UNITED STATES BANK.

Mr. CLAYTON'S SPEECH—Concluded.

Kentucky and Ohio; they amounted to \$900,000 in Ohio, and nearly as much in Kentucky. (See 2 Peters' Reports, p. 527, for an example of the cases) these latter plead the above facts in the case, and required of the court to say whether it was not USURY? The Bank demurred to the pleas that is, they admitted, the facts, but denied that such facts would amount to usu-, ry. The Supreme Court declares that such facts did

amount to usury, and the Bank lost its money.

Now we all know that if the facts could have been disand requested a trial by jury. This would have been were true, she knew it would be useless, and she has ac-Bank by saying that the Bank had other bills like those | lations, as they shall deem just and proper." she loaned to tiwens, and that she got full pay out of the Kentucky Bank. This might be the case or not, but I rather expect he must have obtained his information from 1 It will not do for gentlemen to try to evade the force of this case; it is too stubborn and I only adduced it by way i of example to show the nature of their extortions upon i the necessities of the People. What they have done to knowledged misconduct for the first two years of its ex. another. istence—having shown a gross act of fraud shortly theremurmurs and complaints of the country against this in. | be glad if I " would shew him from Coke or Blackstone, | ever, indispensable, and, of course, a corresponding | ling establishment, and that if once more chartered, all | ments and hereditaments, which it shall be lawful for the | subscriptions to the capital of the said Bank, (exclusive | future inquiry is closed, perhaps for ever—is it, I put it | said corporation to hold, shall be only such as shall be re- of the subscription of the United States,"; then the Bank to the candor of the House, unreasonable to ask for an | quisite for its immediate accommodation in relation to the | was authorized to go into operation. Now, it is very investigation, and to warn the Legislature to pause be- convenient transactions of its business, and such as shall | clear, that this amount of eight millions four hundred fore they rush into a decision the mischiefs of which no have been bona fide mortgaged to it by way of security, thousand dollars, exclusive of the Government's sub-

future skill or prudence can repair? Bank charges two per centum for two months, the fac- to be by minute restrictions. tor two and a half, and thus, if the draft is at sixty days, he pays at the rate of twenty-seven per centum. If, in relation to personal property which will entirely re- the charter required, at its beginning, it should have \$8,however, he has no factor, he is obliged to get some lieve our doubts, especially when we bear in mind that 400,000, and if at that time it was considered the proporfriend who has one, to make the arrangement to get his | the charter would not establish two different rules as to | tion upon which public confidence might rely, there can | draft accepted. For this accommodation he pays his the manner of holding real and personal property. The be no good reason why it should not remain so. Now, friend one and a half per cent., besides the two per cent. | clause in relation to their holding personal property is in | Sir, what is the fact as to the quantity of specie in the | ceptor, making in this mode of arrangement thirty-six not directly or indirectly, deal or trade in any thing ex- January but \$7,038,823, and but \$2,200 of funded debt per cent. which he pays before he can get out of the cept bills of exchange, gold or silver bullion, or in the being, when added together, \$1,358,177 less than what clutches of the Bank for that time, twelve per cent. of sale of goods really and truly pledged for money lent the Bank commenced with, though the Government's which, in either case, goes to the Bank; and so little and not redeemed in due time, or goods which shall be stock has since been paid in. Now, sir, I maintain that conscience have they, in order to make this, they will the proceeds of its lands;" then the 12th section de- this is not, under any sound interpretation of the charter, subject a poor and unfortunate debtor to the other enor- clares "that if the said corporation, or any person or a due proportion of coin to the capital stock. I go furfor, it must be obvious to every one, that such a per in buying or selling goods, wares, merchandize, or com- not the actual fact, that the Bank is broke. She has been cent. for money, under the melancholy depreciation of modities whatsoever, contrary to the provisions of this act, | compelled to use that portion of her capital, which was produce every where in the South and West, will soon all and every person or persons, so offending, shall be pund the prescribed security to the public, of the Bank's claims wind up the affairs of such a borrower. No people und nished," &c. Now taking these two clauses together, the to confidence. It was the pledge of the Bank's credit, der the Heavens can bear it; and unless a stop is put to intention is very manifes; they may take goods in pledge and the starting point of its operations, below which if it it, in some way or other, I predict the Western people of payment of debts, and dispose of them by a single and should come, there was no safety as to its promises; for will be in the most deplorable situation it is possible to wholesale contract, or in parcels as at auction, but they | -----conceive. There is another great hardship to which this | shall not build upon such acquired goods a regular and | produce; or, which is sometimes the case, if it is sacri- estate; they may dispose of it by sale to reimburse them and, among other things, states, "that you may form some idea whereby it is protested for want of funds, it returns upon | counties for the purpose of renting. Mr. Speaker, per- | 60,000 deliars, and possessed a large estate in the city. But by him with the additional cost of ten per cent, for non- mit me to indulge in one reflection at this place, the ap. laws, real estate could not be sold unless it brought two-thirds payment. Now, sir, that is what is meant by domestic | plication of which will presently be made, and in a case bills of exchange, disguised as loans, to take more than | which ought to alarm every body, but more especially | it and receiving the usual rate of exchange, which va- Great Britain, as most deplorable, in consequence of their peated efforts he was finally compelled to make a compromise what is worse, just as well secured as the domestic bill of and if this country, instead of its present happy distribut profit of more than so,000.

The second charge is usury on broken bank notes in

half his limbs from his body.

From the moment it started, it began to falter, and in the | count, and toj discount is to furnish those very facilities, | to hold in the United States, especially when we rememshort term of two years, according to the gentleman's | which, in their money lending capacity, they profess to | ber the fate of Cincinnali may be that of every town in own admissions, high charges could have been brought possess, and which every body knows is the principal America. against it. Indeed such a confession has no merit in | end of their institution, and, indeed, without which, they it, for I have before me the record of a Committee of | would not receive so vast a privilege. To stop discounts | and meaning of their charter, what is to hinder them this House, who were sent to examine it in 1819, and |- in the branches and continue the deposites, is a perver- from becoming the great landlords of this country, and which affirms the fact that the Bank had violated its char- sion of the law, and to that extent is not an honest wer what will prevent them from changing their thirty-five ter, and ought to be abolished. Of course, beyond 18191 of their charter. Observe, Mr. Speaker, what would millions of six per cent. stocks into three times that ought not to go, for up to that time its best friends had be the consequence of such a course. Offices of depos- amount, under a false valuation, of real property yielding pronounced it infamous. In looking for objections against ite, only, would be fixed down by the side of the State an income of fifteen per cent. In my humble opinion, it now, all charitable accusers should date its misdeeds and Banks, and collecting the revenues of the country in nothing. search for its delinquencies subsequent to the day of its | State Bank bills, they would have nothing to do but to condemnation, and when, for the best interests of the | call on the local institutions and drain off every dollar of | proportions of coin. country, it ought to have been executed. A pardon | their specie to the mother Bank. Indeed, sir, in the seven saves and forgives all previous crimes. Then, it seems, | years famine of the South and West, occasioned by the | stand this charge." Taking him, as I did, upon surprise, in a very short time after it was released, it was found at | hoarding of the branches which I have mentioned, they | and being, I suppose, a long time since he read its dirty tricks again; for if this lending something like | served only as leeches upon the State Banks, and as fast | charter, it must have escaped his recollection how the two millions of dollars at fifty per cent, commenced ten as they would fill themselves they dropped off to their hard money foundation of that enormous structure was years ago, it is obvious to every one that the Bank was | parent monster for the purpose of emptying their distend. | laid. The 3d section of the charter requires " seven i nothing profitted by the trial it had received, and for ed contents into her voracious stomach, whence it was millions of dollars thereof in gold or silver coin of the aught that appears from that day down to this, its path disgorged upon Philadelphia and other Northern Cities | U. States, or in gold coin of Spain, at a certain rate, &c. may be strewed with a thousand victims that may have to bloat their already overgrown wealth at the expense and 20,000,000 of dollars in like gold or silver coin, or in gagements with that promptness which is the arterial cir- is not so, there is no harm in the inquiry. fallen an easy prey to her cold and unfeeling rapacity. of the South, and for another very important purpose the funded debt of the U. States. This made twenty-eight What better time can be selected to bring up in judg- which I shall hereafter show. This is not equalizing the millions, which was that partion of the stock intended for day by saying the bank was broke. I did not intend to serted that bank officers have almost the entire election ment the sins of sixteen years," than at a time when she | currency, nor is it a just and impartial distribution of | individual subscribers. The government's seven millions asks another term of twenty years to revel upon the those facilities it was intended to confer. Nay, it was was to be paid in gold or silver coin, or in stock of the

The fifth charge is building houses to rent. The gen- gold and silver, bottomed, as it was, upon the credit of after—having brought to the view of the House the leman said this idea was new to him and that he would the Government, seven millions of the latter was, howstitution, indicating a strong suspicion of at least im- how it canbe lawful to purchase land, and not to build hou. amount of the former. The 9th section declared, " that ! proper conduct—knowing, as this House does, that the ses upon it and lease it." I will shew the gentleman as soon as the sum of eight millions four hundred thou-Government has \$7,000,000 at stake-knowing, too, how from the Charter, better authority than Coke and Black- sand dollars in gold and silver coin, and in the public in deeply the community are concerned in this all control. stone, on this subject. Says the charter the land, tene. debt, shall have been actually received on account of or conveyed to it in satisfaction of debts previously con. | scription, was the least amount of coin upon which the The third charge is the disguising of loans under the | tracted in the course of its dealings, or purchased at sales | Bank should commence; and, therefore, constituted the name of domestic bills of exchange for the purpose of upon judgments which shall have been obtained for such true proportion of coin in relation to its future issues, taking more than at the rate of six per cent. The gen- | debts." Every one must admit that the above clause had | which, being limited to its stock of thirty-live millions, tleman asked for an explanation of this charge, on a for- some motive in view-was intended as a restriction, it was nearly one fourth of the capital. If the Bank could mer occasion; and, when given, said he believed it ne. seems to guar lagainst some dangerous consequence that not be permitted to start without this amount, and that, ver could be made out; implying thereby, if it could be, an unlimited possession of real estate, in such a vast mon. too, in reference to the individual subscriptions, which such conduct would certainly be reprehensible. This, | neved institution might produce. There are two meanings | was twenty eight millions, surely it should never come at least, then, is not one of those shadows that vanishes to be placed almost upon every thing, a right and a wrong below that amount after it gets into operation, and after into thin air, and consequently deserves to be investidence. Now let us honestly enquire what was intended by seven millions more of the Government's stock is added. gated. I will now make a fuller statement, and I think the above provision? I think I discover but three things. If there was any good reason for such a provision at first, I am authorized to say that there are gentlemen in this 1st. They may acquire real estate for the immediate ac- it must continue. There must have been some meaning House from the West, and under my eye at present, who commodution of the Bank, and as if this was not sufficient in it, I apprehend, or it would not be found in the charwill confirm every word I say. A person has a note in | ly restrictive, it is added, such only as shall be requisite | ter. Every body will perceive at once, that a bank withone of the Western Branch Banks, and if the Bank de- and convenient for the transaction of its business. On this out some specie, would be soon without credit—indeed, termines to extend no further credit, its custom is, when point there can be no difficulty. 21. Such as shall be would be broke, for specie is the only true means of it sends out the usual notice of the time the note falls bona fide mostgaged by way of security. Here too, there payment of debts, and the whole and sole credit of banks. due, they write across the notice, in red ink, these three is no difficulty. But now commences the field of dispute. It is the measure of value to every thing, though it has fatal words, well understood in that country—" Payment | 3d. Such as is conveyed to it in satisfaction of debts. It | very many substitutes, some of which are extremely preis expected." This notice, thus rubricated, becomes a is unfortunate that the charter did not specify what dis. carious. Then what amount of specie shall always death-warrant to the credit of that customer, unless he position the Bank should make of real property thus ac- main in bank, is a question of some difficulty, and decan raise the wind, as it is called, to pay it off, or can dis. quired. But it is perfectly obvious if they intended to pends very much upon its business, its stock, its credit, count a domestic bill of exchange. This last is done in | confer the right of an unlimited use of real estate afterac. | and its management. If it were said the Bank of the U. one of two ways. If he has a factor in New Orleans, | quiring it in the course of its dealings and in the discharge | States had NO specie, it would startle every man in the who is in the habit of receiving and selling his produce, of its debts, it was wholly idle to have inserted the im- nation who had any demands upon it. If it were said he draws upon him to pay it off at maturity. The mediate foregoing clauses in the section, as they seem had but one hundred dollars, that would equally alarm its

And, while they are thus exacting this per cent. from kands of a few grandees to be rented out at their will this limit, it may just as well continue husiness upon one lent States, so far forget their own establishments as to of the revenue, should compel a withdrawal or dimina. him, they are discounting bills for others, not in debt to and pleasure, and for whatever they might choose to ex- dollar as one hundred as upon one hundred as upon place them in the power of an institution, which its own tion of the public deposites. them, at the usual premium of one per cent. The whole act, we wouldsconsider nothing so detestable and ruinous one thousand, and so on, till it gets to that limit assigned President has declared can crush them, whenever i scene seems to present the picture of a helpless sufferer to the prosperity of the country. Now, Mr. Speaker, by the charter. in the hands of a ruffian, who claims the merit of charity this is not only the obvious tendency of the Bank in from discharging his victim alive, after having torn away point of fact, but it is in principle one of the very organic able to plunder and rifle the States this respect, there is no Bank in the whole Union that elements of its constitution. MONEY is property, and the views and wishes of its opponents," yet I dispute the of their property, conquer them whenever it suited either can escape condemnation. I would appeal to the good The fourth charge is, non user of the charter. In this, in this hemisphere commands all kinds of property, both fact, and will affirm, in opposition to his declaration, their interest or ambition, and make them tributary to reason of every one, if the conduct of one person should This charge 1-fully explained in my introductory re- that from 1819 to 1826, a period of seven years, the real and personal, and their avarice or power, every one would shudder at such be justified by that of another; and if, as has been the This charge 1-mily explained in my mischange respective relations marks, when the resolution was presented. The gentleman admits the consequences of non lords, the entire rental of lands of the United States, quire, it is not able to meet its engagements. He rests and is to the moral, what an army is to the physical upon the ground of excessive issues of the local banks of the loc gentieman says ne does not quite understand on some states of the case, and a demurrer to user of a charter, by an incorporated body; indeed, sin the case, and a demurrer to user of a charter, by an incorporated body; indeed, sin the case, and a demurrer to user of a charter, by an incorporated body; indeed, sin the case, and a demurrer to user of a charter, by an incorporated body; indeed, sin the case, and a demurrer to user of a charter, by an incorporated body; indeed, sin the case, and a demurrer to user of a charter, by an incorporated body; indeed, sin the case, and a demurrer to user of a charter, by an incorporated body; indeed, sin the case, and a demurrer to user of a charter, by an incorporated body; indeed, sin the case, and a demurrer to user of a charter, by an incorporated body; indeed, sin the case, and a demurrer to user of a charter, by an incorporated body; indeed, sin the case, and a demurrer to user of a charter, by an incorporated body; indeed, sin the case, and a demurrer to user of a charter, by an incorporated body; indeed, sin the case, and a demurrer to user of a charter, by an incorporated body; indeed, sin the case, and a demurrer to user of a charter, by an incorporated body; indeed, sin the case, and a demurrer to user of a charter, by an incorporated body; indeed, sin the case, and a demurrer to user of a charter, by an incorporated body; indeed, sin the case, and a demurrer to user of a charter, by an incorporated body; indeed, sin the case, and a demurrer to user of a charter, by an incorporated body in the case, and a demurrer to user of a charter, by an incorporated body in the case, and a demurrer to user of a charter, by an incorporated body in the case, and a demurrer to user of a charter, by an incorporated body in the case, and a demurrer to user of a charter, by an incorporated body in the case, and a charter of a c that plea, that a demurrer is made merely to settle a every tyro at the law knows this, but denies that it has the money in the country, which will finally draw to itself demands that may be made against it. Now, sir, I say tachment of ten millions of dollars into a State, demolish. With but seven millions of specie, and that divided into that plea, that a decides no facts. Now, sir, what does all any application to this case; for, says he, stit is not a safe reliance; and I say more, that if the State Banks, desolate their fair fields of profit, make so many parts, and scattered all over the Union, where it is not a safe reliance; and decides no facts. Now, sir, what does all any application to this case; for, says he, stit is not a safe reliance; and I say more, that if the State Banks, desolate their fair fields of profit, make so many parts, and scattered all over the Union, where it is not a safe reliance; and I say more, that if the State Banks, desolate their fair fields of profit, make so many parts, and scattered all over the Union, where it is not a safe reliance; and I say more, that if the State Banks, desolate their fair fields of profit, make so many parts, and scattered all over the Union, where it is not a safe reliance; and I say more, that if the State Banks, desolate their fair fields of profit, make so many parts, and scattered all over the Union, where it is not a safe reliance; and I say more, that if the State Banks, desolate their fair fields of profit, make so many parts, and scattered all over the Union, where it is not a safe reliance; and I say more, that if it is not a safe reliance; and I say more, that if it is not a safe reliance; and I say more, that if it is not a safe reliance; and I say more, that if it is not a safe reliance; and I say more, that if it is not a safe reliance; and I say more, that if it is not a safe reliance; and I say more, that if it is not a safe reliance; and I say more, that if it is not a safe reliance; and I say more, that if it is not a safe reliance; and I say more, that if it is not a safe reliance; and I say more, that if it is not a safe reliance; and I say more, that if it is not a safe reliance; and I say more, that if it is not a safe reliance; and I say more, that if it is not a safe reliance; and I say more, that it is not a safe reliance; and I say more, that it is not a saf principle, and decides no lacing the point? Is condition in the charter, that the Bank should issue bills immense population and the great disproportion between the Banks of New York and Pennsylvania were disposed prisoners of war of their customers, obtain the allegiance is obliged to remain to answer the demands which many this means the point? Is not his reasoning calculated to divert this House from the from all its branches " I find the gentleman is not familits necessitous people and the quantity of land, the latter plain and obvious nature of the case? What is it? The liar with the charter; and if I shall be able to show that is more valuable than money, because it yields a higher Bank loxned a man by the name of Owens \$5,000, and, it is a condition in the charter to issue bills at the branch | profit, consequently those few who hold the landed inter-Bank loxned a man by the name of the country hold the entire destinies of that unfor- pay thirty shillings in the pound. He has said it can pay willing to divest such an enemy of this despotic dominion? not pay a debt of two. It is a well known fact, that the local transfer of the country hold the entire destinies of that unfor- pay thirty shillings in the pound. He has said it can pay willing to divest such an enemy of this despotic dominion? It is a well known fact, that the local transfer of the country hold the entire destinies of that unfor- pay thirty shillings in the pound. He has said it can pay willing to divest such an enemy of this despotic dominion? The country hold the entire destinies of that unfor- pay thirty shillings in the pound. He has said it can pay willing to divest such an enemy of this despotic dominion? The country hold the entire destinies of that unfor- pay thirty shillings in the pound. He has said it can pay a debt of two. It is a well known fact, that the country hold the entire destinies of that unfor- pay a debt of two. It is a well known fact, that the country hold the entire destinies of the c that were equal to it, they paid him out depreciated will not issue bills, then I presume he will ad nit the tunate people in their possession. They are, for all the That were equal to at, they paid the mode of the land- sixty days to pay its debts? Dreadful! Will Banks dare at each branch, and at the parent Bank, the notes of each portion to its capital, as the Bank of the United States.

Kentucky bank bills, one hundred dollars of which were Bank has not complied with the true end and object of purposes of monied contributions, the slaves of the land- sixty days to pay its debts? Dreadful! Will Banks dare at each branch, and at the parent Bank, the notes of each portion to its capital, as the Bank of the United States.

Kentucky bank bills, one hundred dollars of which were Bank has not complied with the true end and object of purposes of monied contributions, the slaves of the land- sixty days to pay its debts? Dreadful! Will Banks dare at each branch, and at the parent Bank, the notes of each portion to its capital, as the Bank of the United States. Kentucky cank priss, one number quitars of water and states and the states of the true aristocracy of Great Britain. Is it, Mr. to require of her poor debtors to pay down the last far- other. This idea will be better understood by stating now has, when it refused payment; and, such was its in. with this enormous profit, they made kim promise to pay ty of non user. This is a much more serious charge | Speaker, in the power of any one to draw a rational dis-6 per cent. interest on the whole amount of \$5,000. | than the gentleman is aware of; and to convince him of tinction between a monied and a landed aristocracy? When the note fell due, they sued him and his securities; it, I will beg leave to read the following clause from the there any difference between a needy debtor and a dependent tenant? Are they not both equally cramped, " It shall be lawful for the Directors of the said corpo. | alike enslaved, similarly spirit-broken, and under the ration to ESTABLISH offices of DISCOUNT and DE- foot of a "hard master?" If the Bank were to request. POSITE, wheresoever they shall think fit, within the in their present application for a renewal of their charter. United States or the Territories thereof, and to commit to be permitted to buy up all the landed property in the the management of the said offices and the business there. | Union, for the purpose of erecting the British system of of, respectively, to such persons, and under such regula- landlord and tenant, every body would perceive the reproved, the Bank would have withdrawn its demurrer, I tions, as they shall deem proper, not being contrary volting character of the demand, and scout it accordingly; to law or the constitution of the Bank. Or, instead of | and yet they are asking for ten times worse, and are likely granted in a moment, but knowing full well that the facts | ESTABLISHING such offices, it shall be lawful for the to obtain it! They are asking to make every man in Directors of the said corporation, from time to time, to America their debtor, instead of tenant, by which all his quiesced in the judgment. The very note to the case | EMPLOY any other Bank, or Banks, to be first approved | property is at their perfect control! Now, sir, for the which the gentleman read, and which is nothing more | by the Secretary of the Treasury, at any place or places | application of these reflections, to the case I promised. than a gratuitous apology for the conduct of the Bank, they may deem safe, and proper to manage and transact In the town of Cincinnati, I discover, by the monthly made in the great abundance of the Reporter's kindness | the business proposed as aforesaid, other than for the | statements of the Bank itself, that it owns, besides its for an institution situated in his own city, shows clearly | purposes of discount, to be managed and transacted by | banking houses, valued at \$23,500, nearly one million the truth of the plea, and only palliates the fraud of the | such offices, under such agreements, and subject to regu- | and a quarter of real estate. This, let me premise, is greatly under its true value, for it has been received by Think you, Mr. Speaker, the Bank would reply "To selling and buying their own paper and making a profit with specie when demanded, the local banks, to use a The balance of the clause points out the number of the Bank in payment of its debts, at two thirds of its ap-Directors, their qualifications, their manner of appoint- praised value, by the law of that State, and has since l ment, the mode of electing the President, and their tenure | risen in value, as I ant told, something like fifty per centthe Bank, and if so, it is not good testimony; but even if of office in the event of establishing an office of discount and so that, at this time, it is confidently believed that they the Bank, and it so, a is not good testimony; and bills in such an equal degree that upon making their it was, it only goes to show that Banks can make debtors | deposite pursuant to the first part of the above clause, in- own three millions of real estate in Onio. But, sir, taking | least one pilgrimage to it. Then, sir, if the Bank must | whenever demanded by the Treasury Department, and | bills in such an equal degree that upon making their bleed when they have lost all life as to other creditors. stead of employing a State Bank for the purposes of depos. the estimate as contained in their report, at twelve hunite only. Having a use for the foregoing extract at another | dred thousand dollars, let us make a few calculations, for | the three days of grace, let us see how far she is able to | place, they do it for the citizens in all sums of five dol. | bance of their hard money boxes. But all at once the part of my argument, I wish it to be norme in full recol- the consideration of reflecting men. This sum divided by one thousand, which would be a fair average of Bank By the clause of law I have just read, it will be perceiv- | debts, would make twelve hundred debtors in that town. poor Owens, they have done perhaps to thousands, who | ed that the corporation has two, and but two distinct | who have been obliged to part with their homes, leaving | branches. have no doubt sunk, they and their suffering families, | powers. First, to establish an office of discount and deposite, out of view those thousands who have not yet arrived at into the most abject and squalid poverty. I have stated | not deposite alone, -Secondly, to employ a State Bank for | that lamentable condition, but who are perhaps harrying a that they lent out \$ 900,000 of like money in Ohio, and | the purposes of deposite and such other business con- to that catastrophe as fast as the hon claws of avarice can nearly as much in Kentucky. I wish to know if this be | nected with deposites as may be required, but not for the | draw them. What a reflection! But this is not all true, and cannot well ascertain but by an examination into | purpose of discount. Now, if by the first power they | this same sum of twelve hundred thousand dollars would their affairs; and if found to be true, if there is one honest | estublish a branch, it is obliged, by the terms of the char- | purchase twelve hundred tenements, severally worth a man in the world, much less in this boasted land of liberty, | ter, to be an office of discount and deposite, and the mo- | thousand dollars, and renting only for one hundred dolthat will say this Bank should be re-chartered, then I con- | ment they cease to discount, their authority to receive | lars each, would produce an annual remal, in this city, of fess I greatly mistake the human heart, and my opinions | deposites ceases, for they are by the law inseparable. It | two hundred thousand dollars, equal to ten per cent. in are to be trusted only under due and proper caution. | is the boast of the Bank that its end and object is to | terest on their capital. No wonder that they are anxious But, says the gentleman, a this transaction happened ten | equalize the currency and to accommodate the whole | to change their money lending stock, at six per cent. years ago," and then continues, "this, it seems, is the | community, and that it is not to make one part of the into a leasing capital producing at least ten per cent. and day when all the sins of the Bank, for these sixteen years | country supply the wants of another. If then it does not | perhaps as high as thirty. I am aware that my calculapast, are to be brought up in judgment. If the gentle | effect this, it surely does not answer the purpose of its | tions do not correspond with the actual fact, that what is man had gone beyond the year 1819, he might have | institution. Now when an office of discount and deposite | true as to the particular divisor assumed, will be equally brought forward much higher charges than this." I could | is established, its purpose is as well defined as the mother | true as to any other; for, whether higher or lower, the not possibly have asked scronger concessions than these | Bank itself, and to all intents must perform that purpose | rent of twelve hundred thousand dollars worth of real against the Bank. The Bank was chartered in April, | within its sphere as the parent Bank is required to per- property will be the same in twelve or twelve hundred that one impossible item is allowed—that is, 1816, and never went into operation till January, 1817. form her duty within her limits. This purpose is to dis- tenements, and either is too much for any one institution

If then they are not restrained within the true intent

The 6th charge is in the capital stock not having due The gentleman says, "I am wholly at a loss to undercreditors! What amount, then, shall it have, to quiet all There is, however, another provision in this charter apprehension? I can give no better answer than to say,

· Since the above speech was delivered, a gentleman of Ohio, of undebtor is liable, if he should not be able to furnish the continued commercial business. So with regard to real many abuses and oppressions of the Branch established at Cincinnati, ficed in the sale of it, at the time the draft becomes due, in their loans, but they shall not possess whole cities and their speculations, I will mention the case of my late friend, Mr. opraised value, to be ascertained by a jury selected by the Marshal. The Bank agent rould not get a jury to value so low as to enab six per cent.; for, mark, Mr. Speaker, the Bank does | the Western people. We have always considered the to take the whole, he would therefore take name. Situated thus, his not purchase a bill of exchange by paying out cash for | condition of the European people, and especially of thrown out of business, and a large family to support, after years of reries from 1 to 1 per cent.; but it merely delivers up the being tenants to great la .dlords. The scanty food they dollars. This property, or the greatest part of it, they have since sold, and estimating the residue of it at the same rates, it will produce a clear

exchange, which they thus extort from him in lieu thereof. I fion of fee simple estates among the people, was in the lit must be obvious to all, if once allowed to range below | niences? Will the Representatives here, of their differ. I an act of justice to the Southern States, in the reduction

Though the gentleman has said "the Bank is not only had an invincible army in Philadeiphia, which it could sites, the gentleman says, if it is obnoxious to consure in to unite and make a run upon the mother Bank at Phi- of their debtors, establish a fort, and then march on to at short periods, be made upon it, a sudden withdraws ladelphia, they could compel her to close her doors to- the next State, conquering and to conquer. Who does of seventeen millions of deposites would as certainly or morrow, notwithstanding she might be able hereafter to not perceive this? And is there none who would not be casion the Bank to stop payment, as that one dollar can. off all its debts in sixty days. What! a Bank asking The Bank does not cash its notes or receive in deposite Bank of England had six times as much specie, in her thing in the three days of grace, and then turn round and that the mother Bank prepares the bills and sends them I fluence over the Government, not greater, however, than claim sixty days for themselves? If they are such cla- out to her respective branches. These branches then is at present exerted by this Bank, that it obtained relief morous sticklers for punctuality among their debtors | fill them up and issue them, and as soon as they are afford, | by an act to suspend specie payments. When will no that they protest them, stop their credit in Bank, nay, the parent Bank knows them no more, though circulating I tions benefit by experience? strip them of all their property and fling their bodies in- | in the country as her offspring and bound to support | to a dungeon, if they overgo those said days of grace, them, and can never be brought to recollect them again and silver that has been sent from the South and West can it be possible that they claim an exemption from a | till her memory is refreshed with something like a one per | through the agency of branch orders, and before tare like punctuality? If by the law merchant, a strict com- | cent. remembrancer. And so with regard to these branch- | swer the gentleman's argument on this point, I will nee pliance is required with the rule I have mentioned, and a es, though sisters from the same parent, they know noth- sent some facts from a document lying before me, as to failure to regard it involves the consequence of bank- | ing of each other's progeny, and will have nothing to do the amount and the time of its withdrawal. The best ruptcy, though the defaulter may be worth twice as with them, unless paid to entertain them. As I stated orders commenced is uing on the first of July, 1827. much as the debt, how can the Bank escape from this before, the parent Bank demands a premium for receive during the year ending on the first of July, 1828, 1757. fun tamental principle in all trading establishments? ing the notes of her branches, the branches of the parent 887 was carried to the mother bank; the next year :1,615. Would the Bank be content with such a reply as this from Bank, and of each other.—This, the gentleman says, is 457; the next year, \$2,177,136; the next year, \$2,461,000; one of her debtors, on the day his note became due ?- | obliged to be done, and the attempt to do what the Bank | and for the last six months, ending 1st of February has "Sir I have not the cash to pay my note, but look upon is here assailed for not doing, produced all its embarrass. \$1,326,393; making in the whole, the enormous sun of my list of property; see the notes due from other per- ments in 1819. If it cannot do it, the business ought to 8,317,790 dollars, in the short space of four years and sons to me, to be paid in sixty days; the whole amount | be confined entirely to the mother Bank, and the branch. six months. What country can bear this? As long, Mr. ten times more than I owe you-will you wait sixty es withdrawn from the States, for, as at present organiz. Speaker, as the branches would issue their own bills, which days, when it will be entirely in my power to pay you?" ed, they are complete brokerage, or rather shaving shops, | would circulate around the bank, and would pay them of be sure, my dear friend, we will wait; we are sorry you both ways. But there is good reason to believe the fact homely phrase, had a "living chance." To distrate have troubled yourself about it ; give yourself no un is untrue. In the first place, they do it for the govern. I this matter, suppose a branch and a local bank side by easiness; just pay us when it suits your convenience." | ment, they receive at any branch the bills of the mother | side, and with equal capital: If they transacted any time If there is any such Bank in this world, I will make at | Bank or any of the other branches, without any discount | like an equal business, they would receive each other's meet her present debts. Let it be borne in mind, that | lars. Why no more? In the third place, in very many | her seven millions of specie does not lie in the Parent | branches they do it without any premium, for any amount ! Bank, but is scattered all over the Union, in her several and to any person. Why this difference? In the fourth head not to issue any more bills of its own payable at

The whole of her specie in the principal, and twenty- and they require a greater premium upon some branch | Mother, in such small amounts as would scarcely ever seven branches, including the Bank in the District of | bills than others, and upon none does it exceed half per | Columbia, is but Funded debt, - -

To which add all the tangible silver and gold now circulating out of the Banks in the United States, which is estimated at Add bills due her from other Banks, Add debis due her from other Banks. Add her contingent fund, though I do not understand its nature,

Now, sir, this is all the immediate available cash fund in the power of the Bank to wield upon a sudden emergency; and it is seen, the whole of the circulating gold and silver currency in the United States. When this, and the scattered condition of her own specie is considered, how is it possible for her to meet the following debts, if immediately pressed—to wit:

Bills issued and now in circulation, To which add public and private deposites, Add Baring & Co's debt, and dividends unclaimed,

The bank cannot make specie in the country, the de- | So far as relates to the charge of partiality towards |

culation of commerce. This is what I meant the other | With regard to the accumulation of proxies, it is asuse the term in its popular, but in its commercial sense. of Directors. If true, what mischief can be greater? I know too well its immense resources to believe it is un- What control will be exercised by men who hold their wants of 12,000,000 of people? Having shown its ac- robbery of one section of country for the benefit of United States, bearing interest at the rate of five per cent. able to pay; the government deposit will uphold her. It offices by the voice of the very men whose conduct it is per annum. The funded debt was considered equal to has been too long wringing from the community, the fat their duty to watch with unceasing vigilance? of the land, to be what would be termed insolvent. I The gentleman is much surprised at the charge of a sepulchre is filled with dead men's bones.

tors, through their trustees. may show one thing, but oral testimony another, and the the "Whore of Babylon" than the Diana of Ephesus. reached and searched through the powerful agency of an | tempt any thing further on this point. the managers of elections, as well as the voters, combination of figures! ous mischief, and well worthy of investigation.

ed, will amount even to a forfeiture of its privileges, much explained. more its claims to renewal.—I shall now proceed to the fidence in its operations.

ject, I hope I may be indulged with a few more reflect inquiring into the manner he had treated his lands under which they exclude competition from the market and tions, connected with the facts I am about to offer. of government, intended to protect such important inter- sionally take an account of stock, that wants to know | quantities of produce locked up there this winter, by the ests as the rights of persons, and the rights of property, how his affairs stand, and in so great a matter as that of lice. But let it proceed from either cause, it shows that

chooses? If the corporation of the United States Bank | excessive issues on the faith of public and other depo-

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\$7,038,823 | cent. the usual price being one quarter of one per cent. 2,200 Now, can any believe that if they can receive their bills mother bank. What is the consequence of this artial for the government without premium, from the citizens | device? The local bank continues its business upon the up to five dollars, can dispense with it at some of the faith of its specie, against the branch bank, having no 14,077,646 branches, make a difference in the bills, and finally re- specie, and indeed wanting none, and who has transfer-2,171,676 ceive only one fourth to one half per cent., upon what red it beyond the reach of the local bank; it follows, as 1,993,744 they actually do in this traffic, they might not dispense an inevitable consequence, that at the end of everywith it altogether? Can it be possible that this petty | week, the branch calls upon the local bank to redeem 2,114,365 shaving is indispensable to "sustain the soundness of the its bills taken in payment of their own and the Governcurrency," and the attempt to do which, in 1819, "led ment debts, and by this process, gradually drains the lo-

ensued?" If it is, the time has arrived, as I humbly conceive, to sweep it from its connection with this great go. vernment, and to rely upon hard money currency, the only one known to the constitution. In answer to the charge of making a difference be- Western Branches: tween the government and the citizens, the gentleman

says it is exactly what the charter stipulates to do. It is ' true, there is a provision in favor of the government to receive its money and pay it out wherever wanted, but there is no stipulation that the citizens shall not have this privilege. It would have been very unkind in the go-24,630,752 vernment, after contracting for an advantage for itself, to | 17,997,689 | exclude its citizens from the same, when such exclusion could be no possible benefit to it. It is not the fact, and 1,512,665 | the privilege to the government proves, as I said before, ----- it could have been extended to the citizens, and the dif. \$44,141,106 | ference is a capricious exercise of power, unwarranted | by any principle of common honesty.

ception is in promising to pay specie. The best finan- members of Congress, it is not intended to convey any ciers calculate that there is but about fourteen millions of censure or misconduct whatever against them, nor do I being a fair average of the amount of specie held by the specie circulating in the country, out of the banks, and object to any arrangements about their pay. But I unif the Bank of the United States could lap up every dol- derstand that it can be made to appear that members of year, and because, since that month, vast quantities of lar of these, could insert its proboscis into those leather | Congress can be accommodated, both in bills of exchange | specie have been exported by the bank to England for purses that have for many years concealed from the light and in loans, without the usual premiums and endorsers a purpose which shall be presently shewn, and vast issues of day dollars that have "grown dim" with age, it could required from other citizens. If so, and into this fact I of bills have been made also since that time to quiet fas! not according to the usages of merchants meet its en- want to inquire, it is partial, and therefore wrong. If it | friends and to make new ones:

only wish to warn the nation that her late trading, as well strong suspicion of a secret understanding between the for the purpose of making friends, as for money specu- Bank and brokers, to job in stocks contrary to the charlations, especially in specie, as will hereafter be shown, | ter, and wishes me to give up the witness. Grant the has carried her over the boundary of safe transactions, hearing first, and then we will see how far the fact can and she relies upon getting back by the indulgence of the | be established. All criminations are mostly made upon government and that most desired of all objects, a new suspicion, but it is very unusual for the accused to say charter. And I make this remark, which I hope will be the charge is false, but I do not wish to be tried. The well remembered, that when that is accomplished, and she | gentleman says we are the guardians of the Bank, and makes the rebounding effort to gain her former position, should protect it from a charge which is calculated to it will be a spring that will crush its thousands to death. destroy its credit. It is very true, sir, we are the guar. ticed to draw off the silver from the extremities to the Many a Nabob has broken full handed. Many a gilded dians of the Bank; but it is equally true we are the guar. centre. The extremities, unfortunately, are the parts sign hangs before a rich ware house, all in confusion. dians of a much higher interest—that of this vast commu. where life generally begins to ebb, and in this case it has And, drawing a figure from that best of books, the whited ty; and the best protection we can afford them or the been wonderfully true, for while the heart, the centre of Bank, is to give the latter an opportunity to wipe off all life, has been throbbing with a force that has thrown off The seventh charge is, Foreigners voting for Direc- suspicion as to its conduct, and entitle itself to the greater its millions to Europe, the South and West have been confidence of the former. Does it want any other pro- | shivering with cold feet and hands, the sure prognostics The gentleman states that he "knows nothing of this tection than this? As to the credit of the Bank resemcharge. But the fact can easily be ascertained from the | bling female chastity, it is a most unhappy figure. Depend bank itself." This however may not be the case. Books upon it, the Bank is no Virgin, and is greatly more like

very object of an enquiry is to procure evidence of not | The objection against the Bank on account of subsi- and Boston, issuing nearly as many bills as the firmer, only that which appears, but that which does not appear, dies and loans to printers and others, was so ably explain. and almost twice as many as the latter, and that upon and the last, always haunting secret places, can only be ed by my colleague, (Mr. Fosten,) that I shall not at- nineleen thousand dollars specie! Who could believe at oath. The gentleman adds-"It may be, that stock has | The gentleman treats the charge of the Bank's making | ment to shew you, besides the fact that the specie was

tinues, "is no abuse for which the bank is answerable, charge is met exactly as all the other charges ought to this robbery. The northern wars of Europe have prounless the bank has been conusant of the fact, and had have been. It is the general issue of not guilty, and the duced a great demand for specie, so that it has sold in the power of correcting the abuse." To this, I most | next thing is to proceed to trial. But to say not guilty, | England from four to six per cent, during the last year. cheerfully acquiesce—but, for the best and most obvious and then to walk right off from the investigation, is falsi. The United States Bank has shipped to that market upreason, that of not having such a tremendous institution, fying the plea, and leaves a strong conclusion of guilt. wards of five millions of specie, and after selling it at the the monied lever of the nation, under the direction of If the gentleman is satisfied with this mode of answering foreigners, who, in time of war, might paralyze the whole accusations, Lam sure I ought to be. But the truth is, machinery of government, it is wisely provided, in two and can be established, that some of the customers of the places (as if one was not enough) in the charter, than no | Bank have obtained favors and loans at a very different foreign stockholder shall vote in the choice of Directors. per cent. from that of others. Her limit, by law, is six And, so anxious is the government to prevent the exer- per cent. : she has been known to lend at four, at a long jury to the general wealth and resources of the country, cise of this dangerous influence, that, by an act of Con- credit, and has divided seven to the stock holders. De- what has been the consequences to the commercial intergress, passed in 1819, some restrictions are imposed upon | pend upon it, some one has suffered in such a curious | rest? Such was the quantity of money in the North at

strengthened by two solemn oaths, intended to prevent | The charge of inducing local banks to clamor for a re. | which it has risen to twelve. The late excessive issues a violation of these clauses of the charter. If, then, there newal of the charter, is passed over with the same kind bottomed upon such a scanty specie foundation has proare any secret trusts, as the gentleman insinuated, it ap- of isdifference. I will have the candor to own that this duced alarm, and the consequence is, discounts have stopto the Bank, and the two and a half per cent. to the ac- the following words, viz: "The said corporation shall Bank? By the monthly statements, it had on the 1st of pears to me, unless the persons concerned are of the rests in conjecture; but when I see not more than one ped suddenly, and left commercial establishments in the most depraved order, they could be brought to light by local bank in ten asking for the continuance of a monster most perilous condition, so that you may look out for virtue of the strong obligations just referred to. It is ve- whose keeper has said it could crush them whenever it heavy failures. In the West, orders have been given not ry evident the books will not show these secret trusts, but pleases, and when I see the other nine-tenths dreading only to stop but to call in; and in the town of Louisville, it is not so clear the officers cannot: it is a most danger- its power and desiring its subjection, I feel a great curi- it has produced such a panic that the people assembled osity to learn the cause; and, perhaps, when an inquiry | with flags and drums to betoken their indignation at such This finishes the consideration of those grounds affect- is made into the debts due by some, and the stock owned wanton disregard of their condition, brought about by the

> abuses of the charter, amounting to such breaches of actual management of the Bank, to see whether safely rectors, and there are many such in every bank who come good faith as ought to destroy all future or further con- and prudently conducted, contains no charge, yet he will tirely control its operations, finding that there is a great admit it has some reason; and when I ask him if he would | accumulation of produce in the town where the bank is Before, however, I proceed to this branch of the sub- give a new lease for twenty years to his tenant, without located, suddenly close their vaults against customers, by the old one, will he not perceive that I am asking him | then with funds which they can readily command become The several States are obliged to have money for their to do for his country what common prudence dictates he the sole beneficiaries of a sacrificed trade. This is be wants, as well as the General Government. Institutions | should do for himself? What merchant does not occa- | lieved to be the case in Louisville, by reason of the vast must be supported by the same means as those that be- rechartering the Bank, is it possible that we should evince there is something wrong in the workings of the bank. long to the Federal or any other Government. And it is less vigilance and caution than is manifested in the most | But the gentleman says that in nothing am I so much misno bold assertion in me to say, that the United States ordinary concerns of life? My wish is to know the true taken as in supposing that the branch bank orders have Bank cannot supply all the wants of the States. The situation of the Bank. To let the community know it. served to drain the specie from the south west, that i' people of the States must have money for their taxes as To ascertain her debts and credits, and how much she stead of this nothing has been more serviceable to us, and well as for other purposes, and to local institutions they has lately increased the former, and why? If reports be | yet, in his late bill, he recommends this very currency to are compelled to look for those facilities which it is said true, her issues have been a million a month for the last be abolished. It is owing, he says, entirely to another the United States Bank furnishes the General Govern | nine months, and it is very important to know whether | cause, and then gives an instance of the process, as he ment. Is it desirable to prostrate these great conve- she has the ability to sustain such liberality, especially, if conceives, that works this mischief. He first premises

With regard to the allegation that the Bank has made

I come now to the charge which relates to the gold I branch, having a parent of inexhaust able wealth, and un-Imited credit, a thousand miles off, takes it into her place, they charge more at some branches than at others, | home, but to draw checks or drafts upon this Mammon reach her, and, of course, under this arrangement, having no further use for her specie, sends it all off to this same \$27,398,454 to all the over trading and embarrasement and ruin which | cal bank of every dollar it receives. By way, s.r., of shewing you the effect of this a theiring artifice, just let me give you the statement of the Fayetteville branch as contained in the monthly statements for December last, , premising that it is a fair sample of all the Southern and

Specie on hand, \$18,943 Notes issued, nearly half a million of which are branch orders, 1,141,03) Deposites on account of the Treasurer of the United States, Deposites on account of public officers.

Deposites on account of individuals, One million and a quarter of paper to be paid with about NINETEEN THOUSAND specie dollars!! Wonderful! Not as much hard money as perhaps hundreds of sugar planters might draw from recesses which have not been blessed with the light for the last ten years. Now, Mr. Speaker, let me present you with ano. ther picture to show you where the specie has gone. And I shall take the statement for the month of July as banks hereafter mentioned, in each month of the whole

Specie at the parent Bank, Philadelphia, \$3,660,349 Notes issued at same place, 2,555,937 Specie more than notes, 1,163,352 ----Specie at the branch of Boston, 1,005,830 Notes issued at same place. Specie more than notes, Specie at the branch of New Yo.k, 2,226,429 Notes issued at same place, 1,702.657

Now, sir, behold the operation of these branch orders combined with other causes which shall hereafter be noof approaching death. Let me just call your altention to one single feature, while looking upon these two pic-

Specie more than notes,

Fayetteville, a mere village compared with New York But, Mr. Speaker, I promised somewhere in my argubeen owned by a foreigner, and yet held in the name of a distinction in selling bills of exchange very unceremo. drawn from the South and West to pamper northern cisome citizen of the United States." "This," he con- niously, by barely saying it is unfounded. Now this ties, that there was another most outrageous design for per cent. mentioned, has drawn bills of exchange upon the funds received for the specie at the enormous premium of eleven per cent. making by this double operation. not less than sixteen per cent.

Besides the fraud upon the south andwest, besides the inone time that interest had fallen to four per cent., since mous burthens, and consequently, to absolute beggary; persons, for or to the use of the same, shall deal or trade ther, and say, that this result involves the principle, if and say, that this result involves the principle, if and say, that this result involves the principle, if and say, that this result involves the principle, if and say, that this result involves the principle, if and say, that this result involves the principle, if and say, that this result involves the principle, if and say, that this result involves the principle, if and say, that this result involves the principle, if and say, that this result involves the principle, if and say, that this result involves the principle, if and say, that this result involves the principle, if and say, that this result involves the principle, if and say, that this result involves the principle, if and say, that this result involves the principle, if and say, that this result involves the principle, if and say, that this result involves the principle, if and say, that this result involves the principle, if and say, that this result involves the principle, if and say, that this result involves the principle, if and say, that the principle, if and say, that the principle is a said component about ny tage. opening and contracting character is often regulated by Though the gentleman says that an inquiry into the | individual and private speculations. For instance, Dr