

and in this I most cordially agree with him, that the balance of trade is greatly against us by reason of an oppressive, and I will add dishonest protective system under the tariff of revenue. And that whenever this is the case the specie that goes off never returns. He then puts the case of the western farmer who sells his stock in Savannah or Charleston, and not wishing to trade at either place, purchases from the branch bank, bills of exchange on the north; this operation he states is calculated to keep the specie in the south, for otherwise they would carry it off from the local banks, and consequently sets it down as a great advantage to the South. But, he continues, the great drain is from this cause; there is more public revenue collected in the South than in there disbursed, and consequently is obliged to be transferred elsewhere to meet the government engagements. The bank is not the cause of the evil but the more instrument of the government in making these drafts. He supposes the revenue collected in the South to be 3,000,000 and the disbursements of the government half a million; the balance therefore must be drawn somewhere else to be applied to the wants of the government. This transferring of the revenue from place to place he maintains cannot be done by the local banks. Now let us examine all these positions, premising however, that his assumed amount of revenue and disbursement in the South is very far from being the true state of the fact, for the income of the government is less and its expenses much more. To guard against the constant draft which the branch banks make upon the local banks for their specie, the latter have been obliged to supply themselves with funds in the Northern banks, upon which they occasionally draw in favor of the former to keep their gold and silver at home. Now, if the gentleman, to use his own words, had gone a "little deeper" into this matter he would have found this to be the exact process of money drawing, and instead of a benefit is a most essential injury to the South. Take his own case, for instance, the Western farmer sells his stock and receives its value in the bills of the local banks, he goes to the branch bank to buy a bill of exchange,—that bank takes his money right away to the local bank that issued it, either receives the silver or gold for it or a draft upon the North, as I have before stated. If the latter, they make the local bank discount one per cent. With this bill they return to the aforesaid farmer and make him pay 1 per cent. premium, and this is not all, they make him pay one half per cent. premium, for having taken his local bills, which they had, before his face, carried to the local bank, and, with which purchased a bill of exchange. Thus they make 2½ per cent. at the expense of the local bank.

It is a notorious fact they do not buy and sell by the same measure. A Western branch advertises that it will either buy bills at a discount, or sell them at a premium! What would be thought of a farmer that bought and sold by different weights and measures? The morality of banks if applied to the concerns of society, would resolve it into a den of swindlers.

The usual dealing is this. The branches sell United States bills at ½ per cent. premium, they collect the State Bank bills and demand the specie of them weekly, which they must pay or give checks on the North at half per cent. discount. These checks the branches sell at half per cent. premium, having pocketed half on their own notes, half from the State bank and half from the merchant. When these facts are carefully examined, does not every body perceive that the local banks are made the instruments at last, by which every thing is done for the government which is imputed to the United States Bank? How does the surplus revenue, of which the gentleman speaks, and which he says is the cause of draining the specie from the South and West, get to the places at which it is wanted? Specie must be transported in wag-gons or ships. Can not the local banks have it carried as well as the branch Banks? Is it not now carried by the profit made from them in the manner I have described? If they now have funds in the North upon which they can and do draw, at a loss, what is to hinder them from having even more, if they had the government deposits. Why may they not do that directly which they are now made to do indirectly? The branch banks have no specie, as already shown; they draw their specie from the State banks, and make them pay for sending it to the North. Now, in the name of every thing that is reasonable, could not the State banks do it themselves?

Mr. Speaker, a most prodigious character is given to the United States Bank for its great credit throughout the Union, nothing is so much spoken of, and yet, strange as it may appear, nothing is so unfair and so undeserved. Permit me to tell you the whole mystery of this matter. It is nothing under heaven that gives this Bank such a name but two provisions in the charter, which, taken out, would sink its credit to a level with the meanest local bank in America. First, the Government receiving all her dues in the bills of that bank, and second, depositing all her revenue in the same. Now, sir, I affirm, borrowing the idea from a late forcible writer, if the Government will do these two things for the meanest beggar that crawls in tattered rags through this city, he would have directly the same credit that the United States Bank has. Just let the Government proclaim to the Nation that it will receive the notes of such a person as I have described to the amount of 25 millions in payment of its debts, and that it will indorse the same, and put all her money in his possession, and he forthwith goes abroad with the whole of Government credit with him; and this is precisely that which is imputed unperceived to the Bank. Why then, if given to local banks, should not the same result be expected? They are managed in the same way, with men of equal skill, of equal integrity, and with the same science and materials. Does any one believe, if Pennsylvania, without any aid from the General Government's credit, had set up such a Bank as that now in Philadelphia, it could have acquired the same credit? Why does not the other Banks in that State possess it? Surely in that great State all the banking wisdom and honesty have not got into the United States Bank alone? But notwithstanding all this advantage is given to this great Bank, there are other Banks in the Union almost of equal credit. I discover by the directions of the Treasury Department, that the Receivers of money even in Mississippi and Arkansas, are instructed to receive the bills of the State Banks of Boston and New York. If these can be made to answer the purposes of the Government, why may not well regulated Banks of other States do the same thing? The truth is, Mr. Speaker, every thing in the South is distrusted; there is not that confidence and respect, such as ought to exist between sister States, extended to that region, and it is growing more manifest every day. The local Banks there, as well as in the West, have been treated with great ingratitude. While they strained every nerve to support your last war, lent to the last dollar, behold the North was clenching her gold and silver as though it were in the claws of an eagle—not a farthing was lent. They wept when you were victorious, and shouted when you were vanquished. They boasted of their gold while the South and West triumphed in their victories. After the war, when that portion of the country, which had to support it with their lives and money, came to count the cost, it is true they found themselves embarrassed, as was to have been expected from the excessive sacrifices they had been compelled to make. The issues of money had been immense, but it was for a generous and noble object. Such another state of things can never again occur in this country. It is fondly to be hoped that one part of this Nation will not have to fight the battles common to all, and to exhaust themselves to support the honor and interest of a Government, the maintenance of which involved an equal obligation from the whole community. It was said that the currency was deranged and that an United States Bank must be chartered to restore it to soundness. And having said this, it is now believed, that that Bank is entitled to the credit of establishing it. Nothing is so erroneous. The Bank never went into operation till the year 1817. In two years thereafter it was pronounced insolvent by a Committee of Congress. In July, 1827, the branch orders commenced to issue, which Mr. Bidle declared in a letter, dated January, 1828, to Mr. Rush, was obliged to be resorted to, or to give up the Bank. Listen to his own words: "The institution found itself in a position where it became necessary either to RENOUNCE the great purposes of its creation, or to seek, among its other acknowledged powers, the means of accomplishing them." How could it have restored the currency to soundness if all the time it was struggling as in a case of life and death? Crippled from the beginning—at its last gasp in 1819—but barely crawling on to 1827, and yet the great restorative of the currency of the country? The thing is too unreasonable. No, the truth is, it is the cause I have mentioned—it is the Government's credit and her twenty-five millions of dollars thrown into the scale of this distempred monster that has enabled it to weigh down the State institutions.

The two last charges may be taken together; they consist in establishing agencies in different States, without authority, and employing State Banks to transact their

business without the consent of the Secretary of the Treasury. The gentleman says he is wholly ignorant of any provision in the charter which forbids such agencies, nor does he exactly understand what I mean by the last objection. This is not my fault; but I think I have shewn by a clause from the charter, that the only powers the Bank has on this subject, is to establish a branch, with a President and Directors, for the purposes of discount and deposit, or to employ any other Bank to transact its business other than that of discounting. Having especially provided two ways, all others are excluded; there is no authority to appoint agencies, and neither of the foregoing methods will, in the remotest degree, admit of that construction. The last ground is a simple affirmation which can easily be disproved by shewing the consent of the Secretary of the Treasury to employ such Banks as are transacting their business. The requisition on the part of the charter is a very wholesome one, for the Government ought to know what local Banks are permitted to take charge of their immense deposits.

I believe, sir, I have now gone through all the arguments of the gentleman, founded upon the charges in their regular order. Before, however, I take my final leave of him, I must advert to one suggestion, which, from its nature, was intended to be addressed to our sympathies; and, as I am one who have ever believed, that one touching sally upon the passions, overpowers a thousand dry arguments, I always leave the latter to dislodge the former. He said, "A large portion of the stock of this institution belongs to the widow and the orphan; in many instances, perhaps, their sole support and inheritance." I believe nothing could be of more service to this description of persons than a dissolution of this institution. When the old United States Bank wound up its business, and made a final division, each stockholder had returned to him not only the full amount of his shares, with eight per cent. interest per annum for the whole period of its incorporation, but he had paid to him one hundred dollars to the share besides—that is, his money was doubled, exclusive of the interest. There is no manner of doubt that such would be the result at the expiration of the present charter. This doubled amount soon be vested in other stock, and their means of support consequently increased one hundred per cent. And, Mr. Speaker, this would be no common support, either; for I find, upon examining the list of stockholders, there are upwards of forty widows who own over ten thousand dollars each, and several as high as fifty thousand. Concerning these last, I hope the gentleman will give himself no uneasiness; for they can assure him, in any event of the Bank question, they will remain pretty good game for the pursuit of ANY WIDOWER whatever. But, sir, while he is manifesting such sensibility for these destitute persons, let me shade his portrait a little by a sombre color, which I can employ from another class of Stockholders in this same Bank:—The real Stockholders are not American Widows and Orphans, but British Lords and Ladies—British Naval and Military Officers—British Clergymen and Country Squires—and, sir, for your exquisite delight, permit me to read a few of their names:

Baring, Brothers, & Co. London,	8791,500
The Most Honorable the Marquis of Hertford,	100,300
The Right Honorable Sarah, Countess Dowager of Castle Stuart,	10,000
Sir Colin Campbell and Sir Richard Hunter,	37,100
Right Honorable Lord Henry Viscount Gage,	12,000
Honorable Hudson Guernsey, Member of Parliament,	50,000
Sir Robert Harvey,	19,500
Sir William Keppel, General in his British Majesty's forces, Knight of the Grand Cross of the Order of the Bath,	72,200
Major General Maister,	9,000
Sir George Nugent, Baronet,	20,000
J. Packwood, of the Royal Navy,	8,000
Sir Marmaduke Warren Peacock, Lieutenant General, &c.	50,000
The Earl of Beauchamp,	15,000
Sir Gilbert Stirling,	10,000
Lady Sarah Stuart,	31,300
Sir Greuville Temple,	20,000
Augusta Countess Dowager Van Pollant,	4,200
The Earl of Levin,	50,000
Major General MacDonald,	64,900
Lieutenant General Sir Thomas Bradford,	4,000
Sir William Keith Ball, Baronet,	30,000
Lord Erie Reery,	60,000
Mrs. Ann Redfern,	70,160
Abel Smith, Esq.,	100,000
Sir Edward Tuckey,	50,200
Jonathan Austin, Esq.,	120,000
Major William Davis,	20,000
Reverend Arthur Dean,	7,100
Reverend Philip Fletcher,	20,000
Reverend George Gordon,	30,110
Mr. Benjamin Heywood,	178,400
John Marshall, (London)	123,600
James Drake,	100,000
John Marshall,	264,200
Lieutenant Colonel John Maxwell,	64,900
Sir Robert Wilson,	15,000
Lady Rosabella Wilson,	15,000

And last, though not least—

Mrs. Candelaria Bell,	63,700
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Whose fanciful and beautiful name I hope will be remembered by some gentleman of the Turf when he comes to christen his next female Racer. In all, upwards of four hundred in number, and holding stock to the amount of eight and a half millions, besides what is in the hands of trustees.

I have some additional charges to make, Mr. Speaker, in reference to the conduct of the Norfolk Branch. There stands an item of forty thousand dollars on the monthly statements, to the debit of the late Navy Agent, which, as I understand, has occurred in consequence of the cashier's permitting him to overdraw the funds of the Government, placed to his credit in that Bank. And that these overdrafts have been further occasioned by this very cashier's purchasing the checks of the Navy Agent at a discount, and applying the proceeds to his individual profit, which speculation was brought about by telling the holders of these checks that the Navy Agent had no funds in Bank, but that he would pay them off for a premium, and that he did so to a very large amount.

I have the evidence before me, which I beg leave to read from the report of the late Secretary of the Navy, that this same cashier charged the Government two per cent. for ten thousand dollars specie, which it wanted for a South American expedition. [Here the extract was read.] On another occasion the Government wanted twenty thousand dollars, and the same cashier demanded one-half per cent., but that premium being refused, the money was not had, and the State Banks supplied it without any charge. Now, to a Government which has generally, ten millions of her money upon deposit in this institution, and whose wants, by the very terms of the charter, are to be supplied at all places, it is well worthy of knowing the reason of this extraordinary demand, especially when I tell you, it was made contrary to the will and wishes of the Directors of that Bank. The President of the mother Bank disavows most positively that the institution, in any of its relations, ever interferes in politics. He knows that such a vast monied establishment, with its five hundred officers, and million of debtors, could exert an influence in this Government calculated to destroy its independence, and hence he has, in a late private letter, written for publication in a newspaper, which I have before me, utterly disclaimed any concern in the elections of the country. Now, sir, although I do not wish to abridge any of the rights of the citizens, in this free and happy country, and I am perfectly willing that every man in it, or in any office belonging to it, should exert all the influence he has, personally, in the whole round of its affairs, yet I do not think it prudent that he should bring to the contest, either the weight of his office or the superior control of his money, much less do I desire to see the avowal of principles, for a secret purpose, that stand contradicted by actual facts. Now, sir, the private letter to which I have alluded is not, in point of fact, correct. The President of the Norfolk Branch did in person attend the polls, at an election for the members of Congress, challenged the voters as they came up to the clerk's table, some he changed, and, when reproached for his conduct, he stated he was indifferent as to the candidates individually, but he stood there opposed to General Jackson. This course of conduct produced great excitement, which terminated in a fight between the President of the Bank and the person who reproached him, immediately in the presence of the managers. Perhaps it may be said the Directors of the mother Bank know nothing of these last charges; I answer, sir, that the whole of them have been laid before the directors at the central institution, and pressed with much earnestness by one of the largest stockholders in Virginia, whose information, so far, has received little or no attention.

In conclusion, Mr. Speaker, I offer one more reflection. It is aptly said, by some writer, that the financial system of this country represents an inverted pyramid. Six thousand millions of property, and all the enterprizes and interchanges of the country resting upon sixty thousand paper dollars, which are themselves depending upon about fifteen millions of specie. And all this under the exclusive control of one grand, regulating, central machine, whose whole operations, and all its immense profits, belong to a highly favored few. I have done, for the present; but the half has not been told which belongs to this important subject.