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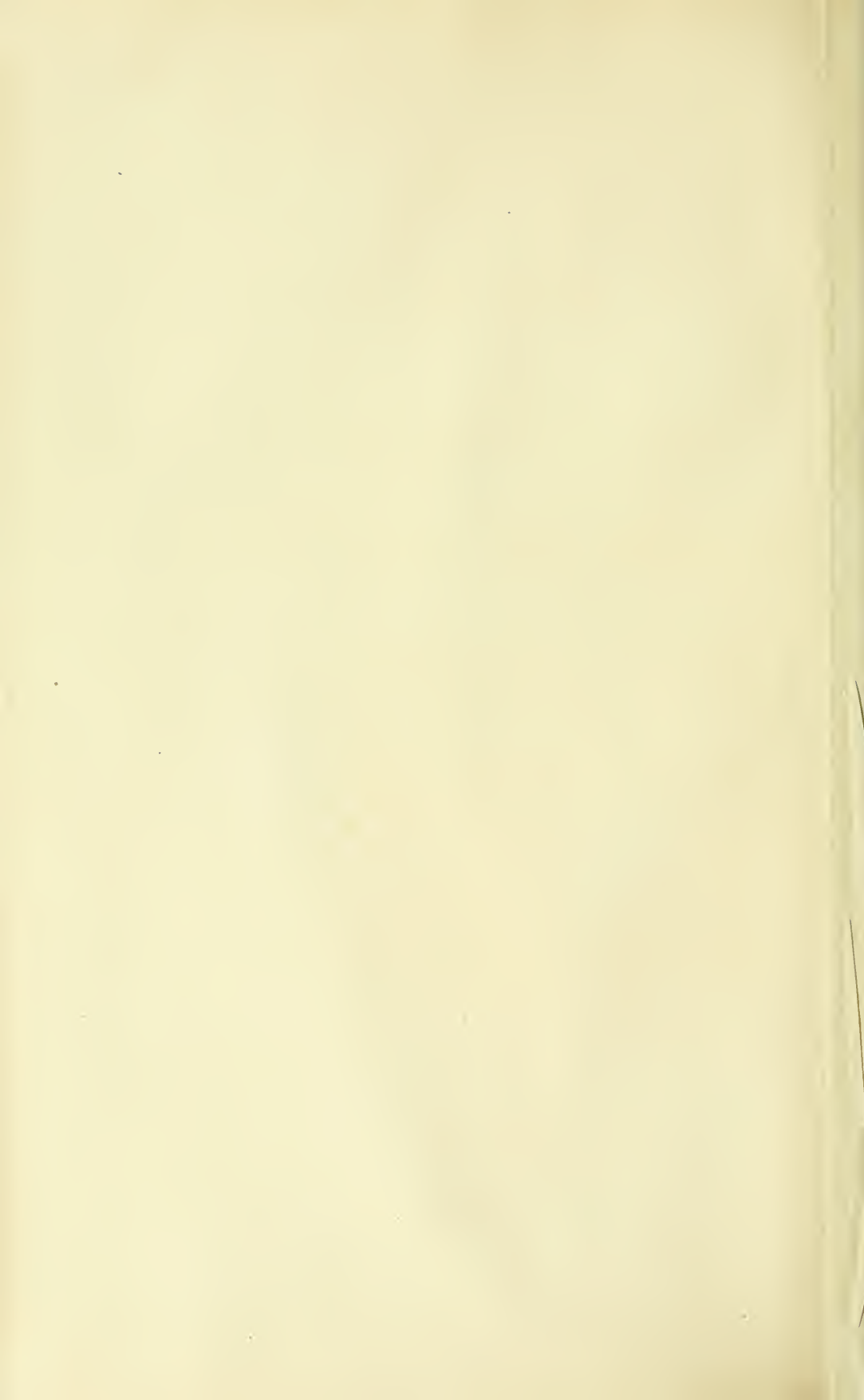
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SPEECH

OF

Original
MR. DUNCAN, OF OHIO,

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ON THE

BILL MAKING APPROPRIATIONS FOR HARBORS,

AND IN REPLY TO

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5355

MR. BOND, OF OHIO.

DELIVERED IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES, SATURDAY JULY 7, 1838.

WASHINGTON:

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1838.

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SPEECH.

In the House of Representatives, July 7, 1838—On the bill making appropriations for harbors, and in reply to the speech of Mr. BOND of Ohio.

Mr. DUNCAN addressed the committee as follows:

Mr. CHAIRMAN: I am happy to have this opportunity to make some remarks in relation to the financial policy adopted, and so far pursued, by this and the late Administration. The bill now under consideration has been amended in the Senate, by striking out the appropriation of twenty thousand dollars for the improvement of the Cumberland river within the limits of Kentucky and Tennessee.

The gentleman from Kentucky [Mr. WILLIAMS] says that this amendment was made in a *certain* quarter (meaning the Senate) for a *certain* purpose, (I suppose to punish the people of Kentucky for not being more Democratic,) and to affect a *certain* individual, [Mr. CLAY.] This may all be, if we are prepared to suppose that grave Senators could so far forget their high stations as to make such paltry considerations an object of action in the discharge of their high functions and sacred duties. But I think we may find another reason for this judicious and laudable amendment—a reason that has its foundation in patriotism and economy. The howl of extravagant profligacy and bankruptcy has never been out of our ears since the commencement of the session until this time, and it will continue with the session. Yes, sir, that howl has cost the people more money than would redeem the Treasury notes now in circulation, which constitutes our present national debt. I say it was a regard for economy, and a desire to confine the appropriations within the probable estimates for the year, that induced the Senate to make the amendment in question.

Sir, what base and sickening inconsistency do we witness here every day: a charge constantly kept up that the Government is bankrupt, and the best prospects of the country ruined, by a profligate Administration; when it is a well known fact, and the journals show it, that every measure of extravagance and profligacy is brought forward, sustained, and carried through to a law, by those who are opposed to the Administration, and who are constantly denouncing it for its profligacy.

It seems, from the profligate and reckless course

of the Opposition in worthless and extravagant expenditures, that bankruptcy of the Government is one of the means by which this Administration is to be brought into disrepute with the people, and finally overthrown. Whenever there is an attempt made at reform, it is denounced as demagogical. Whenever there is an attempt made at economy and prudence in public expenditures, the whole pack of Oppositionists who may have the most remote local interest, raise the howl that this attempt at economy is made for party purposes—to affect a *certain* State—to affect *certain* individuals—and to effect *certain* purposes. Yes, sir, although economy dwells on the lips of a certain party, extravagance has its home in their hearts. For the truth of this assertion, I refer you to the examination of the journals of the last six or eight years; where on all appropriations made that savor of extravagance, there will be found a large majority of the names of those opposed to this and the last Administration in favor of such measures, and the names of a large majority of the members friendly to those Administrations will be found to be recorded against them.

Sir, I hold up the journals which contain the evidences of what I say. I only ask investigation. Among the vast number of unwarrantable appropriations, which I have not time to notice specially, I ask your attention to one, only distinguished from the rest by the size of the sum. It is the appropriation made in the session of 1835 and 1836, for liquidating the debt due from the District of Columbia to Holland, and for carrying out certain improvements for which that loan was made. This entire appropriation amounted, I think, to one and a half millions. But let us inquire for what purposes this money was applied. It was applied first to the construction of a canal through the suburbs of your city, (Washington,) which needs a canal about as much as a cart wants a third wheel. The south side of the south wing of this capitol faces the whole line of that canal. It is in view of every one who looks out of one of the south windows. I have been looking out for seven months, and I have yet to see the first boat disturb the stillness of its water. One is at a loss to know which to be most astonished at, the wickedness that conceived such unpardonable folly, or the sterility of the soil through which the canal

is excavated, or the poverty and sterility of the country for whose benefit it is made. This canal is of Whig origin. The next extravagant and worthless appropriation of this money is for the construction of a turnpike road, made on the bank of the Chesapeake and Ohio Canal. This road was made at great expense, and runs the extent of the District. The next is the turnpike road running parallel with the former. I am unable to draw the distinction between the folly involved in the construction of each of those roads. The existence of the one completely supercedes the necessity of the other, and both of but little use. The hill road seems to have been made to display the power of the Federal Government to prostrate hills and fill up hollows. I occasionally ride out in the evening for exercise. My rides have, some six or seven times, been on these roads. I generally go out the bottom road and return the hill road. I have once seen a shackling wagon, drawn by two mules and a jack, (Demerara team,) so poor that one might hang his hat on their hip bones. This establishment was driven by a negro half naked, lame in one leg and blind of one eye. This, sir, is a specimen of the use made of what is called the bottom turnpike road; but I have never seen the first living creature on the hill road except the horse I rode. So much for the roads—useless roads—I mean those that have come under my observation, which have been made by the people's money, and, I undertake to say, in gross violation of their rights, if not in violation of the Constitution.

But, sir, the most profligate and extravagant appropriation is yet to be presented. It is the appropriation for the Georgetown and Alexandria Canal and Aqueduct. This canal is now under way. Is located on the bank of the Potomac—a canal, deep, still, and wide, (being tide water.) Why, sir, what will your people say when they learn that half a million of their money has been appropriated for the construction of a canal on the bank of the Potomac—a canal constructed by the Almighty, as far superior to your pitiful effort as the majestic steamboat that rides upon its bosom is superior to the contemptible packet that floats upon your canal? But, sir, for whose benefit has this vast appropriation been made? For the benefit of the city of Alexandria. It is almost incredible with those who have seen Alexandria within the last three or four years, that such an appropriation should be made for her—a city that seems to have the anger of God and the hand of ruin upon it—now desolation itself, and without the most remote prospect of ever surviving. The almost total abstraction of trade from her port, the barrenness and poverty of the soil that surrounds her, must ever prevent her from being revived. Nothing can save her from final prostration and ruin. In half a century from this time, there will hardly be a standing monument of art for the tooth of time to operate upon; and yet it was for the benefit of these tottering remains of a city that this vast and expensive work has been undertaken, and to finish it must take much of the sacred proceeds of toil and sweat of those who will never see or witness the practical result of such consummate folly and wicked extravagance. Sir, you

may draw upon the industry of the people for, and recover, a sufficient amount to complete this work; but there never will be commercial motion enough on it to prevent the stagnation of its water. The noble canal which the Almighty has made, (the Potomac,) and of which yours is but a contemptible imitation, will for ever bear the produce destined for other places, (no toll being to be paid on it, but, like other Divine gifts, free.) Your canal will be the generator and birth-place of reptiles, and the abode of frogs. It will be a putrid, green pool of pestilence; and its exhalations will spread disease and death over your country. These, sir, are specimens of the appropriations that have emptied your Treasury, and been part of the means that have made it necessary for you to use your credit in the form of Treasury notes, to keep the wheels of Government in motion; and I repeat it, that these profligate appropriations are made at the instance, and carried into ruinous practice by the votes of the very party who are constantly denouncing this and the late Administration for their extravagance and profligacy.

Sir, my object in discussing this question is not only for the purpose of sustaining the amendment in question, and to sustain the principles and policy that induced it, but also to answer and refute many of the propositions and assertions contained in a small pamphlet, which I hold in my hand, purporting to be a speech delivered by my colleague, [Mr. BOND, from Ohio,] on a resolution offered some time since by the gentleman from Virginia, on the subject of the public printing.

In order to give his remarks upon that resolution some force with the Democratic party, my colleague says that the gentleman who offered it acts generally with the Administration party. I deny that assertion. I deny that the gentleman from Virginia, [Colonel HOPKINS,] has acted generally with the Administration party; and I say so without any disrespect to the gentleman, for he has a right to act with whatever party he pleases, and no one has a right to question his motives. But fair play is a jewel; and my colleague must represent things as they are, not as he would desire to have them, for political effect. Sir, this is a little pamphlet, but it contains more Federal poison in a small way, than any thing I ever saw of the kind. It is a little pamphlet, and its whole contents remind me of minnow-catching. I live near a river called the Little Miami; and into it there empties a creek called Sycamore. I fish in the river, and my boy catches minnows in the creek for bait. It is this last operation that the contents of this little pamphlet remind me of. It is a system of a small kind of fault-finding; and yet I am told that there is not a foul stream of Federalism in the Union, on which it does not float. Every corrupt, bought-up Federal press in these United States, I am told, has given it an insertion in its columns; and the mails have groaned under the weight of its multiplied numbers, by the franking privilege, ever since it made its appearance.

Sir, seeing, on one occasion, a great number of Federal members engaged busily in franking documents, my curiosity induced me to walk round among them to inquire what documents they were franking for distribution. I asked one: Mr. BOND's

speech; another: Mr. BOON's speech; another: Mr. BOON's speech; another: Mr. BOON's speech; and so on. This led me to a perusal of my colleague's speech, and the vast circulation which was given to it, for political effect, induced me to collect some statistics by which I might neutralize any poisonous effects his speech might have on the political atmosphere. Those statistics I have procured, and have them in my hand, and will ask that they may constitute a part of my speech, which I design to write out more fully than time will now permit to deliver.

But to the speech. My colleague complains that, within the last nine years, there has been an increase of public officers and of public expenditures, which he charges as a fault of the party in power. It is their fault, too, I suppose, that within the same time, two new States have been added to our Union, and several millions of people to our population. If public officers have been increased, so has public business, and in a much greater ratio. As a matter of course, an increase of expenditures must follow. If this be an evil, it can only be cured by stopping the extension of our settlements, and the increase of our population. There is a large increase of clerks in the New York custom-house; but the business there has been more than doubled. There has been a large increase of clerks in the Land Office; but the business of that office has increased ten fold. It was physically impossible that the President could sign the increased number of land patents, and yet it is made an offence to create another officer for that purpose. There has been some increase of clerks in the War Department; but the business in that Department has been more than doubled. The number of postmasters has been doubled, and so has the number of post offices, for the convenience of the people.

Would our new-light Bank Federal reformers have six or seven thousand post offices discontinued, to avoid an increase of Executive officers? Do the people want any such reform? Would they shut up the land offices, because to keep them open requires an increase of officers? Would they deny patents to purchasers of land, because it takes a few additional clerks to make them out? Shall the business of all the Departments remain undone, because it requires more clerks to do it as it increases with the growth of our country? These would be reforms worthy of *Federal Bank reformers!* Let the business of the people's Government remain undone, and the banks will govern for the people.

There are few offices, if any, in the country, in which the public business has not increased faster than the clerks and the expenditure. As our country increases, the public officers and public expenditures must and will increase. It is unavoidable, as every man knows. It is as stupid as wicked to complain of the party in power on account of this increase, for no party can prevent it and do its duty to the country. The only inquiry should be, whether there are too many clerks to do the public business; whether any of them spend in idleness the time for which the people pay. If so, they should be lopped off. But no such thing is alleged. It is not asserted that the clerks who

have been added have not enough to do, or that the public business could possibly be done without them.

These new-light Federal-Bank-Reformers propose no measures to retrench, because they know that no retrenchment can be made, but seek only to fill the country with false impressions, for the sake of producing political results favorable to the Federal-Bank cause. This game of base and foul lying, to get into power, is as old as Absalom, the son of David, and older too. My colleague undertakes to arraign certain members of the Administration for having, in some instances, received payment for extra services. But does he pretend that any one of them has received such compensation in violation of law? not at all. He knows that the principles upon which those allowances were made have been repeatedly adjudicated upon and sanctioned by the Supreme Court, the highest judicial tribunal in the country. The allowances, therefore, were all lawful. Is the principle wrong? If gentlemen think so, why do they not bring forth a proposition making all such allowances *unlawful*? If they were really in favor of a reform, or change in this respect, should we not see them proving it by *acts*, rather than by *words*? They have a majority in this House, and have had during this seven months' session, and yet they have made no attempt at reform of any kind.

Perhaps my colleague may have thought the prospect discouraging; but he ought not to have stopped on that account, he ought rather to have followed the example of the gallant Colonel Miller, who, when he was ordered on a perilous service on the Niagara frontier during the war of 1812, did not say it was impracticable, but said "I'll try, sir," to the commanding general. He did try, and he succeeded. The achievement not only rendered essential service at that crisis, but honored his country's arms, and elevated his own fame. I hope my colleague will not be dismayed, because the undertaking of reform of the abuses of which he complains is perilous. If he will *try* he may succeed, and if he does he will render essential service to his country, and crown himself with laurels as unfading as those of Colonel Miller. But, sir, the fact that they content themselves with mere clamor, without attempting to do any thing to bring about reform, is conclusive that they do not believe there is any thing wrong in the principle, and have only one object in view, that is to put others out office that they may get in. How they used their power over the public money while in office, and how they may be expected to use it again, I will attempt to show before I am done.

But my colleague brings a general charge against the party in power, who, by their representatives in part (Colonel BENTON, Mr. CAMBRELENG, and others) had promised something like reform (should they get into power) in abuses which they said existed, and which they set out in a report on that subject, and which my colleague has presented in a garbled manner to the public attention, through his speech. Does my colleague not know that many of the abuses in that report complained of, grew out of the manner in which the powers that then existed got into office, and the corrupt manner by which they held the administration of the Government?

The Government fountain being corrupt, all the streams that flowed from it conveyed abuse and violation wherever they reached; and that by a reformation of the Administration, most of the abuses that flowed from it were dried up; which, in a great degree, superseded the necessity of further reform. Some abuses still remained; they were reformed in part, as I will show you before I am done. Some remain unreformed, and always will, as they do in all Governments, and are of a nature like the cholera, incurable. Yes, sir, the people have made that general reformation, by pulling down an Administration that had its origin in a corrupt bargain, and existed in violation of the spirit of the Constitution, and the sacred right of the elective franchise.

Here, sir, permit me to name some of the objections my colleague presents to the public against this Administration. Some of the practices which he denounces as corrupt, and still existing, notwithstanding the reform the people were promised; and permit me to compare these practices, that he is pleased to denounce as corrupt, with those of a similar character, but a thousand times more aggravating, as practiced by the administration of Messrs. Clay and Adams, which is urged upon us as worthy of example, and entitled to the confidence of the American people, and soon to be revived.

My colleague complains that the aggregate expenses of the Government far exceeds the expenses of the administration of the dynasty which he wishes revived.

That there is an additional number of clerks in all the Departments, and consequently an unnecessary expense incurred to the Government. Such is the character of his charges against each of the departments of the Government.

And now, sir, I proceed to answer the gentleman on some of these charges, and, I trust, I shall be not only able to prove many of these destitute of foundation in truth, but that the gentleman has withheld many important truths in relation to reforms and abuses, which it is due to this Administration that the people should know.

Sir, there is very little difference in the moral offence of withholding the truth, where it may be due to reputation and character that it should be told, and telling that which is wilfully false. The gentleman constantly (indirectly) holds up to view the coalition administration (Adams and Clay) as a mirror, in which is to be seen a pure Administration. I think, sir, we will find some corruptions charged to this and the last Administrations, which will be found to have been practiced with impunity in that. One of the great violations of economy and extravagant expenditures of the administration of General Jackson was sending Mr. Buchanan and Mr. Randolph severally, as Ministers to Russia, with a salary of \$9000 per annum, and an outfit of \$9000; that each of them staid but a year and a day, and then returned. Now, sir, let us see if we can offset this "useless" expenditure of General Jackson's administration by one of a similar character in the administration of Messrs. Adams and Clay. During the immaculate dynasty which my colleague desires to have renewed, no less than three minis-

ters were sent to England, viz: King, Barbour, and Gallatin, with an annual salary of \$9000, and an outfit of \$9000. This made 27,000 in outfit, besides the annual salary, which amounted to the same. Also, the son of Rufus King, who was left Secretary of Legation, was left by his father as Charge d'Affairs, who received an outfit of \$4,500, although (being there) he had not to fit out at all.

Then the account for money expended for keeping up our legation in England during that short reign of corruption and bargain, which only lasted four years, was—

Outfit for R. King	-	-	-	\$9,000
" for A. Gallatin	-	-	-	9,000
" for J. Barbour	-	-	-	9,000
" for Mr. King's son; who never was fitted out	-	-	-	4,500
Salary for do	-	-	-	4,500
" " Ministers	-	-	-	27,000
				<hr/>
				\$63,000

Yes, sir, \$63,000 was spent during that Administration, to procure the discharge of the diplomatic duties of one single individual. I think this will offset the Russia diplomatic story. My colleague had better have kept that story in the dark, as his reform is a kind of one-sided reform. My colleague says that the State Department sent Mr. Early to Bogota with despatches, and that he never delivered them, but received his pay. Well, sir, this was a hard case, and, taken in the abstract, smacks of fraud and improvidence. But what is the whole story? Mr. Early was sent to Bogota with despatches: when on the way, and within two days of St. Thomas, the vessel in which he had taken passage caught fire. There was a cargo of powder on board. The crew and passengers, amounting to nineteen in all, were instantly, to save their lives, compelled to take to the boats, two in number. They had left the vessel but half an hour when she blew up; and with her went the despatches. After the lapse of seventy-four hours without water or food, the famished crew reached the island of Hayti, from whence they got home as well as they could. I believe Mr. Early was paid the same as though he had delivered the despatches. Perhaps this was wrong; but I can tell you something worse under the coalition administration.

Mr. Clay (Secretary of State) sent Mr. Pleasants to Buenos Ayres with despatches. It is said that he found the crew rather unpleasant, (he being a pleasant man,) being principally mechanics and workies, and not the white fingered gentry. He put the despatches in the possession of the captain, and he wheeled about and put for England, where he amused himself in high life a time, and returned; for which Mr. Clay paid him nineteen hundred and forty dollars. So I think this will offset the charge of paying Mr. Early.

So far, I think my colleague has been unfortunate in his charges, inasmuch as they have the effect to call to recollection charges against the dynasty he wishes to reinstate, much more aggravating and pernicious. This, so far, seems to me to be a blunder on his part; but the worst have to come yet. I think his speech will be unfortunate for his party and his purposes. Another most important blunder has been committed by my colleague in

his "few comments on the professions and practice of Mr. Amos Kendall, late Fourth Auditor, now Postmaster General." He quotes from certain letters of that gentleman, published soon after he came into office, showing some of the abuses he found in office, committed by my colleague's political friends, and showing, also, that he had or would reform them, and affects to show that he had not done so. One of these extracts is as follows, viz: "The interest of the country demands that this office shall be filled with *men of business*, and not with *babbling politicians*." Can any man say with truth that this principle was not carried out? I assert, sir, and challenge contradiction, that the Fourth Auditor's Office, while Mr. Kendall was in it, was "filled with men of business," and not "with babbling politicians." Mr. Kendall himself was "a man of business," and neither he nor his clerks ever neglected their public duties to babble politics with any one. When he went into that office, what did he find to be its condition under the dynasty which my colleague is laboring to restore? Was it all purity, all honesty, all industry? No, sir: it was all rottenness, all idleness. His predecessor was one of the favorites of the Clay party; and Mr. Kendall soon discovered that he had been guilty of the grossest and most direct frauds on the Treasury, of which he was found guilty by an unwilling court, and more unwilling jury, after a tremendous party struggle to secure him from punishment. What thanks did Mr. Kendall get from my colleague and his party for exposing these frauds, and bringing them to merited punishment? Why, sir, he was abused through the party presses as a conspirator and persecutor, and while the prosecution of the culprit was in progress, was night after night *insulted and hooted at under his window*. Yes, sir, this was the mode the gentleman's party undertook to prevent the exposure and punishment of their corruptions. This was the reward they, then, bestowed on integrity and fearlessness in office; and the same game has been kept up since, down to the speech of my colleague. Now, I ask, was it no reform to remove a peculator upon the Treasury? My colleague does not seem to think so. Why? Is it because he belonged to his party?

Well, Mr. Kendall filled the Fourth Auditor's Office "with men of business," and what was the consequence? Much of its business was one, two, and three years in arrears, and in about a twelve month, it was brought completely up. Did he obtain or ask any additional force? No, sir. After the business was brought up, he suffered two clerkships to remain vacant for a long time, and one until he left the office, because, having "men of business" about him, he did not need the whole force which the law allowed. Moreover, under the Clay administration, which my colleague would restore, the contingent appropriation for the Fourth Auditor's Office was \$1,500 a year; but Mr. Kendall reduced it to \$1,000, and one year asked for no appropriation at all, having enough surplus of former appropriations on hand to meet his wants. Thus the expenditures of the office were largely reduced by him, while its business was greatly improved. What credit do my colleague and his friends give him for it? They have

poured on him, from beginning to end, a torrent of unceasing abuse. On every new exposure of a defaulter or a rogue, through his instrumentality, their abuse has been redoubled, clearly showing that an honest and fearless public officer is their highest antipathy.

While complaining that the party in power have not made the promised reforms, my colleague gives incontestible evidence of his *sincerity* by sneering at those which were made. He even finds grounds of attack upon Mr. Kendall for sending to the post office, to be charged with postage, the letters and pamphlets fraudulently enclosed to the Fourth Auditor to evade the post office laws, and for discontinuing sundry newspapers, because he could derive no assistance from them "in settling the accounts of the United States Navy." Yes, sir, in the reforms actually made by Mr. Kendall, as well as in those not made, the bank attorneys, immaculate and consistent men! find ground of attack!!

When Mr. Kendall went into the Fourth Auditor's office, the legal postage on private letters received under cover to the Fourth Auditor, was about a dollar a day, or at the rate of \$365 a year, and on the supposition that as great a number had gone out under his predecessor's frank, the fraud on the post office revenue, through that single office, under the CLAY-ADAMS administration, was over \$700 a year! Mr. Kendall put an entire stop to this abuse, and what thanks does he get from the Bank stipendiaries? They hate and abuse him the worse for it. But, says my colleague, he franked some prospectuses of the *Globe*. Well, if he chose to send them to his friends, had he not a lawful right to do so? Did he violate any law, or do so much of it as to constitute an abuse? That is not pretended, nor can it be with truth. But because he put a stop to violations of the law, and then exercised his privilege in conformity with law, the Bank attorneys find an inconsistency in it! I can tell my colleague, upon undoubted authority, that Mr. Kendall's course in that respect is not changed; that he uniformly sends to the post office letters for others enclosed to him, to be charged with postage, and sometimes pays it himself; that he covers no letters with his frank, not strictly his own; no, not even those of his wife and children. What praise does he get from the Bank attorneys for this scrupulous obedience to the law? The highest praise—*their unceasing abuse*.

My colleague finds a vast inconsistency in Mr. Kendall's discontinuing newspapers as Fourth Auditor, because they gave him no assistance "in settling the accounts of the United States Navy," and paying for a number of them as Postmaster General! Is this effort to show inconsistency a whit short of contemptible? The papers were not of use to him in performing his public duty as Fourth Auditor, and therefore he did not take them; they are of use to him in performing his duty as Postmaster General, and therefore he does not discontinue them. Is there any inconsistency in this? None but a Bank attorney can make it out. While Mr. Kendall was Fourth Auditor, he paid all his newspaper subscriptions *out of his own pocket*, because they were exclusively for his *private use*; but, as Postmaster General, it is essential that he should have not only the general but the local in-

telligence from every quarter of the country, and the only wonder is that he pays so little for it.

It is natural, sir, for the Bank attorneys to find fault with the part acted by Mr. Kendall in the removal of the deposits. Their client was destroyed by that measure, and the source of many a good fee dried up. But here, again, Mr. Kendall is followed by misrepresentation. "He got ten dollars a day," it is said, "for doing this injury to the public"—meaning *the Bank*. Now, sir, I pronounce this statement entirely without foundation. Mr. Kendall, under an appointment from the Secretary of the Treasury, visited the cities of Baltimore, Philadelphia, New York and Boston, to negotiate with the banks, and spent some days in each city. He had necessarily to see much company at the hotels where he stopped, and those who have had occasion to take private parlors, and have private tables, at the public houses in those cities, where they necessarily see, and treat civilly, many gentlemen calling on them, know that the actual expense, including travelling, can scarcely average less than ten dollars a day. Mr. Kendall paid all these expenses out of his own pocket, and received from the Treasury barely enough to make himself whole. This is the whole of this mighty affair, and the sum received, all told, was \$316 11. How rich this man must have made himself!

My colleague follows Mr. Kendall into the Post Office Department, and makes another *mistake* at the first jump. "The printed list of clerks in his Department," says he, "exhibits his father-in-law and two nephews, with salaries of \$1,000, \$1,200, and \$1,400," &c. Mr. Kendall has not, and never had, two nephews among the clerks of his Department. But what if he had two nephews in his Department? Have they not as good a right to be there as any body else, if they are honest and competent to the duties assigned them? If there be places of peculiar trust, is it wrong that the head of a Department should fill them with men whose integrity he best *knows*, although they may be his nephews or his brother? When abuses and frauds, instead of the most honest and honorable discharge of their public duties, are perpetrated by his relations, it will be time enough to censure their appointment.

Nothing will satisfy these Bank attorneys. Major Barry is abused for not keeping every thing right in the Post Office Department, and Mr. Kendall is abused for putting every thing right. The committees of Congress, majority and minority, complained of Major Barry for making extravagant allowances to Stockton and Stokes, and now Mr. Kendall is abused for not being willing to pay them allowances a thousand times more extravagant. One of my worthy colleagues [Mr. WHITTLESEY] I believe wrote some twenty-five pages in a book, 30,000 copies of which were printed by order of the House, to prove that Major Barry had allowed those contractors some \$100,000 more than they were entitled to by law, and yet voted for an act under color of which they have been allowed \$161,000 more under the same pretences, and has stood quietly by and seen Mr. Kendall compelled to pay it by judicial usurpation, if not something worse. I should like to ask my honorable colleague [Mr. WHITTLESEY] a question or two. Did

he not thoroughly understand this case, having investigated and written a long report about it? When the bill for the relief of Stockton and Stokes was before the House, did he not offer a long string of provisos, which were adopted? Were not these provisos so *carefully* framed as *not to touch one of the claims in controversy*, and be, in fact, perfectly nugatory? If so, what was the object? If he did not think Stockton and Stokes entitled to as much as they got from Major Barry by \$100,000, why did he vote for a bill to give them more? And when he found that an enormous sum more was awarded them, why did he not propose to repeal the act, instead of standing by and seeing Mr. Kendall compelled to pay it?

This case will illustrate the *sincerity* and *honesty* of the Bank attorneys. For political effect, they abused Major Barry for making allowances, then voted for a bill authorizing allowances much more extravagant; and because Mr. Kendall refused to pay still further allowances, which he did not believe authorized even by that act, they abuse him for withholding from Stockton and Stokes their *just dues*! All this shows that they care not a fig what use is made of the public money, and that their only object in finding fault is, to impair the confidence of the people in the Administration. They see \$161,000 wasted on Stockton and Stokes with indifference, if not with joy, and complain that \$316 was allowed Mr. Kendall, to pay his expenses when upon public service.

Sir, I have taken some pains to ascertain on what principles the Post Office Department is administered by this much-abused man. I understand that he went into it with a declaration that he should try the experiment of administering it in strict conformity to moral principles, and the laws of the land; and, if convinced of its impracticability, would hold it no longer. It was the fashion for officers and clerks in the Department to receive presents from contractors; and, when travelling, to ride free in their coaches. Believing that, to say the least of it, these practices tended to corruption, he forbade the reception of all or any such favors from contractors under penalty of dismissal, and prescribed the same rules for himself. All presents from contractors he has declined; and on every occasion has refused to travel free in their stages, steamboats, and cars. Free tickets have been sent him from some of the great lines, which he has uniformly returned.

As before remarked, this man does not cover with his frank even the letters of his wife and children, but pays the postage out of his own pocket; nor does he take stationery from the Department for his own use, much less for that of his family, believing that the public stationery is not his property, and that he has no right to use it but for public purposes. Of this, I have the most conclusive testimony, not coming from himself. When I was informed of this fact, although I was bound to believe it myself, I did not know that others would believe that Mr. Kendall's honesty was so scrupulous. I therefore addressed the following note to his stationer, of which this is a copy, and received the annexed answer:

WASHINGTON CITY, D. C. July 1, 1838.
DEAR SIR: Will you be so good as to inform me where the Hon. A. Kendall, Postmaster General, procures stationery for

the Post Office Department? If from you, will you have the kindness to inform me from whom he procures his private stationery, such as he uses for his private purposes, and for the use of his family? If from you, will you next inform me whether both are paid out of the public contingent fund, or is the latter paid for out of his private means? These inquiries are not made from any sinister motives, nor are their answers intended for any unfavorable prejudice to Mr. Kendall or any other person.

Your early attention to this request will much oblige your friend,
A. DUNCAN.
JOHN T. SULLIVAN, esq.

WASHINGTON CITY, July 1, 1833.

DEAR SIR: In reply to your note of this morning, I would remark, that I "supply stationery for the Post Office Department," which is charged to that Department, and paid for "out of the public contingent fund." Those articles are procured by the messenger, and are entered in a pass-book kept by him.

I have also furnished paper and other articles of stationery for Mr. Kendall's private use. These have been ordered by his servant, or by members of his family; sent to his private residence, and charged, in every instance, to his *individual account*.

I remain, very respectfully,
Your obedient servant,

JOHN T. SULLIVAN.

HON. A. DUNCAN.

I know that most men think Mr. Kendall over-scrupulous, and too precise on these points; but to all such suggestions he replies, that it is impossible for a man to err on that side, and that he will go out of office as conscious of rectitude as he came in.

And has this man done nothing for the public that he should thus be pursued with never-ending abuse? Has he not been efficient and faithful in every public trust? Could the duties of Fourth Auditor be better discharged than they were by him? Did he not bring the Post Office Department out of deep embarrassment as by magic? Has he not almost doubled its business and usefulness? Has he not, with great skill, sustained its credit under circumstances which shook that of all the banks in the country, and of most business men? In fine, could that Department be managed with more efficiency or better success?

Sir, it is for his virtues, his talents, and his success, that the bank stipendiaries hate him. They know he will not corrupt, and cannot be corrupted. He was efficient in putting down the Bank of the United States; and he desires to see the Government independent of institutions which, experience proves, have not discretion enough to manage their own affairs, and, of course, not enough to be trusted with the use or custody of the public money. These are his real offences. It is feared that his integrity, his efficiency, and his success will give weight to his opinions and his judgment; and every pretext is seized on to assail him. He has sent a few prospectuses of a newspaper to a few friends; he has expressed his opinions in certain letters and toasts; he takes a few newspapers to see what complaints there are of the mails, and what suggestions of improvement; and he received three hundred and sixteen dollars for his expenses in negotiating with the State banks! Are these his only crimes? No, sir. It is made an offence in him to have said that he could sustain the credit of his department without the help of Congress! The Treasury Department is abused because it wanted help, and the Post Office Department because it did not; as if to put it out of the power of Mr. Kendall to sustain the credit of his department, we have been throwing extra allowances upon him, and endeavoring to force upon him in the present depressed condition of the revenue, near 500 new

mail routes to be put in operation. And I have seen men exult here, under the impression that they would thus embarrass him, that they had "got him up a tree at last." It has even been said that he was already embarrassed; but this is so far from the truth, that the most credulous do not believe it. Their "wish is father to the thought." The Committee on the Post Office Expenditures, contains a majority of Opposition men. If they find the Department embarrassed, why do they not show the fact? Do you think, sir, the matter would not be examined into, and reported if there was the slightest faith in the assertion? If it were so, we should soon know it, and the exultation of certain *patriotic* gentlemen on this floor, would know no bounds. But, sir, scrutiny is invited, and malignnant aspersion defied. Instead of having treed their game, gentlemen will find themselves still "barking up the wrong tree."

I cannot help giving some very conclusive evidences of the sincerity of the bank attorneys, in their attack upon the Administration in money matters.

Mr. Kendall is abused for having received \$316 to refund his expenses, after performing a journey on public business. Now let us see what the bank men did while in power.

Mr. Southard was Secretary of the Navy in 1826, 7, 8. He is now, I understand, one of the pillars of the party; a man whom they specially delight to honor. He had a chief clerk, named Hay; he was positively forbidden by law to advance the public money to any body but disbursing officers of the navy, and persons employed in the naval service, on distant stations; yet, though thus positively forbidden, Mr. Southard advanced to his chief clerk \$300 of the public money, in November 1826, and sent him to New Orleans to look after the accounts of a former navy agent. He did nothing there whatsoever, but get \$100 more from the navy agent; and without any bills rendered, Mr. Southard allowed him \$800 for his expenses, when he was allowing only \$200 to officers of the navy for the expenses of the same journey. Would you believe it, sir, after hearing my colleague's speech? This man was receiving his \$2,000 salary as chief clerk during the whole period of his absence. In what case has any member of the present Administration so grossly and directly violated the law?

This Mr. Southard, as Secretary of the Navy, was also Commissioner of the Navy Pension Fund, which was vested in stocks. On the 1st of July 1828, these stocks were paid off to the amount of \$281,384 72, and on the 1st of January, 1829, to the amount of \$243,880 17 more. These were not reinvested until February 17th, 1829, by which means more than \$9,000 of interest was lost. Who was using the money in the mean time, is what I do not know. Mr. Hay having written a letter or two on the subject, and perhaps conferred with the cashier of the branch bank in this city, made out an account, charging half per cent. commission for reinvesting these stocks, and \$150,000 more which had been reinvested in 1825. Mr. Hay was still Mr. Southard's chief clerk, at a salary of \$2,000 per year; he was cut off by law from receiving any extra compensation; the service rendered was

properly a part of his regular duty, and did not probably occupy him two hours; and yet Mr. Southard allowed him this monstrous charge of \$3,376 32, and he *pocketed the money*. Thus was this charity fund for the support of the crippled officers and seamen, and their families plundered; yes, sir, *plundered*, by loss of interest through neglect, and cash actually paid Hay, in violation of law, of about THIRTEEN THOUSAND DOLLARS; and yet the men who want to restore the dynasty who did this, mouth at us about corruption and abuses which now exist only in their own corrupt hearts. Has any thing like this been done by the present Administration? No, sir, it has put an end to the allowances of commissions in all such cases.

Let us look a little further at the pure dynasty whom the reign of banks is to restore.

Upon Mr. Southard's recommendation Mr. Adams, in 1828, I believe, appointed one Andrew Armstrong, navy agent at Lima, in Peru. This is believed to be the only instance on record in which a foreign navy agent was nominated to the Senate, that class of officers having been considered special agents, not expressly provided for in the law. Mr. Southard then advanced to Armstrong \$10,000 out of the Treasury. What this was for, nobody out of the secret could divine; for exchange at Lima is always in favor of the United States, and it seemed ridiculous to send money to a country where money grows. But a reason has been discovered. No sooner was the money got, than \$2,600 of it was lent to Mr. Southard's chief clerk for two years, without interest, and was never repaid by him! Whether this was the true reason for a departure from all usage in this proceeding, I know not. Whether Mr. Armstrong thus bought his appointment, I know not. All I know is the fact I have stated, and every one must draw his own inferences.

What an outcry is kept up, Mr. Chairman, by the Bank advocates, upon the false allegation that the Administration is seeking, by the Independent Treasury plan, to get the public money into their possession for sinister purposes? Those who are struggling to get the public money for private uses, are clamoring to the skies against those who wish it kept by sworn and bonded officers, subject to heavy penalties, for public purposes only!! Let us see what was the practice of these men when in power.

When Mr. Southard was Secretary of the Navy, he converted the public cannon and cannon-shot into money to the amount of \$25,000, and had the money placed to his own credit in the Branch Bank in this city! But, sir, I will give you particulars. General Mason, who has a foundry near Georgetown, was applied to by some of the South American authorities for a quantity of cannon; but he had none on hand, or not enough to meet the order. So, to enable him to make a good speculation, Mr. Southard lent him a quantity of the public cannon and shot, and, as security for the return of new guns in their place, required him to deposit \$25,000, as already stated. It was, I believe, about eighteen months before General Mason completed the deliveries to replace these cannon, and in the mean time the money remained at Mr. Southard's credit, unless he used it, as it was in his power to

do. If he did not use it, the bank did, by discounting on it as a deposit.

Now I should like to know what law there was for such a transaction? I should like to know what law authorized Mr. Southard to lend the public property, and receive money into his own pocket, (for that is the amount of it,) as security for its restoration? It is in palpable violation of all law and all propriety. But did the Bank advocates ever whisper a word of censure against this illegal conduct of one of their great champions? Not a hiss, sir. All is right, because a Bank man did it! The public property or money may be lent out and used by banks and their peculiar friends with perfect impunity; and to put a stop to it is a humbug and a crime! But have the gentlemen found a case like this, in which any member of the present Administration has put \$25,000 of the public money or property into his pocket for a twelvemonth? No, sir, nothing like it. If they could, we should begin to hear, and justly, too, of impeachment by this House. Yes, sir, any public officer who will commit such an outrage, ought to be instantly impeached.

The corruptions and abuses of the Clay-bank administration were manifold and glaring.

The same Secretary of the Navy, aided the Fourth Auditor in fraudulently drawing thousands from the Treasury, and afterwards attempted to screen him from punishment by withholding important facts, when sworn before a grand jury and petit jury to tell "the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth."

He directed the Fourth Auditor to settle a claim of Messrs. Allen and Leonard of New York, which was originally about \$3,500, as stated by themselves, but had been increased by additional charges, from time to time, until it was swollen to upwards of \$10,000, and, under the direction so given, upwards of \$11,000 were allowed, \$1,000 of which were forthwith lent to the same Fourth Auditor, and never paid!

He violated the positive laws of the land in multitudes of cases, by causing moneys to be expended for one purpose, when they were appropriated for another.

He made to Congress estimates for the service of the Navy Department which were false, and, year after year, spent, for contingencies, nine to ninety thousand dollars more than was appropriated; taking it out of other appropriations, in violation of law, and concealing the fact from Congress.

He made use of a favorite clerk in the Fourth Auditor's office, at a salary of \$1,400, as special agent to make certain payments, and by commissions and a double salary, in violation of law, increased his compensation to upwards of \$2,000 a year for a series of years.

But the most obnoxious case remains to be noticed. The Navy Agent at Boston had made advances on account of the Government during the last war with Great Britain, upon which he claimed interest. That claim, amounting to \$7,679 64, or thereabouts, was allowed by Smith Thompson, Secretary of the Navy, in 1819, and passed to the agent's credit. The agent went out of office in 1826, and early in 1828, he made out an account

for certain alleged omissions in his former accounts, going back to 1812, upon which he charged interest. This claim was submitted to Mr. Southard, who wrote thus on the voucher with his own hand, viz:

"Let him be allowed interest upon the aggregate advance of \$3,899 72, in conformity with the decision made by Mr. Secretary Thompson on the former accounts.
Stk March, 1823.

S. L. S."

Accordingly interest was calculated on the voucher up to the time of settlement in 1819. This shows that Mr. Southard knew the interest account had been settled.

Soon afterwards, the late Navy Agent trumped up a new interest account upon his war advances, obviously unfounded and false in every particular. This new claim was submitted to Mr. Southard, who wrote a letter to the Fourth Auditor, as follows, viz:

NAVY DEPARTMENT, May 21, 1826.

SIR: Having examined the claims of Amos Binney, late Navy Agent at Boston, as far as the pressure of business during a session of Congress will permit, I see no reason to doubt the justice of a claim on his part for losses on Treasury notes, &c. But I do not feel at liberty to authorize the allowance of any of the items, except for interest actually paid by him which you will be pleased to settle.

"For the other claims, he will be obliged to address himself to Congress, where, I do not doubt that his application will be successful.

"I am respectfully, &c.

SAM'L L. SOUTHARD."

"T. WATKINS, Esq. Fourth Auditor."

The Auditor took up the case, and passed an account allowing upwards of THIRTY-ONE THOUSAND DOLLARS for interest, when all parties concerned, Mr. Southard, the Auditor and the claimant, KNEW that every cent of just claim for interest had been settled and paid nine years before! Yes, sir, Mr. Southard knew it. I have given an entry of his on a voucher, dated 8th of the preceding March, not three months prior to his letter to the Auditor, conclusively proving that he knew it!

But this is not all. This allowance gave Mr. Binney no ready money. It all went as a set-off against moneys due from him to the Government, leaving him still in debt over \$9,000. He could not, therefore, readily pay his corrupt instrument in this and many other gross frauds on the Government. But Mr. Southard was kind enough to help him out. Money could not be legally advanced to him out of the Treasury, because he was not a disbursing officer, having been two years out of office; but law, or want of law, was no obstacle in those glorious times, which my colleague thinks are soon to be restored. So Mr. Southard advanced to that man, who was officially reported in debt to the Government about \$9,000, the comfortable additional sum of \$30,000 more out of the Treasury! Yes, sir, having allowed a corrupt claim of more than \$30,000, he puts the recipient of his bounty in cash by advancing him, in the face of the law, \$30,000 more, to be covered by claims equally fraudulent and corrupt; and it was afterwards covered by his friend, the Fourth Auditor, and the Government brought in debt upwards of \$49,000, in addition; but the accession of the no-reform Administration of General Jackson, prevented the consummation of this last outrage.

What was done with the \$30,000 thus advanced in cash? I have heard what became of a part of it,

but I cannot prove it. So far, I have not spoken what I believe merely, but what I can prove. In relation to the men and things of that day, I believe many things which I cannot prove. I believe some \$10,000 of the \$30,000 advanced by Mr. Southard, went directly to men in power, or was applied to promote their designs. A charmingly pure Administration that was, when Secretaries put the public money in their pockets, \$25,000 at a lick, and distributed it gratuitously to their favorites, or investments \$30,000 at a time! Can the impudent assailants of the present Administration justly charge it with crimes like these? Yet, they are zealous to thrust out the men who have put a stop to these corruptions, and restore to power those who committed them. What a Fourth Auditor got fraudulently from the Treasury, Secretaries guzzled down in wines and meats, and other luxuries at his table, or won of him in gaming. The Bank candidate for the Presidency has been grossly wronged, if he did not, in the way of brag and other games, profit more by the current frauds on the Treasury, than the men who committed them. But that was all pure and right, Mr. Speaker; to put an end to it is no reform, for which Mr. Van Buren ought to be put out, and Mr. Clay put in.

And where now is the man who committed, authorized, or winked at, all these corruptions? Do you find any account of him in my colleague's speech? Not a word, sir. There is too much of a fellow-feeling between them. Mr. Southard, who held the Navy Department, is now one of the open-mouthed foes to Executive corruption and abuse; but if report speaks true, he profits as much by bank abuses, as he could have formerly done by Government abuses. He is president of one of the gambling bank concerns of the day, a particular adjunct and favorite of the Biddle bank, at a salary of \$6,000 a year! He holds a public station which gives him \$8 per day, and at the same time I am told receives his thousands in fees for practising as a lawyer in the Supreme Court. He is paid as a bank president, a legislator, and a lawyer, all at the same time, and of course, is absent most of his time from his public duties, except when there is a bank question on hand. There is no abuse or corruption in this. To be under pay by a bank, while pretending to serve the people, is no offence in the eyes of those who would pull down this Administration. But do you think, sir, the people, when they understand the game, will be content to be governed by bank presidents from New Jersey, and bank attorneys from Ohio? The banks pay better than the people. It is but a small part of \$6,000 which a member of Congress gets from the people; but the banks can afford to pay thumping salaries and fees, especially to those who are honest enough to represent them in Congress instead of their constituents. One Henry Clay, who is looked upon as the restorer of the old order of things, is known to have received in fees, from the Bank of the United States, upwards of \$17,000, and probably \$30,000 more from the branches. What a pure Government we shall have, when the President, heads of Departments, and a majority of Congress, shall be presidents, directors, stockholders, debtors, and attorneys of banks! Should not the farmers, mechanics, and all other honest men in the country,

be required to lend a hand in putting down the present Administration, that they may bring about so glorious a reform?

To bring suspicion on innocent men, is one of the arts used by villains to escape detection. Our bank orators and stipendiaries practice upon this principle. Corrupt themselves to the very core, they are eternally bawling corruption against the Administration, hoping to gain credence by their impudence and their perseverance. The very men who have practised all sorts of abuse and corruptions at the expense of the people while in power, and are sold body and soul to banks, great and small, are now spending their money to disseminate far and wide a certain speech, knowing it to be charged with false and libellous imputations from beginning to end. To add the honors of office, and the emoluments of Government corruption, to those of bank corruption which they now enjoy, without regard to honor, justice, decency, or truth, is the great end and aim of all this false clamor and mischievous industry.

Let the people not be deceived. Great reform was notoriously accomplished by Gen. Jackson's administration in expelling from power the direct, profligate, and felonious plunderers of the Treasury. Yet it is said there has been no reform! and the people are appealed to to restore the old order of things. Yes, to restore Southard to the Navy Department, and perchance Watkins to the Fourth Auditor's Office, and Clay, the head man of the whole corrupt gang, not to the State Department, but to the Presidency *de jure*, as he once was President *de facto*. And poor old Gen. Harrison having, with one White, been used by them until they feel strong, is to be laid on the shelf, and yield all honors to Monsieur Brag, the corruptest of the corrupt. Whether honest men of any party can be so deceived as to relish *such* reform, remains to be seen.

My colleague has made an attack on the War Department, and because there is an increase of clerks and expenditures consequent upon the increase of business and unavoidable duties to more than double of what they were in the times of the economical administration of Messrs. Adams and Clay, and has attempted to impress the public mind that extravagance and profligacy mark this Department with the rest, and that reform promised has been neglected in relation to this Department.

To ascertain the facts, I called upon Mr. Poinsett, the Secretary of War, and presented him a copy of my colleague's speech, with a request that he would furnish me answers to the allegations and charges contained in said speech. In conformity with my request, he has been kind enough to furnish me with the following statements. They are full and complete so far as they go, and will be satisfactory to all who hear or see them. Comment is unnecessary. Time and space have not permitted a further investigation into this and other Departments; but I have little doubt that the result, on further investigation, would be the same. I before stated that abuses do exist, always have existed, and always will exist, in this and in the administration of all other Governments. It is impossible that this vast political federal fabric can be con-

ducted without some abuses so long as frailty and depravity exist and form a part of the very nature of men, by whom it is governed. But here follows the statement from the War Department:

PAYMASTER GENERAL'S OFFICE,
Washington, July 5, 1838.

SIR: In compliance with your instructions to examine Mr. Bond's speech, as published in the National Intelligencer of the 4th and 5th of May last, and report how his statements agree with the facts as they are known to exist in this office, I have the honor to submit the following statement:

Mr. Bond says, "in 1828, the Paymaster General employed three clerks, whose united compensation was \$3,900."
"In 1838 the salary of the same number of clerks is \$4,290, besides the messenger's salary."

The estimates submitted to Congress for those years, show that the sums asked for the clerks and messenger in the office of the Paymaster General, were as follows:

In 1828.—"Clerks in the office of the Paymaster		
Do.	General	\$3,900
	Messenger	700
		\$4,600
In 1838.—"Clerks and messenger in the office of the Pay-		
	master General	6,100

Difference between the two years \$1,500

Accounted for as follows:

The clerks and messenger in the office of the Paymaster General are appointed under the act of the 20th April, 1812, which provides for, viz:

1	chief clerk, at a salary of	\$1,700	. . . . .	\$1,700	
1	clerk	"	1,400	. . . . .	1,400
2	clerks	"	1,150 each	. . . . .	2,300
3	clerks	"	1,000 each	. . . . .	3,000
1	clerk	"	800	. . . . .	800
1	messenger	"	700	. . . . .	700
					\$9,900

The business of the office has not required at all times so many clerks, and they have been reduced accordingly. In 1828, but three were employed, and not all of these at the highest salaries. The numerous volunteers and militia, called into service to suppress Indian hostilities, increased the business so much as to make it indispensably necessary to re-employ one of the five additional clerks to which the office is entitled, and in order to retain the services of competent persons, to allow to those employed the highest salaries provided by law. This makes the difference in the estimates for the two years.

It is still competent for the Secretary of War, under the act of the 20th of April, 1812, to appoint for this office three additional clerks, at \$1,000 each per annum, and one at \$800 per annum.

Very respectfully,

Your obedient servant,

N. TOWSON, P. M. G.

To the Hon. J. R. POINSETT,
Secretary of War.

Comparative statement of the number of persons employed in the Quartermaster General's office, in the years 1828 and 1838.

In 1828—3 officers; 2 clerks; 2 sergeants, acting as clerks; 2 sergeants, acting as messengers; total, 9.

In 1838—2 officers; 6 clerks; 1 messenger; total, 9.

NOTE.—It will be seen that there is no increase in the number of persons employed in the Quartermaster General's office, since 1828. The only change is in the substitution of clerks for officers and sergeants then employed. During the last two years, the duties of the office have been increased fourfold.

T. CROSS, Act'g Q. G.

QUARTERMASTER GENERAL'S OFFICE,
Washington city, July 5, 1838.

SURGEON GENERAL'S OFFICE, July 3, 1838.

SIR: In obedience to your instructions, I have examined the speech of Mr. Bond of Ohio, so far as it relates to this office, and have the honor to report, that the regular salary of the clerk employed in this office is the same as was received by him in 1828, viz: \$1,150 per annum, to which 10 per cent was added, during the last year, by an act of Congress, making \$1,265 per annum, and not \$1,266, as stated in the speech referred to; this addition of 10 per cent, continues to the adjournment of the present session of Congress.

From the organization of this office a sergeant from the army was employed to perform the duties of messenger, until 1836, when, by an act approved on the 4th of July of that year, provision was made for a messenger in lieu of the sergeant, whose salary is \$500 per annum, and to which 20 per cent. was added by the act of Congress of the 3d of March, 1837, referred to;

when stating the salary of the clerk, so that the actual difference consists in paying the messenger by specific appropriation, instead of his being paid from the army appropriation, as was the case when a sergeant was employed.

I have the honor to be,

Very respectfully,

Your obedient servant,

BENJAMIN KING,

Acting Surgeon General

Hon. J. R. POINSETT,

Secretary of War, Washington.

OFFICE OF THE COM. GEN. OF SUB.

Washington, July 3, 1838.

SIR: In compliance with your request of 2d inst. the speech of Mr. Bond of the 4th and 5th May ult. has, as far as regards this office been examined, and I have the honor to report, that in that speech as published in the "National Intelligencer," it is asserted, that

In 1828, the Subsistence Department employed four clerks, whose joint compensation was \$2,950; and

In 1835, the Subsistence Department employs four clerks, whose joint compensation is \$5,850.

In 1823, the number of clerks permanently employed in the Subsistence Department was three, and their compensation was, thus:

2 clerks per act, 26th May, 1821	\$2,150 00
1 clerk per act, 2d March, 1827	800 00
	<hr/>
	\$2,950 00
1 clerk temporarily employed by permission of the Secretary of War at \$25 per month	300 00
	<hr/>
Making	\$3,250 00

At that period, an orderly sergeant was employed as a messenger, who received his compensation from the "pay of the Army."

By the 1st section of the act of 9th May, 1836, the employment of non-commissioned officers in any of the offices of the Department of War was prohibited; and it became necessary to ask compensation for a messenger to be paid out of the appropriation for the civil list.

In 1833, the compensation of clerks and messengers in the Subsistence Office is,

1 principal clerk per act, 3d March, 1835	\$1,600 00
1 clerk	1,200 00
1 do	1,000 00
	<hr/>
	\$3,800 00
And the messenger paid by appropriation	500 00

Aggregate

By act 3d March, 1837, Congress added ten per centum upon \$2,800, of the above salaries making	\$280 00
And upon \$1,500, including the messenger, twenty per cent.	300 00

Making	\$580 00
Which added to the above	4,300 00

Makes	\$4,880 00
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being \$1,000 less paid to clerks permanently employed, than stated by Mr. Bond; but when the resolution of Congress of 1st February, 1836, passed, "authorizing the President to furnish rations to certain inhabitants in Florida;" the Secretary of War directed that a special account should be kept in this office of the issues under that resolution; the permanent force in the office being insufficient for that purpose, in addition to their other duties, it became necessary to employ a clerk to attend especially to that business, whose annual compensation was fixed at \$1,000, which added to the other items, constitutes the amount as stated in the speech.

When the department was rendered permanent by act of 3d March, 1835, the then Secretary of War thought that the salaries of the clerks in this office, should approximate as nearly as practicable, those of clerks employed in the civil bureaus, as he was particularly aware, that the salaries previously paid, were inadequate to the services rendered, and the responsibility attached to the situations; but in every instance where compensation to clerks or messenger in this office has been paid, it has been done invariably under acts passed by Congress itself, except in the two instances above mentioned.

Very respectfully,

Your most obedient servant,

GEO. GIBSON, C. G. S.

Hon. J. R. POINSETT,

Secretary of War.

INDIAN DEPARTMENT.

ASSERTION No. 1.—The business of Indian Affairs was discharged by some one or two of the seventeen clerks employed in the War Department.

FACT—In 1828, four clerks were engaged in the transaction of this business—Mr. McKenney, Mr. Hamilton, Mr. Kuitz and Mr. Miller. The Secretary then conducted a much larger portion of the correspondence, and supervised the details far more extensively than now.

ASSERTION No. 2.—In 1828, there was one Superintendent of Indian Affairs, who was paid \$1,500 per annum.

FACT—In 1823, there was one Superintendent, *eo nomine*, at \$1,500, and three Governors of Territories, acting as Superintendents, one at \$1,500 and two at \$750. These allowances were made by Mr. Calhoun in 1821, 1822 and 1823; to the Governor of Michigan in 1821; (see Mr. C's answer to the resolution of the House of Representatives of January 18th, 1832, State papers, 1st session 17th Congress, vol. 6th, Doc. 60;) to the Governor of Arkansas in 1822; and to the Governor of Florida in 1823; (see extract herewith of letter to Governor Duval of October 25, 1823;) aggregate compensation \$4,500.

Extract of a letter from the SECRETARY OF WAR to his Excellency WILLIAM P. DUVAL, dated 25th October, 1823.

"Your letter of the 2d ult. was duly received.

"Upon a review of all the circumstances, the following principle has been adopted for the settlement of your claim to compensation as superintendent of Indian affairs in Florida, to wit:

"For the time past when there was no Indian agent for Florida, an allowance will be made to you, as superintendent, at the rate of fifteen hundred dollars per annum, which is the rate of compensation allowed to the Indian agent now authorized by law.

"Since the appointment of an Indian agent for the Territory, in virtue of the authority above mentioned, and for the future, an allowance will be made to you at the rate of seven hundred and fifty dollars per annum, which is intended to cover the expense for clerk hire, office rent, and all others necessarily incurred by you in your intercourse with the Indians, that being the same amount as is now allowed to the Governor of the Arkansas Territory, and is considered a fair compensation for all expenses incurred by him of a similar nature."

ASSERTION No. 3.—In 1838, we find four Superintendents of Indian Affairs, with salaries of \$1,500 each.

FACT—In 1838, there is one Superintendent at \$1,500, and one Governor (of Wisconsin) acting as such, whose compensation as Governor and Superintendent is fixed, by law, at \$2,500. Adopting the principle of division established this session, in regard to the Governor of Iowa, and his pay as Superintendent will be \$1,000; aggregate \$2,500.

The other two acting Superintendents are Indian Agents, and receive only the pay of agents, as fixed by the law of 1834. This is stated in a note in the Blue Book, page 91, to which Mr. B. evidently had referred.

ASSERTION No. 4.—In 1828, there were twenty-one Indian Agents, (three at \$1,800, six at \$1,500, one at \$1,400, five at \$1,300, six at \$1,200, see State papers, 2d session 20th Congress, 3d vol. Doc. 117, page 7.) and twenty-eight sub-agents. In 1838, ten Indian Agents at \$1,500, and fourteen sub-agents at \$750.

FACT—In 1838, there are but eight Indian Agents, exclusive of the two acting as Superintendents, and whom Mr. B. has counted as such.

In 1828, the appropriations for the Superintendents and Indian Agents was \$31,000—In 1838 it is \$16,500.

In 1828 the appropriation for sub-agents was \$15,100—In 1838 it is \$13,000.

In 1838 the number of interpreters at agencies is eight less than in 1828. The average pay of an interpreter in 1828 was \$300 per annum, (see Blue Book for that year,) making the aggregate compensation of the thirty-nine employed in that year \$15,600—Appropriation in 1838, \$9,300.

ASSERTION No. 5.—In 1838 we hear of a commissioner whose salary is \$3,000, and 12 clerks and two messengers, whose joint compensation is \$19,400.

FACT.—In 1828, Governor Cass and General Clark, at the invitation of the Secretary of War, prepared a report, containing, among other things, "a code of regulations for the government of the (Indian) Department, and for the general administration of its affairs." This was in the form of a bill. The first section provided for the appointment of a commissioner at \$3,000; the second prescribed his duties; the third related to the number of clerks; the fourth gave him the franking privilege, and the fifth authorized the employment of a messenger. These five sections are stated to "contain substantially the provisions of a bill reported by the Committee on Indian Affairs in the House of Representatives, at the first session of the same Congress."—(See State Papers 2d session of the 20th Congress, Vol. 3d, Doc. 117, p. 4.) This report was submitted to Congress by the Secretary of War, "with a respectful but earnest recommendation."

So, then, it appears that this Indian Department, with its Commissioner at \$3,000, clerks, and messengers, was first proposed by a Whig committee, under a Whig administration, in the very year 1828, when the business was not more than one-third of what it is 1838.

The number of clerks now employed in the Indian office is 12. The number in 1828 was 4. In 1831 was added; in 1831 another; and in 1832 a messenger. In the latter year, the business of emigration was committed to the Commissary General, who employed 5, and a messenger. In 1836, 2 were authorized by law to be employed on the business of Indian reservations. The increase was occasioned in 1830 and 1831, by the passage of the act of May 28th, 1830, "providing for an exchange of lands, and the treaty of September 27th, 1830, with the Choctaws, according to the stipulations of which, their removal was immediately commenced. The provisions in the same treaty, in that with the Creeks of March 21, 1832, and with the Chickasaws in 1832 and 1834, granting reserves to individuals a head of families, to the number of about 10,000, and which were the first provisions of the kind to any extent, authorized in the judgment of Congress the employment of the other two in 1833. The whole number was 13.

The business of emigration has been transferred to the Indian Office, the number of clerks is 12, and the number of messengers is 2.

Thus far for the Indian Department in the two years specified, independent of treaty stipulations. The expense of superintendents, agents, sub-agents, and interpreters, in 1828, was \$51,970, in 1833, it is \$35,800, less in 1833, \$23,170. This is exclusive of the compensation of the acting superintendents, which, as has been shown, is \$2,000 less than in 1828; making the entire difference in favor of 1833, \$25,170.

We now come to the composition of the Indian Department, under and by virtue of treaty stipulations.

Mr. Bond enumerates 6 superintendents of emigration, 15 conducting and 1 enrolling agents, 2 valuing agents, 8 collecting agents, 2 issuing agents, 16 assistant agents, 15 physicians, 11 clerks, 14 interpreters, 2 conductors of exploring parties.

REMARK.—These are all engaged in the business of emigration. As the agents of either of these classes are stated to have been employed in 1828, or prior thereto, the impression was naturally be that none were employed.

FACT.—In the treaty with the Creeks of January 24, 1826, were stipulations for the valuation of their improvements; for their removal and subsistence; valuing, collecting, enrolling, conducting, and issuing agents were employed. The number of each class, and the pay of each, cannot be ascertained without reference to the Auditor's Office, and a long examination; the fact of their employment is proved by the correspondence in the Indian Office. Some appointments of the same kind were also made under the treaty with the Choctaws of May 6, 1831.

REMARK.—The treaty with the Choctaws of September 27, 1830, was the first under which emigration took place extensively; and it was not until the following year that it commenced with much vigor under that with the Choctaws of 1828; and it was in 1831 that, for the first time, regulations were prescribed which gave form and system to the business of removal. These provided for the employment of the different classes of agents above enumerated, and fixed their compensation. These were not only approved by the President, but, slightly revised have been appended to the reports from the Indian Office for the last year.

For the reasonableness of them, consider the number of Indians to be removed, and the stipulations to be fulfilled. Since the beginning of 1823, sixty-four treaties have been made with Indians. Of these, thirty-four provided for the removal of the Indians, the valuation of their improvements, stock, &c. and their subsistence for twelve months at their new homes. Living in different sections of the country, different sets of agents were necessarily employed, the number in each case being graduated with regard to the number of Indians, and the amount of service to be rendered. For the removal of the larger tribes, a general superintendent was essential as the only means of preserving harmony and subordination among the other agents, and among the Indians, and of ensuring unity of action. All responsibility was devolved upon him. To him was committed the selection, in the first instance, of all the other persons to be employed, and also the power to suspend them from duty; and upon his requisitions alone were the disbursing officers, military and civil, to make payments. For this responsibility, and his various and numerous services, \$2000 will not be considered too large a compensation. The six named by Mr. Bond as in the service in 1833 are General Smith, superintending the removal of the Choctaws, numbering 18,000; Maj. Upshur, the removal of the Chickasaws, 5,500; Colonel Pepper, the removal of the Pottawatomies, 5,000; and Chippewas, 6,700.

There is also another consideration. The appropriations for the Indian Department proper in 1828, were under four heads—pay of superintendents and agents, pay of sub-agents, messengers, and commissaries. The amount under the latter was \$1,600 which was applied at the discretion of the Department, and out of it were paid salaries, farmers, interpreters, and any body the Department might choose to employ. In 1833 the appropriations are specific, based on laws and treaties, and the estimates for which are minute and full.

Colonel Sands, discontinued, and duty transferred to Peypar. There are, therefore, three at \$2,000, neither of whom will be in service, probably, at the close of the present year, as all these Indians will be removed. There is one other at five dollars a day, collecting straggling Choctaws in Mississippi, whose employment is temporary, and the sixth, who received the same pay, has been discharged.

Of the fifteen enrolling and conducting agents, five are employed among the Pottawatomies, Ojowas, and Chippewas, five among the Chickasaws, and five among the Choctaws, whose services will terminate before those of the superintendents. The enrollment must exhibit the name of each head of a family, and the number in each family, to be ascertained by personal inquiries through the nation, and it is necessary to regulate the issues of rations on the route, and payments and subsistence after their arrival west. The conductor has charge of the movement of a party, directs the issues of provisions, the transportation of the sick, and of the baggage, &c. and is held accountable for the delivery of the party to the agent of the Government west of the Mississippi. The interpreters are as necessary in the emigration as at the agencies; their compensation is higher, to cover the expenses of traveling. The employment of physicians is required by humanity, and the experience with the earlier emigrants would not justify the Government in refusing to employ them, merely to avoid the expense. Four of the physicians enumerated by Mr. Bond are provided for in treaties; two in that with the Winnebagos of September, 1832, and two in that with the Ottowas and Chippewas, of March 28, 1836, in both the pay is fixed. Conductors of exploring parties are also employed under treaty stipulations. Mr. Bond says: "We find thirty three commissioners and special agents."

REMARK. Of the thirty-three, twelve were employed under resolutions or laws of Congress, directing negotiations, or the examination of claims; six to execute treaty articles, and one conducted an exploring party, for which the appropriation was made at the suggestion of the Committee on Indian Affairs in the Senate. Of the remaining fourteen, ten were employed by the express requirement of laws or treaties, two to execute treaty articles, one to conciliate the wild tribes of the prairies, and bring deputations of them to Washington, and the last is the district attorney in Florida, charged with temporary duty, having in view the removal of the Apalachicola. Of the thirty-three, there is but one not authorized and required by resolution, law, or treaty, and that one has been employed to preserve the peace of the Western frontier. Since the 30th of September, 1837, the date of the report from which Mr. B. quotes, 19 of the 33 have been discontinued. The pay of commissioners was, as far back as 1801, eight dollars per day, from the time they left home, until they returned, and all necessary expenses were reimbursed, (see Instructions from General Dearborn to Messrs. Davie, Wilkinson and Hawkins, American State Papers, Indian Affairs, vol. 1, page 630.)

Mr. Bond presents an array of fifty three blacksmiths, twenty farmers, eighteen teachers, five millers, one surveyor, and five miscellaneous agents. It is enough to say with regard to these, that with the exception of one in the last class, who is a messenger in the office of the Acting Superintendent at Detroit, performing duty also as a clerk, at \$30 per month, (not a very extravagant allowance,) they are all employed in the fulfillment of treaty stipulations, and that when the treaty does not fix their compensation, it is regulated by the 9th section of the act of June 30th, 1834, organizing the Department of Indian Affairs. Every one conversant with Indian relations, knows that, in every negotiation, the Indians wish provision made for smiths, farmers, and teachers, &c. and the Government has always assented, because such measures will conduce to their civilization. The amount set apart for these purposes, forms a part of the consideration paid for the land ceded by the Indians. If these persons were not employed, so much more money must have been paid to the Indians. But in this case, too, Mr. Bond leaves it to be inferred, that such persons were not in the service in 1828. But from a very hasty examination of the reports from two of the superintendencies, St. Louis and Michigan, it appears that there then were thirty blacksmiths, twenty-two laborers, nine farmers, two teachers, three physicians, and four special agents. And it is probable that most of the treaties under which they were employed, are still in force, and of course these appointments make a part of those enumerated by Mr. Bond.

But, says Mr. B. even this is not all. The Commissioner of Indian Affairs says the list in the Blue Book, is not accurate or complete. He leaves room to add or alter. And why did he not quote the reason assigned by the Commissioner?

It being required that the names of all the persons employed on the 30th September should be given, it is impossible to procure the returns in season for printing the Register. Besides this, many of the agents neglect to make returns, and in other cases it is impracticable, from a variety of causes to obtain the requisite information. It is believed to be complete and accurate, so far as this office has the means of making it so.

Knowing well the provisions in the treaties, the Commissioner could not help seeing at once that the returns did not embrace all the persons in the service. Taking only the treaties made since 1828, (sixty-four in number,) he knew that they provided for forty principal smiths, while the list shows only twenty-eight; the residue of the fifty-three named by Mr. B. being assistants; and so with the other classes of persons.

"Here, indeed," exclaims Mr. B. "is a display of patronage." Truly it is a great thing to have the appointment of a smith or a farmer for Indians on the frontier, and hardly within reach of a white settlement. But how has it happened that so much "patronage" rests with the Executive? Not by any act, primarily, of his own. It is Congress that directs a treaty to be made, ratifies it, and makes appropriations to carry it into effect. If the Executive, in consequence, possesses power, it has been knowingly and deliberately given by Congress.

It has been shown that the expenses of superintendents, agents, and interpreters, is twenty-five thousand dollars less now than in 1828. And more than that. In Doc. 474, House of Representatives, First session, Twenty-third Congress, page 46, may be found an "organization of the Indian Department," proposed by the Committee on Indian Affairs, the expense of which is a trifle more than the present. This report was prepared by Mr. Everett of Vermont, who deservedly acquired much credit by it, and the country was congratulated on the reform and retrenchment introduced by the laws then passed, and which were based upon it.

The sum of the matter is this. There have been sixty-four treaties made with Indians since 1828. The States have been slowly and gradually relieved of their Indian population. The tribes have been settled beyond the Mississippi and Missouri, so that intercourse with them is necessarily more expensive than ever. New features have been introduced into treaties. The Indians have not been talked with merely to get their lands, been offered for it only trifling and temporary aid, and left in the neighborhood they were found in. They have had assigned to them a fertile and healthy country, and have been liberally supplied with ploughs, hoes, and axes, for the men, and looms for the women; with mechanics to teach and work for them, and farmers to break up land and plant it for them, and teach them to do likewise. They have ceded to the United States 13,250,000 acres, for which the Government has stipulated to give them in land money, &c. \$72,560,056; and it is expected that all this should have been done at no increase of expediture over that in 1828.

My colleague has recourse to the official statements of the amount received by the Globe office, during the last and present Administrations, as proof of the extravagance of the Republicans, and ground of suspicion against the honesty of the editor. He gives the sum total of the amount paid for printing for Congress and the Departments, in the Globe office, hunting through the terms of two Presidents, at \$220,000. I take it for granted, having no opportunity for the examination of the multitude of items of which it is made up, that this sum may have been disbursed through the Globe office for printing and paper, and other materials necessary to this species of work, so absolutely indispensable in the proper discharge of the business of Congress and the Departments. My colleague will allow that printing must be done for the Government. It is looked upon as the glory of our free Government, that all its acts are exhibited in print, and full information afforded to an enlightened community of every thing done by its public agents. This is the medium through which the factionaries and representatives of a people over-spreading a continent, are held to an accountability, stricter than that which the people of the ancient Republics could command in a district of country, not greater than one of our large counties. The only questions brought up by my colleague's display of the public printing done by the Globe establishment are, has it been done well? Has it been done cheaply? Has it been done honestly? By bringing together the labors of a great establishment from its foundation to the present moment, my colleague [Mr. B.] would insinuate an accusation of exorbitant charges against the

Government on the part of Messrs. Blair and Rives. My colleague showed his caution in thus accusing by *incedo*. He was perfectly aware of the unimpeachable honesty of the proprietors of the Globe office, and did not dare to make a single specification against them. But a member from Tennessee, [Mr. CROCKETT,] in pursuing the game of the Opposition in a private letter, charged that three or four hundred thousand dollars of the public money had been paid to the Globe office for printing the speeches of Messrs. BENTON and CALHOUN in defence of the Administration. His colleague, [Mr. CARTER,] perceiving that this exceeded by some hundreds of thousands all the public money that passed through the Globe office in payment for work done and materials purchased for all the Departments and Congress, came to the rescue of his friend [Mr. CROCKETT] by declaring that a tariff had been laid on the pay of the clerks to make up the sum paid for publication. The moment that these charges appeared, the Editor of the Globe, through his paper, challenged an investigation by a committee of Congress. The members of Congress who made them were told it was their duty to bring the delinquent they denounced to justice. My colleague and his accomplice advisers shrunk from meeting the man they had charged, before a committee of our own body. Mr. Blair then appealed to this House, by petition, to refer the matter to a committee, and have a full scrutiny of all his accounts with the public. The special committee was ordered by this House, and then commenced the effort of the Opposition to defeat, by indirection, the inquiry, which they knew would disgrace the persons they had put forward to stigmatize the Administration and the official paper by their accusations. Only six weeks of the session remained, and the Opposition knew how difficult it would be, when all the business of the session was huddled into this narrow space, to take up a postponed question, especially in regard to a petition which could only come up, by the rule, on the Monday of every alternate week. An hour, therefore, after the inquiry had been ordered by a special committee, a Conservative [Mr. HOPKINS, of Virginia] moved a reconsideration. This hung up the decision two weeks, and was, I am afraid, intended for that purpose. When the subject was again taken up, every artifice was resorted to for the purpose of defeating inquiry. It was first proposed to refer it to a standing committee, composed of one of the accusers [Mr. CROCKETT] and others, making a majority of Opposition members who had shown themselves afraid of the investigation. If the case had been referred to the accusers as *judges*, would not the whole inquiry have been smothered, or a report as foul and erroneous as the original charges returned by those making them? The accusers [BEND, CROCKETT, and CARTER] exerted themselves in this attempt, but it was voted down by the House. An effort to lay the subject on the table, and so get rid of it, was tried by the same party in vain. At last, after the committee was appointed, and had the instructions of the House to inquire into the whole subject of the public printing, when it came forward and asked the ordinary power of sending for persons and papers to obtain evi-

dence of the facts it was required to report, the Opposition opposed this, and moved to discharge the committee altogether from the duty assigned.

This failed, and the committee met and organized for the examination. It opened its sittings almost every morning at 8 o'clock, but not one of the accusing members came forward to make good their charges. At last the committee addressed a note to Mr. CROCKETT, inviting him to support by evidence, the allegations made by him in the House and his private letters. Mr. CROCKETT replied, if the investigation was to be confined to the prayer of the petition, to a scrutiny embracing only the accounts of the Globe office with the *public Departments and Congress, he would have nothing to with it*; but if the committee would go out of the instructions of the House, and inquire into the *private* accounts of the editor of the Globe, he would examine witnesses! How the committee treated this evasion, I am not informed; probably with silent contempt. But I am authorized by Mr. Blair to say that he is willing to submit his private accounts and his private life to the closest scrutiny. The bold assailants in this House skulking thus from the summons, the committee had no alternative but to seek out testimony on the allegations made before the representative body, by interrogating those who, from the nature of the charges, must know their truth or falsehood.

Mr. CROCKETT's charge, made by him in writing, verified by his signature, and secretly circulated, was couched in these words:

"Hundreds of thousands of Mr. Benton's and Mr. Calhoun's speeches, as I am informed, have been printed *gratuitously*, and circulated by *the party* throughout the land.

"My own opinion is, honestly, that they are paid for out of the *public Treasury*, and I believe it could be proven to the satisfaction of every unprejudiced mind; at any rate I should like to know how *Dear Blair*, the printer of the Globe, can afford to print so many thousand speeches for nothing, and find himself? No man *can* believe it who is not as blind with party prejudice as a snake in dog days. The cost at the ordinary rate cannot, I think, be less than from 3 to \$400,000."

As explained by his colleague (Mr. CARTER) in the presence of the House and of Mr. CROCKETT, and afterwards published by Mr. CARTER in the *National Intelligencer*, it stood thus:

"Sir, my colleague did not intend to say that the money was taken *directly* from the Treasury, and applied to these purposes, but he intended to say, and does say, that the public money is indirectly appropriated, and applied to this specific use. Sir, are there no grounds for this opinion? If the salaried officers of the Government are paid extravagantly, and those salaries made sufficiently high to give the officer a reasonable compensation for his services, after contributing several hundred dollars for party purposes—to pay for these partisan speeches and extra Globes, if you please, which is said to be coerced from them by this party regulation and discipline—I would ask, in the name of common sense, if this is not virtually defraying these expenses out of the public Treasury, to all intents and purposes? Sir, it is virtually the same thing, just as much so as if the editor of the Globe was directed by the Government to cause to be printed ten thousand copies of that paper every week, and circulated to non-subscribers, and to draw his money directly from the Treasury. The effect is the same; the Government pays the money in either case, and, in either point of view, improperly. Sir, were not the salaries of these officers increased ten or twenty per cent. just before the last Presidential election, upon the recommendation and vote of the party that reigned and ruled in this House so triumphantly—increased in it as much as is said to be the tax laid and collected off those officers for party operations?"

This imputation on the Government and the Editor of the Globe thrown out in secret letters at first, and afterwards promulgated on the floor of this House, for the purpose of giving it the stamp of a Congressional impeachment; and which, as I

have shown, they attempted to keep pending and unrefuted by an inquiry, until after the elections, was put down by a cloud of witnesses. The committee addressed a note to all the Departments, in pursuing the inquiry as to the facts put in issue by Messrs. CROCKETT and CARTER:

It was responded to by all the Departments; every one proving that no change in the ordinary price of printing had been made favorable to the Globe office; but on the contrary, the Department of State, Treasury and Post Office, point to particular instances of considerable reductions. The clerks of all the Departments have, in a body, given written testimony, signed by their names, establishing, in the most explicit manner, the utter want of foundation in truth for the assertion of the members from Tennessee, [Messrs. CROCKETT and CARTER,] that a tariff had been imposed on them to pay for publications at the Globe office. I select the shortest replies as a sample of the whole:

NAVY DEPARTMENT,

July 7, 1838.

Sir: I herewith transmit the answers of myself and clerks, and that of the clerks of the Navy Commissioners' office, to the queries propounded in your letter of the 3d instant.

I have the honor to be, sir,

Very respectfully,

Your obedient servant,

J. K. PAULDING.

Hon. Jas. J. McKAY,

Chairman Select Committee House of Representatives.

DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA, ss.

Personally appeared before me, Robert Getty, one of the Justices of the Peace for said District, James K. Paulding, Secretary of the Navy of the United States, and, being duly sworn, saith:

1. That he does not know of any instance in which the Editors of the "Globe" have been allowed for printing for the Navy Department a compensation greater than that usually paid to other printers for printing, similar to that required to be done by those Editors.

2. That he does not know any instance since he has been at the Head of the Navy Department, in which printing, not properly chargeable to the United States, according to law or the usages of his predecessor, has been ordered and paid for out of the public fund, either to the Editors of the Globe or any other printers; and that he does not know of any of the officers of the Navy Department being tarified or required to raise funds to pay for public documents or speeches to be published at the office of the Globe or elsewhere.

3. That no change as to the mode or prices in the execution of the printing done for the Navy Department has been introduced since he has been at its head, differing from that customary under his predecessors; and further saith not.

J. K. PAULDING.

Sworn and subscribed this 7th day of June, 1838.

ROBT GETTY, J. P.

NAVY DEPARTMENT, June 7, 1838.

The undersigned, clerks in the Navy Department, respectfully state, in answer to an inquiry contained in a letter of the 3d instant, addressed to the Secretary of the Navy by the Hon. James J. McKay, chairman of the select committee of the House of Representatives, to which was referred so much of the memorial of F. P. Blair as invites a scrutiny into all his accounts for printing for Congress and the public offices, that they have not "been tarified or required to raise funds to pay for public documents and speeches to be published at the office of the Globe, or elsewhere."

(Signed)

JOHN BOYLE.
J. D. SIMMS.
L. B. BARDIN.
THOS. L. RAGSDALE.
B. M. VOORHEES.
H. STARK.
M. POOR.
A. H. QUINCY.
N. B. HOYLE.

Sworn and subscribed before me, at Washington city, this 7th day of June, 1838.

(Signed)

ROBT. GETTY, J. P.

A declaration like the above was sworn to and subscribed by the clerks in the Navy Commission-

ers' office, before Chas. W. Goldsborough, J. P. and sent to the committee.

There are 444 clerks in all the Departments. Of these a large majority are in opposition to the Administration, and to the press which supports it; and yet, with perfect unanimity, they bear unhesitating testimony to the utter groundlessness of the charge made by the members from Tennessee, [MESSRS. CROCKETT and CARTER.] It appears there was not the slightest circumstance to countenance it—not a pretence to found it on. It was made on this high authority, was to do mischief to the Administration in the approaching elections, under the hope that inquiry might be baffled during the remnant of the session, or that the committee would not be able to examine the whole subject submitted to it; and that as it could not report in full, the evidence would not come out in time to correct what I might call fabrication, until it had done its work for the party. To defeat this iniquitous scheme, I felt myself called on to seek from the same quarter the same evidence which the committee has obtained, and I use it to put in a proper light before the country those who would abuse their high station to destroy the reputations of innocent men for party objects.

It appears from the official and verified statements of the Departments, that no increase of price on any jobs executed for them by the Globe office, has in any instance taken place; on the contrary, that great reductions have been made on several; and on inquiry, I learn that the printers and others who appeared before the committee, who measured the work, and made the requisite calculations to ascertain whether it had been well done by the Globe office, and charged for according to law, proved, as far as they progressed, that all was right.

To enable the public to judge of the excess of profits; which my colleague, [Mr. BOND,] by his aggregate of \$230,000, would make the impression had been made by the Globe office, I have obtained from Mr. Rives, who has the entire management of the establishment, the following statement:

"The prices which Congress pays for its printing were fixed by three disinterested practical printers in 1819, residing in different sections of the Union. Two weeks after the Globe office commenced printing for Congress, (the 11th December, 1835,) the wages of journeyman printers were raised by the Typographical Society of this city, 10 per cent. on former prices. That rate has continued ever since; but the price paid by Congress has remained unaltered."

The Globe office and materials cost \$40,000; the wear and tear of materials is about \$5,000 a year; the interest on \$40,000 is \$2,400; the hands in the Globe office have been paid in six years \$140,000; the paper used in printing for the Departments and Congress, cost \$63,000."

It will be seen, therefore, from the foregoing statement, that the actual expenditure of the Globe office, in connection with the public work, is \$268,000; a sum greatly exceeding the amount received from the Treasury. Yet a reasonable profit has been made upon the public work, because an establishment adequate to its performance in the intervals of public employment, and in association with it, is enabled, by publishing newspapers, speeches for members of Congress, jobs for private individuals, and advertisements, to add largely to its income.

I now turn to the public printing executed at the newspaper offices of the Opposition in this city. One

would suppose from the outcry that they, at least, had been proscribed, as they pretend the office-holding partisans of Federalism have been, and were almost starving for patronage, while the Globe was rioting in an enormous monopoly. My colleague—who has been almost petrified with horror at the extravagance of the Administrations which (with the command of the Departments and majorities in Congress) have, in a course of six years, allowed the only press in this city advocating the Republican policy to derive a reasonable profit on work and materials furnished to the amount of \$320,000—does not think worth while to mention the trifling amount which has passed through the mills of the Intelligencer and Telegraph during the same six years, and when both were devoted to the cause of the Opposition. Every body in Washington knows (it is of record) that the National Intelligencer, office, house and lot, types, presses, profits due and to become due, are deeded to the Bank of the United States for facilities granted it at various times, amounting to between ninety and one hundred thousand dollars. This is *prima facie* proof that it has been starved at the Treasury during the six years that the Globe has rolled in such abundance. I have looked to the record, and find that the editors of the National Intelligencer have drawn the following sums from the Treasury during the six years of long abstinence that the Globe interfered with its income:

Gales and Seaton received during the six years beginning the 1st October, 1831, and ending the 30th September, 1837	-	-	\$432,348 18
Duff Green received	-	-	363,293 94

Together, \$795,642 12

For the extra session, in the name of Allen, up to this time (7th July)			
Gales and Seaton have received for printing to the House	-	-	\$120,000 00

In addition to this, is an appropriation of \$49,000, which has just passed, for the purchase of Gales and Seaton's Register of Debates, (volumes made up from the pages of the Intelligencer) and other books which they have printed and kept on hand for distribution, at the expense of the public, among the members. Of this sum, a few job printers in this city will come in for five or six thousand dollars. Gales and Seaton's part will be at least

-	-	-	43,000 00
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For work ordered at this session and not yet paid for, there will be added to the receipts of Gales and Seaton (in the name of Allen) at least	-	-	15,000 00
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The sum total already voted by the present House to its printers, is	-	-	178,000 00
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If the next session of three months may be calculated upon as the ratio, (and as there is always more work done in the same space of time in the short session than the long one,) it is a fair calculation that one-third of the printing expenditure already incurred by the

House, may be set down for the coming short session—that is 59,000 00

The following results are shown by the comparison:

1st. The editors of the *Intelligencer* will have received for the printing for one branch, during the 25th Congress, and for old books distributed among the members, seventeen thousand dollars more than the whole amount which my colleague [Mr. Bonn] has drawn together for work done by the Globe establishment for all the Departments, and for Congress, during six years.

2d. It shows that the two leading Opposition presses in this city have received about one million dollars, commencing with the period which my colleague [Mr. Bonn] has fixed upon as beginning the condemned career of the Globe establishment.

And yet my colleague sees nothing extraordinary in the enormous expenditure on the National *Intelligencer*, but is shocked at the pampered condition of the *Globe*.

But if the difference of amounts received by the two establishments is amazing, the mode in which the *Intelligencer's* receipts have been so swollen is not less astonishing.

Neither branch of Congress has ever been solicited by the proprietors of the *Globe* to print books for distribution among the members; nor have any such publications been voted to be done by the *Globe* office. Only two works, I understand, have passed through its press—the *Diplomatic Correspondence of the United States from 1783 to 1789*, and the *Commercial Regulations*. The former was printed for less than it had been done for previously; and the latter, which had not been printed before, was printed and bound at less than Congressional prices.

The enormous sums which have swelled the bloated receipts of the *Intelligencer*, are made up of books to fill the private libraries of members of Congress. Being the republication of old State papers and Registers of Debates, containing the speeches of the members themselves. This system of seducing members of Congress, by their private interests and personal vanity, to vote the wagon loads of volumes annually distributed from the *Intelligencer* office, began before I came here. The old members having obtained their share, the new comers do not refuse what has been previously printed for them; and the old members, as matter of course, vote it, because, if they did not, it would be an acknowledgment that they had taken money from the Treasury to make perquisites in books for themselves to which they were not entitled; and so this abuse is handed down from Congress to Congress by the rump of the old members, who are obliged to give to the new members the *doubleur* of books which they had previously shared among themselves. I voted for this resolution. I regret that I done so. I did not understand at the time its full bearing, and the amount it involved; and I now say, that the portion of the books which falls to me, is the property of the Government, and at its service, whenever it may be found advantageous to surrender them. The Senate have again and again voted down this appropriation; but the majority in the House then tack it on some indispensable appropriation bill, and compel the Senate to vote it,

and the President to sign it, or else lose the means of supporting some regular establishment of the Government, and be compelled to throw the business of the country into confusion, or leave it undone. The forty odd thousand dollars appropriated to the *Intelligencer's* book contribution, was rejected by the Senate at the present session, as heretofore; but it was afterwards coupled by the House with the bill "to provide for the support of the Military Academy of the United States for the year 1838, and for other purposes," and so forced upon the Senate and President. It is in this way, when the Federalists have a majority in either branch of Congress, that they compel a Democratic Administration to submit to the appropriation of unnecessary millions, with which, by log-rolling, they load the bills indispensable to the support of Government. Their corrupt appropriations to subserve private, local, and personal interests, are always tacked to a bill which must be passed, or the Government be stopped.

But another mode is adopted by the Federal party having the majority in either House, to swell the expenses against the wishes of the Administration, and then charge the extravagance to it. For example, at the present session, the House printed more than one hundred thousand dollars in documents, many of them not worth the paper (now made waste paper,) on which they are printed. Of this sort is a volume of one hundred and thirty-eight pages, consisting entirely of the cancelled drafts of the Treasury which my colleague [Mr. Bonn] called for, and had printed. He could have had no motive in calling for this but to make a fat job of rule and figure work for Gales and Seaton. It is just as valuable a work as so many cancelled checks drawn on a bank. In the beginning of the session, Mr. GARLAND of Virginia, a Conservative, called for the correspondence of the Treasury with the banks. The House was informed that there were not clerks in the Department sufficient to prepare it during the term of the members. It would have made a fat job of at least \$50,000, on which the gentleman's friend, Mr. Allen, would have had a per centage, and Gales and Seaton their profits. Another call was made by him for all the documents in regard to the defaulters to the Treasury; and this would have been to copy and print the papers of the office of the Solicitor of the Treasury out and out. This would, besides the expense of copying, cost at least \$50,000 more for printing. It was found there were not clerks enough to make the copies, and Mr. GARLAND moved a resolution to authorize new appointments for this purpose, but it failed. This shows what the Conservatives and Whigs would have done, by way of bringing grist to Gales and Seaton's press, to afford vast profits to them, and increase the per centage of Allen. What they have done appears, from the gross sum of a hundred and twenty thousand dollars for the extra and present session of the House printing, with an arrear of fifteen thousand dollars yet to be received for it, with forty-three thousand dollars for books; and at least fifty-nine thousand dollars to be realized, at the same rate, for the approaching session, showing an aggregate of TWO HUNDRED AND THIRTY SEVEN THOUSAND DOLLARS for one branch of Congress

for one Congressional term; whereas Messrs. Blair and Rives have, received, during the six years by colleague [Mr. Bonn] has scanned their printing, only one hundred and six thousand dollars for Congress printing and materials, and one hundred and fourteen thousand from all the Departments, for the same time.

But the most scandalous part of this history of the printing of the House is yet to be told. Although Gales and Seaton receive all this money for printing, they were not elected its printers. Allen was elected to perform this confidential trust, although he had only about 21 or 22 votes in a House of 242 members. Does it not look as though after three days' balloting a corrupt bargain was made, under which it was arranged that Allen was to become nominally the printer to the House, but Gales and Seaton were to do the work and receive the pay? After the caucus was held which consummated the infamous agreement, (if such was the case,) by which it was stipulated that Gales and Seaton's friends would go over to Allen and unite with the Conservatives in his election, suspicions were excited by the announcement of this determination; and several of the honest Conservatives, whose votes were necessary to the success of Allen, interrogated him as to the supposed intention of transferring the printing to Gales and Seaton. He denied positively that there existed such an engagement, and pledged himself to execute the printing in his own office, declaring that he was making provision for that purpose. That he made the pledge, and forfeited it, is established by the statement of a member on this floor, [Mr. SNYDER, of Illinois.] Their votes were, in effect, sold to Gales and Seaton, although they protested, in advance, against being made accessory to such a shameful and corrupt transaction.

Mr. Chairman, a high public trust, personal in its character, has been farmed out in violation of all principle and decency, to individuals to whom it is known a majority of this body, as well as their constituents, were unwilling to confide it; and Allen, in violation of another Republican principle, holds a sinecure. Will any one hereafter say, that this House is to be trusted to elect the Chief Magistrate of this country, when it is found, that in electing a printer, pecuniary considerations, the bases of bargaining between parties, have controlled the result.

Another natural consequence of this bargaining, has been discovered before the committee appointed to investigate the subject. This committee being appointed at the heel of the session, has not yet had time to make full investigation, and report; but I feel at liberty to use the information which I have derived from a witness, sworn before it. A first rate practical printer, called on by that committee to measure the work and calculate the price which it was lawful to charge for it, and compare it with that which Gales and Seaton, in the name of Allen, as printer to this House, had received for it, found that the first document printed for this House at this session, by Gales and Seaton, was fraudulently printed; and that by diminishing the page, and using types different from those authorized by law, they had

made an illicit profit, amounting to between thirteen and fourteen hundred dollars. He examined another document, and found a like fraud committed; and an unlawful profit of between 3 and \$400 obtained by it. This was but a beginning. The committee had not time to prosecute the inquiry further, at this session; and asked leave to continue it at the next, which was granted. I have a statement of these facts, in writing, from the witness, as sworn to by him before the committee. He is a first-rate printer, well acquainted with Congressional work, and of unimpeachable character. I have little doubt that from this commencement that it will be found in the end, that Gales and Seaton have made as much out of their frauds, as will pay Allen the per centage he required as compensation for the deception practised upon those Conservatives whom he betrayed; and to make good to those who acted with him his promise, to convert the consideration he received into the means of supporting the press established in this city for their common benefit. All the legitimate profits upon the public work will thus, probably, be cleared to the Intelligencer, and the aliment of the Madisonian will be derived from the frauds committed by his Whig accomplices on the Treasury. How characteristic this of the two printing concerns, and the two parties which entered into the vile coalition that gave birth to the bastard Madisonian? Is it not notoriously fed on offal of the foul speculations of the Intelligencer? And this is an earnest of what the Federal party will do for the little Spartan band of Conservatives, who shall have joined their standard, in the event of success. They will, no doubt, give them a share of the plunder, but not an atom of the power, of the Government.

Will not the American people ask, for whose interests the honor of the great representative body of this country has been compromised, and its hall made a market place, in which the votes of members, and a high public trust, have become a subject of mercenary barter between the leaders of two parties assuming to be actuated by lofty political principles? When understood, their principles are like the man for whom they have sacrificed the noble character of the country. He is an Englishman, a perfect prostitute in politics—notoriously the stipendiary of the Bank of the United States—and the ready instrument of every faction, which, in alliance with that institution, would contribute to the overthrow of our Republican institutions. He is an alien, too, in all his feelings. He was found the willing organ of Gorostiza in vindicating the cruel and perfidious conduct of Mexico towards our citizens, and its insults to our Government. He took the part of France, when she shamefully withheld the indemnity she was pledged by treaty to pay, and endeavored to throw the blame on our Government, and raise a party for France, in case we were driven to war in defence of our rights. He has encouraged the resistance of the Indians to the policy of the Government, and stimulated the feeling which led to the butchery of so many gallant men, the exhaustion of the public Treasury, and the ruin of the Indians, whose cause he pretended to espouse. It is on this dishonest fraudulent Englishman, that more

than a million of the public money has been lavished from first to last. And yet my colleague, [Mr. BOND,] and the party with which he is associated, think him poorly compensated.

Mr. Chairman, I think I have said, perhaps more than once, that there are existing abuses; and for reasons which I have given, abuses will exist. But if "those who administer this Government were as pure as the angels that minister in Heaven," there would be lean, lank, hungry, unprincipled hyenas to howl around this Capitol, with appetites prepared not only to devour the reputation of those who live to administer the Government, but the grave itself would be insufficient to secure the dead from their blighting and withering howl.

My colleague has finished his speech with a case from the Old Testament Scriptures, illustrative, as he supposes, of the corrupting influence of power upon the Democratic party; the total want of analogy between which, in some of its strongest points, may be easily perceived; for while Hazael came to the throne by the murder of his master, that is, through blood and crime, the present and past Administrations came into power, not by crime and blood, but by the suffrages of a free and independent people; and by the same operation which brought these Administrations into power, was a corrupt and usurped Administration politically throttled, and its corrupt workers of iniquity thrown into the mud. But, sir, to the Scriptural case. I shall close my remarks by a reference to a case from the same high authority. Sir, the course of the party at present out of power—but earnestly desiring, and sparing no pains, labor, or expense, to get into power—reminds me, and may remind the country forcibly, of the case of the unfortunate Absalom. I refer not to his contriving the death of Amnon, nor his forming a conspiracy with Ahithophel against the administration of the government, but to his ambition, and the means he used with the people to carry his designs.

Being suffered to return from his banishment into the neighborhood of the throne he plied his

political wiles with the unsuspecting people, alleging that justice was not done them, promising if he was put into office, that things should be made better. Thus speaking, and forming a party against the Government, we are told that Absalom rose up early, and stood beside the way of the gate, and if any man had a controversy, and came to the king for judgment, then Absalom said "The matters are good and right, but there is no man deputed of the king to hear thee. O! that I were made judge in the land, that every man which hath a snit or cause might come unto me, and I would do him justice." And it was so that when any man came nigh to him to do him obeisance, he put forth his hand, and took him and kissed him. So Absalom stole the hearts of the men of Israel. He sent spies throughout the land (political missionaries) to all the tribes of Israel, and under pretence of piety towards God, he left Jerusalem for Hebron, where he was to set up his authority. But ere his mad ambition obtained its consummation, the beast which he rode forsook its rider, and Absalom fell by the hand of trusty Joab, who made his grave in a pit.

Absalom went out to war upon a mule—a mongrel beast, half horse, half ass. What kind of a mongrel hobby is the present Opposition mounted on? Bank, Anti-bank—Tariff, Anti-tariff—Masonic, and Anti masonic, &c. &c. They have no opinion in common, except it is hostility to the people's best interests, and a contempt for their understanding, or, in other words, a decided hatred to the simple institutions of Democracy. But when the people shall rise in their strength, this modern mule shall forsake its riders, and leave them to the fate of Absalom.

With all the ambition and chicanery of Absalom, backed by the cunning of his counsellor, Ahithophel, the Federal party never can again succeed in getting into power. They have been driven into political banishment, from which they never will be permitted to return.





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