

the side of the report, and that such error is the natural consequence of the defective materials, which the person employed by the committee had to find it upon.

Mr. President, the law requires that no contract shall be made for the transportation of the mail without first advertising it; & that no additional allowance shall be made without additional service commensurate thereto; and that the Postmaster General shall report such additional service and extra compensation to the Comptroller of the Treasury within thirty days after the same shall be made. It would seem, therefore, that if the law had been observed by the Postmaster General, there would have been no difficulty in procuring the necessary data for the calculation. But this not having been done in all things, its deficiency was supplied by substituting the answer made by the Postmaster General on the 31 of March, 1834, to a special call of the Senate; which answer professes to give "all the allowances made beyond the sums stipulated in the original contracts, since the 1st of April 1829, and to specify in each case the service to be performed by the original contract, and the sums to be paid thereon, and the nature and extent of each facility or improvement, and the sums to be paid therefor." Now, it is evident, if all these be given truly, the data necessary for the calculation was at once in the hands of the man to whom your committee confided their papers.

But the honorable Senator says, it is not so—that there is still a very large amount of compensation and transportation behind the curtain, which is to be had by groping among the files of the Department, and that the whole difference of 7,000,000 miles is thus accounted for.—Now, is this possible? Is it to be credited that there has been, and is habitually, in that Department such a total disregard of all legal instruction, as this defence would indicate? Manifold and manifold as were the cases stamped with this character, which came under our observation, this would prove that we had not discovered or noted the twentieth of the title of those which exist in this single group.—The contracts, then, are let—habitually let—on different terms, and for different services than they are advertised! Why is this, and where the warrant in law?—Why is the advertisement for contracts required by law? Is it to inform the public of the true service to be rendered, and to which competition is invited, or is it to conceal it from them, that it may be made known by a private note, or in a private whisper, to a favorite corps? And then the annual statement of contracts, and the special statement of extra services and extra allowances, what are they for? To inform the public as to the amount of service and compensation? I know not which is deserving of the heaviest censure, the grand misrepresentation which is thus attempted to be bolstered up, or the succession of misrepresentations of which the honorable chairman accuses the Department, for the purpose of exonerating them from that first and wholesale misstatement. If the department have heretofore told the truth, then is the estimate of Phineas Bradley right; and it does not well become the supporters of the Department now to allege the falsehood of its former allegation, in order to prove the incorrectness of his.—Let them obtain credit where they may for this, I can give them none. The act is a gross breach of law and of official veracity. A fixed and habitual rule of action; misrepresentation and deception on a grand scale, and a general system constantly acted upon; and now that it is exposed, beyond controversy or contest, it is openly avowed, and even defended upon this floor—nay, brought forward and asserted as a fixed rule of action, and one that is to wipe away what is considered, by gentlemen here, as a foul blot.—Why, Mr. President, suppose the custom of making false statements to Congress, and to the nation, had been as inveritable in former times, as we now find it; and suppose a man, possessing but a common share of moral integrity, placed at once within it and amid such a scene of iniquity, would he not revolt at it? and would he permit its foulness and vice to remain for one moment concealed from the public eye? For now, sir, in one class of the reports of the department, falsehood is habitual and avowed—*habitual* for years past—avowed only since it was detected. It is asserted by the honorable Chairman as the custom of the Department; and that custom of giving to the world a tissue of falsehoods, in one branch of their reports, he adduces as *proof conclusive*, that they are correct, and that the Committee err in another particular, in which there is a wide difference in the conclusions of the department and those of the Committee. Sir, the honorable Chairman is right in saying, that there is no safety in any calculation made upon such data as the reports of the Department. Take that of the 18th of April, 1832, for example: If there be truth in that any where, I have not found it, and I studied it with care for weeks. I examined some hundreds of cases, and do not recollect to have found one that was stated truly. Sir, it is enough to sicken the soul, to shock the moral sense of any man, to walk amidst, and wade through, the scenes of rank iniquity which our duty has required us to explore and now requires us to expose.

In one part of the paper presented here, by the honorable Chairman, I confess I was deeply disappointed. It is a matter in which there is no dispute about fact—it is principle, plain principle, mere fact, that is involved; and I knew well before, and I know now, and all the Senate knows, that the opinion of the Hon. Sena-

tor and my own do not differ upon it.—We here, on this floor, agree that the Postmaster General has borrowed large sums of money on the credit of the United States, for the use of the Department; and we agree that the act was a violation of the Constitution; but yet you may seek, and seek in vain, in the paper which the minority of the Committee have presented here, and which we send abroad to the world, as the exponent of their opinion, and the opinion of the party in power—you may search in vain in that paper, for one word of censure on this unwarranted and unconstitutional act. Sir, I complain of this: I complain of it, and I deplore it. Our words upon this floor are but passing breath: they are heard, perchance read, & then laid aside as things of the day, and forgotten; but the more solemn opinions of your committee, charged with grave and important duties, are placed among your archives, and preserved in perpetual remembrance of the thing; and the censure or approbation which they bestow, will stand on this enduring record, to condemn or to sustain like deeds in all future time.—In this, and for this purpose, the hon. Chairman represents the great party which now wields the destinies of this Republic; and as I knew that he condemned this act, I had hoped that his disapprobation would have been, in some form, or in some language stamped upon his paper, that in future times it might be seen that he condemned it. Suppose

that in the contest which is waging, and will be waged, in this nation for power, suppose the party now dominant in our councils, and of which the hon. Chairman is a distinguished member, should prevail, and that the public voice should sanction and sustain their acts—this act, with the rest, must be sustained; because he, who is for that purpose exponent of the will and opinions of the party, does, in his solemn paper, sustain it—is not another wound, deep, if not vital, inflicted upon our Constitution? Is not another of the safeguards of our liberty gone? For, if the head of this Department may plight the faith of the nation for a loan of money, surely the Chief Magistrate, whose is, and whom he serves, may do it. But I shall not follow out this subject into detail: it would lead me wide, far from the point, to which I intended to direct my remarks.

The honorable Chairman sustains the act on this ground. He says the Postmaster General was deceived by the mode of keeping the books; he supposed there was a large amount of money outstanding in the hands of Postmasters, which did not turn out to be the case, and he therefore found the Department suddenly involved in difficulty; and that it must have gone down it had not borrowed to sustain it. We have heard much of this pretence about an error in the mode of keeping the books, and a more ridiculous excuse never was invented. But the Chairman is mistaken about the apology itself. It was pretended, not that there were sums which appeared to be due from Postmasters which were not in fact due, but that their books did not show all that was due, or that had been paid to contractors. It would consequently be the amount of cash on hand in which the error would exist; an error which would be easily discovered when the money was all gone. But it is a matter of their own, and they can make what they please of it. And it is also a little remarkable that this pretended error, which existed from the very organization of the department, should never have been detected by any of the former Postmasters General, and should never have led any one of them into the slightest difficulty, even when the Department was annually paying every dollar of its surplus proceeds into the Treasury.

The honorable Chairman has said, that there was no case of extra allowance, without additional service rendered equivalent to such allowance. In this he is mistaken. The extra of 10,000 dollars a year to Reeside and Slaymaker is not, nor do I understand it is pretended to be, for any increased service beyond what the contract requires. The report of the 31 March, 1834, states the whole matter thus: (p. 199.) "Reeside and Slaymaker are contractors for carrying the mail from Philadelphia to Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania, 303 miles, twice a day, and from Pittsburgh, by Washington, Pennsylvania, to Wheeling, in Virginia, 57 miles daily, all in 4 horse post coaches, from the 1st of January, 1832, to the 31st of December, 1835, at a compensation of 27,000 dollars per annum."

In consequence of the increased rapidity of this mail, the newspapers which were formerly sent from the east by other routes, were now sent upon this, and the general cry of the public for the more rapid conveyance of newspapers required them to be sent by this rapid line, instead of the slower line, as was contemplated in their proposals, which so loaded it as almost entirely to exclude passengers.—They were, therefore, allowed from April 1, 1832, for transporting all the papers by their most rapid line, at the annual rate of 10,000 dollars."

This is their own story, and I do not understand that any thing is here alleged to be done by the contractors, which is not written down and enjoined on them in their contract. The statement, it is true, says, that it was contemplated in the proposals that the newspapers should be carried in the slow line, but there is nothing of the kind to be found in the contract. And as to the general cry of the public for the more rapid conveyance of newspapers, I really would like to know who heard it. I have heard it urged as a subject of complaint that some newspapers were not

carried at all, or if they were, that they did not reach their place of destination in the regular course of mail. But this general cry, for the more rapid conveyance of newspapers, was probably never heard by any one except the officer in the Department who made out this report, and presented it to the Postmaster General for his signature. But to the point. No service is alleged, even here, that is not required by the contract; and it will be recollected that this is a route which was bid off at 8,250 dollars and was raised, by extras, first to 27,000 dollars, and then this 10,000 dollars was added for hardships encountered, and not for increased service rendered.

The story in this report is disproved by the testimony of Reeside. It is stated here, that the quantity of papers was so great as *nearly to exclude* passengers on the rapid line. But Reeside says, the inconvenience occurred but three days out of the seven, and then they could sometimes carry three passengers, and sometimes but one—the other four days they could carry their allotted number. But the time of the allowance shows that it was not for any required extra service—it was made in May 1833, to commence from the first of April, 1832. The honorable Chairman is, then, mistaken in supposing that any extra service was required as an equivalent for this allowance.

There are others similarly situated; but I do not purpose now to consider them. The honorable Chairman need not have gone into a defence of the conduct or character of Mr. Gouverneur. The committee have charged him with no impropriety, nor is his integrity at all implicated in the discussion. He has paid over the money which he received, as he was bound to pay it to the order of the Postmaster General, and his payments have been used to cover and conceal a part of the immense sums which were applied to fit out and support secret agents & spies of Government; those agents and spies who, under the pretence of detecting frauds and robberies, have spread over and infested the land. The year 1832 appears to have been their carnival. It is the same year in which such large sums were paid to printers throughout the United States, and such an immense amount of *blanks, paper, and twine*, were purchased up for the use of the Department. It was the same year, too, in which the transportation of the mail was first overrated, by many millions of miles, in the published reports of the Department, and the contracts, in a mass, *unrepresented* in those reports.

These things have produced the effect which they were intended to produce—they have enabled those who possessed political power, and who abused it, to conceal those abuses, and to retain that power. And detection, though it has come at last, comes too late to defeat their purpose.

MAJOR DOWNING'S LETTER.

The Major has recommended his correspondence with the *Portland Courier*, in his inimitable style. The following letter will repay a perusal.

Washington City, June 9th, 1834.

To the Editor of the *Portland Courier*, away down east in the State of Maine.

My dear old Friend.—We have about concluded here, its best for Congress to break up and go home, and all hands be git annew. They aint like to do any thing here, if they stay and jaw about it all summer; so they're pretty much made up their minds to adjourn about the last of this month.

I think likely as not I shall adjourn before that time. So I want you to be looking round and getting ready a little, agin I get there, to see on what day you can print me a paper for me, if we should think it best to start one, or how much you would sell out a pretty considerable patch of your paper to me for, or whether you'll let me come right in and be an editor long with you and so go snacks. I want you to think these things over as fast as you can, for like as not you will see me there in less than a week. And when I do come, you will see me with my coat off and my sleeves rolled up, and all ready to go to work.

I'll tell you what tis, my old friend, we've got something to do this summer yet, if we mean to keep the old ship from sinking. We must go to smoking out the rats, or they'll not only eat up all the cargo, but now so many holes in the bottom that we couldn't keep her up if we should keep all the pump going day and night.

There's a real nest of rats just been dug up out of the Post Office, and I don't think they've found em all yet. But them that they have found are as fat as butter, they look as if they had been living like pigs in clover. Folks have been thinkin good while there was a pesky snarl of rats round the Post Office, and so the Senate appointed a committee to go and take a look and see if they couldn't dig em out.

The committee has made their report to-day, and it looks raty enough—they have found out that the rats have not only eat up all the victuals there was that belonged to the Post Office, but the folks in the Kitchen that have been feeding of them have run in debt more than eight hundred thousand dollars besides, for victuals to stuff 'em with.

How all this could be done, and the General not find it out before now, is amazing to me; for the General aint a man that neglects his Kitchen; he's in and out almost every day. But I believe he has some plaguey sly fellows there that cheat him most confoundedly. The worst of it all is, that Congress has got to pay this eight hundred thousand dollars, and will

have to get the money out of the pockets of the people to do it with.

This is plaguy hard; for the rats are not use at all to the people; although they are ever so well fatted, nobody wants to eat them, and make what use you will of 'em, the upshot of the matter is, they cost a great deal more than they come to.

To show you one instance how these folks in the Kitchen have been cheating, all along, you will remember that they told the last Congress that the Post Office had money enough to buy all the victuals they needed, and had considerable spare change besides. Now the Committee has found out by overhauling the books, that at the time they told this story to Congress they owed several hundred thousand dollars.

I think there ought to be a general rat-hunt all over the country. But I'm in a hurry and can't write any more to-day.

Your loving friend,

MAJ. JACK DOWNING.

MAJ. DOWNING'S CORRESPONDENCE.

WASHINGTON, 14th June, 1834.

To my old friend Mr. Dwight, of the New York *Daily Advertiser*.

Ever since I got back here from New York where I went to *duces tecum* some of them pet banks, as I tell'd you in my last letter: I have got more than 50 letters from different folks, all wanting to know when I was coming out with my *report*! But you see it and my way to *blab* right out to all creation all the information I git, especially when it is plaguy tough work to get it—you know I tell'd you when I was in New York, that you must be sharp set on hearin anything from me about the examination of the pet banks until I tell'd the Senate all I know'd, and let them take it up first, as I am in their service now. When I got back here I found the hull Senate busy with the post office accounts. And there haint been no room yet for me to wedge in my *Report* and I dont see that there will be room yet for a good spell—for as soon as the Senate got threw the Post office concerns, some on 'em turn'd rite to and are gon to look up the land office, and the Ingin affairs, and the Contracts—and the custom House business.

There is ugly work yet to get threw, and if the people on' know'd as much as I do, what a plaguy tuff time some of the Senators have in trickin out this business, they'd think it warn't an amazin easy of piece to be in—it's bad enuf to trace a fox over a clean open field when the dogs are well train'd—but to follow him threw all manner of doubles and twistins, and briers, and marshes, sometimes over rivers and creeks, and then agin crossin swamps and stubble, and a parcel of dogs belonging to other folks yelpin and barking on wrong tracks, just to mislead the true noses, then I tell you it is plaguy hard work. But we have got some rare good leaders now, and they have got their noses on the right track, and though they may be puzzled a spell, they'll go on till the old fox is driv rite into his last hole, and if there is a brush left to him they'll have it.

I see the folks are a good deal strach up about the Post Office business; it warn't nothin new to me, and I suppose to you neither; for in my letter to you of 15th January last, you'll see them accounts of the Post Office made me spit up more than three and a half cords of hickory one night, just tryin to straten 'em for the General. The worst on' is, the Senate can't find out the hull matter, they can only find what *"The Government"* can't hide; but there is a good deal yet to be scratched up. I don't like to guess about it, for that aint my nature; but as far as I can calklate, you'll see afore long that this Post Office business aint nothing worth thinkin on, when you come to see what a plague hole glory and reform has made in some other offices.

I tell'd you two or three times afore, in gittin hold of the deposits out of Squire in some of my letters, the notion I got in my head why the General was so keen, Biddle's Bank and sittin 'em round among a good many Banks. You see *"The Government"* has been doing a good deal in the way of Glory and reform, and a good many folks found that was the easiest road to travel on; but the worst on' was Congress couldn't make no appropriation to pay for Glory, and Squire Biddle kept his accounts so snug *"The Government"* couldn't get a dollar out of his Bank without the people's knowin on't—and so the ony way to get at the chink, was to set the folks to work yelpin first like all nature agin *"the monster,"* and when they thought the people would agree to it, slapdash! *"The Government"* went right at the Bank, and took the money out on't and put it first in the pet Banks, and then began to bustle and shut it up from one end of the country to the other, and I calculate by this time, a pretty considerable share on't has gone along with some of the other lost rights of the States, that Mr. Van Buren used to about a spell ago.

There is no one subject in which the people of Knox county, are more deeply interested, than in the Rail Road, from Evansville to this place. That there must be some point on the Ohio river, where the inhabitants of the valley of the Wabash must carry their surplus products at a time when the navigation of the river is obstructed is beyond all doubt, and that point wherever it may be, must be the depo for their goods received, either from above or below. That Evansville must be this point, a slight examination of the geography of the country will satisfy any individual. The lead in the Ohio river opposite that place, throws it so far into the interior, that it gives it a decided advantage over any other point in reference to distance from this place, and presents it as the most eligible situation on the Ohio for commercial advantages.

accounts, the General should be allow'd to try him under the 2d section.

If the Senate had been like tother this session I do raly believe some sich a law would be ben past, and ev'ry thing now about *"The Government"* would be ben as strait as a bean pole, instead of being all turn'd upside down, and as crooked as a ram's horn.

From your friend,

J. DOWNING.

Major, Downingville, Militia, 2d Brigade.

GAZETTE.

VINCENNES.

SATURDAY, JULY 12, 1834.

A Tory paper called the *Ohio Patriot*, published at New Lisbon, speaking of the talents of the Virginia Senator, Benjamin Watkins Leigh, says,

It is to be hoped he will be sent along side of *Tom Ewing* of Ohio, as Mr. Leigh's talents are so far superior to those of the *Ohio Patriot*, that he may be of great service to him.

And a paper of the same stamp in Cincinnati, miscalled the *Republican*, and wearing the whole hog flag, has the following:

"Taken from an obscure station, and suddenly elevated to one of the highest offices in the nation, his prosperity seems to have turned his brain, and were it not the honor of the State concerned we should be disposed to smile at his folly, and be amused at his self-importance."

On the above paragraphs the veteran Niles, remarks,

"We have fallen on evil times." "Mr. Ewing has not more than one, if one, superior, in point of talents, in the *Democratic party*," in the Senate, and no superior in either party, as a correct and worthy gentleman. If he was an *astler* it is to his credit that he is a *SENATOR*.—What was the President of the United States? What *Greene*, that right arm of Washington? What *Franklin*, what *Sherman*—what *Clay*, what *Webster*, what thousands of others, the ornaments of the past age, and *markers* of the present?"

We notice these miserable things only to hand down to posterity a *type* of the organized *treachery* of the present day—a press, that is regulated by the enjoyment of reward, or fear of punishment—and which, within the last five years, has furnished more *public officers* than was supplied by the whole press of the United States, from the adoption of the Constitution up to that time. And it should be carefully noted, that these, and such as these, are the exclusive *DEMOCRATS* of the day! This press, too, is much under the control of *paper-blackers*.

"Who left their country for their country's good."

"Foreign patriots, of the school of *Thistlewood* or *Cobett*. But we ought, perhaps, to be very delicate on this particular subject, seeing the *Globe* has ascertained that we ourselves were recently imported from Europe—though our fathers were among those who first settled the woodlands of Pennsylvania."

An election for Magistrate will take place on Monday the 28th inst., and we are authorized to say, that JOHN COLLINS, Esq. is a candidate for re-election.

Mr. CADDINGTON:

Please publish the subjoined Pre-emption Act, which only awaits the approval of the President to become a law. It will be perceived that the act of 29th May, 18