FOUR LETTERS TO MR. BIDDLE.

From the Boston Courier, (Whig.)

To Nicholas Biddle, Esq. Philadelphia.

No. 2.

BOSTON, April 16, 1838.

Sir—"The credit system of the United States and the exclusively metallic system, are now fairly in the field, face to face with each other; one or the other must fall. There can be no other issue. It is not a question of correcting errors or reforming abuses, but of absolute destruction; not which shall conquer, but which shall survive. The present struggle, too, must be final."

I quote the most extraordinary sentence that ever fell from the pen of a financier. Is it indeed true, that the people, nine tenths of whom are not concerned in making up the singular issue you would present, are to be kept depending upon the irredeemable paper of irresponsible banking institutions throughout this country, because you affirm that a Senator of the United States, and sundry other extravagant politicians, choose to agitate the question of a purely metallic currency? Are you, Mr. Biddle, and your nine hundred banking associates, to feel yourselves justified in stepping forward into our politics, poisoning our sense of moral obligation as well as the sources of our industry, because our rulers choose to be a little wrong headed? God forbid. The people will settle their own affairs in their own way. They will select representatives, who will be better fitted to take care of their interests, than in your present situation you can possibly be. They have not intrusted those interests to your care. Your province is, and this is all they ask of you, to take care and make good *your* promises—to take measures to pay them, as you say you pay your foreign creditors, in the equivalent for specie. Farther than this they ought not to allow you to pass. And of all things, not to stretch your power over their political rights. To starve them into submission to elect as their Chief Magistrate, whom *you* point out, is not so safe as to leave them to exercise their own discretion. For depend upon it, Mr. Biddle, to an independent man, the domination of banks will be quite as bad as the domination of radicals.

Let me put this matter in another light; and connect it with the very question upon which you write your letter—the expediency of a resumption. Supposing for a moment, that Mr Van Buren should take up the issue you have deliberately tendered to him. Supposing the battle between your allied banks and the exclusively metallic system should be fought, and Mr. Van Buren should be regularly re-elected as Chief Magistrate—thereby confirming the superiority of the radical party;—will you be justified, in that event, in continuing to use your present arguments for excusing yourself from redeeming your obligations to the people, who decide against you? Or rather, do you not perceive that you are setting a trap, in which you may yourself be ultimately caught? What greater argument can be used against you, than that drawn from your disposition to tamper with the politics of the country with so little scruple, as to be willing to persevere in a deliberate violation of your engagements, for the sake of embarrassing the government? As one of the people, I confess, while I disavow any approbation of the apparent course of the administration, I plead guilty to not a little jealousy of the influence of banks upon our institutions—and that I could not see, with composure, the president of a great bank like yours, telling us, with a tone of authority, what you will and what you will not do, and upon what conditions. General Jackson was too dictatorial in his legitimately acquired situation, to make me relish the style anywhere, far less in so very improper a quarter as that from which you write. In telling us that you will do as our army did at New Orleans, stand behind the cotton bales, until the enemy has left the country, whom do you refer to in your parallel as "the enemy?" Do you mean the administration of the General Government? And that *you* intend to overturn it? But supposing, for a moment that you should not succeed; where will you stand then? And what justification will you have for implicating your commercial honor in questions, with which that honor neither has nor can have any but a forced connection?

Having frankly stated my objections to the main position of your letter, I now propose to examine, with the requisite calmness and deliberation, some of the reasons assigned by you against an immediate resumption. After making a contrast between the present condition of the country and that in which it was in 1836, your strongest objection is to the difference in the course of the Government now and at that time. Then, you say, it aided the banks; now, it is hostile. And you certainly do your best to magnify the extent of that hostility. I agree with you so far as this, that the Government committed a most enormous error of judgment, in suffering you and your coadjutors to impute to them, with the least appearance of plausibility, the motives which you do impute. A very large number of honest men are now so convinced of the truth of what you say, that, whether true or not, the effect is equally bad upon them and the public interest. Confidence is the great want of the time, and confidence will never spring up, without some positive manifestation, on the part of the Government, that what you say is not true. For some reason or other, best known to it, that manifestation is not yet made. Yet that you are correct in your surmises, I do not believe; for the simple reason, that they appear to me so extravagant as to make out Mr. Van Buren, what he certainly is not, mad For it would be madness in any man to issue Treasury Notes, not wanted for the expenses of the Government, merely for the sake of collecting bank notes, with which to make demands upon the banks. Depend upon it, Mr. Biddle, no President of this nation would venture to do such a thing; and if he did, it would be perfectly safe in you to leave the correction in the hands of the people.

I may be wrong, but it appears to me the Administration has as yet shown no wish to attack the Banks—any farther than by an indirect mode of ceasing itself to employ them. You and I might probably agree in the opinion that this was not judicious; and that a National Bank was indispensable to the perfect regulation of our financial department—but this is a very different thing from the issue which you draw up. That issue is hard money or paper money. You maintain that the Administration is entirely for hard money, and, *therefore*, you will give nothing but paper money. But do you not perceive that in forcing this issue, you put yourself upon the feeble leg? If you make the people take the alternative, as you present it, if you make the Administration take the best side of the question, as you state it, whose fault will it be, if it goes against you? The Administration has as yet said nothing to justify the extreme to which you would drive it, far less to justify you in catching up the opposite extreme.—That opposite extreme is, by your own admission, *irredeemable paper money*. It can be nothing else, because the credit system, when abused, as it has been, inevitably produces it, and yet you tell us that we must not now think of the abuse or of reform. We must take gold and silver exclusively, or paper, with all its abuses. "There can be no other issue." Now I will insist upon it, that the people make no such issue—that they approve the credit system, within reasonable limits and under sufficient restraints; but if you insist upon denying those limits and refusing those restraints, you must take the consequences which may flow from your violent and extreme course. The people never will sanction, for a length of time, irredeemable paper money.

In the course of this letter, I have ventured to doubt the truth of the motives of action which you impute to the administration, for the sake of raising an argument to release you from resuming your obligations. But supposing that I now grant you all your premises, I nevertheless deny that it has the power to hurt you, or any other sound bank in the country. And a strong argument in favor of my dental is to be drawn from the very tone of your letter. A tone, which you would never have indulged in, if you had not felt that instead of your being at the mercy of the government, it was more likely to be at yours. You knew the administration had been defeated in the popular elections. You knew that it could not carry its measures, excepting in a very qualified form, in the National Senate, and that it was doubtful if it could do so, in any shape whatsoever, in the House of Representatives. You knew that it had no revenue at its command—that the expenditures were daily overrunning the receipts—and that the issue of treasury notes authorized by law, barely kept up the motion of the machinery. How then could you venture to ascribe to the administration any power of doing you injury, if you decided upon returning to specie payments?—Particularly if we are to believe you in your confident statement of the condition of your bank. "The great prerogative of strength," you tell us, "is not to be afraid of doing right." Then why do you profess a fear, which you cannot seriously entertain, of the influence of the government which you are defying, for the mere purpose of fortifying yourself against the performance of one of your most imperative duties?

For, I do maintain, it is your duty to resume specie payments as soon as you possibly can, and that without any reference to what you suppose may be the interests of the country at large. Those interests are not now in your keeping. You derive all your authority from the Legislature of a State, and to that Legislature you should look for the signs of approbation of your conduct. I now ask you, Mr. Biddle, do you find them there? Has not one branch of it at least, unequivocally expressed its sense of what is your duty—and the other been almost equally divided? I very much mistake the character of the people of your State, if they do not agree with their representatives. They are proverbially a people who detest the idea of a debt, who do not imagine a man rich, because he counts his millions on *both* sides of his books—who do not believe in the modern theory that credit is capital in any sense in which the words may be used. To them, of what consequence is the coming of a second cotton crop, compared to the loss of $3,600,000 a year in the depreciation of your paper, not to speak of that by all the other banks in the State, whose conduct your course influences? They hold that your duty to them is to redeem your bills in specie, and nobody can doubt that in this they are right.

With respect to this matter of the second cotton crop, as connected with the system of foreign exchanges, it is of so much importance, that I must reserve the discussion of it for an entire letter.

Very respectfully,

A CITIZEN.

COMMUNICATED

For the Carroll County Democrat.

No. I.

The country have waited with anxiety to hear the argument of Henry Clay, in opposition to the policy of the administration, as disclosed in what is known, as the Sub-Treasury Bill.

The country—Yes. For his political adversaries in common with his most devoted partizans and personal friends, yield him the praise of a fascinating and powerful orator and statesman.

Has he gratified the high wrought expectations of his friends? If so, surely they were easily satisfied. Has he not afforded good reason to question not indeed his oratorical powers, but the profound character of his mind? If not, then has he unquestionably shown, that his cause is barren of arguments, and that the policy against which he has so industriously striven, demands the combined and resistless support of a patriotic nation.

I sincerely believe that one of the alternatives must be admitted, and with the hope (presumptuous, no doubt, some will think,) that I shall be asked to show the correctness of my belief, I propose a short analysis of this monstrous result of so many "sleepless hours" of "reflection" and of so much "fervor and sincerity" of prayer for "Divine assistance."

The question before the country, all absorbing and important, is upon the *merits* of the Sub-Treasury Bill. Never perhaps, have the anxiety and the deep individual and general interest of the community, been more intensely excited, and never was there more unjust occasion to elicit these sentiments, and, surely, never a fitter moment for the display of every latent energy of a statesman's soul. If at such a crisis the tornado-like champion of the opposition the mental demi-god of the nineteenth century, instead of profound and truth discovering argument, breathe but invective and tirade, abuse and undistinguishing censure upon the late and present administration; may not the people, with abundant reason conclude, a most lamentable weakness of cause, or an utter and unsuspected inefficiency, in the man, to meet such an emergency?

What is the course of the argument of Mr. Clay? He proposes in the early part of his address to establish five points. They are as follows:

1. That it was the deliberate purpose and fixed design of the late administration to establish a government Bank—a Treasury Bank—to be administered and controlled by the Executive department.

2. That, with that view, and to that end, it was its aim and intention, to overthrow the whole banking system as existing in the United States, when that administration came into power, beginning with the Bank of the United States, and ending with the State Banks.

3. That the attack was confined, from one consideration of policy, to the Bank of the United States; but, that after its overthrow was accomplished, it was then directed, and has since been continued against the State Banks.

4. That the present administration, by its acknowledgement, emanating from the highest and most authentic source, has succeeded to the principles, plans and policy of the preceding administration, and stands solemnly pledged to complete and perpetuate them.

And 5th. That the bill under consideration, is intended to execute the pledge, by establishing on the ruins of the late Bank of the United States, and of the State Banks, a Government Bank, to be managed and controlled by the Treasury Department, acting under the commands of the President of the United States.

I presume no argument is to be admitted overpowering, or even sound upon the subject matter, unless it tends to establish directly, or, at least, indirectly, either the affirmative or negative of an issue. Admit for the present, that the Hon. Senator has established, beyond a doubt, every position of the five above named, which he assumed, I appeal to the judgment and discrimination of every intelligent man, whether he has effected one step in a legitimate argument against the Sub-Treasury Bill; unless, indeed, to create a prejudice, be legitimate argument. I confidently reply, No! How does it affect the merits of the policy, that it had its birth, as the Senator thinks he has shown, in the perverse and egotistical disposition of President Jackson.

"Sieze upon truth where'er 'tis found,"
nor detract from its beauty by denunciation
against its source, nor despise its fragrance be-
cause 'perchance' it may have found a shelter
from the blast and the whirlwind, under the
protecting guardianship of a time worn 'Hick
ory.'

"The flower's divine where'er it grows."

The point of the argument upon the first proposition, is in glaring repugnance to the suggestions of candor and generosity, more of penetrating thought and elevated patriotism.

That it was the object of President Jackson. the dear and cherished hope of his administration, to annihilate the banking system, does not disprove the policy of what has been proposed as a substitute.

I should like much indeed to hear this argument reduced to the simple form of a syllogism.

It does not admit of it. Perhaps, however, the ingenuity his friends will be able to embody it, as one of the links in the chain, of what Logicians call a Sorites. It has not so much as a remote tendency to effect that object.

General Jackson may have been instigated to the measure by the most unholy and despicable motives, it may have been the joint result of all the reasons which were triumphantly assigned, and yet so far as appears from this view, the Bill may incorporate within itself the most felicitous union of a wise and patriotic policy, and of a guarded and secure administration of its purposes.

But am I to admit that it was the aim of Jackson to destroy the banking system, and to rear upon its ruins, the very institution which is now so bitterly denounced? Why, it will be said, you must admit it, or blot from his early messages, the sentiments which were adduced to support Mr. Clay's charge. For my part, I do not wish to deny it, for it proves, that the Democratic party have not been supporting with a devoted and blind zeal, a mere military chieftain, as has been so often and so loudly reiterated; but that with the intelligence and firmness of American freemen, they have hailed the man who was glorious in war, as the fittest to wield the energies of our country in peace—and they have not been disappointed. For the most reckless adversary dare not say, that he who could conceive a scheme so much at variance with the confirmed sentiments of a vast majority of his constituents, so novel in its character, and as we believe, so fraught with benefit, and yet so remote from the political creed of our greatest statesman, that he who could conceive, and by the inmate force of his profound mind, impart to this scheme, such a radiance of glory, as to have made it the darling hope of a now vast majority, was short sighted, "a weak and imbecile old man." But, Mr. Editor, I fear to worry the patience of your readers, and therefore, I have, for the present, only to add the reiteration of my conviction, that, however splendid this production, when received as a specimen of oratory, or, as an effort of genius in its strict sense, it is not, when received as the offspring of thought and mind, worthy of the eulogy which has been so lavishly bestowed by the partizan presses: not that argumentative and criscerating plunge after truth: not that statesman-like production which would have more probably become the character of the subject. Will it be admitted that his cause is baseless, or that his reputation rests upon the *suaviter* in *modo*, and not the *ratio profunda*. I leave his adherents, who look to him as the last and forlorn hope of the Whig party, to embrace the alternative which may be the more congenial to their tastes.

L. M. N.

RIOT IN PHILADELPHIA.

BURNING OF THE "PENNSYLVANIA HALL."

A serious riot occurred in Philadelphia on Wednesday evening last, the particulars of which we gather from the National Gazette and the U. S. Gazette of Thursday.

'About 3000 persons assembled on Wednesday evening, at the "Pennsylvania Hall" (a new building lately opened on South street near Arch, for scientific and political discussions, including the subject of *abolitionism*,) to hear a lecture from Mr. Garrison, on the subject of *abolitionism*. At the close of his address a mob had collected outside and was very noisy. This however did not deter several ladies from addressing the meeting, among whom were Mrs. Maria W. Chapman from Boston, Mrs. Wild and Mott, of Philadelphia, and Abdy Kelly. In the meantime the mob increased, and became more violent, hurling misseles at the windows, which done no further injury than the breaking of the glass, the blinds inside protecting the audience, which was promiscuously composed of white and black, about half of whom were females. At a quarter before ten the meeting retired amid the shouts of the mob, who blocked up the streets on every side and knocked down one black man with a club.

During most of the day, (Thursday) large numbers of persons were standing round the Hall, and it was evident that there was a purpose of injury.

In the afternoon the Mayor went to some of the leading members of the society owning this building and represented to the them the great danger of continuing to hold their meetings, and he especially urged upon them the propriety of not assembling *that evening*, as he had had every reason to believe that there was an organized band prepared to break up the meeting, and perhaps do injury to the building—and crowded as the walk must be by the company, this could not be done without personal injury and loss of life. It was agreed to forego the evening meeting, and the mayor took the keys, and went out and addressed the persons then in the street, stating that there would be no meeting, and requested them as good citizens to retire.—The people cheered the mayor, who returned to his office, placing persons to bring information of any attempt at injury, calling around him all his disposable force, and having some volunteers.

Early in the evening notice was given that a crowd had come down the street and was attacking the North side of the Hall, the Mayor hastened up Fifth street to Cherry with his force, and when he met the crowd, which was dense and numerous, he sprung his rattle, and his police called upon the people to sustain the Mayor, but not one person appeared to give aid. It was then seen that those who had assailed the building, had broken open the doors and lower windows—obtained entrance and were beating out the upper windows. By this time the mayor and his police had attempted to arrest the course of destruction—but they were assailed with clubs, and almost every one severely wounded. Col. Watmough, the Sheriff, also made an attempt to restore peace and save the building, but he was attacked, severely bruised, and narrowly escaped.

We learn that the persons inside then gathered the benches, chairs and books in a heap, set fire to them and then left the Hall. The engines hastened to the conflagration, but the fireman were not allowed to play on the building, but directed to play upon those houses endangered by the flame, so that before 10 o'clock the whole wood work of the Hall was entirely destroyed—and shortly afterwards the crowd, which consisted of many thousands, began to disperse.

We give the above statement as we gathered it at a late hour.

☞In addition to the burning of the Pennsylvania Hall we learn by last night's mail, that on Friday an attempt was made to burn the Orphan School for colored boys, in Thirteenth near Callow hill street.

The Hall was only finished about a week ago. So much for Abolitionism!

PRIMARY SCHOOL MEETING.

Agreeable to previous notice a respectable number of the friends of Primary Schools of the fourth Election District Dorchester County, assembled at the Methodist Meeting House in Tobocco stick on Saturday the 12th May.

On motion, Wm. Jones, Esq. was appointed Chairman, and James Hammersly, esq. Secretary.

The object of the meeting having been clearly and forcibly stated by the Chairman, Levin W. Tall arose, and after some elegant and pertinent remarks, offered the following resolutions, which were unanimously adopted.

Resolved, That this meeting having maturely viewed the Primary School system, discover that it is the only means by which knowledge can be generally diffused throughout this our beloved country, and that we reprobate the conduct of all such as would raise a tyranical hand in order to pluck from the poor children of our worthy citizens, this great and extensive blessing, as it is evident from past experience that the original plan of education almost extinguished the pearl of intelligence from this our native soil.

Resolved, That the members of this meeting are always open to conviction, and stand aloft for reform as it is the only means by which fundamental principles can be kept alive, and thereby many great and useful supplements be added to the present law. But a return to the original school law, in the estimation of this meeting, would be a disgression from virtue and a sinking to vice.

Resolved, That we unitedly and individually, as whig and anti-whig members of this meeting, admire the patriotic zeal and energy of our worthy friends and fellow citizens, W. T. Goldsborough, N. L. Goldsborough, John F Eccleston, Reuben Tall and William Frazier, while in the past Legislature in sustaining and accomplishing the Primary School law, without reference to party or popularity, which if cherished will be a ornament to their fame, when Van Buren and anti-Van Buren shall be sunk into forgetfulness.

Resolved, That in the estimation of this meeting it is the moral duty of all good citizens to use every possible effort in improving and carrying into execution the Primary School system—yet we hold the maxim of being perfectly agreed to disagree.

Resolved, That the members of this meeting are aware that public impression is susceptible of deception, and as such the people have been frequently duped by candidates who during their electioneering campaigns, have promised Primary Schools, yet when they have convened in legislation their conduct have manifested anti-schoolism, until our worthy friends and fellow citizens, Messrs. Wm. T. Goldsborough, N. L. Goldsborough, Frazier, Tall and Eccleston with their consolidated zeal stepped forth and accomplished a system which in the estimation of this meeting will prove a blessing to future generations.

Resolved, That the proceedings of this meeting be signed by the Chairman and Secretary, and published in the Cambridge Chronicle and Dorchester Aurora.

WM. JONES, Chr'n

JAMES HAMMERSLY, Secr'y.

At a meeting of the school Commissioners of Cambridge Election District, being duly qualified, they agreed to establish the following school Districts; and have selected the within named gentlemen, to attend to providing suitable houses for said schools, according to the sixth section of the supplementary school law. To wit:

DISTRICT, No. I.

Choptank school to be located on the land of Dr. F. P. Phelps, near the fork of the roads leading from Areys Meeting House to Capt. L. Ross's Store.

Dr. F. P. Phelps, Capt. Lewis Ross,
Rev. Stephen Hurst, Thomas Wingate,
Samuel Cook, James Hutchinson,
Benjamin Keene.

DISTRICT, No. II.

Buck's Town school to be located at the Methodist meeting house.

Capt. Thos. Barnett, Pritchet Merrideth,
William Corkran, John Scott,
D. Fooks, Harrison Barnett,
Edward Stevens.

DISTRICT, No. III.

Black Water school to be located on the and of Richard Pattison, at the mouth of Staplefort's lane.

Levin H. Wall, Richard Pattison,
Thos. F. Eccleston, Richard Colston,
Algernon Hurley, George Staplefort,
John F. Eccleston.

DISTRICT, No. IV.

Church Creek and Fishing Creek school, to be located at the mouth of Bannock's Neck.

Benj. Woodard, Noah Dixon,
Skinner Richardson, John Dorsey,
Thomas Esgate, William D Barrow,
James A. Waddle.

DISTRICT, No. V.

Town Point and Fishing Creek school, to be located at the Methodist meeting house, in Town Point Neck.

Wm. G. Lecompte, William Dail,
John R. Creighton, Levin Jones, (T. P.)
Rch'd. Phillips, of L. Wm. Jones, of Col.
James Skinner.

DISTRICT, No. VI.

Cambridge schools to be one Male and one Female.

Gardner Bayley, Esq. James B. Steele,
Thos. Beerwood, William H. Yates,
E. P. Lecompte, Jeremiah C. Wright,
Samuel Griffin, William Wingate,
William Spedden, Capt. S. Mitchell,
Thomas White.

Resolved, That the above named gentlemen, have a meeting in their several Districts, at as early day as may be convenient, to make the necessary arrangements for the purpose above mentioned, agreeable to the 6th section of the supplementary school law. And that they are requested to report the same, to the board of Commissioners, at their next meeting, to be held on Monday the 18th June next.

The board adjourned to meet in Cambridge on the above day at 11 o'clock, A M.

THOS. I. H. ECCLESTON,
SAMUEL CORKRAN,
JOHN R. KEENE,
Dr. A. C. THOMPSON.

May 28 1838.

Warring against the Banks.—Talk about warring against the Banks—the Government does not, nor has it warred against the banks, nor has its friends and supporters opposed banking upon sound and just principles.—They go against the monstrous abuses which have grown out of an unequal and unjust system of banking, and the downright knavery upon which some, ay, most, of the banks have been conducted. They would have a sound, healthy state of things. They would have the States regulate their own banking institutions, and not be under the influence of, and controled by, a GREAT MONEY KING, with power to declare war when it should think proper, and make peace upon its own terms. The great "hue-and cry" which has been made about the Government's warring against the banks, has had, to considerable extent, the effect which the Federal leaders supposed it would have; it has frightened some who are governed in their political opinions by their interests, and others who were in some way or other under the influence of the banks, to change their votes upon some local or sectional elections. But when the real measures of the Government shall have become better understood, there will be, if we mistake not, a powerful reaction in its favor, The time is not far distant when the mass of the people will understand the warfare which is now going on, viz:—*A warfare of the friends of the old bank and the advocates of the new bank against the State banks, to prostrate them in order to show the necessity of a* NATIONAL BANK, A GREAT REGULATOR, to regulate trade; commerce, manufacturers; in short to be a great CENTRAL POWER, to control and regulate elections, and GOVERN THE PEOPLE.—*Boston Advocate.*

Mr. Calhoun is of Irish extraction. The father Patrick Calhoun, emigrated to Pennsylvania in 1733. From thence he removed to Virginia, and in 1756 to South carolina.—Mr. Calhoun is now in his fifty-sixth year. A friend of the Senator, himself a member of the House, says of Mr. Calhoun's oratory, that it is founded on that of Demosthenes.—While young, Mr. Calhoun studied Demosthenes with such attention and admiration, that a vivid and lasting impression was left. Look at his recent speech in defence of his position, and then recur to Demosthenes' famous Oration de Corona, delivered by the Athenian in vindication of himself against the attacks of Æschines: "Athenians!" says Demosthenes, "to you I appeal, my judges and my witnesses." Mr. Calhoun almost quotes the Sentence. "In proof of this," he says, "I appeal to you, Senators, my witnesses and judges on the occasion."

Michican banks.—The Legislature of Michigan have passed an order directing the Banks of that State to resume specie payments June 16th.

LINN BANKS, (V. B.) has obtained the return as Representative in Congress from Virginia, to fill the vacancy occasioned by the resignation of MR. PATTON.