EASTERN-SHORE WHIG AND PEOPLE'S ADVOCATE.

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POETRY.

SECRET COURTSHIP.

(From the French of Beranger.)

[A blind mother sits in a cottage, beside her pretty daughter, and cautions her against love, while, all the time an amatory scene is going on between the girl and the very lover whom the old dame dreads]

Daughter, while you turn your wheel,
Listen to the words I say.
Colin has contrived to steal
Your unthinking heart away.
Of his fawning voice beware,
You are all the blind one's care,
And I mark your sighs, whene'er
Our young neighbor's name is heard,
Colin's tongue is false and winning—
Hist! the window is unbarred!
Ah! Lisette, you are not spinning!

The room is close and warm, you say;
But, my daughter, do not peep
Through the casement—night and day,
Colin there his watch doth keep.
Think not mine a grumbling tongue;
Ah! here at my breast you hung,
I, like you, was fair and young,
And I know how apt is love
To lead the youthful heart to sinning—
Hist! the door—I heard it move!
Ah, Lisette, you are not spinning!

It is a gust of wind you say,
That hath made the hinges grate;
And my poor, old growling Tray,
Must you break for that his pate?
Ah, my child, put faith in me;
Age permits me to forsee
Colin soon will faithless be,
And your love to an abyss
Of griefs will be the sad beginning—
Bless me! sure I heard a kiss!
Ah, Lisette you are not spinning!

'Twas your little bird, you say,
Gave that tender kiss just now;
Make him cease his trifling, pray,
He will rue it else, I vow.
Love, my girl, oftringeth pain,
Shame and sorrow, in his train,
While the false, successful swain
Scorns the heart he hath beguiled
From true virtue's path so sinning—
Hist! I hear you move, my child!
Ah, Lisette, you are not spinning!

You wish to take the air, you say;
Think you, daughter, I believe you?
Bid young Colin go his way,
Or, at once, as bride receive you!
Let him go to Church, and there,
Show his purpose to be fair;
But till then, beside my chair
You must work, my girl, nor heed
All his vows, so fond and winning;
Tangled in love's web indeed—
Lisette, my daughter, mind your spinning.

THE GIRL OF MY MIND.

She must be
Modest, not bashful,—
Generous, not wasteful,—
Easy and graceful,
Lively and free;
True and ingenuous,
Firm, but not strenuous,
With true love spontaneous,
Blest must she be.
Free, not loquacious,
Of virtue tenacious,
Grateful and gracious,
Obliging and kind;
Lovely as HEBE,
Constant as may be,
Then sure will she be
The girl of my mind.

YOU NEVER KNEW ANNETTE.

WRITTEN BY T. HAYNES BAYLEY.

You praise each youthful form you see,
And love is still your theme:
And when you win no praise from me,
You say how cold I seem:
You know not what it is to pine
With ceaseless, vain regret;
You never felt a love like mine,
You never knew Annette.

For ever changing still you rove,
As I in boyhood roved;
But when you tell me this is love,
It proves you never loved!
To many idols you have knelt,
And therefore soon forget;
But what I feel you never felt,
You never knew Annette.

ABSENCE OF MIND.—A man thinking he was at home a few evenings since, laid down on the common, and put his boots outside the gate to be blacked in the morning.

Another person, after getting home one rainy night, put his umbrella in bed, and leaned up in the corner himself.—Boston Post.

A fellow to make the exact weight the other day, bit a grain of coffee in two.

A conceited musician asked a young lady if he should play a solo for her. Yes, says she, *so low* that I can't hear it.

A Quill Driver.—A man was seen taking his geese home the other day. He was literally driving the QUILL.

MESSAGE

Of the President of the United States, to the two Houses of Congress, at the commencement of the first session of the twenty-fifth Congres

Fellow Citizens of the Senate and House of Representatives:

The act of the 23d of June, 1836 regulating the deposites of the public money, and directing the employment of State, District, and Territorial banks for that purpose, made it the duty of the Secretary of the Treasury to discontinue the use of such of them as should at any time refuse to redeem their notes in specie, and to substitute other banks, provided a sufficient number could be obtained to receive the public deposites upon the terms and conditions therein prescribed. The general and almost simultaneous suspension of specie payment by the banks in May last, rendered the performance of his duty imperative, in respect to those which had been selected under the act; and made it, at the same time, impracticable to employ the requisite number of others, upon the prescribed conditions. The specific regulations established by Congress for the deposite and safe keeping of the public moneys, having thus unexpectedly become inoperative, I felt it to be my duty to afford you an early opportunity for the exercise of your supervisory powers over the subject.

I was also led to apprehend that the suspension of specie payments, increasing the embarrassments before existing in the pecuniary affairs of the country, would so far diminish the public revenue, that the accruing receipts into the Treasury would not, with the reserved five millions, be sufficient to defray the unavoidable expenses of the Government, until the usual period for the meeting of Congress; whilst the authority to call upon the States, for a portion of the sums deposited with them, was too restricted to enable the Department to realize a sufficient amount from that source. These apprehensions have been justified by subsequent results, which render it certain that this deficiency will occur, if additional means be not provided by Congress.

The difficulties experienced by the mercantile interest, in meeting their engagements, induced them to apply to me, previously to the actual suspension of specie payments, for indulgence upon their bonds for duties; and all the relief authorized by law was promptly and cheertully granted. The dependence of the Treasury upon the avails of these bonds, to enable it to make the deposites with the States required by law, led me in the outset to limit this indulgence to the first of September, but it has since been extended to the first of October, that the matter might be submitted to your further direction.

Questions were also expected to arise in the recess in respect to the October instalments of those deposites requiring the interposition of Congress.

A provision of another act, passed about the same time, and intended to secure a faithful compliance with the obligations of the United States, to satisfy all demands upon them in specie or its equivalent, prohibited the offer of any bank note, not convertible on the spot into gold or silver at the will of the holder; and the ability of the Government with millions on deposite, to meet its engagements in the manner thus required by law, was rendered very doubtful by the event to which I have referred.

Sensible that adequate provisions for these unexpected exigencies could only be made by Congress; convinced that some of them would be indispensably necessary to the public service, before the regular period of your meeting; and desirous also to enable you to exercise, at the earliest moment, your constitutional powers for the relief of the country, I could not, with propriety avoid subjecting you to the inconvenience of assembling at as early a day as the state of the popular representation would permit. I am sure that I have done but justice to your feelings, believing that this inconvenience will been cheerfully encountered, in the hope of rendering your meeting conducive to the good of the country.

During the earlier stages of the revolusion through which we have just passed, much acrimonious discussion arose, and great diversity of opinion existed as to its real causes. This was not surprising The operations of credit are so diversified, and the influences which affect them so numerous, and often so subtle, that even impartial and well informed persons are seldom found to agree in respect to them. To inherent difficulties were also added other tendencies, which were by no means favorable to the discovery of truth. It was hardly to be expected that those who disapproved the policy of the Government in relation to the currency, would, in the excited state of public feeling produced by the occasion, fail to attribute to that policy any extensive embarrassment in the monetary affairs of the country The matter thus became connected with the passions and conflicts of party; opinions were more or less affected by political considerations; and differences were prolonged which might otherwise have been determined by an appeal to facts, by the exercise of reason, or by mutual concession. It is, however, a cheering reflection, that circumstances of this nature cannot prevent a community so intelligent as ours, from ultimately arriving at correct conclusions. Encouraged by the firm belief of this truth, I proceed to state my views, so far as may be necessary to a clear understanding of the remedies I feel it my duty to propose, and of the reasons by which I have been led to recommend them.

The history of trade in the United States for the last three or four years, affords the most convincing evidence that our present condition is chiefly to be attributed to over-action in all the departments of business; an over-action deriving, perhaps, its first impulses from antecedent causes, but stimulated to its destructive consequences by excessive issues of bank paper, and by other facilities for the acquisition and enlargement of credit. At the commencement of the year 1834, the banking capital of the United States, including that of the national bank then existing, amounted to about two hundred millions of dollars; the bank notes then in circulation to about ninety-five millions; and the loans and discounts of the banks to three hundred and twenty-four millions. Between that time and the first of January 1836, being the latest period to which accurate accounts have been received, our banking capital was increased to more than two hundred and fifty-one millions; our paper circulation to more than one hundred and forty millions, and the loans and discounts to more than four hundred and fifty-seven millions. To this vast increase are to be added the many millions of credit, acquired by means of foreign loans, contracted by the States and State institutions, and, above all, by the lavish accommodations extended by foreign dealers to our merchants.

The consequences of this redundancy of credit, and of the spirit of reckless speculation engendered by it, were, a foreign debt contracted by our citizens, estimated in March last at more than thirty millions of dollars; the extension to traders in the interior of our country, of credits for supplies greatly beyond the wants of the people; the investment of thirty-nine and a half millions of dollars in unproductive public lands, in the years 1835 and 1836, whilst in the preceding year the sales amounted to only four and a half millions; the creation of debts, to an almost countless amount, for real estate in existing or anticipated cities and villages, equally unproductive, and at prices now seen to have been greatly disproportionate to their real value; the expenditure of immense sums in improvements which, in many cases have been found to be ruinously improvident; the diversion to other pursuits of much of the labor that should have been applied to agriculture, thereby contributing to the expenditure of large sums in the importation of grain from Europe—an expenditure which, amounting in 1834 to about two hundred and fifty thousand dollars, was, in the first two quarters of the present year, increased to more than two millions of dollars; and, finally, without enumerating other injurious results, the rapid growth among all classes, and especially in our great commercial towns, of luxurious habits, founded too often on merely fancied wealth, and detrimental alike to the industry, the resources, and the morals of our people.

It was so impossible that such a state of things could long continue, that the prospect of revulsion was present to the minds of considerate men, before it actually came. None, however, had correctly anticipated its severity —A concurrence of circumstances inadequate within themselves to produce such wide-spread and calamitous embarrassments, tended so greatly to aggravate them, that they cannot be overlooked in considering their history. Among these may be mentioned, as most prominent, the great loss of capital sustained by our commercial emporium in the fire of December, 1835;—a loss the effects of which were underrated at the time because postponed for a season by the great facilities of credit then existing; the disturbing effects, in our commercial cities, of the transfers of the public moneys, required by the deposite law of June, 1836, and the measures adopted by the foreign creditors of our merchants to reduce their debts, and to withdraw from the United States a large portion of our specie.

However unwilling any of our citizens may heretofore have been to assign to these causes the chief instrumentality in producing the present state of things, the developements subsequently made, and the actual condition of other commercial countries, must, as it seems to me, dispel all remaining doubts upon the subject. It has since appeared that evils, similar to those suffered by ourselves, have been experienced in Great Britain, on the continent, and, indeed throughout the commercial world; and that in other countries, as well as in our own, they have been uniformly preceded by an undue enlargement of the boundaries of trade prompted, as with us, by unprecedented expansions of the system of credit. A reference to the amount of banking capital, and the issues of paper credits put in circulation in Great Britain, by banks, and in other ways, during the years 1834, 1835, and 1836, will show an augmentation of the paper currency there, as much disproportioned to the real wants of trade as in the U. States.

With this redundancy of the paper currency, there arose in that country also a spirit of adventurous speculation, embracing the whole range of human enterprise. And was profusely given to projected improvements; large investments were made in foreign stocks and loans; credits for goods were granted with unbounded liberality to merchants in foreign countries; and all the means of acquring and employing credit were put in active operation, and extended in their effects to every department of business, and to every quarter of the globe. The reaction was proportioned in its violence to the extraordinary character of the events which preceded it. The commercial community of Great Britain were subjected to the greatest difficulties, and their debtors in this country were not only suddenly deprived of accustomed and expected credits, but called upon for payments, which, in the actual posture of things here, could only be made through a general pressure, and at the most ruinous sacrifices.

In view of these facts it would seem impossible to sincere inquiries after truth to resist the conviction, that the causes of the revulsion in both countries have been substantially the same. Two nations, the most commercial in the world, enjoying but recently, the highest degree of apparent prosperity, and maintaining with each other the closest relations, are suddenly, in a time of profound peace, and without any great national disaster, arrested in their career, and plunged into a state of embarrassment and distress. In both countries we have witnessed the same redundancy of paper money, and other facilities of credit, the same spirit of speculation; the same partial success; the same difficulties and reverses; and at length nearly the same overwhelming catastrophe. The most material difference between the results in the two countries has only been, that, with us there has also occurred an extensive derangement in the fiscal affairs of the Federal and State Governments occasioned by the suspension of specie payments by the banks.

The history these causes and effects, in Great Britain and the United States, is substantially the history of the revulsion in all other commercial countries.

The present and visible effects of these circumstances on the operations of the Government, and on the industry of the people, point out the objects which call for your immediate attention.

They are to regulate by law, the safe keeping, transfer, and disbursement, of the public money; to designate the funds to be recieved and paid by the Government to enable the Treasury to meet promptly every demand upon it; to prescribe the terms of indulgence, and the mode of settlement to be adopted, as well in collecting from individuals the revenue that has accrued, as in withdrawing it from former depositories, and to devise and adopt such further measures, within the constitutional competency of Congress, as will be best calculated to revive the enterprise and to promote the prosperity of the country. For the deposite, transfer, and disbursement, of the revenue, National and State Banks have always, with temporary and limited exceptions, been heretofore employed, but, although advocates of each system are still to be found, it is apparent that the events of the last few months have greatly augmented the desire, long existing among the people of the U. States, to separate the fiscal operations of the Government from those of individuals or corporations. Again to create a national bank, as a fiscal agent, would be to disregard the popular will, twice solemnly and unequivocally expressed. On no question of domestic policy is there stronger evidence that the sentiments of a large majority are deliberately fixed; and I cannot concur with those who think they see, in recent events, a proof that these sentiments are, or a reason that they should be changed.

Events, similar in their origin and character, have heretofore frequently occurred, without producing any such change, and the lessons of experience must be forgotten, if we suppose that the present overthrow of credit would have been prevented by the existence of a national bank. Proneness to excessive issues has ever been the vice of the banking system; a vice as prominent in the National as in State Institutions. This propensity is as subservient to the advancement of private interests in the one as in the other; and those who direct them both, being principally guided by the same views, and influenced by the same motives, will be ever ready to stimulate extravagance of enterprise by improvidence of credit. How strikingly is this conclusion sustained by experience. The Bank of the United States with the vast powers conferred on it by Congress, did not or could not prevent former and similar embarrassments; nor has the still greater strength it has been said to possess, under its present charter enabled it, in the existing emergency, to check other institutions, or even to save itself.

In Great Britain, where, it has been seen, the same causes have been attended with the same effects, a national bank, possessing powers far greater than are asked for by the warmest advocates of such an institution here, has also proved unable to prevent an undue expansion of credit, and the evils that flow from it. Nor can I find any tenable ground for the re-establishment of a national bank, in the derangement alleged at present to exist in the domestic exchanges of the country, or in the facilities it may be capable of affording them. Although advantages of this sort were anticipated when the first bank of the United States was created, they were regarded as an incidental accommodation; not one which the federal government was bound, or could be called upon to furnish. This accommodation is now, indeed, after a lapse of not many years, demanded from it as among its first duties; and an omission to aid and regulate commercial exchange, is treated as a ground of loud and serious complaint. Such results only serve to exemplify the constant desire, among some of our citizens, to enlarge the powers of the Government, and extend its control to subjects with which it should not interfere. They can never justify the creation of an institution to promote such objects. On the contrary they justify a jealousy among the community a more diligent inquiry into the character of those operations of trade, towards which it is desired to extend such peculiar favors.

The various transactions which bear the name of domestic exchanges, differ essentially in their nature, operation, and utility. One class of them consists of bills of exchange drawn for the purpose of transferring actual capital from one part of the country to another, or to anticipate the proceeds of property actually transmitted. Bills of this description are highly useful in the movements of trade, and well deserve all the encouragement which can rightfully be given to them. Another class is made up of bills of exchange, not drawn to transfer actual capital, nor on the credit of property transmitted, but to create fictitious capital, partaking at once of the character of notes discounted in bank, and of bank notes in circulation, an swelling the mass of paper credits to a vast extent in the most objectionable manner.

These bills have formed, for the last few years, a large portion of what are termed the domestic exchanges of the country, serving as the means of usurious profit, and constituting the most unsafe and percarious paper in circulation. This species of traffic, instead of being upheld, ought to be discountenanced by the Government and the People.

In transferring its funds from place to place the Government is on the same footing with a private citizen, and may resort to the same legal means. It may do so through the medium of bills drawn by itself, or purchased from others; and in these operations it may, in a manner undoubtedly constitutional and legitimate, facilitate and assist exchanges of individuals founded on real transactions of trade. The extent to which this may be done, and the best means of effecting it, are entitled to the fullest consideration.—This has been bestowed by the Secretary of the Treasury, and his views will be submitted to you in his report.

But it was not designed by the Constitution that the Government should assume the management of domestic or foreign exchange. It is indeed authorized to regulate by law the commerce between the States, and to provide a general standard of value, or medium of exchange, in gold and silver; but it is not its province to aid individuals in the transfer of their funds, otherwise than through the facilities afforded by the Post Office Department. As justly might it be called on to provide for the transportation of their merchandize. These are operations of trade. They ought to be conducted by those who are interested in them, in the same manner that the incidental difficulties of other pursuits are encountered by other classes of citizen. Such aid has not been deemed necessary in other countries,—Throughout Europe, the domestic as well as the foreign exchanges, are carried on by private houses, often, if not generally, without the assistance of banks. Yet they extend throughout distinct sovereignties, and far exceed in amount the real exchanges of the U. States. There is no reason why our own may not be conducted in the same manner, with equal cheapness and safety

Certainly this might be accomplished, if it were favoured by those most deeply interested; and few can doubt that their own interest, as well as the general welfare of the country, would be promoted by leaving such a subject in the hands of those to whom it properly belong. A system founded on private interest enterprize and competition, without the aid of legislative grants or regulations by law, would rapidly prosper; it would be free from the influence of political agitation, and extend the same exemption to trade itself; and it would put an end to those complaints of neglect, partiality, injustice and oppression, which are the unavoidable results of interference by the Government, in the proper concerns of individuals. All former attempts on the part of the Government to carry its legislation, in this respect, further than was designed by the Constitution, have in the end proved injurious, and have served only to convince the great body of the people, more and more, of the certain dangers of blending private interests with the operations of public business; and there is no reason to suppose that a repetition of them now would be more successful.

It cannot be concealed that there exists, in our community, opinions and feelings on this subject in direct opposition to each other. A large portion of them, combining great intelligence, activity, and influence, are no doubt sincere in their belief that the operations of trade ought to be assisted by such a connection; they regard a national bank as necessary for this purpose, and they are disinclined to every measure that does not tend sooner or later, to the establishment of such an institution. On the other hand, a majority of the people are believed to be irreconcilably opposed to that measure; they consider such a concentration of power dangerous to their liberties; and many of them regard it as a violation of the Constitution. This collision of opinion has, doubtless, caused much of the embarrassment to which the commercial transactions of the country have lately been exposed,

Banking has become a political topic of the highest interest, and trade has suffered in conflict of parties. A speedy termination of this state of things, however desirable, is scarcely to be expected. We have seen for nearly half a century, that those who advocate a national bank, by whatever motive they may be influenced, constitute a portion of our community too numerous to allow us to hope for an early abandonment of their favourite plan. On the other hand, they must indeed form an erroneous estimate of the intelligence and temper of the American people, who suppose that they have continued, on light or insufficient grounds, their persevering opposition to such an institution; or that they can be induced by pecuniary pressure or by any other combination of circumstances, to surrender principles they have so long and so inflexibly maintained.

My own views of the subject are unchanged.—They have been repeatedly and unreservedly announced to my fellow citizens; who, with full knowledge of them, conferred upon me the two highest offices of the Government. On the last of these occasions, I felt it due to the people to apprise them distinctly, that, in the event of my election, I would not be able to co-operate in the establishment of a National Bank.

To these sentiments, I have now only to add the expression of an increased conviction, that the re-establishment of such a Bank, in any form, whilst it would not accomplish the beneficial purpose promised by its advocates, would impair the rightful supremacy of the popular will, injure the character, and diminish the influence of our political system, and bring once more into existence a concentrated moneyed power, hostile to the spirit and threatening the permanency, of our republican institutions.

Local banks have been employed for the deposit and distribution of the revenue, at all times partially, and, on three different occasions, exclusively;—first, anterior to the establishment of the first Bank of the United States; secondly, in the interval between the termination of that Institution and the charter of its successors; and thirdly, during the limited period which has now so abruptly closed. The connection thus repeatedly attempted, proved unsatisfactory on each successive occasion, notwithstanding the various measures which were adopted to facilitate or insure its success. On the last occasion, in the year 1833, the employment of the State Banks was guarded especially in every way which experience and caution could suggest; personal security was required for the safe-keeping and prompt payment of the moneys to be received, and full returns of their condition were from time to time, to be made by the depositories In the first stage the measure was eminently successful, notwithstanding the violent opposition of the Bank of the United States, and the unceasing efforts made to overthrow it. The selected banks performed with facility, and without any embarrassment to themselves or to the community, their engagements to the Government, and the system promised to be permanently useful. But when it became necessary, under the act of June, 1836, to withdraw from them the public money, for the purpose of placing it in additional institutions, or of transferring it to the States, they found it, in many cases inconvenient to comply with the demands of the Treasury, and numerous and pressing applications were made for indulgence or relief. As the instalments under the deposite law became payable, their own embarrassments, and the necessity under which they lay, of curtailing their discounts and calling in their debts, increased the general distress, and contributed, with other causes, to hasten the revulsion in which, at length, they in common with the other banks, were fatally involved.

Under these circumstances, it becomes our solemn duty to enquire whether there are not in any connection between the Government and Banks of issues evils of great magnitude, inherent in its very nature, and against which no precautions can effectually guard.

Unforeseen in the organization of the Government, and forced on the Treasury by early necessities, the practice of employing banks, was, in truth from the beginning, more a measure of emergency than of sound policy. When we started into existence as a nation, in addition to the burdens of the new Government, we assumed all the large but honorable load of debt which was the price of our liberty; but we hesitated to weigh down the infant industry of the country by resorting to adequate taxation for the necessary revenue. The facilities of banks, in return for the privileges they acquired, were promptly offered, and perhaps too readily received, by an embarrassed Treasury. During the long continuance of a national debt, and the intervening difficulties of a foreign war, the connection was continued from motives of convenience; but these causes have long since passed away. We have no emergencies that make banks necessary to aid the wants of the Treasury; we have no load of national debt to provide for, and we have on actual deposite a large surplus. No public interest therefore, now requires the renewal of a connection that circumstances have dissolved. The complete organization of our Government, the abundance of our resources, the general harmony which prevails between the different States, and with foreign Powers, all enable us now to select the system most consistent with the Constitution, and most conducive to the public welfare. Should we, then, connect the Treasury for a fourth time, with the local banks, it can only be under the conviction that past failures have arisen from accidental, not inherent defects.

A danger, difficult, if not impossible to be avoided in such an arrangement, is made strikingly evident in the very event by which it has now been defeated. A sudden act of the banks vested with the funds of the people, depriving the Treasury, without fault or agency of the Government, of the ability to pay its creditors in the currency they have by law a right to demand. This circumstance no fluctuation of commerce could have produced, if the public revenue had been collected in the legal currency and kept in that form by the officers of the Treasury. The citizen whose money was in bank receives it back, since the suspension, at a sacrifice in its amount; whilst he who kept it in the legal currency of the country, and in his own possession, pursues, without loss, the current of his business. The Government, placed in the situation of the former, is involved in embarrassments it could not have suffered had it pursued the course of the latter. These embarrassments are, moreover, augmented by those salutary and just laws which forbid it to use a depreciated currency, and, by so doing, take from the Government the ability which individuals have, of accommodating their transactions to such a catastrophe.

A system which can, in a time of profound peace, when there is a large revenue laid by, thus suddenly prevent the application and the use of the money of the people, in the manner and for the objects they have directed, cannot be wise: but who can think, without painful reflection, that, under it, the same unforseen events might have befallen us in the midst of a war, and taken from us, at the moment when most wanted, the use of those very means which were treasured up to promote the national welfare and guard our national rights? To such embarrassments and to such dangers will this Government be always exposed, whilst it takes the moneys raised for, and necessary to the public service, out of the hands of its own officers, and converts them into a mere right of action against corporations entrusted with the possession of them. Nor can such results be effectually guarded against in such a system, without investing the Executive with a control over the banks themselves, whether State or National, that might with reason, be objected to. Ours is, probably, the only Government in the wold that is liable, in the management of its fiscal concerns, to occurrences like these. But this imminent risk is not the danger attendant on the surrender of the public money to the custody and control of local corporations. Though the object is aid to the Treasury, its effect may be to introduce into the operations of the Government, influences the most subtle founded on interests the most selfish.

The use by the banks, for their own benefit of the money deposited with them, has received the sanction of the Government from the commencement of this connection. The money received from the people, instead of being kept till it is needed for their use, is, in consequence of this authority, a fund, on which discounts are made for the profit of those who happen to be owners of stock in the banks selected as depositories. The supposed and often exaggerated advantages of such a boon will always cause it to be sought for with avidity. I will not stop to consider on whom the patronage incident to it is to be conferred; whether the selection and control be trusted to Congress or to the Executive either will be subjected to appeals made in every form which the sagacity of interest can suggest. The banks under such a system, are stimulated to make the most of their fortunate acquisition; the deposites are rashly augmented, and, when the public exigencies require a return, it is attended with embarrassments not provided for, nor foreseen. Thus banks that thought themselves most fortunate when the public funds were received, find themselves most embarrassed when the season of payment suddenly arrives,

Unfortunately, too, the evils of the system are not limited to the banks. It stimulates a general rashness of enterprize, and aggravates the fluctuations of commerce and the currency. This result was strikingly exhibited during the operations of the late deposite system, and especially in the purchases of public lands. The order which ultimately directed the payment of gold and silver in such purchases, greatly checked, but could not altogether prevent, the evil. Specie was indeed more difficult to be procured than the notes which the banks could themselves create at pleasure; but still, being obtained from them as a loan, and returned as a deposite, which they were again at liberty to use, it only passed round the circle with diminished speed. This operation could not have been performed, had the funds of the Government gone into the Treasury, to be regularly disbursed and not into banks; to be loaned out for their own profit, while they were permitted to substitute for it a credit in account.

In expressing these sentiments, I desire not to undervalue the benefits of a salutary credit to any branch of enterprize. The credit bestowed on probity and industry is the just reward of merit, and an honorable incentive to further acquisition. None oppose it who love their country and understand its welfare. But when it is unduly encouraged—when it is made to inflame the public mind with the temptations of sudden and unsubstantial wealth —when it turns industry into paths that lead sooner or later to disappointment and distress —it becomes liable to censure, and needs correction. Far from helping probity and industry, the ruin to which it leads falls most severely on the great laboring classes, who are thrown suddenly out of employment, and by the failure of magnificent schemes never intended to enrich them, are deprived in a moment of their only resource. Abuses of credit and excess in speculation will happen in despite of the most salutary law; no Government perhaps can altogether prevent them; but surely every Government can refrain from contributing the stimulus that call them into life.

Since, therefore, experience has shown, that to lend the public money to the local banks, is hazardous to the operations of the Government, at least of doubtful benefit to the institutions themselves—and productive of disastrous derangement in the business and currency of the country, is it the part of wisdom again to renew the connection?

It is true that such an agency is in many respects convenient to the Treasury, but is not

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