

In England the quantity of bank paper is about equal to that of coin circulating. In France the hard money is ten times greater than the bank paper. In the United States the bank paper is ten times greater than the gold and silver. A late writer in the National Gazette, estimates the annual expenditure of the individuals of this country, at five thousand millions of dollars. Let that gentleman take that large sum and calculate, on so large a basis, what we lose by mere depreciation of currency.

We lose largely by false banking, the great bane of American industry. The supposed protection to manufactures which our Tariffs, (as I shall always contend wisely and constitutionally) were intended to provide, is altogether countermined, frustrated and perverted by bank licenses and monopoly to lower the standard of value. Not only so; but it is moreover a bounty to foreign labor, brought here to crush and ruin our own. The whole round of our system is a vicious circle. We batter ourselves first, by imposing direct taxation would be much cheaper, and we flatter ourselves, again, that the impost protects our industry—when the sorry fact is that by depreciating our currency, instead of being protected, it pays a second tax more onerous than the first. It is all round delusion, and loss and injustice and extortion.

Hence it is that with all our liberal tariffs manufactures have been declining and struggling with continued difficulties—like banks at one time inordinately flourishing, at another plunged in distress; and on the whole a losing business to three-fourths of those concerned in them. Banks divide from five to fifteen per cent of the profits which belong to production, wrested from it by bad currency. And it is, I believe, a too remarkable fact that the ruin of factories has kept steady pace with the increase of banks.

Factory expenses are paid weekly, and in cash. Manufacturing is cash business. The raw material is either paid for in cash, or by notes at short usance bearing interest, which is the same thing as cash.—Sales are made at nominal advance, paid by notes of commission merchants, discounted at banks (if they condescend to discount them) or by brokers. The charge of commission and guaranty is five per cent. The cost of discount is, say, three, on notes averaging six months.—Thus, without counting failures, we may safely put down nine per cent as the very least of the charges at which the manufactured article merely gets to market; and there it is exposed to all the fluctuations of the credit system, on which it was first launched.

Those ruinous alterations of swell and pinch with which banks desolate communities, injure manufactures sooner and more than any other working men; from obvious causes. A swell obliges employers to increase all their outlays, and tempts workmen into unusual expenses. A pinch prostrates the whole establishment at once. The employer cannot pay debts contracted during the intoxicating advance of prices, the hands cannot bear the privations they are laid under, strikes and disorganization inevitably ensue, workmen disperse, machinery spoils by disuse; in short, establishments are ruined. Steady work at moderate prices is the element of manufacturing prosperity (as indeed it is of all.) All the workmen of Philadelphia can bear witness that in the pinching times of 1834 when banks laid heavy hands on prices, they were doing better than during any ups and downs either before or since. Wages only a dollar a day earn a barrel of flour in a week when it is 6 dollars a barrel; at which price the farmer too is better paid, as well as the manufacturer, than when bank swells make wages a dollar and a quarter a day and flour ten dollars a barrel. The great disaster is steady work and steady price for all industry, agricultural and manufacturing; and steady prices are impossible while bank discounts fix prices.

I will close this hasty sketch (which might be much developed) of the effect of banks on manufacturers by suggesting a curious, and it may be, mistaken consideration—problems left to better judgment and opportunities than mine to solve it. Are not the banks by their operations on the tariff, the cause of their own suspension of specie payments? When duties are protective, importations decrease, and a favorable balance takes place in exchange and trade. There is then little demand for specie to export; and bank directors are the first to perceive that inducement to increase bank issues. By such issues all prices are inflated: rents, food, clothing, every thing, but wages and day labor, (always the last to enhance) become dearer. Master manufacturers advance the prices of their fabrics; and, in short, all prices go up, until the impost ceases to exclude foreign importations, when the tariff is annulled by the relative worth of money, and enables Europe again to pour her productions, requiring our specie or its equivalent in exchange to pay for them. Then comes the bank pinch. Every thing is come down in price. And if it happens as it did this last year that the swell was enormous, especially if English banking is involved with ours in aggravating it, a rush for specie follows both here and there, and the banks are unable to withstand it. I submit this problem to be worked out by others. But if the solution should be that our banks have by their own licentious dealings destroyed the tariff and themselves too, the retribution will

be only the more remarkable, and the lesson, we may hope, profitable.

I shall bestow but one paragraph on that most important and interesting part of the subject, common day labor, not strictly manufacturing; the labor of the poor, of children, and all rural labor.—I omit it, not because it does not deserve ample consideration. On the contrary, it deserves it more than manufacturing labor—the most of all—but because all I have said of that, applies with greater force to this. Whatever injustice banks do to manufacturers, they aggravate to the tens of thousands of poor laborers, of both sexes, who earn a precarious livelihood, in the country, in villages and in cities, by the humblest, hardest and least rewarded daily toil. If to the manufacturers, paper money is unjust, to these poor people, it is more than unjust—it is cruel; and in a country where the real sovereignty is in their hands, it is a marvellous proof of the prevailing respect for property & law, that they do not use their sovereignty as they might and all other countries would.—Their patience and forbearance are American virtues which ought not to be taxed too far, or provoked to an exercise of popular control, in a way to be earnestly deprecated. All agricultural industry, of the rich as well as the poor, being equally injured by paper money, it is fortunately the interest of all the rural population to act together; so that if any disposition to violence should exist in one class, it is tempered and prevented from harm by the fellow suffering and coincidence of opinion of the other class.

I appeal with the honest pride of a native Pennsylvanian to the population of Philadelphia and Pittsburgh, those manufacturing keys of this key-stone state, and to the whole region, stretching between these cities, teeming with agricultural, mineral and manufacturing wealth. I appeal to the whole people of a state whose productions exceed by far those of New York and Virginia, united—whose industry properly developed is worth ten times all the foreign commerce of New York—to such a commonwealth I appeal to lead the way in emancipating these United States from the oppressive servitude of paper money, which has already chained us by a debt of one hundred and sixty millions of dollars to European fund holders, and our own speculators, and which, if these chains are not broken, will recolonize this country: which taxes us indirectly, more than the people of England are taxed by excises and other however oppressive direct taxes; which was the first and most crying evil the federal constitution was formed to cure, and is an evil of such magnitude as undoes all our American advantages.

Let the people have hard money. Let them insist upon it. Let them try it.—Let them compromise with nothing short of it. Let hard money be the will of the people. Let their representatives repeal the double and monstrous taxes which are now paid by discounts; paid by the poor to the extravagant, by the industrious to the idle. Let this be no party work; but the last achievement of American Independence and of popular sovereignty. Commerce may require its banks and credits. Let it have them. But all productive industry, all that is not merely distributive must be freed from the paper fetters. The change may be a period of trial and suffering—the means severe—but the end cannot fail to redeem them. Nothing else can put American labor and manufacturers on any thing like an equality with those of Europe.—Hard money is the only effectual tariff. Suppress paper money, and give American industry fair play, with its superior ingenuity, enterprise, versatility, and perseverance; with its superior water power, and steam power, brighter sun, and longer day light—its vastly greater variety and excellence of the raw materials—with every thing to carry all useful arts to the greatest and utmost perfection.—American industry needs but freedom, freedom from bank taxation, from the modern stamp act; needs but be let alone, to vindicate and establish itself against all foreign competition.—Cotton, wool, marble, iron, leather, mineral produce, and those made from the earth—every thing that can be rendered useful by labor, abounds to render us independent of all the world, and to make the world pay us tribute. Our cotton and manufactures would fetch from abroad every year more specie than the largest circulation could require, if a thousand banks did not with their secret police continually hunt it out of the country, or into hiding places.—There is now more than enough of it, if they will suffer it to circulate.

More complex, stupendous and perplexing abuse was never organized as government than that which now oppresses this free and thinking nation. Bank excesses have saddled us with stationary stock debts estimated at more than a hundred millions of dollars, and a floating commercial debt exceeding sixty millions, all to foreigners; besides incalculable debts among ourselves. The same excesses, by before mentioned action on imposts, have encumbered the federal government with an unheard of surplus of revenue, which it has attempted to get rid of by distribution among the states. But most of it, if not all lies dead in banks, not one of which can pay it to the State entitled to it in good money. But for a strong and much abused exercise of Executive power, the public domain would also be, most of it, transmuted into mere bank credits—credits of banks who neither will nor can pay even the coin left in deposit with them. With more than gold and

silver enough for affluent circulation, scarce a dollar is to be seen, and paper is undergoing rapid depreciation.—While a large portion of our most respectable and intelligent, wealthiest and most interested citizens are, by what seems to be infatuation, striving to perpetuate the banishment of coin, the supremacy of unconvertible paper and the destruction of their own property.

Secondly.—What, then, is the simple and effectual plan for restoring and preserving coin circulation, without any bank at all; the remedy for state and national evils thus but faintly depicted; which in the beginning of this letter, I promised to submit?

The option is between state banks, a national bank, whether of discount or a treasury bank, and (discarding all banks) by some other method.

Of state banks nothing more need be added to what has been the whole strain of this view. My very humble and private opinion has never been withheld during the use made of them since the removal of the public deposits from the bank of the United States, that state banks of discount and circulation never would answer the constitutional purposes of the federal government. I think they have altogether failed; and shall consider them out of the question.

I believe when the late Mr. Dallas proposed the Bank of the United States in 1814—15, that Mr. Jefferson's preference was for a Treasury Bank; and I never could see any objection to such a bank that does not apply to an incorporated discount bank of the United States. We have all seen the late bank defy and well nigh defeat the government, and arguing from what it did as antagonist to what it might do as the instrument of an ill disposed executive, I cannot understand how a treasury bank would be a more formidable presidential or party engine than such a bank as the late bank of the United States. But Mr. Madison and others of our wisest and best men having set the seal of their condemnation on a Treasury bank, such an institution has been discredited, and it is not for me to attempt its establishment in public good-will.

For similar but stronger reasons all discount banks of the United States are no longer practicable. Desirous of dispassionately treating this important subject, I shall avoid angry review of the merits or demerits of the late Bank of the United States, and content myself with assuming three postulates, viz. first, that it is no more—secondly, that the president of the United States, for nearly four years to come, has given solemn pledges to use his office against all such institutions as both unconstitutional and impolitic; and thirdly, that the vexed question of any Bank of the United States having degenerated from an examination of its utility into passionate and party division and recrimination, it is certain that no such bank can be chartered without a revolution of parties, without an overthrow of the majority and the ascendancy of the minority.

On some proper occasion I should like to discuss the question at large, why the late Bank of the United States is not now the Bank of the United States—believing that it can be shown that it is not the fault of the State nor of General Jackson's administration, that it is not at this moment what Mr. Madison's administration made that bank, an institution of great fiscal usefulness, and as he considered it if an evil, at least a necessary evil, greatly preferable to the state banks, and of great advantage in crowding and controlling them.—But I shall for the present content myself with saying, that except in some parts of some of the cities there is no disposition for any incorporated Bank of the United States at all; and that although pains have been taken to alarm the state pride of Pennsylvania against the alleged ambition of New York to re-establish it in the city of New York, that state is decidedly opposed to it. Instead, therefore, of asking whether it ought to be, I treat it as a thing that can not be. I owe it to candour to add that in my humble opinion, at least, it need not; and that the severe ordeal the community have undergone by what that bank and the state banks have caused, renders it indispensable as it is right that some other plan should be tried.

The main part of such a plan—the basis of it, may be very simple, and is perfectly feasible. It is but to create by act of Congress so many commissioners or agents, at such places as may be deemed necessary, empowered to receive keep, and pay the public funds. From twenty to thirty such commissioners, at proper positions, would perform without difficulty, all those duties. 1. They could receive, 2. They could keep, and 3. they could pay, in gold and silver, or by equivalent credits, all the income and expenditures of government; and without any bank instrumentality whatever. Congress should give them houses for safe keeping the money, and take from them adequate security for faithful conduct in their offices.

Thus, together with the mints, a coin circulation would be established in the operations of government. Is the federal government bound to go further? Has it constitutional authority to do more? Mr. Jefferson's opinion was, I believe, that the states should surrender to the United States the regulation of the currency as well as the coinage of money; and no more urgent time than the present could be found to make that surrender should be deemed proper.

But, if not, at any rate, should it be thought advisable and constitutional for congress, as now empowered, to regulate domestic exchanges, the before mentioned commissioners could do it without any difficulty, but such an inveterate habit and opposition might give rise to. These commissioners being authorized by act of Congress to give bills of exchange on all parts of the Union, in payment of the amount in gold or silver, (or unquestionable equivalent) charging no more than the mere cost of transportation from where the bill of exchange is given to where it would be payable, might thus furnish bills of exchange having great advantages over mercantile or bank bills of exchange, viz: that being drawn on and after actual deposit of the hard money, there would be no risk of damages and could be no failure of payment.

Some such simple plan, it is with deference submitted, is possible, and would succeed. At all events it is worth the experiment. I once heard the present President of the United States say that he had understood that Mr. Adams had declared that five hundred years hence, the two American names most salient in history, will be Washington and Jackson. And now, while the latter yet lives, but no longer in the place to be adulated, let us do his unsophisticated and unlearned, but inflexible and inflexible natural sagacity the justice to acknowledge that his political economy was exactly that taught by Smith, Say and all the scientific doctors of that difficult art. It was that too much regulation is an evil of government, and that metal money (or its immediate equivalent) is the only safe currency. State banks, much less than a federal bank, were not the regulators his iron will was riveted to, he was for hard money, and no banks; and do not present events demonstrate that he was right? If, however, the time has past, when banks may be altogether dispensed with, such as they are let us at least make the best of them.

If when he took upon himself the responsibility of removing the public deposits from the bank of the United States, Gen. Jackson, with his gigantic popularity, had then forthwith insisted likewise on specie payments and none but specie payments, his economical glory would have been complete; and by this time all the financial, if not the momentary difficulties of the country would be over. I own that government must now wage a conflict with habit, prejudice, interest, party, and what are called capitalists, before it can establish any substitute for banks of circulation, for perhaps a national bank of corporation and circulation. But the experiment must be made, and the late downfall of the banks is what may be termed a fortunate occasion for it.

Let us take it as a good omen, and consider it fortunate; and without looking back to recriminate, go forward with a firm but cautious step of determined trial. The merchants are for the most part unfriendly. But so they were to the war of 1812, to the recent threat of hostilities with France and to the present danger of rupture with Mexico—all quarrels into which they led the country, as they have into the bank suspension. Without, therefore, questioning either their position or their patriotism, but looking to the fact alone, we may be encouraged to try some simple system of hard money, without apprehending their opposition now, as it has never heretofore proven insuperable.

Restoration of specie payments is a great desideratum; but it is not the greatest. Lasting establishment of them is much more important. The banks, even as they are, may be important agents in restoring it; but it is not worth restoring, if they are to remain as they are, to govern the country and revolutionize value. We must have a permanent standard. It is no part of the duty of the federal government to reinstate the fallen state banks. It is no part of the duty of even the state governments. That is the business of the banks themselves. Should they, after the federal government by law deals in coin alone, continue to deal in paper together, so be it; such currency may be useful for many local purposes.—If the states suppress small notes, the state banks may be rendered useful auxiliary institutions; but not without that indispensable improvement. The effect of an exclusive federal coin currency may cause many of the state banks to close their affairs; so much the better, if gradually done. Although, at first, no doubt there will be many obstacles to contend with, in a new scheme of currency, yet will they be so serious as those through which the late bank of the United States was obliged to win its way to confidence and usefulness? I have often heard Mr. Dallas predict, at its outset, that it would be several years from its establishment, before it could succeed; and who does not remember that it was so? The metallic standard required is to be only a standard. It is not to supersede bank bills of proper denomination, or bills of exchange for any amount. But if the government holds always in deposit by its commissioners metal enough for all the purposes of public payments and private exchange, what is to prevent such sum from saving as a standard of universal value? The individual annual expenditures of the United States may exceed five thousand millions of dollars, may be more than all the hard money in Europe and the United States together; but what then? That large basis of personal payment does not affect the question of a

standard of value, a sufficient standard, which is all that is required.

No one can be so sensible as the writer of this sketch of its many imperfections. Written at intervals snatched from public engagements, insulated from the best means of information, and even personal communication with those familiar with the intricate topics it treats, brief and confined as the view must be, to be read at all by the public—I would not venture to offer it but in the trust that however partisan detraction may disparage it, the people of the Third Congressional District, to whom it is addressed, will fairly consider it, and the people of Pennsylvania altogether likewise give it, I receive by every mail such proofs of their anxiety on the subject, by public notices of the currency report, to which it may be taken as the sequel, that I should be wanting to the conjecture and to their solicitude if I did not follow up, in the same spirit of fair argument and deferential submission to public judgement, a discussion that may perhaps enlighten and cannot possibly mislead.

C. J. INGERSOLL.

From the Western Hemisphere.

GENERAL JACKSON.

The importance of the services rendered the American People by the venerable and patriotic man who has just retired from the Presidential Chair, is acknowledged even by those who are his fair and honorable political opponents. These services were truly great, and rendered at periods, and under circumstances requiring more than common talents and courage to ensure a favorable result. How disgraceful then is it that American citizens and American presses should daily be employed in endeavoring to blast that reputation, and sully that well earned fame, which forms a constituent part of the high character and glory of this nation. The military achievements of ANDREW JACKSON have shed a lustre around the American name, which neither time nor circumstances can obscure. The fame of him who planned with consummate wisdom, and executed with bravery unequalled, achievements which have tended so much to elevate the character of the American People, it must be universally conceded, is the property of the nation. It ought, therefore, to be the pride of every American, as it is the pride of every noble and generous hearted lover of his country, to repel with indignation and scorn, every imputation. Is it so? Would to God, for the sake of our beloved country, we could give the question an affirmative answer;—but the reply must be emphatically, *no!* ANDREW JACKSON has been, and now is, more basely slandered and misrepresented, by a heartless, cowardly and malicious aristocracy, than any other man now living, and perhaps, more than any man that ever did live. The partner of his bosom sunk into the grave with deeply lacerated feelings, yea, with a broken heart, caused by the foul and fiendish insinuations and misrepresentations of her character, which were circulated in the federal papers in 1823. She was a woman—Honorable men in all ages of the world have subscribed to the sentiment: "He that would raise his hand to woman save in kindness, 'twere charity to call him villain." But honorable feelings then found no abiding place in the bosoms of federal leaders; and to the whisperings of the silent monitor within, they used the language of Shakespear's hero, "conscience awaked!"

ANDREW JACKSON has retired to the peaceful shades of the Hermitage; but federal malignity has followed him! Of what has he been guilty, that should draw down upon his head the vengeance of the aristocracy? Is he slandered because, during the late war, he was always found at the post of danger, ready to hazard his life in defence of his country? Is it because in a memorable period he stood between an infuriated and hired soldiery and at great hazard protected the homes, the hearths and the alters of his fellow citizens? Is it because he terminated a long and bloody war with the most signal and glorious victory that can be found recorded in the history of the world. Is it because at all times he has been the fast friend of the people? Is it because he diminished the government with an eye single to the general good of the country? Is it because he has risen by the force of his own talents, unaided by adventitious circumstances of any kind—either of name or of fortune? If the aristocracy do not slander Gen. JACKSON for any of these acts, pray, why do they slander him? Why is it that they so bitterly persecute him? Why is it that the retired, aged and venerable patriot is now loaded with abuse by a party who openly favor the pretensions of a Hartford Convention Tory? We ask, why is it so? It is because those who now slander him, do not love their country and her free institutions, and are ready to sacrifice every thing to gain political power and place! It is because they wish to deprive the people of their dearest rights, to which foul scheme Andrew Jackson always was, and while life exists, will continue to be the unyielding, uncompromising opponent. He always has been and is now emphatically, the PEOPLE'S CHAMPION.

But let the Federalists go on with their work of defamation—let their columns groan under their weight of slander; he will not, and does not regard it. A patriotic, grateful people, will turn aside every shaft that malice or envy may aim at his devoted head; and when the names of his slanderers shall have been forgotten, or remembered only to be execrated, his

tory will do him justice—his name will occupy the highest niche in the temple of liberty, and fame will tell his story for the emulation of the virtuous and patriotic of generations yet unborn.

From the N. Y. Commercial Advertiser.  
MEXICAN OUTRAGE.

Captain Freeman, of schooner Gardiner, of Gardiner, Maine, has communicated to us a recent and most glaring outrage committed by the Mexican authorities at Tobasco. We give the facts almost in the words of his statement to us.

He sailed for Tobasco, from N. York, on the 25th March, in ballast, with only two small cases of medicine for a physician there, and having cleared at this port, taking three special manifests, duly certified by the Mexican consul here.—Arrived April 18th, delivered his three general manifests of cargo and the three certified manifests, to the boarding officers, who asked that the cases should remain on board till he heard from the town of Tobasco. Meantime, Captain F. discharged his ballast and took in a cargo of logwood, which employed him five days. He then went to Tobasco to clear, taking the cases, by consent of the boarding officer, and delivered them at the custom-house—was then ordered to appear before the District Judge, Felipe Orapeza, who told him that his vessel was condemned, and presented a paper for him to sign, in Spanish—which was translated by the consignee's clerk, and was an acknowledgment that the vessel had been legally and regularly condemned, after trial. He refused to sign, and was threatened with imprisonment. The Judge ordered him to appear again at 4 o'clock, which he did in company with the United States Consul, Mr. Coleman. The same paper was again presented for a signature, and the Consul instructed him not to sign it. The Consul inquired why the vessel was condemned, and was told it was none of his business. The Judge would give no other answer. The Consul asked if Captain Freeman had been guilty of any thing contraband, and was answered no—that there was nothing against him but the information of the boarding officer, that there was an informality in his manifest. What that informality was he could not learn. An officer and guard came on board the next day, took possession of the vessel, drove the mate and crew on shore, and discharged the cargo that had been taken in. After much intercession, the mate and crew were allowed to take their clothes, but were not allowed to take any provisions. Expense of discharging was charged to the consignees, and they had to pay it. The vessel remains in the possession of the Mexicans, Captain Freeman and his crew having arrived on board the Halcyon. The port of Tobasco was closed for six days previous to the sailing of the Halcyon, which was May 15.—American vessels were not allowed to hoist their flags, or sail, until that day.

THE 4th AT COLUMBUS.

The Democrats of Columbus & Franklin County celebrated the "Glorious Fourth" in a manner well suited to the times. We give below the proceedings on the occasion with some of the toasts:

In pursuance of previous notice and arrangements, a large number of the citizens of the County of Franklin, assembled in the grove South of the city of Columbus. At the hour of one o'clock, P. M. the company, numbering about THREE HUNDRED, partook of an excellent dinner prepared by Mr. E. GALE, to whom much credit is due for the very neat and appropriate manner in which all the arrangements were made. After the removal of the cloth, the meeting was organized by appointing Mr. J. SCOTT, a soldier of the revolution, President of the day, assisted by Mr. E. CONVERSE, Mr. BOSWELL, Mr. COPELAND, M. CRYDER, COLONEL McELVAIN and SIMON MOORE, Esq. as Vice Presidents; JACOB HARR, Esq. reader of the Declaration; JOHN A. BRYAN, Esq. orator of the day.

The Declaration of Independence was then read by JACOB HARR, Esq. in admirable style. The orator of the day, JOHN A. BRYAN, Esq. then rose and delivered an oration replete with sound patriotic sentiments, highly creditable to the head and heart of that gentleman; during its delivery, Mr. Bryan was interrupted with frequent and loud bursts of applause.

The following toasts were then drunk by the company, accompanied with music and the loud cheers of delighted and grateful freemen.

In drinking the toasts on the occasion several gentlemen present were called out, who made very happy and eloquent remarks in honor of the day. COLONEL BIGLER was first toasted, who responded to the reception he met with by a few pertinent observations, connected with the glories of American freedom, and the auspicious return of our glorious anniversary. It need not be said that the remarks of ONE OF THE REPUBLICAN CENTINELS who stood long on the watch tower of good old Pennsylvania, and who now bears an active part in the democratic ranks of Ohio, were loudly and enthusiastically cheered. A large number present emulated that rock of democracy, and felt the full force and effect of the reference made to its stern, unbending, unyielding devoted to the cause of Republicanism.

COL. HARLAN, (Secretary of State) was next called upon as will be seen in