this District, re-echoed, as they are, by that portion of the press, which as yet has never faltered in defending all the acts of power?

Sir, it is not a slight matter to take a position here against the acts of this Administration; and it is feared, that the over prudence or timidity of public servants too often permit the outrages of power to pass without rebuke rather than incur the known penalties of resisting them.

Sir, thousands and tens of thousands of our honest and industrious citizens are in a state of profound ignorance of the enormous, the monstrous abuses and corruptions of this government. They live too far from it, I have feared, to guard effectually against abuse. The public eye is not sufficiently turned upon the Government except for its favors and its patronage. The guardianship is defective—is certainly inefficient. That man who should undertake to disclose to the public eye the enormous abuses of the present time, would be denounced as a calumniator, or regarded as a mere visionary.

How many of my constituents could be made to see, as clearly as I think I see it, that the public weal, the great interests of the country, are held by those who particularly control the Government, as wholly subordinate to the elevation of their favorite to the Presidency? How many would believe under this administration of their own choice, that those who in fact manage the system, regard the gratification of the ambition of one man, is wholly above any questions of public interest? And yet, in the presence of the Senate, and before the country, I declare it as my solemn conviction, that such is the fact.

Sir, if the whole country could look into this stupendous laboratory, within these ten miles square, and comprehend at a glance the complicated springs of action, how much of selfish ambition, how little of patriotism, how much of mere mercenary calculation—and see too, by whose hands and for whose interest the Government is controlled—it might bring an awful day of reckoning to those whose hearts are now hardened against the distresses of the people. But, sir, the country will not see it. Men may not prove recreant to their trusts, but the whole extent of abuse and corruption will not, cannot be realised. The truth, the whole truth and nothing but the truth, cannot be known.

But, sir, it is charged that the object of the opposition is to put out the men and principles of this administration. That is a serious charge and demands examination. To put out the principles of this administration! That ought not to be done, if those principles are sound, and conservative of the great interests of the country. The principles of this administration! I have looked not inattentively to the course of this administration for several years. I had supposed, until after the re-election of the President, that the tendency of those principles was conservative. It is true, that I was not entirely sure that I precisely comprehended the views of the men in power. The South was laboring & sinking under the Tariff system; our people looked with eagerness to any indication of relief, and supposed they saw it in the principles avowed by the administration. It is certain, however, that by reason of the imperfection of language, or from some other cause, Pennsylvania regarded the views of the President as not unfavorable to her favorite system; while in the South we took good heart from encouraging intimations, and supported with energy and zeal the present Chief Magistrate, believing as we did, that he was with us in feeling and principle. The history of subsequent times, may tell how deep were the delusions of a confiding people. The scenes of the last winter, if they shall ever be truly portrayed, will exhibit in vivid colors, the deep and deliberate betrayal of the trusting South.

The principles of this administration! As far as I know, and I make the declaration under a full sense of responsibility; this administration has put forward no principle as a test principle, as a party principle, except the principles of elections and of office. The administration came into power as a reforming administration, to cut down abuses, lop off excrescences, restore economy, and bring back the Government to a sound, simple and healthful action. The great questions before the country were—tariff, internal improvement, and economy, and abuse of executive patronage. I am bold to say, that not a single pledge, either express or implied, by the opponents of the late & the friends of the present administration, has been redeemed. This is a strong declaration, and yet I feel prepared, when invited to the trial, to prove it before the country.

The only great principle, until this of the deposites, which the friends of the administration were required to support, was the principle of office. Is the fact not so? Will any one rise in his place and deny it and give the exception? You might be tariff or anti-tariff, internal improvement or anti-internal improvement, for or against economy, Bank or anti-Bank, and yet a good Jackson man, a member of the political Church, in full communion, so long as you would vote for all nominations to office, and support the elections of those who would sustain all the views of the Executive in relation to office.—Upon these great questions, some of which almost shook this Confederacy to its deepest foundations, the friends of the Administration were not required to hold any principles in common; but if upon a nomination to a land office or a foreign mission, or any subordinate situation upon which the Executive had set his heart for the accommodation of his friend, one should venture to express his dissent, wo betide the presumptuous act he might look out for the flaming sword of Executive vengeance, or prepare for the deep denunciations of a profligate Press.

Sir, this Administration has had no fixed principles, upon which it has steadily acted upon any of these great subjects.—Its strength has mainly consisted in the keeping of its views of policy, either undefined or thrown into the dark. In a word its highest policy has been to have no settled policy. To keep every thing open, every thing unsettled, to lean as the exigency might require, either to the North or South, to make the most of every interest, by playing off against each other the different sections, to effect harmony and concert in nothing save in the elections, have been eminently characteristic of the present Administration.

That such is the temper of the Chief Magistrate I am not sure. But who believes that the policy of the President is the prevailing policy of the Administration? Who does not see that a certain great party, and, I fear, a bad party, holds the President and his counsels, as it were, in the palms of their hands? Who does not see that the policy of that party is eminently that of uncommittal? that it watches the currents of public opinion, and embarks with an eye single to the objects of personal ambition? that the defects of sagacity are sought to be supplied by after thoughts, a sort of humbug, (pardon the word, its lowness is upon a level with the policy it is intended to indicate,) by sturdy applications to the passions and gullibility of the public?

Sir, in this question of the deposites, their sagacity has deeply failed them.—To rifle the Bank of the Deposites, under charges deeply affecting its purity, the Bank, which is supposed to be so very unpopular, and by a President so strong in popularity, was supposed to be the easiest thing in the world, & in the deep financial wisdom of the Executive advisers, to remove a few millions of dollars from one side of the street to another, did not abstract the money from the country, and therefore could produce no difficulty. Financial sages! Wise money changers! It never occurred to them that the country could doubt their wisdom or that the country would feel the slightest shock in public confidence.—The affiliated and favorite Banks would use these moneys in a way to refresh the whole party, and sustain it, and draw to its support as many hungry retainers as might be necessary to bear into power the favorite. * * * * *

But the power behind the throne, greater than the throne itself, will begin to find that it has been a little too bold; that the people have yet a strong sense of liberty, and that the popularity of no man can "bear every thing." The managers will find that they cannot get along with the present policy; that they will be unhorsed; that the country will not consent to undergo so much distress and suffering, merely to try an "experiment." They must retrace—they cannot go on—or they will die in their tracks.—The People have borne much; they may yet bear more; but let their oppressors be ware of driving this experiment too far.

Mr. M. said he did not believe that in any country, where laws were known and acted upon, a people had ever, in a time of profound peace, been so suddenly thrown, by the will of one man, from a state of the highest prosperity into one of wide-spread and general distress. If these calamities had been inflicted by disease, by famine, or by the elements, men's minds would be brought to bear them with calmness and philosophy. But when inflicted through mere wantonness or vindictiveness, or for the accomplishment of schemes of avarice or ambition, a free people could not be exempt from a deep feeling of uneasiness and discontent, nor long restrained from the expression of a deep indignation.

Mr. M. moved the reference of the memorial.

Mr. BROWN rose and said, that he had hoped, after the discussion which this subject had already undergone in the Senate, and from the period of time which had elapsed since that discussion; that it would not have again been revived. He expressed his regret that it should again have become necessary for him to claim any more of the time and attention of the Senate than had already been extended to him on this question: but some of the remarks which had fallen from his honorable colleague, (Mr. Mangum,) had imposed on him the necessity of making a few observations in reply.

Mr. B. said, he would take occasion, before he proceeded further in his remarks, to correct a mistake, no doubt unintentional, into which his colleague had fallen, in the course of the remarks which he had just made, in attributing to him an expression, when this subject was some time ago under discussion, which he had never used, and altogether disclaimed; an expression which respect, both for himself and the State which he in part represented, would have prevented his making.

He, Mr. B. did not say, upon the occasion referred to, that the State of North-Carolina "would *always* sustain the Administration," but he had taken occasion to say, that "he himself had no doubt that North-Carolina would sustain the Administration; which expression he had used in reference to the great question which was now agitating the country, and which had grown out of the removal of the public Deposites. [Here, Mr. MANGUM asked leave to explain, and the floor having been yielded him, he read from the National Intelligencer that part of the Speech of B. as reported in that paper, to which he had referred.] Mr. Brown resumed, and said, that the expression attributed to him, in the report of his remarks in the Intelligencer, which paper, he would say, had generally treated him with fairness and justice in reporting his remarks, was one which had not been used by him. He seldom troubled himself to revise the notes of any of the reporters, before their publication, as to any thing which he said here in debate. He had looked over his remarks very hastily, as given by the reporter of the Intelligencer, before they were published in that paper, but the error which he alluded to had escaped his observation. The report of his remarks, as published in the Globe of the 15th February, gave accurately the expression which he had used on the occasion alluded to. Mr. B. said, that he had ventured to express the opinion, that the State of North Carolina would sustain the Administration on this question, which in its issue, he sincerely believed, involved great principles of constitutional liberty, and the preservation of our free institutions, in their purity, from the uniform and patriotic devotion to those principles which had distinguished her citizens in all the great political struggles which had, at different periods of our history, agitated the country. He did believe then, and he still believed that there was a firm and determined spirit of patriotism in our country, which would not consent to witness the humiliation of the Government and the people, by the success and triumph of the dangerous and and powerful moneyed institution which was now struggling for mastery and supremacy over the legitimate authorities of our country.

Mr. B. said, that his honorable collegue had remarked that, he believed a great majority of the people of the State of North Carolina were decidedly in opposition to the administration on this question, yet his honorable colleague had, in the course of the remarks which had fallen from him, expressed the opinion, that such was the great personal popularity of the President among the great mass of the people, that the individual risked his popularity who stood before them in opposition to any important measure of his administration! If the measure, in question, of the administration was so unpopular in North Carolina, as had been represented, he was at a loss to perceive how any public man could hazard his popularity by opposing it. It had been said by his collegue that the only party in North Carolina which supported the administration, was, what had been termed by him, the 'regency party," and which he had described as active, persecuting, and well-drilled. He (Mr. B.) was not aware of the existence, in that State, of any such political party. If any such did exist, he believed a full set-off would be found in the activity, zeal, and perfect party organization which marked the political combination which was now arrayed in fixed and determined opposition to the administration. He believed his honorable colleague, at the last presidential election, had given in his adhesion to that ticket which had on it the name of an individual who is said, by his political opponents, to belong to the party which they denominate the "regency party," and this too, *after* the passage of the act to reduce the tariff in 1832, for their course in relation to which, his colleague had just spoken in such strong language of censure. It had been said, that the present contest was one for political power.

He (Mr. B.) believed that the opponents of the administration had seized upon the occasion presented by the state of things at this crisis, to endeavor to break down, in public estimation, those in power, and to pave the way for their own elevation. What he would ask, was the scene daily exhibited before us? Every day gentlemen gave the most exaggerated picture, as he believed, of the public sufferings. Every day the accents of distress had resounded here. He said, he believed that different kinds of distress, at this time, prevailed in our country; and he thought not among the least *distressed*, class of the country, was to be found in that class of politicians who had been disappointed in their hopes, for the success of their party. They were, no doubt, *distressed*, because their opponents were in power, & they themselves were *out* of power. This had been the case in all times, and under every form of government.

Mr. B. proceeded to remark, that, for one who was unacquainted with the condition of things in this country, to listen to the language almost daily employed in the debates in this Chamber, by gentlemen in opposition, it would be supposed the Executive branch of the Government had established a ruthless and unrelenting despotism, on the ruins of our free system of Government. We had heard many eloquent discourse on the right of trial by jury; many eloquent denunciations of the Executive, for the danger which threatened the great bulwark of our liberty from that quarter. These were mere fancy sketches, pictured from over excited imaginations. In what instance, he would ask had the right of trial by jury been violated by the Executive? When, he would ask, had all the great constitutional rights secured to individuals, both as to their persons and their property, been more amply and universally enjoyed, in every part of the United States, than at this time? When had the blessings of liberty, abundance, and prosperity, been more generally diffused throughout our land? It was true that some indications of distress appeared in some of our commercial cities, but, he believed, the great body of the People, and particularly the agricultural class, were never more contented, never more prosperous and happy. Gentlemen might insist upon it, that the People were suffering great distress; but neither that, nor the operations of the Bank of the United States, could prevent the industry and energies of a free People from going forward, in that rapid advance to national character, prosperity, and greatness which this country was destined to attain.

Mr. B. said he thought it must be obvious to all, who were at all observant of passing events, that a great effort was now making, by those who were out of power, to break down in public opinion the party in power, in order to secure their own ultimate success. And what, he would ask, was the composition of the extraordinary combination of parties which was now moving to effect that purpose with a zeal, a perseverance, and an activity, which he would say was worthy of a better cause? It embraced parties of every political hue and complexion. Nullification and Nationalism were found united, directing their joint efforts to the accomplishment of that purpose. Could it fail to be perceived that a union of parties thus constituted, seconded by the great power and influence of the Bank of the U. States, if successful in their efforts to obtain power, would wield a power and control more formidable than any heretofore known under our Government. In such an event Mr B. said, it was but reasonable to suppose, judging from the past conduct of those who managed the affairs of the Bank, that its whole power, if the deposites were restored and a re-charter obtained, would be exerted to sustain those in power who had upheld that institution. It appeared to him that the country might well startle with alarm at the consequences of the success of so formidable a party, sustained and supported, as it most probably would be, by a power which would go far to place it beyond the reach and control of public opinion.

It had been repeatedly said, that the Administration had restored to the State Banks as places of deposite, to strengthen themselves and perpetuate power in the hands of its friends. The effect of this measure, as one of patronage, he thought was rather to bring more of weakness than of strength to the party in power. The Government could select, comparatively, but a small number of Banks in proportion to the large number which existed in the different States; and those Banks whose claims were overlooked, constituting, by far, the most numerous portion, would be more likely to indulge feelings of resentment than of friendship for the Administration.

In relation to the removal of the deposites, he (Mr. B.) would take occasion to say, that, in his opinion, the Secretary of the Treasury was fully justified in taking that step, by the flagrant violation of its charter, by those who managed the concerns of the Bank, in having placed at the disposal of its President the funds of that institution, to an unlimited extent, to promote its recharter, by its unhallowed interference in the political concerns of the country, and by its attempt to exercise an improper control over the public press. Who could doubt the *quo animo* with which these transactions had been conducted on the part of those who managed the concerns of the Bank, after an examination of the circumstances under which large sums had been loaned to Editors of influential newspapers.

He believed, if the question of the *intention* with which some of these transactions had taken place, was submitted by any honest and unprejudiced jury of twelve men, that their decision would be, beyond all doubt, that the intention was to control and corrupt the Press. It might be attempted to varnish these transactions over, by various ingenious and delicate phrases, much in use in these days of modern refinement, but, among plain and intelligent men, there could be but one opinion about them. When the question of rechartering the old Bank of the United States was under discussion, the mere suspicion that it had attempted to interfere in the party politics of the times, was so repugnant to the moral sense of the country, that it was no inconsiderable objection to its longer continuance.

Mr. B. said, that more timid men than those who conducted the affairs of the administration, might have paused, to calculate the effects of the measure on their popular