

It will be as diffused and intangible as the pretended constitution of England:—and must be sought for in the statute book, in the fugitive journals of congress, and in reports of the secretary of the treasury. What would be our condition if we were to take the interpretations given to that sacred book, which is, or ought to be, the criterion of our faith, for the book itself? We should find the Holy Bible buried beneath the interpretations, glossaries, and commentaries of councils, synods, and learned divines, which have produced swarms of intolerant and furious sects, partaking less of the mildness and meekness of their origin, than of a vindictive spirit of hostility towards each other! *They ought to afford us a solemn warning to make that constitution which we have sworn to support, our invariable guide.*

I conceive then, sir, that we were not empowered by the constitution nor bound by any practice under it, to renew the charter of this bank, and I might here rest the argument. But as there are strong objections to the renewal on the score of expediency, and as the distresses which will attend the dissolution of the bank, have been greatly exaggerated, I will ask for indulgence for a few moments longer. That much temporary inconvenience will arise, I shall not deny; but most groundless has been the recent failures in New York attributed to the discontinuance of this bank. As well might you ascribe to that cause the failures of Amsterdam and Hamburg of London and Liverpool. The embarrassment of commerce—the sequestrations in France—the Danish captures—in fine, the belligerent edicts are the obvious sources of these failures.—Their immediate cause is the return of bills upon London, drawn upon the faith of unproductive or unprofitable shipments. Yes, sir, the protests of the notaries of London, not those of New York, have occasioned these bankruptcies.

The power of a nation is said to consist in the sword and purse. Perhaps at last all power is resolvable into that of the purse, for with it you may command almost everything else. The specific circulation of the United States is estimated by some calculators at ten millions of dollars, and if it be no more, one moiety is in the vaults of this bank. May not the time arrive when the concentration of such a vast portion of the circulating medium of the country in the hands of any corporation, will be dangerous to our liberties? By whom is this immense power wielded? By a body, who, in derogation of the great principle of all our institutions, responsibility to the people, is amenable only to a few stockholders, and they chiefly foreigners. Suppose an attempt to subvert this government—would not the traitor first aim by force or corruption to acquire the treasure of this company? Look at it in another aspect. Seven tenths of its capital are in the hands of foreigners, and these foreigners chiefly English subjects. We are possibly on the eve of a rapture with that nation. Should such an event occur, do you apprehend that the English premier would experience any difficulty in obtaining the entire control of this institution? Republics above all governments, ought to guard seriously against all foreign influence. All history proves that the internal dissensions excited by foreign intrigue, have produced the downfall of almost every free government that has hitherto existed; and yet, gentlemen contend that they are benefited by the possession of this foreign capital! If we could have its use, without its attending abuse, I should be gratified also. But it is in vain to expect the one without the other.

Wealth is power, and under whatsoever form it exists, its proprietor, whether he lives on this or the other side of the Atlantic, will have a proportionate influence. It is argued that our possession of this English capital gives us a great influence over the British government. If this reasoning be sound, we had better revoke the interdiction as to aliens holding land, and invite foreigners to engross the whole property real and personal of the country. We had better at once exchange the condition of independent proprietors for that of stewards. We should then be able to govern foreign nations, according to the reasoning of the gentlemen on the other side. But let us put aside this theory and appeal to the decisions of experience. Go to the other side of the Atlantic and see what has been achieved for us there by Englishmen holding seven tenths of the capital of this bank. Has it released from galling and ignominious bondage one solitary American seaman bleeding under British oppression? Did it prevent the unmanly attack upon the Chesapeake? Did it arrest the promulgation, or has it abrogated the orders in council—those orders which have given birth to a new era in commerce? In spite of all its boasted effect, are not the two nations brought to the very brink of war? Are we quite sure, that on this side of the water, it has had no effect favorable to British interests? It has often been stated, and although I do not know that it is susceptible of any strict proof, I believe it to be a fact that this bank exercised its influence in support of Jay's treaty—and may it not have contributed to blunt the public sentiment, or paralyze the efforts of this nation against British aggression.

The Duke of Northumberland is said to be the most considerable stockholder in the bank of the United States. A late Lord Chancellor of England besides other noblemen, was a large stockholder. Suppose the Prince of Essling, the Duke of Cadore and other French dignitaries owned seven eights of the capital of this bank, should we witness the same exertions (I allude not to any made in the Senate,) to re-charter it? So far from it, would not the danger of French influence be resounded throughout the nation?

I shall therefore give my most hearty assent to the motion for striking out the first section of the bill.

MR. CLAY'S SPEECH.—We invite the attention of the reader to the speech of **HENRY CLAY**, against the Bank of the United States, which we publish to-day. The speech was made in the days of Mr. Clay's *primitive purity*, when the love of office had not corded his mind and destroyed his honor.

To this speech we call particular attention. It is on a subject of vital importance to this Republic—it is an effort against a great National evil, which it is said with regret, has long since ensnared Mr. Clay in the very meshes which he here points out as dangerous to the country and the freedom of its citizens. Who could believe, if the fact were not notorious, that the individual who made this speech would now be found worshipping the Bank, and crying out "Great is Diana of the Ephesians?"

On another account we would ask a perusal of this speech and its comparison with the veto message. Here we find the rivals for the Presidency lecturing on the same subject, but not with the same force. The moral power of the veto message is an hundred fold greater than Mr. Clay's Speech.

St. Clairsville (Ohio) Gazette.

Easy Virtue.—Mr. Clay, in 1811, made a very good speech against an unconstitutional British Bank—but in 1832, after receiving thousands as a *fee attorney*, makes a very bad speech on 't'other side for his client! What a mistake it would be if some of his right or wrong Swiss soldiers were to sing *psaumes* of praise over his 1811 speech instead of that of 1832. *Globe.*

From the *Mississippi Gazette*.

BUYING UP THE PRESS.

The late firm of *Webb & Noah*, of the New York Courier and Enquirer, has been dissolved, and Webb, having purchased Noah's interest in the establishment, has sold himself and his paper to the Bank of the United States. This circumstance has at once delighted and given new hopes to the opposition. It has thrown our neighbors of the Repository into extacies. Indeed, they are so pleased with their new ally, that they cover him with compliments, and premise their readers with "extracts" from his address—it being so long as to preclude the publication of the whole. How true is the saying that "a drowning man will catch at straws." Here we see men who a short time since would not have touched Webb, with a ten foot pole, welcoming him to their ranks, and declaring their belief that on him depends the result of the next Presidential election. Poor fellows! they calculate without their host this time. They must have a most contemptible opinion of the intelligence and patriotism of the people of the United States, to suppose that such a man as Jas. Watson Webb—a man who has betrayed the cause of his country, and sold himself body and soul, paper and all, to a monied institution, which he himself a short time ago denounced as a MONSTER, which was "organizing parties andconcerting measures to destroy the democratic government of our country"—and who has been greeted by the opposition with the enviable title of "black leg editor," &c.—could wield sufficient political power to materially change the result of the election for President.

It will be recollect that the editors of the Courier and Enquirer, of whom the same Mr. Webb was one—strenuously opposed the recharter of the U. States Bank, from the time President Jackson first broached the subject in 1829, up to about the 9th of April, 1831, when, it is shown by the report of the Bank Committee, they received their first bribe, in the form of a loan. To enable our readers, however, better to understand what Mr. Webb thought of the Bank prior to his being "bought up," we will give a few extracts from his paper during the time that honesty dictated his course:

In his paper of Dec. 8, 1830, he says:

"The Bank charter will expire, and the question is, will it be renewed? We say now as we have always said and believed, viz: the renewal of the charter of the Bank of the United States will be a fatal blow to all the other monied institutions of our country, and it will give force, efficiency and character to an influence which will CONTROL THE UNION."

Again, on the 13th of the same month, he says:

"The people will as soon put chains upon themselves, and surrender their liberties, as they will allow Congress to oppress them with that institution for twenty years longer. Their struggles will be great; all who can write or speak will be in the pay of the Bank."

Surely there is some truth in the above; for Mr. Webb can "write," and he is in the "pay of the Bank." Morris, of the Pennsylvania Inquirer, can "write," and he has handled \$30,000 of the U. S. Bank funds. Gales & Seaton can "write," and they received \$10,000. Henry Clay and Daniel Webster can "speak," and they were paid by the Bank, the former \$17,000, and the latter \$8,000. But to proceed with our extracts. In his paper of the 5th February, 1831, Mr. Webb says:

"Let the mind untroubled by prejudice—unmoved by power—unbought by favors—look at the startling fact with steady attention and unblenched gaze. What have we? An organized corps of Presidents, Cashiers, Directors, Clerks, Tellers, lenders and borrowers, spread throughout the United States—moving simultaneously upon every given point—lending out money for hire and distributing opinions for action—furnishing capital and thought at one and the same moment—buying men and votes as cattle in the market—giving tone to public opinion—making and unmaking Presidents at will—controlling the free will of the people, and corrupting their servants—circulating simultaneously political theories destructive of the Constitution, and paper money injurious to every State Bank—curtailing and ex-

panding at will, discounts and exchanges—withering, by a subtle poison, the liberty of the press—and in fact erecting within the States and the Union, a new general government—an *imperium in imperio*, unknown to the Constitution, defying its power, laughing at its restrictions, scorning its principles, and pointing to its golden vaults as the weapon that will execute its behests whenever it shall be necessary to carry them into action."

On the 16th of the same month, Mr. Webb continues thus:

"The U. S. Bank is now altogether turned into a great political machine—organizing parties and concerting measures for the destruction of the democratic government of our country. It is full time to look the monster full in the face."

Again, on the 17th of March, of the same year, Mr. Webb says:

"The great *Mammoth Bank Evening Journal* (bonus \$3,000) is all at once popular with the working-men, and advises them to 'shake hands all round.' The National Bank men know how to squeeze—they squeeze the life blood out of every working-man and producer in the nation."

The above are the unbought opinions of Mr. Webb, expressed before the "subtle poison," with its "withering" influence had been extended to him, and previous to his being bought up, like 'cattle in the market.'

From about the 20th March to the 9th April, 1831, the Courier and Enquirer was silent on the subject of the Bank, when, on the latter day, to the amazement of every body, it turned a somerset, and broke ground in favor of a re-charter of that institution. Many were the conjectures respecting the sudden change in the course of that print. Many attributed it to a bribe, but the editors declared the charge of bribery to be totally unfounded—and so the matter rested, still wrapped in mystery, until the Committee appointed during the last session of Congress, to examine into the manner in which the affairs of the Bank had been conducted, made their report, when lo! it appeared that Messrs. Webb & Noah had received from the Bank, in the form of loans, \$52,972. This at once unravelled the mystery, and that which before was all matter of speculation, at once came to light.

From that time forward the Courier and Enquirer continued to support the Bank, and also to advocate the re-election of Gen. Jackson, until the Veto made it necessary for it to choose between ANDREW JACKSON and the UNITED STATES BANK. The course of Mr. Webb was soon resolved on, but he was restrained for a while by Mr. Noah, his partner, from taking an open part: it therefore became necessary that Mr. N.'s interest should be extinguished, which was effected by another draw on the Bank to the amount of \$50,000. Mr. Noah's interest being done away, Mr. Webb hauls down the Jackson flag, and runs up that of the Bank, and boldly comes out in its favor with a long address to the public, in which he tries to justify the sacrifice of his principles to his interest.

It can no longer be disguised that the Presidential contest is to be fought between Gen. Jackson and the Bank, instead of Gen. Jackson and Mr. Clay. Mr. C. is only a tool of the Bank in the coming election, and the money of the Bank is to be the means of bringing voters to his standard. Mr. Webb says:

"I have arrayed myself against the interests of those whom I both respect and esteem—in whose patriotism I have undiminished confidence—and in bringing whose names before the public, I probably participated more largely than any other individual in the nation."

Now does it not appear ridiculous for a man to array himself against those "in whose patriotism he has undiminished confidence," and support a measure which he a short time before, denounced as dangerous to the liberties of his country, to say he is actuated by disinterested motives? We think it will be a hard dose for the people to swallow, with the aid of the opposition to help them, notwithstanding.

From the *Trenton Emporium*.

"UNITED STATES" Bank.—This institution is a *private corporation*, with a capital of \$6,000,000 of dollars.

It is a *"United States"* Bank only in name—like the *"United States"* Hotel—the *"United States"* Gazette. The United States holds a small amount of stock in the company it is true—and it is also true that it holds stock in twenty other private companies, as the Chesapeake and Ohio Canal, &c.

This private Bank is just as liable to fail as any other bank—if it should fail the *Government is not liable to redeem one dollar of its paper*; it is, in all respects, merely a *private incorporation*, and liable only as *other private companies are liable*.

It is managed and controlled wholly by a Board of Managers who meet in Philadelphia—of which Board Mr. Biddle is the President.

Mr. Biddle and a friend or two of his, have for many years, elected a majority of this Board themselves by their votes and the proxies which they hold—and do it still.

More, considerable more, than one third of the whole stock is held by British Lords, Dukes, Generals, &c.

It is therefore a private company of wealthy men who control this Bank—it is owned by rich men in England and America—no poor men, scarcely a working farmer or mechanic in the country owns a dollar of the stock.

It is a great monied monopoly in the hands of a few aristocrats—headed by Nicholas Biddle.

This private company of wealthy foreigners and natives, are now in the field with all their money, power and influence, seeking openly to put down the administration of the people.

Whom do they want to elect?—

HENRY CLAY, one of their attorneys, they seek to make President of the United States.

JOHN SERGEANT, another of their attorneys, and a member of the Board of Managers, they seek to make Vice-President of the United States.

What is their object?

They want to elect their own servants and agents to rule the people of this country.

That they may get their charter renewed.

—Get an increase of power—Get the foreign stockholders released from taxation on their stock—Get their feet on the necks of the people.

Let them succeed in this, and who will govern the country?

The United States Bank.—The President, Mr. Biddle, will be "King"—he governs the Bank—the Bank governs Messrs. Clay and Sergeant, and Messrs. Clay and Sergeant will govern the people.

Let it be remembered!—The United States Bank is a *private company*, owned by private individuals, controlled by private individuals—these all belonging to the aristocratic orders, and responsible to no body.

This private company now controls 200,000,000 of money—it boasts that all the State Banks exist by its *permission*—it boasted that General Jackson would not dare to veto it. *He has done it.* It now boasts that it will turn him out of office, and put its attorney in his place.

What think you of these things Jersey-men!—Do you vote with the Bank or the People? Are you for "King Biddle" and his English aristocracy—or for old Hickory? That's the question. There's no mistake about it.

CLAYMEN AND ANTIES. The Alliance, holy or unholy, of the Clay and Anti-masonic parties in New-York, does not take.

Some honest Anti-masons, who had really made it a point to prostrate every thing in the shape of *secret societies*, have started aghast at the proposition of supporting Henry Clay, a real, up-to-the-hub Mason, for the Chief Magistracy. They do wince most confoundedly under the application of this newly invented species of Morganization, and they even talk seriously of voting for Jackson to prevent themselves from being sacrificed by their political leaders, to the support of men whom their avowed political principles taught them to look upon with horror.

It was a most unfortunate thought in the Clay men to propose this alliance with the Anti's—it will be the means of giving a tremendous majority to "Old Hickory," in New-York.

Nat. Republican.

Reaction in Indiana.—Most of our citizens recollect a certain *Thomas Jefferson Langdon*, (known better in this county as the *Jack of Clubs*), a *pettifogging Lawyer*, who figured somewhat largely in neighborhood broils in this country some 7 or 8 years since. Well, what of him? Why after veering to all points of the political compass, he has now commenced a paper in Madison, Indiana, and is going to revolutionize the state and make the people vote for the Bank and Henry Clay. We candidly acknowledge our fears as to the result of his labors in this state. Friend Jacksonians, only think of the unequal contests and tremendous influence of *T. J. Langdon*, contending against you! Our neighbor is not a patching to him!! The state is lost for Jackson unless his influence be checked immediately. *Three sips will buy him*—can you raise the chink? *Western Annotator.*

GOOD NEWS FROM VERMONT.—The election for governor, lieutenant governor, treasurer, councillors, and members of congress, took place on Tuesday, 4th inst. The following returns from the town of Bennington, (a name full of patriotic associations,) show how the matter stands among the "Green Mountain Boys."

From the *Editor of the Bennington Gazette* to the *Editor of the Argus* dated

"BENNINGTON, Sept. 5.

"Dear Sir—Our election took place yesterday, in this town. The republicans have triumphed! Our Congress vote stands, for

O. C. Merill (Jackson) 238

R. Skinner (Clay) 66

John Phelps (Anti) 35

Scattering 45

"For governor and council ticket, Jackson 218, Clay 145, Anti 93. Town representative—John S. Robinson, Esq. a young man of deserved popularity, and second to none in point of talents. In this county, last year, there was a large majority against us: now we have a majority in our favor. The *Veto* has done the business for us. The towns heard from are for Jackson 3, Clay 2. All, however, have given majorities for Jackson congress. Let no man say Vermont will not be for Jackson next November."

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Specific Appropriations.—The laxity of the times is excessive—the