

ments; and, what was much more material, he had coincided with the spirit of our constitution, and the rights of the people, in preventing an expiring minority Congress from usurping the powers and rights of their successors. The President had not evaded the question. He had met it fully. He might have said nothing about it in his messages of 1829, 30, and 31. He might have remained silent, and had the support of both parties; but the safety and interest of the country required the people to be awakened to the consideration of the subject. He had waked them up; and now that they are awake, he has secured them time for consideration. Is this evasion?

Messrs. C. and W. had attacked the President for objecting to foreign stockholders in the Bank of the U. S. Mr. B. maintained the solidity of the objection, and exposed the futility of the argument urged by the duplicate senators. They had asked if foreigners did not hold stock in road and canal companies? Mr. B. said, yes! but these road and canal companies did not happen to be the *bankers of the United States*! The foreign stockholders in this Bank were the bankers of the U. S. They held its moneys; they collected its revenues; they almost controlled its finances; they were to give or withhold aid in war as well as peace, and, it might be, against their own government. Was the U. S. to depend upon foreigners in a point so material to our existence? The Bank was a *national* institution. Ought a *national* institution to be the *private property of aliens*? It was called the Bank of the *United States*, and ought it to be the Bank of the nobility and gentry of Great Britain? The Senator from Kentucky had once objected to foreign stockholders himself. He did this in his speech against the Bank in 1811; and although he had revoked the constitutional doctrines of that speech, he, Mr. B., never understood that he had revoked the sentiments then expressed of the danger of corruption in our councils, and elections, if foreigners wielded the monied power of our country. He told us then that the power of the *sword*—and would he commit both to the hands of foreigners? All the lessons of history, said Mr. B., admonish us to keep clear of foreign influence. The most dangerous influence from foreigners is through money. The corruption of orators and statesmen, is the ready way to poison the councils, and to betray the interest of a country. Foreigners now own one-fourth of this Bank; **THEY MAY OWN THE WHOLE OF IT!** What a temptation to them to engage in our elections! By carrying a President, and a majority of Congress, to suit themselves, they not only become masters of the monied power, but also of the political power, of this republic. And can it be supposed that the British stockholders are indifferent to the issue of this election? that they, and their agents, can see with indifference, the re-election of a man who may disappoint their hopes of fortune, and whose achievement at New-Orleans is a continued memento of the most signal defeat the arms of England ever sustained?

The President, in his message, had characterized the exclusive privilege of the bank as "a *monopoly*." To this Mr. WEBSTER had taken exception, and ascended to the Greek root of the word to demonstrate its true signification, and the incorrectness of the President's application. Mr. B. defended the President's use of the term, and said that he would give authority too, but not Greek authority. He would ascend, not to the Greek root, but to the English *test* of the word, and show that a whig Baronet had applied the term to the bank of England with still more offensive epithets than any the President had used. Mr. B. then read, and commented upon several passages of a speech of Sir WILLIAM PULTENEY, in the British House of Commons, against renewing the charter of the bank of England, in which the term *monopoly* was repeatedly applied to that bank, and other terms to display its dangerous and odious character. In one of the passages the whig Baronet said: "The bank has been supported, and is still supported, by the FEAR and TERROR which, by the means of its MONOPOLY, it has had the power to inspire." In another, he said: "I consider the power given by the MONOPOLY to be of the nature of all other DESPOTIC POWER which CORRUPTS the DESPOT AS MUCH AS IT CORRUPTS the SLAVE." In a third passage he said: "Whatever language the private bankers may feel themselves BOUND TO HOLD, he could not believe they had any satisfaction in remaining subject to a power which might DESTROY them at any moment." In fourth: "No man in France was heard to complain of the BASTILLE while it existed; yet when it fell, it came down amidst the universal acclamations of the nation!"

Here, continued Mr. B. is authority, English authority, for calling the British Bank in England, a *MONOPOLY*; and the *British Bank in America* is copied from it. Sir, Wm. PULTENEY goes further than President Jackson. He says, that the Bank of England rules by *fear and terror*. He calls it a *despot* and a *corrupt despot*. He speaks of the *slaves corrupted* by the Bank; by whom he doubtless means the nominal debtors who have received ostensible loans, real ducours—never to be repaid, except in dishonorable services. He considers the praises of the country bankers as the unwilling homage of the weak and helpless to the corrupt and powerful. He assimilates the Bank of England, by the terrors which it inspires, to the old BASTILLE in France, and anticipates the same burst of emancipated joy, on the fall of the Bank which was heard in France on the fall of the BASTILLE. And is he not right? And may not every word of his invective be applied to the British Bank in America, and find its appropriate application in well known, and incontestable facts here? Well has he likened it to the BASTILLE; well will the term apply

in our own country. Great is the fear and terror now inspired by this Bank.—Silent are millions of tongues, under its terror, which are impatient for the downfall of the monument of despotism, that they may break forth into joy and thanksgiving. The real BASTILLE was terrible to all France; the figurative BASTILLE is terrible to all America; but above all to the West, where the duplicate Senators of Kentucky and Massachusetts, have pointed to the reign of terror that is approaching, and drawn up the victims for an anticipated immolation. But, exclaimed Mr. B. this is the month of July; a month auspicious to liberty, and fatal to BASTILES. Our independence of the crown of Great Britain ceased in the month of July; the BASTILLE in France fell in the month of July; Charles X. was chased from France by the three glorious days of July; and the veto message, which is the Declaration of Independence against the British Bank, originated on the fourth of July, and is the signal for the downfall of the American BASTILLE and the end of despotism. The time is auspicious; the work will go on; down with the British Bank; down with the Bastile; away with the tyrant, will be the patriotic cry of Americans; and down it will go.

The duplicate Senators, said Mr. B., have occupied themselves with criticizing the President's idea of the obligation of his oath in constraining the constitution for himself. They think that the President ought to be bound, the Congress ought to be bound, to take the constitution which the Supreme Court may deal out to them! If so, why take an oath! The oath is to bind the conscience, not to enlighten the head. Every officer takes the oath for himself. The President took the oath for himself; administered by the Chief Justice, but not to the Chief Justice. He bound himself to observe the constitution, not the Chief Justice's interpretation of the constitution; and his message is in conformity to his oath. This is the oath of duty and of right. It is the path of JEFFERSON, also, who has laid it down in his writings, that each Department judges the constitution for itself, and that the President is as independent of the Supreme Court as the Supreme Court is of the President.

The Senators from Kentucky and Massachusetts have not only attacked the President's idea of his own independence in constraining the constitution, but also the construction he has put upon it in reference to this Bank. They deny its correctness, and enter into arguments to disprove it, and have even quoted authorities which may be quoted on both sides. One of the Senators, the gentleman from Kentucky, might have spared his objection to the President on this point. He happened to think the same way once himself, and while all will accord to him the right of changing for himself, few will allow him the privilege of rebuking others for not keeping up with him in the rigadoon dance of changeable opinions.

The President is assailed for shewing the drain upon the resources of the West, which is made by this bank. How assailed! With any document to shew that he is in error? No! not at all! no such document exists. The President is right, and the fact goes to a far greater extent than is stated in his message. He took the dividend profits of the Bank,—the nett, and not the gross profits; the latter is the true measure of the burthen upon the people. The annual drain for net dividends from the West, is \$1,600,000. This is an enormous tax. But the gross profits are still larger. Then there is the specie drain, which now exceeds three millions of dollars per annum. Then there is the annual mortgage of the growing crop to redeem the fictitious and usurious bills of exchange which are now substituted for ordinary loans, and which sweeps off the staple products of the South and West to the North-eastern cities.—The West is ravaged by the Bank. New Orleans, especially, is ravaged by it; and in her impoverishment, the whole West suffers; for she is thereby disabled from giving adequate prices for Western produce.—Mr. B. declared that this British Bank, in his opinion, had done, and would do, more pecuniary damage to New Orleans, than the British army would have done if they had conquered it in 1815. He verified this opinion by referring to the immense dividend, upwards of half a million a year, drawn from the branch there; the immense amounts of specie drawn from it; the produce carried off to meet the domestic bills of exchange; and the 8 and 4 millions of debt existing there, of which 5 millions were created in the last two years to answer electioneering purposes, and the collection of which must paralyze, for years, the growth of the city. From further damage to New Orleans, the veto message would save that great city. Jackson would be her saviour a second time. He would save her from the British Bank as he had done from the British army; and if any Federal Bank must be there, let it be an independent one; a separate and distinct Bank, which would save to that city, and to the Valley of the Mississippi, of which it was the great and cherished emporium, the command of their own monied system, the regulation of their own commerce and finances, and the accommodation of their own citizens.

Mr. B. addressed himself to the Jackson bank-men, present and absent. They might continue to be for a bank and for Jackson; but they could not be for this bank, and for Jackson. This bank is now the open, as it long has been the secret, enemy of Jackson. It is now in the hands of his enemies, wielding all its own money—wielding even the revenues and the credit of the Union—wielding 12 millions of dollars, half of which were intended to be paid to the public creditors on the first day of July, but which the bank has retained to itself by a false representation in the pretended behalf of the merchants. All this monied power, with an organization which pervades the continent, working every where with unseen hands, is

now operating against the President; and it is impossible to be in favor of this power and also in favor of him at the same time. Choose ye between them! To those who think a bank to be indispensable, other alternatives present themselves. They are not bound nor wedded to this. New American banks may be created. Read, Sir, HENRY PARRELL. See his invincible reasoning and indisputable facts, to show that the bank of England is too powerful for the monarchy of Great Britain! Study his plan for breaking up that gigantic institution, and establishing three or four independent banks in its place, which would be so much less dangerous to liberty, and so much safer and better for the people. In these alternatives, the friends of Jackson, who are in favor of the national banks, may find the accomplishment of their wishes without a sacrifice of their principles, and without committing the suicidal solecism of fighting against him while professing to be for him.

Mr. B. addressed himself to the west—the great, the generous, the brave, the patriotic, the devoted west. It was the selected field of battle. There the combined forces, the national republicans and the national republican Bank, were to work together, and to fight together. The holy allies understand each other. They are able to speak in each others names, and to promise and threaten, in each others behalf. For this campaign the Bank created its debt of 30 millions in the west; and in this campaign the associate leaders use that debt for their own purposes. Vote for Jackson! and suits, judgments, and executions, shall sweep like the besom of destruction throughout the vast region of the west! Vote against him! and indefinite indulgence is falsely promised! The debt itself, it is pretended, will perhaps be forgiven, or at all events, hardly ever collected! Thus an OPEN BRIBE of THIRTY MILLIONS is virtually offered to the west; and lest the seductions of the bribe may not be sufficient on one hand, the terrors of destruction are brandished on the other! Wretched, infatuated men, cried Mr. B. Do they think the west is to be BOUGHT? Little do they know of the generous sons of that magnificent region! poor indeed in point of money, but rich in all treasures of the heart? rich in all the qualities of freemen and republicans! rich in all the noble feelings which look with equal scorn upon a bribe or a threat.—The hunter of the West, with moccasins on his feet, and a hunting shirt drawn around him, would repel with indignation the highest bribe that the Bank could offer him. The wretch (said Mr. Benton, with a significant gesture) who dared to offer it, would expiate the insult with his blood.

Mr. B. rapidly summed up with a view of the dangerous power of the Bank, and the present audacity of her conduct. She wielded a debt of seventy millions of dollars, with an organization which extended to every part of the Union, and she was sole mistress of the monied power of the republic. She had thrown herself into the political arena, to control and govern the presidential election. If she succeeded in that election, she would wish to consolidate her power by getting control of all other elections. Governors of States, Judges of the Courts, representatives and Senators in Congress, all must belong to her. The Senate especially must belong to her; for there lay the power to confirm nominations, and to try impeachments, and to get possession of the Senate, the legislatures of a majority of the States would have to be acquired.

The war is now upon Jackson, and if he is defeated, all the rest will fall an easy prey. What individual could stand in the States against the power of the Bank, and that Bank flushed with a victory over the conqueror of the conquerors of Bonaparte? The whole government would fall into the hands of this monied power. An OLIGARCHY would be immediately established, and that oligarchy, in a few generations, would ripen into a monarchy.—All governments must have their end; in the lapse of time, this republic must perish; but that time, he now trusted, was far distant; and when it comes, it should come in glory, and not in shame. Rome had her Pharsalia, and Greece her Chaeronea; and this republic, more illustrious in her birth than Greece or Rome, was entitled to a death as glorious as theirs. She should not die by poison—perish in corruption—no! A field of arms, and of glory, should be her end. She had a right to a battle,—a great immortal battle,—where heroes and patriots could die with the liberty which they scorned to survive, and consecrate, with their blood, the spot which marked a nation's fall.

Such is the outline—the faithful description—of this overpowering speech. Its effect was decisive. It broke up the grand electioneering attack upon the veto message. The discomfiture and overthrow of the allied leaders was visible to every spectator. Mr. C. became furious, and went through a scene which rendered him an object of compassion, and left the Bank and its friends overshadowed with a total eclipse. Mr. WEBSTER, we heard, was to have replied, but refused, and it is said, he took the stage the same night for Boston, and thus followed the example of an illustrious prototype. No further debate took place; and the confederates at a distance, who expected a triumphant assault, in which the veto message would be nullified, the Bank sustained, the Western country conquered, Mr. CLAY elected and Jackson exiled to the Hermitage, will have to put up with the marrowless skeleton of Mr. WEBSTER's onset, as given in the National Intelligencer; or wait the composition of orations after the Bank orators shall have gone home, recovered their spirits, and taxed their inventions, not their memories, to furnish a cold collation to those who had expected a smoking banquet. *Globe.*

Lord Hay has been appointed to a situation in his Britannic Majesty's household. His Lordship is—nearly 9 years of age.

From the Pennsylvanian.

Mr. GWINN.—The opposition presses taking up the Chorus of the Telegraph and Intelligencer, are clamorous at the appointment of Mr. Gwin to the Land Office in Mississippi, which they assert to have been an outrage upon the constitution. As usual it is only necessary to examine the facts, in order to confound the calumny of the accusers.

Mr. Gwin was nominated *last year*, and rejected by the Senate for no other and better reason than that he was not, at that time, a citizen and resident of the State. There was no objection to his private character, and not the shadow of an imputation upon his perfect competency: but the Senate refused to confirm him, prescribing a new test for the servants of the public which was never countenanced by the constitution or any law of the United States. The right of holding appointments under the general government, belongs to our citizens *generally*; and any other restriction is not only injurious to their vested rights, but may be dangerous to the true prosperity of the Union. Where a state is refractory, and her citizens endeavor to nullify our laws, the rules of the Senate would prevent the sending of a confidential and really useful agent. Even if convenience dictated that certain places should be filled by citizens of the state exclusively, yet no such rule could be applicable to Mr. Gwin's office: the business of a land agent relates solely to the general government—to collect the sales of public lands—and is connected in nothing with state interests or state affairs. But a pretext, whether decent or indecent, is all that is required by the Clay opposition, with their allies, Moore and Poindexter; and this was eagerly seized without scanning to nicely its actual value.

After Mr. Gwin's rejection, a number of citizens of Mississippi, who knew him and appreciated his worth, applied to the President for his re-nomination. This request was acceded to, but the Senate deferred acting upon it, and adjourned the session, leaving the business without final disposition. Under these circumstances the office was either to be filled up by the President, or the public interests in Mississippi were to be left in a state of criminal abandonment.

The business of the people was therefore entrusted to an honest and competent agent, living upon the spot, and who had already performed his duties to the perfect satisfaction of the Executive: this is the whole sum and substance of the complaint of the opposition.

That the President is invested with full constitutional power to make such an appointment, cannot admit of a question. Mr. Gwin was first commissioned in the recess of the Senate, and therefore, by the language of the constitution he was a lawful officer, holding a "commission which did not expire until the end of the next session." Immediately after the adjournment, his place became vacant, and the president had full power to fill it again, like any other vacancy happening at the same time.

But what must the people think of the candor and honesty of the opposition, when it can be shown that the same individuals fully approved of precisely the same thing, under the late administration of Messrs. Adams and Clay! Certain persons are advised by a homely proverb to keep long memories; for the purpose of supplying this deficiency in the accusers of Andrew Jackson, we shall take the trouble to report history.

In 1826-27, the term of Amos Binny, Navy Agent at Boston, having expired, he was re-nominated by Mr. Adams. The Senate laid this nomination upon the table, and adjourned without further action. The case is, therefore, precisely the same as Mr. Gwin's. Messrs. Adams, Clay, and the rest of the cabinet considering this "a vacancy in the recess," and seeing no impropriety in re-appointing an officer whose case had been laid upon the table by the Senate—immediately granted a new commission to Mr. Amos Binny. The editors of the present opposition papers then considered this act perfectly constitutional and proper; now, with their usual recklessness and inconsistency, they raise it into a subject of reproach against Andrew Jackson.

The whole case of Mr. Gwin is simple and comprehensible. The nomination before the Senate was made at the earnest request of citizens of Mississippi; it was neither rejected nor confirmed during the session; but the adjournment took place leaving it undisposed of. General Jackson, in the performance of his obligations to the public, has filled up a vacant office, by the appointment of a competent officer whose commission will necessarily expire according to the terms of the constitution. In this he has done his duty; and the opposition papers are doing theirs by finding fault without regard to reason or justice.

FOR THE PALLIUM.

First Chapter of Chronicles.

1. Now it came to pass in the fifty-sixth year of the Independence of the land, that the people chose Noah the Noble to reign over them.

2. And it happened in the first year of Noah's reign that there was an officer wanted in one of Noah's provinces;

3. And Noah's subjects petitioned him that he should appoint a man whose name was John, and he carried a Weaver's beam.

4. But Noah, regardless of the wishes of his subjects, appointed one Milton the Bar, who was a "Hoosier in toto."

5. And when Noah's subjects heard that Milton was to be ruler over their province they were sore displeased.

6. Howbeit, Noah's subjects knew that Milton's time would soon expire, and they submitted to his choice.

7. And it came to pass that the chiefs and rulers of the tribe of Andrew gathered together and consulted, saying who shall we have in rule in Milton's stead.

8. Now there was in the sanhedrim men from all parts of the province, even from the Rising of the Sun, and they said we will have William, whose sir name was Dils, to rule over us; and the whole sanhedrim said yea, and they published it throughout the land.

9. Now when the tribe of Henry heard what the tribe of Andrew had done, they consulted together saying these things must not be.

10. And there was a man belonging to the tribe of Henry, of small stature, who was a mighty man in council, and he called Milton to him saying unless we can get John who carries the Weaver's beam to fight with us, we are gone.

11. And Milton said unto him, I will call all my captains together throughout the land, to meet in council, and thou shall be the chief speaker.

12. And when they had gathered together they consulted one with another, saying on whom shall we agree to overcome the tribe of Andrew?

13. And one said we will have John, and one said we will have Milton, and they cast lots and it fell upon Milton.

14. Now when the tribe of Henry heard what their chiefs and rulers had done, they were sore displeased and said shall such things be in the land of our fathers?

15. Now when Milton heard that the people were displeased he saddled his Ass and departed from his dwelling, saying I will tarry with the people in the different parts of the province, yea with every man until they become pacified.

16. But the more he sojourned the more the people murmured against him, saying how much better would John, who carries the Weaver's beam, do for a ruler over us.

17. Now John had been a captain of the host long before Milton was known in the land, and had been in battle array against the enemies of the people, and the people loved John exceedingly.

18. And it came to pass when the tribes gathered together, each in their own city and place, to chose a ruler, they said we will not have Milton, but William shall be our ruler two years.

19. Now when the chief rulers of the tribe of Henry saw what the people had done, they smote their breasts and cried aloud saying shall these things be in the land.

20. But the tribe of Andrew heeded not their outcry, but looked out the offices as it suited them best, saying unto George and David and Ranna, of the tribe of Henry, we will try you once, and if you please us well be it, but if you betray us, we be unto you.

21. Now when the people consulted on what had been done, they said generally it is well; but there were a few who could not be pleased, so long as David of the tribe of Andrew was chosen a ruler. Thus endeth the 1st Chapter of the Chronicles of the times.

Extract from a letter addressed to the *Courier des Etats Unis*:

Lafayette met the King, (Louis Philippe,) who wished to engage him in a political conversation; but the illustrious General, with his usual frankness, stopped him immediately, Sire, said he, republicans as we are—for you assured me two years ago, that you were as much so as I was—we shall agree very well; but you are surrounded by obstacles which I have not the power to surmount. That we might labor together for French regeneration, it would be necessary for you to expel those who surround you, to replace yourself in the same position in which I saw you proclaim, with tears in your eyes, your republican principles. The King played the sordid orifice, affected not to hear, and the conversation dropped!

Section 30—Post Office Laws.

If any person shall enclose or conceal a letter or other thing, or any memorandum in writing in a newspaper, pamphlet, or magazine, or in any package of newspapers, pamphlets, or magazines, or make any writing or memorandum thereon, which he shall have delivered into any Post Office, or to any person for that purpose, in order that the same may be carried by post free of letter postage, he shall forfeit the sum of five dollars for every such offence, and the letter, newspaper, package, memorandum, or other thing, shall not be delivered to the person to whom it is directed until the amount of single letter postage is paid for each article of which the package is composed.</