

admires more than I do his indomitable will, strong native sagacity, and that almost sublime energy with which he pursues and generally attains his purpose. I appreciate, too, sir, at its just value, the unshaken attachment he displays to his friends, though the virtue be, as I admit it is, more fitted for the ornament of private than of public life. But close alongside of these strong points of character lie defects which I fear will be painfully felt, and long seen in their untoward influence on public prosperity. But this is an ungrateful theme, which I have no desire to pursue, and I return to the remaining portion of the subject.

I am sure the Senate will pardon me for not following the argument I am replying to, through the minute examination given by it to the affairs of the United States Bank. I see no use in warring with the dead. The party in power has destroyed the bank on their responsibility, and I leave to them the pleasure and advantages of a post mortem examination. I shall not assist at it. If I had the wish to do so, I have not the knowledge to enable me to meet the Senator on so intricate and confused a field. He has with great industry made himself master of a variety of facts of which I have no knowledge, still less of those by which his statements might be explained, or the incorrectness of the views he has taken exhibited. Indeed, such is the absorbing attention which the Senator from Missouri has given to this same great monster, the Bank of the United States, that I apprehend there is no man in the Republic, except the President of the Bank, who is able to give answers to all the objections and charges which the fertile imagination of the honorable member can at any moment conjure up. I would, therefore, suggest to him that great advantages would accrue to the Republic if he would, in some way or other, have a regular discussion with the parent of mischief. *Old Nick* himself, in regard to the former transactions of the bank. They might play the game by letter, as that of chess is sometimes done, or what would perhaps be better, they could meet at some half-way place, and each limiting himself to half an hour at a time (I should consider this clause in the agreement very important,) they might at the end of five or six months end the matter quite as satisfactory as the theological contests of a similar character we sometimes hear of generally terminate—that is the auditors would come away with their heads confused, their passions heated, and their original prepossessions confirmed.

On this matter I can only state the impression produced on my mind by all I have seen and heard on this question, and the conviction I express has, at all events, this recommendation, it comes from one who has never had any connexion with the bank in any way whatever, and whose judgment is not clouded by the recollection either of favors received, or favors refused. I say, then, sir, in all sincerity, that nothing has yet come under my consideration to induce me to think that the Bank of the United States was not wisely and honestly conducted, and I am convinced that its operations were most useful and salutary to the nation. It gave us a sound currency, and it regulated exchanges with a success until then unknown, and which, if we have not reached that point already, we must soon reach to enjoy. The institution, which ever existed, so studiously abstained from all interference with either national or state politics, up to the time when it pleased those opposed to it to raise the war cry of party, and to denounce it to the Public, instead of calling it before a court of justice, where, according to the terms of its charter, all violations of it were to be tried. I shall not attempt to characterize what it did afterwards, that must be judged by others; but I fear we are still too near the heated scenes which this contest has given rise to, to judge of it correctly. Dragged from its legal sphere, and its peaceful mission, and engaged before the American people, it had no choice as to the place or mode of defence. It had no alternative but to submit in silence to all the imputations heaped on it, or to meet them by denial and proof. That it may have sometimes overstepped the limits of defence by answering its opponents, may be true; but that its language, its course, here, has been regarded as policy would be dictated, I apprehend equally true, nor is it important. The faults lie with those by whom the irregular and unconstitutional assault was first made, and such is to be pardoned to the feelings of the proceeding involved. It is very easy for the physician, who stands by the side of the victim who is racked, to tell him that his complaints must be courteous, and his cries gentle; but this species of forbearance, like many other virtues, it is most less difficult to preach about than practice.

Now have I ever seen any proof that it showed its power at the time when, from the widespread alarm which filled the community on the removal of the deposits, a total want of confidence in pecuniary matters seized on the public mind and this has again been shown. The contraction of its discounts was not greater than the removal of the deposits warranted, and the necessity of transmitting its funds from distant points to those nearer home, where it was menaced with a pressure, without the imputation of unworthy motives, accounts for the facts which the Senator referred to. And, sir, there is just as great a mistake in regard to the motives attributed to the members on this floor who were opposed to the measures taken by the President in relation to the Bank. I am really, sir, almost tempted to get out of humor with the Senator from Missouri at the much emphasis he pays on our common sense, when he asserts that the course pursued by us was prompted by the hope of influencing elections, and promoting party ends. I beg the Senator to understand that deferring to him, as I am sure all on this side of the House readily would, to his superior skill in electing, and to a knowledge of all the intrigues, passions and prejudices of the multitude can be influenced, we were not quite so ignorant of these things as ever flatter ourselves the Bank could be made popular with the People. Reason and experience, sir, both taught us another lesson. We have previously seen, sir, that an institution of this kind never could be acceptable to the mass. Banks always must be disliked by them, because the benefits which they confer on society are indirect, and the philosophy of their utility out of common reach, while the advantages which they confer on the owners of their res-

—a picture, sir, rendered more painful to contemplate, by the recollection of our condition before the war was waged on the Bank of the U. States. For sixteen years it regulated the currency of the country with a wisdom and success of which there is no parallel. We threw it away, and we see what we have got in its place. Sir, all the projects of regulating and checking the excess of bank emissions by law, refusing to receive at your Treasury their notes of a less sum than \$20, will have no more effect than would have a bucket full of earth thrown into the Mississippi river to stop its current. And as pushing gold and silver into circulation when you have five hundred and fifty banks interested in gathering it all up, and supplying its place with their notes, that is equally impracticable; a cheap and a dear currency never can exist together; the former always destroys the latter. Having no power by the Constitution to interfere directly with the State legislation in this matter, I see that the country is destined to go through the same scenes of agitation and suffering which it did previous to the operation of the late Bank of the United States. After the evils have come to a height when they can no longer be endured we shall have another National Bank, and not until then. But I submit if it would not have been as well to have prevented this state of things 160 years ago? I inquire, what good has been, or can be attained, by putting the People through this fearful trial? Five or six years hence will be the time to get an answer to these questions.

Sir, it affords me no consolation for all the calamities which I see approaching, that we are told the People of the United States have approved of all the acts of the President in relation to the Bank. If they had, I could not surrender my impressions; but I have seen no evidence of the fact. It is inferred from his re-election, and from a majority of his friends being found in Congress. But, sir, I protest against any such fallacy being received as proof of their approval. I believe, on the contrary, that the President was re-elected, and is now sustained, in spite of the removal of the deposits, not in consequence of that act. When I came here two years ago I conversed in private with none of his friends who did not regret the step, though they were unwilling to abandon him for what they conceived to be an honest error. These friends still sustain him, because, with his defects and mistakes, they prefer him to those who might take his place.

This, sir, is the true ground, not that taken in argument. By such reasoning as has been offered on this floor, every President who is re-elected has done no wrong, nor fallen into any error; he is infallible. It is a pure sophism, sir, to assert that the re-election of any man argues an approval of each of his acts. It is only evidence that, taking them all, good and bad together, the People accept him.

Sir, I have much more to say, but the state of my health forbids me to go farther; and I conclude by again returning my thanks to the Senate for the attention with which they have honored me.

Extraction from the House of Representatives—The Van Buren Party.

Extracts from Mr. Bell's Speech on the Naval Service Bill—exposing the shuffling course which has been pursued by the Van Buren party in relation to the re-election of Gen. Jackson, in his annual message, of an amendment to the Constitution, securing the election of President to the People.

It cannot be forgotten, that from 1825, until the commencement of the present administration, this proposition was a favorite policy of the party which brought Gen. Jackson into power. The whole subject was, during that period, ably and freely discussed both in Congress and in the public journals. When Gen. Jackson was elected by the people, no one doubted but that one of the first acts which would distinguish the action of Congress would be, to recommend such an amendment to the States for their adoption. General Jackson, in his first message, urged the subject upon the attention of Congress in the strongest and most unequivocal language. In his second, and in each succeeding annual Message, he has done the same thing. Regarding the discussion of this subject, as having commenced in 1825, it is now upwards of five years since it has been before the country in the most imposing form—in the annual Messages of the President. The arguments and language of the Message upon this subject, are worthy of particular notice; and I must leave to refer to them. Here Mr. Bell read several passages from the Message of the President upon this subject, all of which were in the opinion of the President such an amendment of the Constitution should be made. Well, sir, what has been the result—the effect of these repeated and urgent recommendations? In the early part of the administration, many earnest and well meant efforts were made to get this House to take up, and act upon this subject. Propositions in a variety of shapes were presented, and it has been a part of the regular business of the House, at the beginning of every session, to appoint a select committee upon this subject—but, sir, the truth cannot be disguised or disputed, that those efforts were the efforts of individuals only; that the regular annual appointment of Special Committees, has been but a mere form; and, at no time, could the party be rallied in favor of the proposition. There was always some where, and for some motive, a power and an influence which thwarted the action of the House upon this question.

Soon after the opening of the last session of Congress, this subject began to excite increased interest, and certainly demanded prompt attention from those who seriously and honestly believed an election by the House of Representatives ought to be avoided. It was then, sir, that it became manifest that the Jackson party would be divided upon the subject of the form which existed in the country of an election by the House, in compelling the submission to the decrease of the Presidency, and supported under such circumstances, and upon principles which forbid the hope that his friends would surrender his pretensions to the man who it was foreseen would be the favorite of the contemplated Baltimore Convention. This was a compromise to test the principle of a division in the ranks of the party in power was manifest. An election by the House would be a result of this state of things, could not certainly be foreseen; but all must have seen that such a result might take place. As early as the 10th of December, 1834, a Select Committee was appointed to consider of, and report upon this subject. Special care was taken to appoint a clear majority upon the committee, who were known to have avowed themselves favorable to an amendment of the Constitution, which would exclude the election from the House. The following gentlemen composed the Committee: Messrs. Gilmer, Archer, Himes, Beasley, Goddard, Johnson of Ky., Speight, Hubbard, and Carr. Five of these gentlemen are the known supporters of General Jackson, and of Mr. Van Buren as his successor; and all were understood, when the committee was appointed, to be in favor of a recommendation of the President, which would be his exclusive and special duty to consider and report upon. The Chairman of the Committee, Mr. Gilmer of Georgia, though not a supporter of the Administration, was known to be a gentleman of great sincerity, talents and energy; and he was also known to be a zealous advocate of the proposition submitted to the Committee. I have a personal knowledge that unusual efforts were made by the Chairman of the Committee, and by various other individuals, to prevail upon the Committee to agree upon some report at an early day of the session; that it might be before the House and acted upon before the commencement of the session. The friends of Judge White especially, fearing the use which would be made against him of the argument that by dividing the party the election would be brought into the House, exerted themselves in every fair and honorable way to procure a decision upon the question by Congress. Several of the members of this Committee, who had always avowed themselves in favor of the measure, were privately appealed to; but all was vain. The answer was they could not agree upon the details of the measure—to two, it was said, could agree. Now, sir, every member of the least experience in legislation knows, that upon any important question whatever involving details, two men can rarely be found to agree upon all of them. It is notorious, that no Committee of this House would ever report upon any subject of importance, if a majority of its members were expected to unite upon all the details of it. All that can be expected in such cases is, that a majority shall agree upon the principle of the report. The House is always expected to alter the details according to the views of the majority. It was no adequate excuse to say, they could not agree upon details. I will not be so unjust as to say, that all the members of the committee who had before that time professed a desire to see the Constitution amended, in this respect, wilfully combined to prevent any action upon the subject last session. Of a committee of nine members, and six only to them being friendly to the principle of a measure, any two of the six were able to defeat any action upon the subject. A report from the committee, I feel warranted, from the circumstances, in asserting, was defeated by the managers of it, and these thirty-seven were the known supporters of Mr. Van Buren, and the President's course, in other words, of a nomination by a convention; and fifteen of these thirty-seven were members of the New York delegation. The resolution was that day taken up and read a second time and postponed to the 19th of the month. But it was superseded by other business until the 25th of February, when Mr. Wilde of Georgia, moved that all the orders of the day be postponed, for the purpose of considering this subject. Upon this motion there were 112 yeas, and 92 nays. The latter, 49 were supporters of Mr. Van Buren, and 24 of those who were members of the New York delegation. The subject that day under consideration, and the subject which the House came to no decision upon it. On the 27th of February Mr. Gilmer again moved that the resolution be taken up, and upon taking the question the vote stood, yeas 93, nays 104. Of the nays, 60 were for Mr. Van Buren, and 24 of them from New York. On the same day, however, at a later hour, Mr. Gilmer's resolution came up in the regular order of business; when a motion was made to dispose of it finally, by laying it on the table. In favor of this motion there were only 53 yeas, and 20 of them were the friends of Mr. Van Buren, and 13 of that number from New York. After further debate upon the resolution, a motion was made by Mr. Vanderpool of New York, that the House adjourn—evidently with a view to evade the question upon the resolution. Upon this motion the votes stood, yeas 39, nays 112. Of the yeas, 46 were for Mr. Van Buren, and 20 of them from New York. The subject was further debated, but no decision arrived at. Now, sir, upon a view of all these circumstances, can you remain the shadow of a doubt that this question was wilfully and undesignedly evaded at the last session, by the very party which now professes to hold an election by the House in such utter abhorrence. The neglect of Congress to act upon this subject, prior to the last session, might admit of some apology. There were so many exciting and important questions of another kind, continually arising to absorb the chief attention of Congress, and besides, there had been no prospect of an election by the House until the commencement of last session. But there is no justification for the course of the party at the last session upon this subject. It is too clear that the party in favor of Mr. Van Buren for the succession, determined to have the full benefit of the years which existed in the country of an election by the House, in compelling the submission to the decrease of the Presidency.

—a picture, sir, rendered more painful to contemplate, by the recollection of our condition before the war was waged on the Bank of the U. States. For sixteen years it regulated the currency of the country with a wisdom and success of which there is no parallel. We threw it away, and we see what we have got in its place. Sir, all the projects of regulating and checking the excess of bank emissions by law, refusing to receive at your Treasury their notes of a less sum than \$20, will have no more effect than would have a bucket full of earth thrown into the Mississippi river to stop its current. And as pushing gold and silver into circulation when you have five hundred and fifty banks interested in gathering it all up, and supplying its place with their notes, that is equally impracticable; a cheap and a dear currency never can exist together; the former always destroys the latter. Having no power by the Constitution to interfere directly with the State legislation in this matter, I see that the country is destined to go through the same scenes of agitation and suffering which it did previous to the operation of the late Bank of the United States. After the evils have come to a height when they can no longer be endured we shall have another National Bank, and not until then. But I submit if it would not have been as well to have prevented this state of things 160 years ago? I inquire, what good has been, or can be attained, by putting the People through this fearful trial? Five or six years hence will be the time to get an answer to these questions.

Sir, it affords me no consolation for all the calamities which I see approaching, that we are told the People of the United States have approved of all the acts of the President in relation to the Bank. If they had, I could not surrender my impressions; but I have seen no evidence of the fact. It is inferred from his re-election, and from a majority of his friends being found in Congress. But, sir, I protest against any such fallacy being received as proof of their approval. I believe, on the contrary, that the President was re-elected, and is now sustained, in spite of the removal of the deposits, not in consequence of that act. When I came here two years ago I conversed in private with none of his friends who did not regret the step, though they were unwilling to abandon him for what they conceived to be an honest error. These friends still sustain him, because, with his defects and mistakes, they prefer him to those who might take his place.

This, sir, is the true ground, not that taken in argument. By such reasoning as has been offered on this floor, every President who is re-elected has done no wrong, nor fallen into any error; he is infallible. It is a pure sophism, sir, to assert that the re-election of any man argues an approval of each of his acts. It is only evidence that, taking them all, good and bad together, the People accept him.

Sir, I have much more to say, but the state of my health forbids me to go farther; and I conclude by again returning my thanks to the Senate for the attention with which they have honored me.

Extraction from the House of Representatives—The Van Buren Party.

Extracts from Mr. Bell's Speech on the Naval Service Bill—exposing the shuffling course which has been pursued by the Van Buren party in relation to the re-election of Gen. Jackson, in his annual message, of an amendment to the Constitution, securing the election of President to the People.

It cannot be forgotten, that from 1825, until the commencement of the present administration, this proposition was a favorite policy of the party which brought Gen. Jackson into power. The whole subject was, during that period, ably and freely discussed both in Congress and in the public journals. When Gen. Jackson was elected by the people, no one doubted but that one of the first acts which would distinguish the action of Congress would be, to recommend such an amendment to the States for their adoption. General Jackson, in his first message, urged the subject upon the attention of Congress in the strongest and most unequivocal language. In his second, and in each succeeding annual Message, he has done the same thing. Regarding the discussion of this subject, as having commenced in 1825, it is now upwards of five years since it has been before the country in the most imposing form—in the annual Messages of the President. The arguments and language of the Message upon this subject, are worthy of particular notice; and I must leave to refer to them. Here Mr. Bell read several passages from the Message of the President upon this subject, all of which were in the opinion of the President such an amendment of the Constitution should be made. Well, sir, what has been the result—the effect of these repeated and urgent recommendations? In the early part of the administration, many earnest and well meant efforts were made to get this House to take up, and act upon this subject. Propositions in a variety of shapes were presented, and it has been a part of the regular business of the House, at the beginning of every session, to appoint a select committee upon this subject—but, sir, the truth cannot be disguised or disputed, that those efforts were the efforts of individuals only; that the regular annual appointment of Special Committees, has been but a mere form; and, at no time, could the party be rallied in favor of the proposition. There was always some where, and for some motive, a power and an influence which thwarted the action of the House upon this question.

Soon after the opening of the last session of Congress, this subject began to excite increased interest, and certainly demanded prompt attention from those who seriously and honestly believed an election by the House of Representatives ought to be avoided. It was then, sir, that it became manifest that the Jackson party would be divided upon the subject of the form which existed in the country of an election by the House, in compelling the submission to the decrease of the Presidency, and supported under such circumstances, and upon principles which forbid the hope that his friends would surrender his pretensions to the man who it was foreseen would be the favorite of the contemplated Baltimore Convention. This was a compromise to test the principle of a division in the ranks of the party in power was manifest. An election by the House would be a result of this state of things, could not certainly be foreseen; but all must have seen that such a result might take place. As early as the 10th of December, 1834, a Select Committee was appointed to consider of, and report upon this subject. Special care was taken to appoint a clear majority upon the committee, who were known to have avowed themselves favorable to an amendment of the Constitution, which would exclude the election from the House. The following gentlemen composed the Committee: Messrs. Gilmer, Archer, Himes, Beasley, Goddard, Johnson of Ky., Speight, Hubbard, and Carr. Five of these gentlemen are the known supporters of General Jackson, and of Mr. Van Buren as his successor; and all were understood, when the committee was appointed, to be in favor of a recommendation of the President, which would be his exclusive and special duty to consider and report upon. The Chairman of the Committee, Mr. Gilmer of Georgia, though not a supporter of the Administration, was known to be a gentleman of great sincerity, talents and energy; and he was also known to be a zealous advocate of the proposition submitted to the Committee. I have a personal knowledge that unusual efforts were made by the Chairman of the Committee, and by various other individuals, to prevail upon the Committee to agree upon some report at an early day of the session; that it might be before the House and acted upon before the commencement of the session. The friends of Judge White especially, fearing the use which would be made against him of the argument that by dividing the party the election would be brought into the House, exerted themselves in every fair and honorable way to procure a decision upon the question by Congress. Several of the members of this Committee, who had always avowed themselves in favor of the measure, were privately appealed to; but all was vain. The answer was they could not agree upon the details of the measure—to two, it was said, could agree. Now, sir, every member of the least experience in legislation knows, that upon any important question whatever involving details, two men can rarely be found to agree upon all of them. It is notorious, that no Committee of this House would ever report upon any subject of importance, if a majority of its members were expected to unite upon all the details of it. All that can be expected in such cases is, that a majority shall agree upon the principle of the report. The House is always expected to alter the details according to the views of the majority. It was no adequate excuse to say, they could not agree upon details. I will not be so unjust as to say, that all the members of the committee who had before that time professed a desire to see the Constitution amended, in this respect, wilfully combined to prevent any action upon the subject last session. Of a committee of nine members, and six only to them being friendly to the principle of a measure, any two of the six were able to defeat any action upon the subject. A report from the committee, I feel warranted, from the circumstances, in asserting, was defeated by the managers of it, and these thirty-seven were the known supporters of Mr. Van Buren, and the President's course, in other words, of a nomination by a convention; and fifteen of these thirty-seven were members of the New York delegation. The resolution was that day taken up and read a second time and postponed to the 19th of the month. But it was superseded by other business until the 25th of February, when Mr. Wilde of Georgia, moved that all the orders of the day be postponed, for the purpose of considering this subject. Upon this motion there were 112 yeas, and 92 nays. The latter, 49 were supporters of Mr. Van Buren, and 24 of those who were members of the New York delegation. The subject that day under consideration, and the subject which the House came to no decision upon it. On the 27th of February Mr. Gilmer again moved that the resolution be taken up, and upon taking the question the vote stood, yeas 93, nays 104. Of the nays, 60 were for Mr. Van Buren, and 24 of them from New York. On the same day, however, at a later hour, Mr. Gilmer's resolution came up in the regular order of business; when a motion was made to dispose of it finally, by laying it on the table. In favor of this motion there were only 53 yeas, and 20 of them were the friends of Mr. Van Buren, and 13 of that number from New York. After further debate upon the resolution, a motion was made by Mr. Vanderpool of New York, that the House adjourn—evidently with a view to evade the question upon the resolution. Upon this motion the votes stood, yeas 39, nays 112. Of the yeas, 46 were for Mr. Van Buren, and 20 of them from New York. The subject was further debated, but no decision arrived at. Now, sir, upon a view of all these circumstances, can you remain the shadow of a doubt that this question was wilfully and undesignedly evaded at the last session, by the very party which now professes to hold an election by the House in such utter abhorrence. The neglect of Congress to act upon this subject, prior to the last session, might admit of some apology. There were so many exciting and important questions of another kind, continually arising to absorb the chief attention of Congress, and besides, there had been no prospect of an election by the House until the commencement of last session. But there is no justification for the course of the party at the last session upon this subject. It is too clear that the party in favor of Mr. Van Buren for the succession, determined to have the full benefit of the years which existed in the country of an election by the House, in compelling the submission to the decrease of the Presidency.

—a picture, sir, rendered more painful to contemplate, by the recollection of our condition before the war was waged on the Bank of the U. States. For sixteen years it regulated the currency of the country with a wisdom and success of which there is no parallel. We threw it away, and we see what we have got in its place. Sir, all the projects of regulating and checking the excess of bank emissions by law, refusing to receive at your Treasury their notes of a less sum than \$20, will have no more effect than would have a bucket full of earth thrown into the Mississippi river to stop its current. And as pushing gold and silver into circulation when you have five hundred and fifty banks interested in gathering it all up, and supplying its place with their notes, that is equally impracticable; a cheap and a dear currency never can exist together; the former always destroys the latter. Having no power by the Constitution to interfere directly with the State legislation in this matter, I see that the country is destined to go through the same scenes of agitation and suffering which it did previous to the operation of the late Bank of the United States. After the evils have come to a height when they can no longer be endured we shall have another National Bank, and not until then. But I submit if it would not have been as well to have prevented this state of things 160 years ago? I inquire, what good has been, or can be attained, by putting the People through this fearful trial? Five or six years hence will be the time to get an answer to these questions.

Extraction from the House of Representatives—The Van Buren Party.

Extracts from Mr. Bell's Speech on the Naval Service Bill—exposing the shuffling course which has been pursued by the Van Buren party in relation to the re-election of Gen. Jackson, in his annual message, of an amendment to the Constitution, securing the election of President to the People.

It cannot be forgotten, that from 1825, until the commencement of the present administration, this proposition was a favorite policy of the party which brought Gen. Jackson into power. The whole subject was, during that period, ably and freely discussed both in Congress and in the public journals. When Gen. Jackson was elected by the people, no one doubted but that one of the first acts which would distinguish the action of Congress would be, to recommend such an amendment to the States for their adoption. General Jackson, in his first message, urged the subject upon the attention of Congress in the strongest and most unequivocal language. In his second, and in each succeeding annual Message, he has done the same thing. Regarding the discussion of this subject, as having commenced in 1825, it is now upwards of five years since it has been before the country in the most imposing form—in the annual Messages of the President. The arguments and language of the Message upon this subject, are worthy of particular notice; and I must leave to refer to them. Here Mr. Bell read several passages from the Message of the President upon this subject, all of which were in the opinion of the President such an amendment of the Constitution should be made. Well, sir, what has been the result—the effect of these repeated and urgent recommendations? In the early part of the administration, many earnest and well meant efforts were made to get this House to take up, and act upon this subject. Propositions in a variety of shapes were presented, and it has been a part of the regular business of the House, at the beginning of every session, to appoint a select committee upon this subject—but, sir, the truth cannot be disguised or disputed, that those efforts were the efforts of individuals only; that the regular annual appointment of Special Committees, has been but a mere form; and, at no time, could the party be rallied in favor of the proposition. There was always some where, and for some motive, a power and an influence which thwarted the action of the House upon this question.

Soon after the opening of the last session of Congress, this subject began to excite increased interest, and certainly demanded prompt attention from those who seriously and honestly believed an election by the House of Representatives ought to be avoided. It was then, sir, that it became manifest that the Jackson party would be divided upon the subject of the form which existed in the country of an election by the House, in compelling the submission to the decrease of the Presidency, and supported under such circumstances, and upon principles which forbid the hope that his friends would surrender his pretensions to the man who it was foreseen would be the favorite of the contemplated Baltimore Convention. This was a compromise to test the principle of a division in the ranks of the party in power was manifest. An election by the House would be a result of this state of things, could not certainly be foreseen; but all must have seen that such a result might take place. As early as the 10th of December, 1834, a Select Committee was appointed to consider of, and report upon this subject. Special care was taken to appoint a clear majority upon the committee, who were known to have avowed themselves favorable to an amendment of the Constitution, which would exclude the election from the House. The following gentlemen composed the Committee: Messrs. Gilmer, Archer, Himes, Beasley, Goddard, Johnson of Ky., Speight, Hubbard, and Carr. Five of these gentlemen are the known supporters of General Jackson, and of Mr. Van Buren as his successor; and all were understood, when the committee was appointed, to be in favor of a recommendation of the President, which would be his exclusive and special duty to consider and report upon. The Chairman of the Committee, Mr. Gilmer of Georgia, though not a supporter of the Administration, was known to be a gentleman of great sincerity, talents and energy; and he was also known to be a zealous advocate of the proposition submitted to the Committee. I have a personal knowledge that unusual efforts were made by the Chairman of the Committee, and by various other individuals, to prevail upon the Committee to agree upon some report at an early day of the session; that it might be before the House and acted upon before the commencement of the session. The friends of Judge White especially, fearing the use which would be made against him of the argument that by dividing the party the election would be brought into the House, exerted themselves in every fair and honorable way to procure a decision upon the question by Congress. Several of the members of this Committee, who had always avowed themselves in favor of the measure, were privately appealed to; but all was vain. The answer was they could not agree upon the details of the measure—to two, it was said, could agree. Now, sir, every member of the least experience in legislation knows, that upon any important question whatever involving details, two men can rarely be found to agree upon all of them. It is notorious, that no Committee of this House would ever report upon any subject of importance, if a majority of its members were expected to unite upon all the details of it. All that can be expected in such cases is, that a majority shall agree upon the principle of the report. The House is always expected to alter the details according to the views of the majority. It was no adequate excuse to say, they could not agree upon details. I will not be so unjust as to say, that all the members of the committee who had before that time professed a desire to see the Constitution amended, in this respect, wilfully combined to prevent any action upon the subject last session. Of a committee of nine members, and six only to them being friendly to the principle of a measure, any two of the six were able to defeat any action upon the subject. A report from the committee, I feel warranted, from the circumstances, in asserting, was defeated by the managers of it, and these thirty-seven were the known supporters of Mr. Van Buren, and the President's course, in other words, of a nomination by a convention; and fifteen of these thirty-seven were members of the New York delegation. The resolution was that day taken up and read a second time and postponed to the 19th of the month. But it was superseded by other business until the 25th of February, when Mr. Wilde of Georgia, moved that all the orders of the day be postponed, for the purpose of considering this subject. Upon this motion there were 112 yeas, and 92 nays. The latter, 49 were supporters of Mr. Van Buren, and 24 of those who were members of the New York delegation. The subject that day under consideration, and the subject which the House came to no decision upon it. On the 27th of February Mr. Gilmer again moved that the resolution be taken up, and upon taking the question the vote stood, yeas 93, nays 104. Of the nays, 60 were for Mr. Van Buren, and 24 of them from New York. On the same day, however, at a later hour, Mr. Gilmer's resolution came up in the regular order of business; when a motion was made to dispose of it finally, by laying it on the table. In favor of this motion there were only 53 yeas, and 20 of them were the friends of Mr. Van Buren, and 13 of that number from New York. After further debate upon the resolution, a motion was made by Mr. Vanderpool of New York, that the House adjourn—evidently with a view to evade the question upon the resolution. Upon this motion the votes stood, yeas 39, nays 112. Of the yeas, 46 were for Mr. Van Buren, and 20 of them from New York. The subject was further debated, but no decision arrived at. Now, sir, upon a view of all these circumstances, can you remain the shadow of a doubt that this question was wilfully and undesignedly evaded at the last session, by the very party which now professes to hold an election by the House in such utter abhorrence. The neglect of Congress to act upon this subject, prior to the last session, might admit of some apology. There were so many exciting and important questions of another kind, continually arising to absorb the chief attention of Congress, and besides, there had been no prospect of an election by the House until the commencement of last session. But there is no justification for the course of the party at the last session upon this subject. It is too clear that the party in favor of Mr. Van Buren for the succession, determined to have the full benefit of the years which existed in the country of an election by the House, in compelling the submission to the decrease of the Presidency.

—a picture, sir, rendered more painful to contemplate, by the recollection of our condition before the war was waged on the Bank of the U. States. For sixteen years it regulated the currency of the country with a wisdom and success of which there is no parallel. We threw it away, and we see what we have got in its place. Sir, all the projects of regulating and checking the excess of bank emissions by law, refusing to receive at your Treasury their notes of a less sum than \$20, will have no more effect than would have a bucket full of earth thrown into the Mississippi river to stop its current. And as pushing gold and silver into circulation when you have five hundred and fifty banks interested in gathering it all up, and supplying its place with their notes, that is equally impracticable; a cheap and a dear currency never can exist together; the former always destroys the latter. Having no power by the Constitution to interfere directly with the State legislation in this matter, I see that the country is destined to go through the same scenes of agitation and suffering which it did previous to the operation of the late Bank of the United States. After the evils have come to a height when they can no longer be endured we shall have another National Bank, and not until then. But I submit if it would not have been as well to have prevented this state of things 160 years ago? I inquire, what good has been, or can be attained, by putting the People through this fearful trial? Five or six years hence will be the time to get an answer to these questions.

Extraction from the House of Representatives—The Van Buren Party.

Extracts from Mr. Bell's Speech on the Naval Service Bill—exposing the shuffling course which has been pursued by the Van Buren party in relation to the re-election of Gen. Jackson, in his annual message, of an amendment to the Constitution, securing the election of President to the People.

It cannot be forgotten, that from 1825, until the commencement of the present administration, this proposition was a favorite policy of the party which brought Gen. Jackson into power. The whole subject was, during that period, ably and freely discussed both in Congress and in the public journals. When Gen. Jackson was elected by the people, no one doubted but that one of the first acts which would distinguish the action of Congress would be, to recommend such an amendment to the States for their adoption. General Jackson, in his first message, urged the subject upon the attention of Congress in the strongest and most unequivocal language. In his second, and in each succeeding annual Message, he has done the same thing. Regarding the discussion of this subject, as having commenced in 1825, it is now upwards of five years since it has been before the country in the most imposing form—in the annual Messages of the President. The arguments and language of the Message upon this subject, are worthy of particular notice; and I must leave to refer to them. Here Mr. Bell read several passages from the Message of the President upon this subject, all of which were in the opinion of the President such an amendment of the Constitution should be made. Well, sir, what has been the result—the effect of these repeated and urgent recommendations? In the early part of the administration, many earnest and well meant efforts were made to get this House to take up, and act upon this subject. Propositions in a variety of shapes were presented, and it has been a part of the regular business of the House, at the beginning of every session, to appoint a select committee upon this subject—but, sir, the truth cannot be disguised or disputed, that those efforts were the efforts of individuals only; that the regular annual appointment of Special Committees, has been but a mere form; and, at no time, could the party be rallied in favor of the proposition. There was always some where, and for some motive, a power and an influence which thwarted the action of the House upon this question.

Soon after the opening of the last session of Congress, this subject began to excite increased interest, and certainly demanded prompt attention from those who seriously and honestly believed an election by the House of Representatives ought to be avoided. It was then, sir, that it became manifest that the Jackson party would be divided upon the subject of the form which existed in the country of an election by the House, in compelling the submission to the decrease of the Presidency, and supported under such circumstances, and upon principles which forbid the hope that his friends would surrender his pretensions to the man who it was foreseen would be the favorite of the contemplated Baltimore Convention. This was a compromise to test the principle of a division in the ranks of the party in power was manifest. An election by the House would be a result of this state of things, could not certainly be foreseen; but all must have seen that such a result might take place. As early as the 10th of December, 1834, a Select Committee was appointed to consider of, and report upon this subject. Special care was taken to appoint a clear majority upon the committee, who were known to have avowed themselves favorable to an amendment of the Constitution, which would exclude the election from the House. The following gentlemen composed the Committee: Messrs. Gilmer, Archer, Himes, Beasley, Goddard, Johnson of Ky., Speight, Hubbard, and Carr. Five of these gentlemen are the known supporters of General Jackson, and of Mr. Van Buren as his successor; and all were understood, when the committee was appointed, to be in favor of a recommendation of the President, which would be his exclusive and special duty to consider and report upon. The Chairman of the Committee, Mr. Gilmer of Georgia, though not a supporter of the Administration, was known to be a gentleman of great sincerity, talents and energy; and he was also known to be a zealous advocate of the proposition submitted to the Committee. I have a personal knowledge that unusual efforts were made by the Chairman of the Committee, and by various other individuals, to prevail upon the Committee to agree upon some report at an early day of the session; that it might be before the House and acted upon before the commencement of the session. The friends of Judge White especially, fearing the use which would be made against him of the argument that by dividing the party the election would be brought into the House, exerted themselves in every fair and honorable way to procure a decision upon the question by Congress. Several of the members of this Committee, who had always avowed themselves in favor of the measure, were privately appealed to; but all was vain. The answer was they could not agree upon the details of the measure—to two, it was said, could agree. Now, sir, every member of the least experience in legislation knows, that upon any important question whatever involving details, two men can rarely be found to agree upon all of them. It is notorious, that no Committee of this House would ever report upon any subject of importance, if a majority of its members were expected to unite upon all the details of it. All that can be expected in such cases is, that a majority shall agree upon the principle of the report. The House is always expected to alter the details according to the views of the majority. It was no adequate excuse to say, they could not agree upon details. I will not be so unjust as to say, that all the members of the committee who had before that time professed a desire to see the Constitution amended, in this respect, wilfully combined to prevent any action upon the subject last session. Of a committee of nine members, and six only to them being friendly to the principle of a measure, any two of the six were able to defeat any action upon the subject. A report from the committee, I feel warranted, from the circumstances, in asserting, was defeated by the managers of it, and these thirty-seven were the known supporters of Mr. Van Buren, and the President's course, in other words, of a nomination by a convention; and fifteen of these thirty-seven were members of the New York delegation. The resolution was that day taken up and read a second time and postponed to the 19th of the month. But it was superseded by other business until the 25th of February, when Mr. Wilde of Georgia, moved that all the orders of the day be postponed, for the purpose of considering this subject. Upon this motion there were 112 yeas, and 92 nays. The latter, 49 were supporters of Mr. Van Buren, and 24 of those who were members of the New York delegation. The subject that day under consideration, and the subject which the House came to no decision upon it. On the 27th of February Mr. Gilmer again moved that the resolution be taken up, and upon taking the question the vote stood, yeas 93, nays 104. Of the nays, 60 were for Mr. Van Buren, and 24 of them from New York. On the same day, however, at a later hour, Mr. Gilmer's resolution came up in the regular order of business; when a motion was made to dispose of it finally, by laying it on the table. In favor of this motion there were only 53 yeas, and 20 of them were the friends of Mr. Van Buren, and 13 of that number from New York. After further debate upon the resolution, a motion was made by Mr. Vanderpool of New York, that the House adjourn—evidently with a view to evade the question upon the resolution. Upon this motion the votes stood, yeas 39, nays 112. Of the yeas, 46 were for Mr. Van Buren, and 20 of them from New York. The subject was further debated, but no decision arrived at. Now, sir, upon a view of all these circumstances, can you remain the shadow of a doubt that this question was wilfully and undesignedly evaded at the last session, by the very party which now professes to hold an election by the House in such utter abhorrence. The neglect of Congress to act upon this subject, prior to the last session, might admit of some apology. There were so many exciting and important questions of another kind, continually arising to absorb the chief attention of Congress, and besides, there had been no prospect of an election by the House until the commencement of last session. But there is no justification for the course of the party at the last session upon this subject. It is too clear that the party in favor of Mr. Van Buren for the succession, determined to have the full benefit of the years which existed in the country of an election by the House, in compelling the submission to the decrease of the Presidency.

COMMUNICATION.
FOR THE STAR.
Messrs. Outlaw and Lemay:
I purpose, at such times as my other avocations will permit, to devote some attention to a writer over the signature of "Vindex" in the Standard. Fully concurring with the author of these articles, in the opinion that the public are competent to a correct decision, when facts are laid before them, I would not wish any other tribunal to decide between us, or as to the relative merits of Mr. Van Buren and Judge White, for the presidency, than that which he has selected. I cannot but remark, in this respect, however, that the sensibilities exhibited by Vindex in his introduction, and his manifestations of uneasiness lest his numbers should provoke severe criticism, is rather an evidence of a consciousness, on his part, that he would merit them. It appears to me also, that a writer who was to deal with facts, and who was to come to a decision, would not be so much occupied in devoting the whole of his first number, in striving to transfer the merits of Gen. Jackson to his favourite, and enlisting the friends of the administration in the support of Mr. Van Buren. With these preliminary observations, I proceed at once to the object of this communication. In reply to the interrogatory which Vindex puts to Mr. V