

INCORPORATED BY ACT OF CONGRESS... JAMES B. HAYMAN.

# The Constitutionality

VOL. I HARPERS-FERRY, VA., WEDNESDAY, JANUARY 15, 1840. NO. XXXIX.

TWO ROOMS... For further information apply to the proprietor.

RICHARD D. DORAN, Harpers-Ferry, Sept. 10—34.

STOVES... JUST received from Baltimore a fresh supply of STOVES, of various kinds.

THE CAUSE OF BILIOUS COMPLAINTS AND A MODE OF CURE.

A WELL regulated and proportionate quantity of bile upon the stomach is always requisite for the promotion of sound health—it stimulates digestion, and keeps the intestinal canal free from all obstructions. On the inferior surface of the liver is a peculiar bladder, in which the bile is first preserved, being formed by the liver from the blood. Thence it passes into the stomach and intestines, and regulates the indigestion. Thus we see when there is a deficiency of bile, the body is constantly costive. On the other hand, an overabundance of bile, causes frequent nausea in the stomach, and often promotes very severe attacks of disease, which sometimes end in death.

Fevers are always preceded by symptoms of a disordered stomach; as are also catarrhus of the bladder, and all sympathetic febrile, organic, or febrile diseases. From the same cause, the natural and healthy action of the heart, and the whole vascular system is impeded and reduced below its natural standard; as exhibited in palpitations, languid pulse, torpors of the limbs, syncope, and even death itself, in consequence of an overabundance of a peculiar offensive substance to the digestive organs.

Moffat's Life Medicines

Should always be taken in the early stages of bilious complaints, and if persevered in strictly according to the directions, will positively effect a cure.

THE LIFE PILLS AND PHENIX BITTERS have proved to be the most happy in every case of bilious diseases, of any purely vegetable preparation ever offered to the public. If the stomach is full, they cleanse it; if empty, they throw off its contents; if not, they purge the quodenum without exciting vomiting of nausea in the stomach; stimulating the neighboring viscera, as the liver and pancreas, so as to produce a more copious flow of their secretions into the intestines; stimulating the exhalant capillaries terminating in the inner coat, which an increased flow of the useless particles of the body, foreign matters, or retained secretions, are completely discharged.

Prepared and sold by WILLIAM B. MOFFATT, 375 Broadway, New York.

French, German and Spanish directions can be obtained on application at the office, 375 Broadway.

These valuable Medicines are for sale by ADAM YOUNG, Harpers-Ferry, Nov. 6, 1839—ly.

## 26TH CONGRESS, FIRST SESSION.

EXTRACTS FROM A SPEECH OF MR. BENTON, OF MISSOURI.

In Senate, Jan. 6, 1840—On Mr. Benton's resolutions against the constitutionality, and expediency of assuming or providing for the payment of the State debts, or diverting the land revenue to that object.

Mr. Benton rose and said: Mr. President: I am an enemy to abstract resolutions, and if those which I present were of that character I should not have offered them to the Senate. They appear to be abstract, but they are not. They appear to be mere declarations of principles; but they are, in reality, so many issues presented on great questions now occupying the public mind, defined soon to occupy the legislative halls, and the prompt decision of which is necessary to our successful action on other subjects.

The assumption of the State debts contracted for Sinecure purposes has been for a long time a measure disguised, and now is a measure openly, pressed upon the public mind. The movement in favor of it has been long going on; opposing measures have not yet commenced. The assumption party have the start, and the advantage of conducting the case; and they have been conducting it for a long time, and in a way to avoid the name of assumption while accomplishing the thing itself. All the bills for distributing the public land revenue—all the propositions for dividing surplus revenue—all the refusals to abolish unnecessary taxes—all the refusals to go on with the necessary defences of the country—were so many steps taken in the road to assumption. I know very well that many who supported this measure had no idea of assumption, and would oppose it as soon as it was discovered; but that does not alter the nature of the measures they supported, and which were so many steps in the road to that assumption, then shrouded into mystery and futurity, now ripened into strength, and emboldened into a public disclosure of itself. Already the State Legislatures are occupied with this subject, while we sit here, waiting its approach.

It is time for the enemies of assumption to take the field, and to act. It is a case in which they should give, and not receive, the attack. The President has led the way; he has shown his opinions. He has nobly done his duty. He has shown the evils of diverting the general funds for their proper objects—the mischiefs of our present connection with the "Piper system of England"—and the dangers of foreign influence from any further connection with it. In this he has discharged a constitutional and a patriotic duty. Let the constituted authorities, each in their sphere, follow his example, and declare their opinions also. Let the Senate especially, as part of the legislative power—as the peculiar representative of the States in their sovereign capacity—let this body declare its sentiments, and by its resolutions and discussions, arrest the progress of the measures here, and awaken attention to it elsewhere. As one of the earliest opposers of this measure—and in fact, the very earliest opposer of the whole family of measures of which it is the natural offspring—as having denounced the assumption in disguise in a letter to my constituents long before the London bankers' letter revealed it to the public; as such early, steadfast, and first denouncer of this measure, I now come forward to oppose it in form, and to submit the resolves which may arrest it here, and carry its discussion to the forum of the people.

The resolve which I offer, six in number, are not the decrees of a party, or even the result of a council, but the opinions of an individual Senator. I speak for myself in these resolutions. They contain the declaration of my sentiments on the momentous points to which they refer; and I am not authorized to say that they speak the sentiments of any other Senator. This declaration I think it proper to make, and to prevent undue importance from being attached to my proceeding. Let no one suppose that I am premature—that I begin too soon—and should wait till the friends of assumption shall bring forward their measure, and show us the shape and form they intend it to wear. If any one should so think and answer, I must answer as I did to a similar objection ten years ago. I must answer as I did when it was objected that I had brought in my resolution too soon against the renewal of the charter of the Bank of the U. States. Many Senators thought me premature, and objected to entering upon the question until the stockholders should present their memorial and ask for an extension of their privileges. I refused to yield to this objection. I then said if we waited till the Bank presented her application, we should wait till she had organized; that she would never apply until she had organized; that she would see her majority before she asked for the vote—and would be ready to gallop through her bill for the recharter the day that she presented it. This is what I then said, and subsequent events proved its correctness. The country was saved and barely saved, from the dominion of that institution, by beginning the contest when we did—by giving notice of waiting to receive the bill by carrying the question to the people, and rousing the public mind, and

preparing it for the contest which soon began, and which, after a long year, have hardly been terminated. So of this assumption, disguised as it may be with a proposition, to divide the land revenue among the States. Immediate discussion, direct issues, and prompt action, is what we want. The assumption party will not bring on the question, except at a time, and under a form, to favor their own wishes. They will not move here until they have first acted elsewhere. The State Legislatures will be selected theaters of their operations, and anticipated judgements will be the object of their policy. This will be their course, our course should be the reverse. What we need is public discussion, prompt action, and a reference, before decision, to the judgment of the people. The adoption of the resolutions which I have brought in will give us these advantages; they will give us the advantage which we secured by precipitating the contest with the Bank of the U. States.

When the same object was afterwards proposed in the shape of a land revenue distribution bill, it made its way through both Houses of Congress, and was only arrested by the firm hand of President Jackson. Finally, when the self-same scheme made its appearance in the garb of a deposit bill, it not only passed both Houses, but passed the President's hand also, and became the law of the land. Thus elusion and circumvention are the most common, and the most successful, mode of getting rid of constitutional prohibitions. They are, besides, far the most ancient. As far back as history goes—as long as fundamental laws and constitutions have been known—just so long the practice of evading them has been familiar and notorious. Majorities have been found in all ages and in all countries to elude what they could not attack, and to circumvent what they could not surmount. Of this the history of the Athenians furnishes the finest example that I have anywhere seen. That ingenious people were able to excel in many things, and among the rest, in the art of trampling under foot their most sacred laws, while professing towards them a derisory fidelity and a mock respect. The instance to which I refer is that of the admission of Demetrius, the son of Antigonus, into all the degrees of the Eleusian mysteries in a single day, when the law required a whole year for the consummation of the admission. Demetrius demanded to be admitted in a day; the laws prescribed a year, so that here was a great difficulty. To satisfy the Prince, then all powerful in Greece, and to comply with the sacred laws which they were sworn to observe, seemed to be impossible; but, by an ingenious conception, the difficulty was evaded, sacrifice avoided, and Demetrius gratified. The invitation was simply to change the name of the month at each successive degree of the initiation. This was done. Twelve months were compressed into a few hours, the admission became legal, and the happy inventor of the expedient received from the Athenians the title of the significant title of *Choronorthetes*, which signifies, I believe, *time expurger*. Plutarch, in his life of Demetrius, thus describes the operation:

"When Demetrius was preparing to return to Athens, he wrote to the Republic that, on his arrival, he intended to be initiated, and to be admitted immediately not only to the less mysteries, but even to those called initiatory. This was unlawful and unprecedented; for the laws were celebrated in the month Anthestion, and the greater in the month Boedromion; and none were admitted to the initiatory till a year at least after they had attended the greater mysteries. When the letters were read, Pylodorus, the torchbearer, was the only person who ventured to oppose the demand; and his opposition was entirely ineffectual. The Stratagems procured a decree that the month Munychion, which they were then in, should be called Anthestion; after which Munychion was changed again into Boedromion. By these means Demetrius was admitted to the greater mysteries, and to domestic inspection."

It was thus, Mr. President, that Athenian ingenuity, some two thousand years ago, by a transposition of names, discomfited a sacred college of its constitutional difficulties; but it required Athenian ingenuity to contrive an expedient so delicate and intellectual. Nothing so refined and spiritual can be expected in these prosaic and money-making times, and in this country, where so much of the genius of the age is directed to the literature of banking, and to the accurate descriptions of the alternate "tightness" and "looseness" of the money market. We can expect nothing like Athenian wit here. The nearest approach that I have seen to it was in this enlightened chamber, and on a recent occasion, when a division of the public money among the States being admitted to be unconstitutional under the word *distribute*, that word was gently deposed, and the word *deposit* introduced in its place; after which the division of the money took place in the same manner as if the change of words had not been made.

I repeat, Mr. President, we are not to expect Athenian wit in our attempts to get rid of constitutional difficulties. Compared to their refined and spiritual inventions, our contrivances must appear coarse and bungling, and such, in fact, in too many instances, they have actually been. We have often bungled most clumsily in our attempts to circumvent our Constitution, and we can expect no better in future; and, of all the rude attempts of this kind which I have witnessed, none are more awkward and clumsy than that of endeavoring to substitute a distribution of the land revenue among the States, for an assumption of the State debts. It is all the same thing, and all ends in the

same result. Sir, this whole system of dividing the public land revenue among the States is an indirect assumption of their debts. It is disguised assumption; and it is only another more on the chess-board of that distribution policy which has haunted our councils for many years, in such a variety of forms, and which found its first success in the passage of the act to *deposit* the surplus revenue, as it was called, with the States of the Union.

The scheme which now occupies the capitalists, bankers, and stockholders of London, Paris, Amsterdam, Philadelphia, and New York, to obtain from the Federal Government the assumption of the provision for the payment of the State debts, is the natural offspring of the distribution policy which I have just mentioned for fourteen years, and finally succeeded, in the form of a deposit of surplus revenue with the States. In company with a small minority of half a dozen Senators, I made for better against distribution in the disguise of a deposit, and delivered the history of the transaction, on the passage of the act, as accurately as it can be written here. I then said:

"At the end of some years, the nominal transaction will be rescinded; the certificates will all be cancelled by one general, harmonious, unanimous vote in Congress. The disguise of a deposit, like the mask after a play, will be thrown aside, and the delivery of the money will turn out to be, what it is now intended to be, a gift from the beginning. This will be the end of the first chapter."

This is what I said on Friday, the 15th day of June, 1826, the day on which the deposit act passed—*dixit in fastis*, as the Romans would call it—unhappy day which witnessed the immolation of the Constitution, and the consummation of a policy big with the fate of this federative Union. I then said the nominal transaction of a deposit would be rescinded; the month of September, 1837, saw it rescinded. The deposit has been in form what it was from the beginning in substance—a gift of the money; and this conclusion is what I called in my speech against it the end of the first chapter.

Assumption is the beginning of the second chapter, and I am standing on my old ground, to make head against the offspring of the measure which I opposed, in its seminal principle, fourteen years ago, and have continued opposing it ever since in all its successive stages, and in all its modifications of form. I come at once to the point, and say that disguised assumption, in the shape of land revenue distribution, is the form in which we shall have to meet the danger; and I meet it at once in that disguise. I say there is no authority in the Constitution to raise money from any branch of the revenue for distribution among the States for other purposes which had been raised for other purposes. The power of Congress to raise money is not unlimited and arbitrary, but restricted, and directed to the national objects named in the Constitution. The means, the amount, and the application, are all limited. The means are direct taxes—duties on imports—and the public lands; the objects are the support of Government—the common defence—and the payment of the debts of the Union; the amount to be raised of course limited to the amount required for the accomplishment of these objects. Consistent to the words and the spirit of the Constitution, is the title, the preamble, and the tenor of all the early statutes for raising money; they all declare the object for which the money is wanted; they declare the object at the head of the act—Whether it be a loan, a direct tax, or a duty on imports, the object of the loan, the tax, or the duty, is stated in the preamble to the act; Congress excusing and justifying themselves for the demand in the very act of making it, and telling the people plainly what they wanted with the money in all the early laws, and in all the early statutes; the books are full of examples, and it was only after money began to be levied for objects not known to the Constitution, that this laudable and ancient practice was dropped. Among the enumerated objects for which money can be raised by Congress, is that of paying the debts of the Union; and it is not a manifest absurdity to suppose that, while it requires an express grant of power to enable us to pay the debts of the Union, we can pay those of the States by implication and by indirection.

Sir, our Constitution grew out of a want of money; it grew out of the want of money for general and national purposes; and it contains no grant of power in relation to receipts and expenditures, except to raise and expend it for such purposes. I meet the danger in its disguise of distribution, and repeat, there is no authority in the Constitution to raise money for distribution, or to distribute that which had been raised for other purposes. This result is not only from the plain words of the Constitution, and the known purposes of forming the Federal Union, but also from the total silence of the Constitution upon a rule of distribution. There is a rule in the Constitution for raising money—none for dividing it. The Constitution has provided for the equality and uniformity of the levy; there is no provision for the equality and uniformity of a distribution. "All duties, imposts, and excises, shall be uniform throughout the United States." No capitation, or other direct tax, shall be laid, unless in proportion to the census, or enumeration herein before ordered to be taken. No preference shall be given, by any regulation of commerce or revenue, to the ports of one State over another."

Such are the injunctions of the Constitution in relation to the levy of money; such its care to provide for the uniformity and equality of the levy. But where is the rule for distribution? And what becomes of the equality of the levy, if that which is equally levied is unequally partitioned out? There is no rule given for the partitioners to go by; and that is a proof, among the many others, that no partitions of revenue—no partitions of any kind—money, land, or other property—was ever intended to be made. The framers of our Constitution were not bunglers, but skillful workmen—they were not apprentices, but master workmen. They did not close up their work upon one side, and leave it unfinished on the other. They did not commit the absurd and egregious folly of permitting that to be unequally divided which had been equally collected. If they had contemplated divisions of money or property, they would have given the rule to regulate them; not having done so, is clear proof that they never contemplated such a thing; and we all know that a Constitution providing for such an event would have been secured and scored by every State in the Union.

I have gone over these details to establish a fact, and which fact is vital to the argument, that the whole of the lands owned by the United States are purchases, drawn from the Treasury and invested in land, and now wearing the shape of lands in the woods instead of dollars in the Treasury. This is a fact now established. Here, then, are hundred and twelve millions of dollars laid out for land, and now represented by land. Here are one hundred and twelve millions of dollars converted into land; and this brings us to the great constitutional error on this point—before it was so converted, every one admitted that it could not be divided among the States. Every one admits that it should defer posteriorly from initiating the example. It was in the first year of the Federal Government, and although the assumed debts were only twenty millions, and were alleged to have been contracted for general purposes, yet the assumption was attended by circumstances of intrigue and corruption, which led to the most violent dissension in Congress, suspended the business of both Houses, drove some of the States to the verge of secession, and menaced the Union with instant dissolution.

What can be more demoralizing, more ruinous, and more destructive, not only to our Federal political system, but to the social and moral system itself, than to allow the States to create debts for their own purposes, and then club together and throw the payment of these debts on the Federal Government? What more fatal than this? The restraint upon the creation of debt is the obligation to pay it. Remove that restraint—separate the character of contract and payment—and all the barriers of economy, moderation and safety are broken down. The States are stimulated into debts which the Union is to pay; and the precedent once set must be rapidly followed up by new debts on the part of the States, and new assumptions on the part of the Union. We begin with providing for internal improvement debts; quickly those incurred for Banks are added. Then follow all those contracted for "other purposes"; even the security debts incurred by loans of credit to "companies," corporations, and individuals, no matter how wisely incurred, how extravagantly applied, and how wastefully squandered.

Touch these State debts in any way, no matter how—put your hand to the work in any form that you please—and from that moment you are in for the whole; from that moment you assume the ultimate payment. Thus it was with the debt of this District, incurred for the Chesapeake and Ohio Canal. We passed an act in 1828, to enable the District to borrow the money. The sagacious men of this body—Mr. Mason, Mr. Van Buren, and others—approved the act; on the ground that the agent of the District would go abroad with that act in his hand, and show it to foreign capitalists; and although it contained no promise on our part to guaranty the payment, yet the U. States would become involved in the transaction, and ultimately have to pay it all; and thus it happened. That debt of interest, and all is now assumed by the United States. I was one of the few that opposed it, thanks to my association with Mason and Randolph, from whom I learned my leading principles in economy. I proposed that acts giving authority to this District to borrow money for the canal, on the ground that it would involve us in the transaction, and ultimately make us liable for the whole; and now I oppose any concession, disguised as it may be, with the State debts; on the ground, Touch them, and we embrace them; put your finger to the work, and the shoulders follow; give them the proceeds of the public lands, and from that moment you have given the whole revenues and the whole credit of the U. States. You have given all in giving any thing, or all the rest would follow. Cotton-house revenues and Treasury notes would soon be called in to supply the deficiency of the land revenue; and new debts would swallow up the whole resources of the Union.

Who so blind as not to see the disastrous consequences of bringing the States to the footstool of the Federal Government, to receive supplies from the public Treasury? Wasteful extravagance in their expenses, with ultimate dependence on the Federal head, with consolidation

thing is constitutionally impossible. It was never thought of by the framers of our Constitution. They never intended of such a thing. There is not a word in their work to warrant it, and the whole idea of it is utterly repugnant and offensive to the objects and purposes for which the Federal Union was framed.

Sir, I repeat it: The Federal Constitution grew out of the want of money for the uses of the Federal Government. It grew out of that want, and nothing else; and it contains no grant of power in relation to the collection or application of money, except for the uses and purposes of the Federal Government itself.

Having established the constitutional objection to assumption, naked or disguised, and shown that there was no difference between diverting land revenue and any other Federal revenue to State purposes, and having especially exploded the three vulgar errors, that the lands were donations from the States; that they have fulfilled their destination in paying the public debt, and that the power of Congress is absolute and arbitrary over them; having done this, I proceed to the secondary class of objections; namely, the evils of the measure. These evils are in themselves so great, so hostile to the general good, and so big with destruction to the Federal Union, that even if there was no constitutional impediment in the way, this measure of assumption, or provision for State debts, should be utterly rejected for its baneful consequences alone. And here it is proper to pause, to reflect to look back upon the page of our own history, and to consult the experience of our own ancestors in relation to paying State debts, before we rush into the same business. We have had one assumption in our country, and that in a case which was small in amount, and free from the impediment of a constitutional objection, but which was attended by such evils as should defer posteriorly from initiating the example. It was in the first year of the Federal Government, and although the assumed debts were only twenty millions, and were alleged to have been contracted for general purposes, yet the assumption was attended by circumstances of intrigue and corruption, which led to the most violent dissension in Congress, suspended the business of both Houses, drove some of the States to the verge of secession, and menaced the Union with instant dissolution.

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It is not the Constitution only, but the whole early history of our Government which is full of this jealousy and precaution against foreign influence. Our Government went into operation with a constant eye upon this point, and with a division of political parties upon it. The Federalists and the Democrats divided upon it. The former headed by Genl. Hamilton, the latter by Mr. Jefferson. To improve upon the funding system, the paper system, the banking system, the credit system of England, was the aim of one of the parties, to prevent these impositions was the aim of the other. One party pushed all these systems, with a national debt and a national bank for their basis; the other labored to preserve the hard money Government which had been made by hard money men, and to prevent that imitation of the British system, and that connection with those systems, and dependence upon them, which must end in subjecting us to the pecuniary as well as political influence of the English. The Federalists prevailed. The genius of Hamilton, and his position at the head of the Treasury, gave him the victory. The British systems were all imposed upon us, and the result has been precisely what was foreseen by the Democracy forty-five and fifty years ago. We have become the victims of those whose institutions we copied; and thirty years' convulsion of our moneyed system attests the miserable objection to which we have been reduced. The infamous and traitorous sentiment that our first duty is to foreigners, has become the sentiment of enough to make it the action of the country, and to make the Federal Government, the State Governments, and the people, the victims of its treasonous consequences. From this sentiment, it results that our banks are to be broken just as often as it is necessary to break them, to save the banks in England; that our gold and silver must be exported, and our Government and our citizens deprived of specie for marketing, for postage, for travelling expenses, or for taxes, just as often and just as long as the English require our hard money to be sent to them; that all our moneyed operations must be made to depend on the news which the next English steamer may bring; and that the price of property, labor, and produce, must be made to rise and fall all over the United States precisely as ordered and directed by the moneyed power in London. Our President has faithfully depicted this state of degradation, subjection and injury, in that part of his message in which he says that our money system has its centre in London; that all our Banks are linked together by a chain of dependence which ends there; that not only the great cities, but the remote villages of the interior, are linked to this chain; that the establishment of a new and the most distant village of our Union immediately places the business of that village within the influence of the money power of England; and that the result of the whole is the periodical convulsions and bank suspensions to which we are subject, and the establishment of a dangerous influence in our bosom.

To make head against all these evils, while we are able to do so; to still foreign interference in its cradle, to repulse the insidious approach of assimilation in the disguise of a land revenue distribution; to enable ourselves to go on with the appropriate business of Congress, I think it right to adduce the attack, and to put an end to hope, and future efforts, by adopting the resolutions of the honor and character which I have had the honor to offer.

Mr. President, in conclusion, permit me to turn one word towards myself for the sake of doing justice to others. Among those events of my life for which I have reason to be thankful, was the circumstance of being admitted into the intimacy and friendship of Mr. Mason and Mr. Randolph at my entrance into this body. I lived in the same house for many years with these two illustrious sages and patriots; and from them I learned to abhor the paper system of England, fastened upon us by General Hamilton, and to venerate the hard money Government framed for us by our ancestors, and taken from us by the Federalists of near fifty years ago. Our Constitution was pushed from her foundations as she went into operation; she was pushed off the solid rock of hard money, where our ancestors anchored her, and plunged into the tempestuous ocean of paper. It has been tossed for fifty years in that ocean; but is not setting back to her old foundations. The Administrations of Jackson and Van Buren are bringing her back, and I my labors now—all my labors for many years—have been directed to that consummation, and to the relief of our country from the degrading, ruinous, and degrading dependence on what is defective, and defective paper system of Great Britain. To break the chain which binds us to the footstool of the moneyed power of London; at all events to prevent our chain from being made heavier and stronger—is one of the objects of substance in these resolutions; and I invoke for them, and for what I have said in their support, the candid consideration of the Senate and the country.

STARR SAVANAH, Coleman, struck a snag and sunk at the mouth of White River, Arkansas, on the 17th ult.

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Mr. Strange of N. C. proposed with much warmth the bill for the second occupation of Florida.

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

The session this morning for the first half an hour was interesting and amusing to all who like personal matters.

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

The order of the day was the speech from Mr. Botts of Virginia, who was entitled to the floor.

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Mr. Botts—according to the rule now established—was followed by a Whig—the formidable Mr. Randolph of New Jersey.

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Mr. Randolph of New Jersey, having given yesterday to the motion of adjournment, was of course entitled to the floor to-day.

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Mr. Smith of Maine, followed in reply to some imputations on the consistency of his course made by Mr. Botts.

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Mr. Clifton of Ohio, who stated to the House that since he had made the last instalment of his speech, he had received a paper from the galleries.

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Mr. Clifton refused to yield the floor any longer, and was about to recommence his speech without allowing the Clerk to read all of the statement prepared by him.

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Mr. Clifton concluded soon after three o'clock, and was followed by Mr. Cooper of Georgia, who after addressing the House very briefly, gave way to a motion to adjourn.

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CONSTITUTIONAL



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THOMAS H. BENTON'S SPEECH. We have devoted that portion of our paper usually occupied by miscellaneous news to the publication of extracts from the speech of this Senator, upon the proposition for the General Government to assume the debt of the States, and devote the proceeds of the Public Lands to their liquidation.

Among the variety of projects devised by the Federalists to engraft their measures and principles upon our institutions, none that has been heretofore offered, is in effect, so obnoxious to the new pet of the speculative aristocracy, as so well calculated to accomplish the end so long aimed at, of bringing the National Government to the footstool of the imbroglio power, not only of this country, but of Europe.

Every man who loves his country, who regards the independence of our institutions as the greatest national blessing, must feel alarmed at the bare suggestion of the Government becoming responsible for two hundred millions of dollars, due to the speculators and stock jobbers of England, France and Germany. Money borrowed for purposes having no national character, and much of it expended without accomplishing any good, except the advancement of the private interests of political partisans, whose influence had procured the enactment of the laws under which it was borrowed.

To bind our government to foreign capitalists by the assumption of this debt, is the object of the present project. To bring it within the control of the Bank of England, that it may be effected by all the fluctuations of affairs in that country, and no longer be an obstacle to the policy of speculation adopted in this land, is what is wished for by those who so shamelessly forage against the hard money policy of this Administration is such a barrier. Things would suit them exactly if the Government was so involved by the vortex of paper money, stock-jobbing and all its paraphernalia, that the secretary of the Treasury, would be obliged to await the arrival of the next British steamer before he could move on any subject, in relation to the finances of the nation.

But Col. Benton has met this project at the door of the Capitol, and in the able speech which we have made extracts, and which we only regret the want of room for its entire publication, has clearly demonstrated the error to grow out of its adoption. There is no public man whose efforts deserve more attention from the Democracy than Col. Benton. He has been the firm and undeviating champion of Democratic principles since he came to public life, and no man has struggled harder to republish the doctrines of Messrs. Jefferson and Madison's Administrations, after they had been consigned by the system established during the republican Administrations of the country.

The first act of Gen. Jackson, that tended to establish the political character of his Administration, was his veto on the Mayvile road; and those whose recollection extends to that period, remember well the clamor that was then raised on that subject.

With a giant's stride, the system of internal improvement was stalking abroad, under the protection of the Federal rulers; and few there were, especially in the west, who were not wedded in interest to some project, to be executed with the funds of the General Government, and from which was to result a golden harvest.

That act, which at once proscribed all their gilded castles, should have produced a clamor, is a matter by no means astonishing, especially when we reflect upon the disposition of our people, to sacrifice the interests of the country to their own personal aggrandizement.

Whereas Col. Benton amid this clamor, when destruction to Andrew Jackson, and all who adhered to his policy, was so freely professed by the political seers of that day; did he fear his popularity, and shrink from an avowal of his principles and opinions? No! He saw that it was but the onset of a mighty struggle, that was to arouse the arms of Federalism, in defense of those principles, which they fondly hoped they had riveted upon the nation; he saw that this and nerved himself for the contest. The storm rolled onward, and towering on the crest, was to be seen this champion of Democratic principles! The genius of our institutions triumphed; and the internal improvement policy was laid in the dust.

But another battle was to be fought. The pillar of Federalism still reared its head in the shape of a United States Bank. The principles of Alexander Hamilton, still wielded their influence over the fiscal arm of our Government, and were rapidly tending to destroy the character of our institutions, by operating upon the pecuniary interests of that class of citizens denominated Speculators, and who, through the power obtained by the banking system, was controlling the sentiment of so large a portion of our people.

The termination of the charter of that institution was rapidly approaching, and the eyes of the people were anxiously turned towards the "Hero President." Relying upon the power and influence of the bank, its managers and supporters pressed an application for a new charter, believing if it were voted, it would be considered as a precedent, and that they had security enough to perform the act, and that they had had independence enough to support it.

But this man who had not quailed before the military array of a magnanimous foe, who had stood unshaken before the conduct of a man leading against the world's best cavalry, was equal to this contest, he knew that the eyes of the

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