

SPEECH OF MR. CLAYTON, (CONCLUDED.)

Let us now, Sir, briefly, in conclusion, while we commemorate the day which inducted our chief magistrate to office, review his administration of the past year, apply it to the test of these principles, and calmly inquire whether any constitutional interposition of the senate be requisite to check the abuse of power. This anniversary recalls the pledges of the inaugural address, to keep steadily in view the limitations as well as the extent of the Executive authority, to respect and preserve the rights of the sovereign members of our union, to manage by certain searching operations of the public revenue, to observe a strict and faithful economy, to counteract that tendency to private and public profligacy which a profuse expenditure of money by the government is but too apt to engender, to depend for the advancement of the public service more on the integrity and zeal of the public officers than on their number, and particularly to correct those abuses which it was then charged, had through the patronage of the Federal Government, had through the freedom of elections, and counteracted those causes which had placed or continued power in unfaithful or incompetent hands. The history of the hour warns me, that I ought not to trespass on your attention, by inquiring how far all these pledges have been redeemed; and the examination of all the topics presented by such a general inquiry might lead me beyond the "exigencies" within which I am admonished that an American Senator should confine himself, when speaking of an American President. But it is true, and ought to be observed on this day, that our public officers are increased in number, and not diminished in salary; that the promised retrenchment has terminated in a recommendation to establish additional bureaus, with more public agents, and increased demands on the Treasury, to swell to an almost boundless extent the influence of the Executive by a general extension of the law which limits appointments to four years, and by the establishment of a government bank; and that a general system of proscription for a mainly exercise of the right of opinion, under the pretence of rotation in office, has brought the patronage of the Executive into full conflict with the freedom of elections. Turning from the investigation of minor subjects which might by possibility be considered as more topics for partisan effect, and with a nobler purpose than to subserve the petty interests of any party or any party, our attention is forcibly arrested by some instances in which these pledges have been violated, that this tendency, if not immediately, at least consequentially, and by the force of example, is subversive of the dearest interests of our people, and of the most sacred institutions of our republic.

When we look to the manner in which the pledge to observe a strict and faithful economy has been redeemed, we find the expenses of the government increased, through the instrumentality of these rewards and punishments for political opinion. Outfits, salaries, and all the incidental expenses attending the recall of nearly the whole of our diplomatic corps, and the appointment of others to supply their places, have caused large drafts upon the Treasury, and laid the foundation for increasing demands upon it. But without dwelling to estimate how many 10s, or 100s of thousands of dollars have been expended in punishing opponents, or inquiring how profusely the public bounty has been lavished upon favorites, we have something more important to consider. We know that if funds for such purposes have been taken from the strong box without appropriations, the President must have dipped his hands into the nation's treasure in opposition to the Constitution, which it is our duty to support. Money cannot be drawn from the Treasury except in consequence of appropriations made by law, and the radical act of the first of May, 1829, after limiting the powers of the President, in relation to transfers of appropriations in the army and navy, provides, in the fifth section, "that no transfers of appropriation from one to other branches of expenditure shall thereafter be made." May we not inquire now, from what fund the money has been drawn to defray the greatly increased expenses of our foreign mission? These expenses were not provided for during the last session of Congress by any law, for they were not foreseen or anticipated. If, then, the diplomatic fund was insufficient for these purposes, either the nation has been brought into debt to accomplish them, or the constitution and the law have been violated by unauthorized drafts on the Treasury. It is certain that we are now called upon to appropriate largely, either to pay a debt incurred, or to supply a deficiency in some other fund not appropriated for these expenses. If the Executive can recall our foreign agents, for party purposes, or to promote friends, even where no legislative appropriation has been made for these objects, Congress has virtually no control over our foreign intercourse, and we may hereafter expect that our Ministers abroad will be withdrawn on the accession of every new incumbent of the Presidency; that new men will be sent to supply their places, and that the whole relations of the country with foreign powers will be changed or thrown into confusion at the end of every four years. Admit the power of the Executive without appropriation to recall or to appoint Ministers, and by the operation to bring the nation into debt, for the public good—yet show us how the public good required this increased expense. Take a case for example, and let some ingenious advocate of the Administration assign a reason why our late Minister near the Court of St. James was recalled. Mr. Brough had acquitted himself faithfully in every public trust which had ever before been confided to him, and was at the time of his recall discharging, with honor to himself and his country, the high duties of his mission. In what respect was he thought to be either incompetent or unfaithful? Was any new policy to be adopted in our relations with England, which he would not espouse? Take another case, and inform us why the gallant Harrison, the hero of Port Mifflin, the victor at Tippecanoe and the Thames, a veteran in council as well as in the field, distinguished for his virtues in all the relations of the citizen, the soldier and the statesman—why, I ask, was he proscribed as unfit to represent his country abroad and withdrawn from Colombia to make room for Thomas P. Moore? He had scarcely arrived at Bogota—the ink was still fresh on the Executive record, which informed the President that it was the advice of the Senate that he should represent us there when the order of his removal was announced. This could not have been done for any official misconduct. There had been no time to measure into that. Was his fidelity discredited? or how did the public good require his dismissal? Think you it will tell well in the annals of history, that he who had so often periled life and limb in the vigor of manhood to secure the blessings of liberty to others, was punished for the exercise of the elective franchise in his old age? Sir, it was an act, disguise it as we may, which, by holding out the idea that he had lost the confidence of his country, might tend to bring down his grey hairs with sorrow to the grave. But the glory he acquired by the campaign on the Wabash, and by those hard earned acknowledgments for which he received the warmest acknowledgments of merit from the Legislature of Kentucky, and the full measure of a nation's thanks in the resolution of Congress, can never be effaced; and any effort to degrade their honored object will recoil on those who make it, until other men, in better days, shall properly estimate his worth, and again cheer his declining years with proofs of his country's confidence and gratitude.

If, then, these acts, and others of a similar character, be hostile to the spirit of the constitution, can we regard the expenditure of public money they have occasioned as a proper redemption of those pledges which, on this day last year, so much delighted us, to observe a strict and faithful economy, and to depend for the advancement of the public service more on the integrity and zeal of the public officers than on their number, and particularly to correct those abuses which it was then charged, had through the patronage of the Federal Government, had through the freedom of elections, and counteracted those causes which had placed or continued power in unfaithful or incompetent hands.

The pledge to preserve the rights of the sovereign members of our union, as well as the defence of the administration made by the gentleman from Tennessee, lead us to the reflection that more members of Congress who were friendly to the election of the present Chief Magistrate, have been appointed to office by him within the compass of a single year, than have been appointed by any other President during the whole course of an administration of eight years. The consequences of this were foreseen and deprecated by the founders of our government; but the provision which they inserted in the constitution to prevent them, has proved inadequate to its object. Such was the opinion of a favorite constitutional lawyer, who, in an address to the Tennessee Legislature on the 7th of Oct. 1829, explained this subject so fully, that I shall be pardoned for producing a large extract from that valuable state paper—especially after the gentleman from Tennessee has adverted to it, and made an argument upon it. "With a view," says he, "to sustain more effectually in practice the axiom which divides the three great classes of power into independent constitutional checks, I would impose a provision rendering any member of Congress ineligible to office under the General Government during the term for which he was elected, and two years thereafter, except in cases of Judicial office. The effect of such a constitutional provision is obvious. By it Congress, in a considerable degree, would be free from that connection with the Executive Department which, at present, gives strong ground of apprehension and jealousy on the part of the people. Members instead of being liable to be withdrawn from legislation on the great interests of the nation through prospect of executive patronage, would be more liberally confided in by their constituents, while their vigilance would be less interrupted by party feelings and party excitement. Calculations from intrigue or management would fail; nor would their deliberation, or their investigation of subjects, consume so much time. The morals of the country would be improved, and virtue uniting with the labors of the Representatives, and with the official ministers of the law, would tend to perpetuate the honor and glory of the Government. But if this change in the Constitution should not be obtained, and important appointments continue to devolve on the representatives in Congress, it requires no depth of thought to perceive, that corruption will become the order of the day; and that, under the garb of conscientious sacrifices to establish precedents for the public good, evils of serious importance to the freedom and prosperity of the republic may arise. It is through this channel that the people may expect to be attacked in their constitutional sovereignty, and where tyranny may well be apprehended to spring up in some favorable emergency. Against such intrusions every guard ought to be interpreted, and none better occurs than that of closing the suspected avenue with some necessary constitutional restriction. It is interesting to examine how far this administration has actually practiced on these maxims. Why, within the very first year six members of the Senate—being one eighth of the whole body as it was composed during the 20th Congress, have been appointed to some of the most important offices with the gift of the Executive. And yet the message of this session reiterates the principles of the Tennessee letter, with a slight reservation by way of covering the case as it now exists. By that letter judges alone might be elected from the members of Congress. By the late message we are informed that the necessity of securing in the cabinet and in diplomatic stations of the highest rank, the best talents and political experience, should perhaps (even here we have a caveat) except those from the exclusion." If it be "perhaps" necessary to change the Constitution to save us from doing wrong, why not do right without the change? The message reserves a flat departure from the maxims of 1829, and still even that does not cover the acts of the Executive, for we have not only diplomats and cabinet ministers (important officers) chosen from the members of Congress within the term for which they were elected, and two years thereafter, but important appointments of a very different character even in the Post Office and the Customs, continuing to devolve on them, convincing those who have become proselytes to the Tennessee doctrine, without any great depth of thought, that corruption may become the order of the day, and that under the garb of conscientious sacrifices for the public good, evils of serious importance to the freedom and prosperity of the republic may arise. But the gentleman from Tennessee, who called our attention to the letter, and without whose notice of it I should hardly have adverted to it, says—

[Here Mr. Grundy explained. He stated that he had alluded to the letter in reply to the Senator from Indiana, (Gen. Noble).]

Mr. Clayton continued. Sir, the gentleman's reply was that the people ought to have changed the constitution, but that without some constitutional restriction the President was under no obligation to practice what he formerly preached. However valid that defence may appear, it is not the opinion of my constitutional lawyer, for in that same letter he says, it is due to myself to practise upon the maxims recommended to others. These and similar pledges obtained for him thousands of votes during the canvass of 1828, and ought to have been redeemed. "When the blood burns, how prodigal the soul lends the tongue vows." Moreover, it will require much depth of thought to convince us, that a President cannot do what he thinks right without some constitutional restriction to prevent him doing what he knows is wrong; or that a man of sound mind and good disposition cannot avoid the destruction of his own family, unless you treat him like a madman by tying his arms and depriving him of the means of doing injury.

There was, however, no pledge in the inaugural so striking or so important as the recognition of that obligation, then said to be inscribed on the list of Executive duties by the recent demonstration of public sentiment, to counteract those causes which brought the patronage of the General Government into conflict with the freedom of elections. Sir, your Postmaster General, wielding the patronage of his department over clerks, deputies, contractors and agents, in numbers amounting to nearly eight thousand men, has, for political effect, removed from public employment in pursuance of a general system, so vast a proportion of the old and faithful public servants connected with that immense establishment, that its resources and its energies are impaired, public confidence is diminished, and suspicion darkening this great avenue to light as she spreads her dusky pinion over it, whispers that some of its recesses have been converted, for political purposes, into posts of capital on the private intercourse of your citizens.

The public press too, by the instrumentality of which alone this republic might be prostrated, by the influence of which a President might be swelled into a monarch, has been—shattered by a gag law; interest of a million of dollars, granted in the way of salaries, jobs and pensions, to partisan editors, printers, proprietors, and all the host directly and indirectly connected with and controlling it. The appointment of editors to office is not casual, but systematic. They were appointed because they were editors. In the days of the French revolution, when the press was bought up with the public funds, the country was flooded with venomous effusions from the Jacobin prints. The post of profit was then erected in the kennel where a venal pack bayed like blood hounds for murder. Marat was distinguished as the editor of a revolutionary journal for violence and vituperation; and having published his demand of two hundred and sixty thousand heads as a sacrifice to liberty, was soon elevated to one of the highest offices of the republic, where, as a member of the infernal triumvirate which deluged France in tears and blood, he combined the cunning malice of Robespierre with the native ferocity of Danton. He was a compound of the vices of both his confederates—all that on earth was flagitious, mean, inhuman, and inexorable; for he came from the schools of a faction which trained its disciples to cry havoc without mercy when bounty lured them up the path to blood and death. The ex-

amples of that day teach us how easy is the transition from the hounding hells to the brutal murderer, and that he whose habits have long accustomed him to live upon the ruins of private reputation, would shed the blood of his victim with pleasure, if paid to do the deed of death. An independent, able, high minded editor is an honor to his country and the age in which he lives. He is the guardian of the public welfare, the sentinel of liberty, the conservator of morals, and every attempt to allure or to coerce him to desert from his duty, should be regarded as an insult and injury to the nation whose interests he is bound to defend. It is less mainly in an assailant, and not less indicative of hostility, to bribe the sentry on the walls of your citadel, than to gag him and hurl him from his battlements. It is more dangerous to corrupt the press by the prospect of office, than absolutely to silence it by seditious laws; because, although by the latter course it may be destroyed, yet by the former it may be used as the engine of tyranny. The charge of an undisguised effort to subvert its energies in the days of the elder Adams, was brought down upon the heads of all who were friendly to the session act, the full measure of public condemnation; and it yet remains to be seen what will be the effect produced by an attempt to buy and prostitute it. We have a pack in full cry upon the trail of every man whose integrity of purpose will not suffer him to hold before power; and his friends and character and happiness are torn from him by them, with as little remorse as was felt by the blood hounds of the old French litter. Can all these things be justified by the examples of the illustrious Jefferson? Sir, his real friends will at all times spurn the imputation which the very question conveys. They will remind you that the first prominent act of his administration was to disembarass and untrammel the press—to disengage that clustered lightning from the shackles of authority, and leave him free as mountain air. They will tell you that the great maxim he adhered to, till the latest period of his life, was that "error of opinion should always be tolerated while reason was left free to combat it;" that he had rewarded the office hunting hounds who had slandered his predecessors with a view to gain by his election, with his unceasing and unmitigated scorn and contempt; that he sought no man's services with gold, adopted no system of pensioning pressmen with office, offered no bribe to libelers, employed no assassins of character. Three years ago, when the great Western Statesman who has, in his independence, been hunted like a wild beast, filed with honor to his country the office of Secretary of State, he became an object of the bitterest vituperation, by discharging some half a dozen printers from the petty job of publishing the laws, and although the whole extent of this exercise of patronage, as it was then called, did not amount to more than a few hundred dollars, yet it was considered as an exertion of power vitally dangerous to the country, as tending to establish a government press. Such a press was said to be more alarming to the liberties of the people than a palace guard of six thousand men, and the acts of the Secretary were denounced as being calculated to sap the vigor, degrade the independence, and enfeeble the vigilance of the sentinels on the watch-tower of liberty, whose beacon lights should blaze with pure and undying lustre. But now, when so many of those very sentinels have been subsidized by office, and the new stipendiaries have formed in battalions about the throne, presenting their pikes in close array and forty deep, for its defence, the lofty eloquence of these patriot warriors is heard no more within our walls; their harps hang on the willows, and instead of ringing an alarm through the land, they are hushed into the deepest silence and most tranquil repose.

Mr. President, in this brief and hasty review of the prominent characteristics of the first year of this administration, we have observed those acts which in the opinion of the honorable member from Tennessee will have no more effect upon the American public than an attempt to agitate the ocean by throwing pebbles on its surface. We find, however, that the removals to which he referred have not amounted only to the dismissal of a few subordinate officers, but to a thorough revolution among the most important and most faithful functionaries of the government; and it ought to be remembered that even the subordinate officers alluded to were experienced members of this world, and that I still think this nation will look to an act of tyranny which tramples a faithful servant under foot, or turns him out with scorn and contempt, however humble his condition may have been, with feelings very different from those manifested by the advocates of power. They may not care for the little salaries—but they will look to the principle of Executive action—to the motive which makes that action dangerous. Does the gentleman recollect the reason for which John Hampden refused to pay the ship money? The sum for which he contended amounted only to a few pence, yet the claim of a British monarch to it was resisted to the utmost; and the feelings of an English public were agitated like the ocean in a storm, not on account of the sums to be paid under that illegal exaction, but because it was an encroachment on their rights, and an abuse of power. Every genuine American Republican carries the spirit of John Hampden in his bosom. Surely the honorable member's own high estimate of national character will not suffer him to entertain the degrading idea that an English public, under an English monarch, cherished a loftier sense of liberty, or a more determined spirit of resistance to the abuses of authority, than his own countrymen.

Has he forgotten the reason which induced our ancestors to resist the tea duties and the stamp tax? Was it only the sum levied which set this continent in a flame, or was it the oppressive principle upon which those claims were founded? If the principle of Executive power has been such as even to "exceed the conception" of that great patriot whose opinions we both reverence so highly, why is it that the honorable member views with such contempt the sum of the salaries awarded to Executive parsons, and all the distress and anguish inflicted by Executive proscription, while he overlooks the principles which have been violated by the constitution which has been trampled under foot? Here is the ground on which we have arrayed your Administration; and although it may laugh its victims to scorn, yet they should recollect that they may laugh to-day may shortly be in the power of another. Though they now consider this a mere passer floating in the political atmosphere, and have even told us that he felt no can weigh nothing with the people, they should recollect that this feather is torn from the plume of the American eagle, and that the transgression which they now regard as so venial, for the destruction of the liberties of the people.

Having closed my remarks in reply to honorable gentlemen, suffer me now to say, Sir, that it has been no part of my object, to smother the feelings of my associates by personal allusions to those of whom I have intended, upon the challenge of the gentleman from Tennessee, to speak boldly, frankly, and freely, as he might reasonably desire. But, if any lack of arrow of mine, inadvertently shot, rankles in the bosom of any member here he is welcome to send it back with his best force, provided he does not poison its point. My objects, I trust, have been always such warfare. I have endeavored to preserve unimpaired the rights of the tribunal established for our forefathers as the only common umpire for the decision of those controversies which must arise in the best regulated political families, and to show that without the aid of such a tribunal, we must sink back into that anarchy which, among all other nations, and in all former ages, has been the sure harbinger of tyranny. I have labored to sustain what I believe to be the right and duty of the Senate—to interpose a barrier against the improper exercise of Executive power, which now controls, either directly or indirectly, nearly every station, whether of honor or profit, within the gift of twelve civil gentlemen of the majority on this floor, should be supported by the American people, their giant party, which has already become a consideration a weight greater than the gates of Gaea, will in the end crush out of existence, and wrench the very pillars of the government from their foundations. Then we shall find how dreadful are the consequences of such decisions. Upon their construction of Executive power, such decisions, of the temper and ability which have so often characterized the councils and chiefs of other republics, obtain the Presidency—such a man as Napoleon, hearse to describe when he spoke of the Russian "with a beard on his chin," excelling, as he may, in the spirit of oriental despotism, perfect command over the army, the navy, the press, and an overlord, would fare like the greatest driver may foresee that our liberties would be like the "pasture of the sheep," and the very gold, and even many of those who are so triumphant in the gold and stripes and stars, amidst the thunders of battle, will be compelled to beg their bread, or to turn the steel which have placed in their hands, against our own bosoms. He will readily gain to his purpose a flock of these voracious office

holders whose we have seen brooding over the spoils of victory after a political contest—like so many vultures after a battle, pecked on every dead body about the field, snuffing the breeze, and to eager for their prey, that even the cries of the widow and the orphan cannot drive them from the feast. It has been said, and I believe truly, that we can never fall without a struggle; but against such a man, thus furnished by ourselves with all appliances and means to "boom" against us, we must finally sink in the contest. For a time, our valleys will be watered with the blood of artifice, and our mountains will ring with the reports of the rifle. The storm of civil war will howl fearfully through the land, from the Atlantic borders to the wildest recesses of the West, covering with desolation every field which has been crowned with verdure by the culture of freedom, and now reaped with the echoes of our happiness and misery. But the tempest of subside, and the gloom of the deep calm and the sudden gloom of desolation; after which, the voice of a frenzied shall never again be heard within our borders, unless in the fearful and suppressed whispers of the travellers from some distant land, who shall visit the scene of our destruction to gaze in sorrow on the melancholy ruin.

Note by the Editor to the following passage, published on Thursday, of the foregoing speech.

"The Postmaster General, who, harmonizing with this Administration, has removed, within the last year, his thousand deputies, agents and clerks, though vested by law with the express right of appointing them, can point you to no statute conferring upon him the right to remove one of them."

Some Mr. Clayton's speech was delivered, the following report has been made to the House of Representatives by the Postmaster General.

To the Hon. John C. Calhoun,

Sir: In obedience to a resolution of the Senate of the United States, passed March 22d, 1829, directing me "to inform the Senate of the number of Deputy Postmasters who have been removed since the fourth day of March last, decreasing the number in each State and Territory," I have the honor to report, that the whole number of Deputy Postmasters removed, between the 4th day of March, 1829, and the 22d day of March, 1829, inclusive, is four hundred and ninety one; and that the number thereof in each State and Territory is as follows:—In Maine, fifteen; New Hampshire, fifty five; Vermont, twenty two; Massachusetts, twenty eight; Rhode Island, three; Connecticut, twenty two; New York one hundred and thirty-one; New Jersey, fourteen; Pennsylvania, thirty-five; Delaware, sixteen; Maryland, fourteen; District of Columbia, one; Virginia, eight; North Carolina, four; Georgia, two; Alabama, two; Mississippi, five; Louisiana, four; Tennessee, twelve; Kentucky, sixteen; Ohio, fifty-one; Indiana, sixteen; Illinois, three; Missouri, seven; Florida, one; Arkansas, two; and Michigan, one.

I have the honor to be, with great respect, your obedient servant,

The number designated in the foregoing report, of removals in the Post Office Department, between March 4, 1829, and March 22, 1829, inclusive, will be observed, Deputy Postmasters, in the office of clerks, messengers and other agents of that Department, who have been removed within the aforesaid period, were included, it would probably swell the aggregate of Post Office removals considerably above a thousand, the number stated by Mr. Clayton.

By the Editor to the following passage, published on Thursday, of the foregoing speech.

"The Postmaster General, who, harmonizing with this Administration, has removed, within the last year, his thousand deputies, agents and clerks, though vested by law with the express right of appointing them, can point you to no statute conferring upon him the right to remove one of them."

Some Mr. Clayton's speech was delivered, the following report has been made to the House of Representatives by the Postmaster General.

To the Hon. John C. Calhoun,

Sir: In obedience to a resolution of the Senate of the United States, passed March 22d, 1829, directing me "to inform the Senate of the number of Deputy Postmasters who have been removed since the fourth day of March last, decreasing the number in each State and Territory," I have the honor to report, that the whole number of Deputy Postmasters removed, between the 4th day of March, 1829, and the 22d day of March, 1829, inclusive, is four hundred and ninety one; and that the number thereof in each State and Territory is as follows:—In Maine, fifteen; New Hampshire, fifty five; Vermont, twenty two; Massachusetts, twenty eight; Rhode Island, three; Connecticut, twenty two; New York one hundred and thirty-one; New Jersey, fourteen; Pennsylvania, thirty-five; Delaware, sixteen; Maryland, fourteen; District of Columbia, one; Virginia, eight; North Carolina, four; Georgia, two; Alabama, two; Mississippi, five; Louisiana, four; Tennessee, twelve; Kentucky, sixteen; Ohio, fifty-one; Indiana, sixteen; Illinois, three; Missouri, seven; Florida, one; Arkansas, two; and Michigan, one.

I have the honor to be, with great respect, your obedient servant,

The number designated in the foregoing report, of removals in the Post Office Department, between March 4, 1829, and March 22, 1829, inclusive, will be observed, Deputy Postmasters, in the office of clerks, messengers and other agents of that Department, who have been removed within the aforesaid period, were included, it would probably swell the aggregate of Post Office removals considerably above a thousand, the number stated by Mr. Clayton.

By the Editor to the following passage, published on Thursday, of the foregoing speech.

"The Postmaster General, who, harmonizing with this Administration, has removed, within the last year, his thousand deputies, agents and clerks, though vested by law with the express right of appointing them, can point you to no statute conferring upon him the right to remove one of them."

Some Mr. Clayton's speech was delivered, the following report has been made to the House of Representatives by the Postmaster General.

To the Hon. John C. Calhoun,

Sir: In obedience to a resolution of the Senate of the United States, passed March 22d, 1829, directing me "to inform the Senate of the number of Deputy Postmasters who have been removed since the fourth day of March last, decreasing the number in each State and Territory," I have the honor to report, that the whole number of Deputy Postmasters removed, between the 4th day of March, 1829, and the 22d day of March, 1829, inclusive, is four hundred and ninety one; and that the number thereof in each State and Territory is as follows:—In Maine, fifteen; New Hampshire, fifty five; Vermont, twenty two; Massachusetts, twenty eight; Rhode Island, three; Connecticut, twenty two; New York one hundred and thirty-one; New Jersey, fourteen; Pennsylvania, thirty-five; Delaware, sixteen; Maryland, fourteen; District of Columbia, one; Virginia, eight; North Carolina, four; Georgia, two; Alabama, two; Mississippi, five; Louisiana, four; Tennessee, twelve; Kentucky, sixteen; Ohio, fifty-one; Indiana, sixteen; Illinois, three; Missouri, seven; Florida, one; Arkansas, two; and Michigan, one.

I have the honor to be, with great respect, your obedient servant,

The number designated in the foregoing report, of removals in the Post Office Department, between March 4, 1829, and March 22, 1829, inclusive, will be observed, Deputy Postmasters, in the office of clerks, messengers and other agents of that Department, who have been removed within the aforesaid period, were included, it would probably swell the aggregate of Post Office removals considerably above a thousand, the number stated by Mr. Clayton.

By the Editor to the following passage, published on Thursday, of the foregoing speech.

"The Postmaster General, who, harmonizing with this Administration, has removed, within the last year, his thousand deputies, agents and clerks, though vested by law with the express right of appointing them, can point you to no statute conferring upon him the right to remove one of them."

Some Mr. Clayton's speech was delivered, the following report has been made to the House of Representatives by the Postmaster General.

To the Hon. John C. Calhoun,

Sir: In obedience to a resolution of the Senate of the United States, passed March 22d, 1829, directing me "to inform the Senate of the number of Deputy Postmasters who have been removed since the fourth day of March last, decreasing the number in each State and Territory," I have the honor to report, that the whole number of Deputy Postmasters removed, between the 4th day of March, 1829, and the 22d day of March, 1829, inclusive, is four hundred and ninety one; and that the number thereof in each State and Territory is as follows:—In Maine, fifteen; New Hampshire, fifty five; Vermont, twenty two; Massachusetts, twenty eight; Rhode Island, three; Connecticut, twenty two; New York one hundred and thirty-one; New Jersey, fourteen; Pennsylvania, thirty-five; Delaware, sixteen; Maryland, fourteen; District of Columbia, one; Virginia, eight; North Carolina, four; Georgia, two; Alabama, two; Mississippi, five; Louisiana, four; Tennessee, twelve; Kentucky, sixteen; Ohio, fifty-one; Indiana, sixteen; Illinois, three; Missouri, seven; Florida, one; Arkansas, two; and Michigan, one.

I have the honor to be, with great respect, your obedient servant,

The number designated in the foregoing report, of removals in the Post Office Department, between March 4, 1829, and March 22, 1829, inclusive, will be observed, Deputy Postmasters, in the office of clerks, messengers and other agents of that Department, who have been removed within the aforesaid period, were included, it would probably swell the aggregate of Post Office removals considerably above a thousand, the number stated by Mr. Clayton.

By the Editor to the following passage, published on Thursday, of the foregoing speech.

"The Postmaster General, who, harmonizing with this Administration, has removed, within the last year, his thousand deputies, agents and clerks, though vested by law with the express right of appointing them, can point you to no statute conferring upon him the right to remove one of them."

Some Mr. Clayton's speech was delivered, the following report has been made to the House of Representatives by the Postmaster General.

To the Hon. John C. Calhoun,

Sir: In obedience to a resolution of the Senate of the United States, passed March 22d, 1829, directing me "to inform the Senate of the number of Deputy Postmasters who have been removed since the fourth day of March last, decreasing the number in each State and Territory," I have the honor to report, that the whole number of Deputy Postmasters removed, between the 4th day of March, 1829, and the 22d day of March, 1829, inclusive, is four hundred and ninety one; and that the number thereof in each State and Territory is as follows:—In Maine, fifteen; New Hampshire, fifty five; Vermont, twenty two; Massachusetts, twenty eight; Rhode Island, three; Connecticut, twenty two; New York one hundred and thirty-one; New Jersey, fourteen; Pennsylvania, thirty-five; Delaware, sixteen; Maryland, fourteen; District of Columbia, one; Virginia, eight; North Carolina, four; Georgia, two; Alabama, two; Mississippi, five; Louisiana, four; Tennessee, twelve; Kentucky, sixteen; Ohio, fifty-one; Indiana, sixteen; Illinois, three; Missouri, seven; Florida, one; Arkansas, two; and Michigan, one.

I have the honor to be, with great respect, your obedient servant,

The number designated in the foregoing report, of removals in the Post Office Department, between March 4, 1829, and March 22, 1829, inclusive, will be observed, Deputy Postmasters, in the office of clerks, messengers and other agents of that Department, who have been removed within the aforesaid period, were included, it would probably swell the aggregate of Post Office removals considerably above a thousand, the number stated by Mr. Clayton.

By the Editor to the following passage, published on Thursday, of the foregoing speech.

"The Postmaster General, who, harmonizing with this Administration, has removed, within the last year, his thousand deputies, agents and clerks, though vested by law with the express right of appointing them, can point you to no statute conferring upon him the right to remove one of them."

Some Mr. Clayton's speech was delivered, the following report has been made to the House of Representatives by the Postmaster General.

To the Hon. John C. Calhoun,

Sir: In obedience to a resolution of the Senate of the United States, passed March 22d, 1829, directing me "to inform the Senate of the number of Deputy Postmasters who have been removed since the fourth day of March last, decreasing the number in each State and Territory," I have the honor to report, that the whole number of Deputy Postmasters removed, between the 4th day of March, 1829, and the 22d day of March, 1829, inclusive, is four hundred and ninety one; and that the number thereof in each State and Territory is as follows:—In Maine, fifteen; New Hampshire, fifty five; Vermont, twenty two; Massachusetts, twenty eight; Rhode Island, three; Connecticut, twenty two; New York one hundred and thirty-one; New Jersey, fourteen; Pennsylvania, thirty-five; Delaware, sixteen; Maryland, fourteen; District of Columbia, one; Virginia, eight; North Carolina, four; Georgia, two; Alabama, two; Mississippi, five; Louisiana, four; Tennessee, twelve; Kentucky, sixteen; Ohio, fifty-one; Indiana, sixteen; Illinois, three; Missouri, seven; Florida, one; Arkansas, two; and Michigan, one.

I have the honor to be, with great respect, your obedient servant,

The number designated in the foregoing report, of removals in the Post Office Department, between March 4, 1829, and March 22, 1829, inclusive, will be observed, Deputy Postmasters, in the office of clerks, messengers and other agents of that Department, who have been removed within the aforesaid period, were included, it would probably swell the aggregate of Post Office removals considerably above a thousand, the number stated by Mr. Clayton.

By the Editor to the following passage, published on Thursday, of the foregoing speech.

"The Postmaster General, who, harmonizing with this Administration, has removed, within the last year, his thousand deputies, agents and clerks, though vested by law with the express right of appointing them, can point you to no statute conferring upon him the right to remove one of them."

Some Mr. Clayton's speech was delivered, the following report has been made to the House of Representatives by the Postmaster General.

To the Hon. John C. Calhoun,

Sir: In obedience to a resolution of the Senate of the United States, passed March 22d, 1829, directing me "to inform the Senate of the number of Deputy Postmasters who have been removed since the fourth day of March last, decreasing the number in each State and Territory," I have the honor to report, that the whole number of Deputy Postmasters removed, between the 4th day of March, 1829, and the 22d day of March, 1829, inclusive, is four hundred and ninety one; and that the number thereof in each State and Territory is as follows:—In Maine, fifteen; New Hampshire, fifty five; Vermont, twenty two; Massachusetts, twenty eight; Rhode Island, three; Connecticut, twenty two; New York one hundred and thirty-one; New Jersey, fourteen; Pennsylvania, thirty-five; Delaware, sixteen; Maryland, fourteen; District of Columbia, one; Virginia, eight; North Carolina, four; Georgia, two; Alabama, two; Mississippi, five; Louisiana, four; Tennessee, twelve; Kentucky, sixteen; Ohio, fifty-one; Indiana, sixteen; Illinois, three; Missouri, seven; Florida, one; Arkansas, two; and Michigan, one.

I have the honor to be, with great respect, your obedient servant,

The number designated in the foregoing report, of removals in the Post Office Department, between March 4, 1829, and March 22, 1829, inclusive, will be observed, Deputy Postmasters, in the office of clerks, messengers and other agents of that Department, who have been removed within the aforesaid period, were included, it would probably swell the aggregate of Post Office removals considerably above a thousand, the number stated by Mr. Clayton.

By the Editor to the following passage, published on Thursday, of the foregoing speech.

"The Postmaster General, who, harmonizing with this Administration, has removed, within the last year, his thousand deputies, agents and clerks, though vested by law with the express right of appointing them, can point you to no statute conferring upon him the right to remove one of them."

Some Mr. Clayton's speech was delivered, the following report has been made to the House of Representatives by the Postmaster General.

To the Hon. John C. Calhoun,

Sir: In obedience to a resolution of the Senate of the United States, passed March 22d, 1829, directing me "to inform the Senate of the number of Deputy Postmasters who have been removed since the fourth day of March last, decreasing the number in each State and Territory," I have the honor to report, that the whole number of Deputy Postmasters removed, between the 4th day of March, 1829, and the 22d day of March, 1829, inclusive, is four hundred and ninety one; and that the number thereof in each State and Territory is as follows:—In Maine, fifteen; New Hampshire, fifty five; Vermont, twenty two; Massachusetts, twenty eight; Rhode Island, three; Connecticut, twenty two; New York one hundred and thirty-one; New Jersey, fourteen; Pennsylvania, thirty-five; Delaware, sixteen; Maryland, fourteen; District of Columbia, one; Virginia, eight; North Carolina, four; Georgia, two; Alabama, two; Mississippi, five; Louisiana, four; Tennessee, twelve; Kentucky, sixteen; Ohio, fifty-one; Indiana, sixteen; Illinois, three; Missouri, seven; Florida, one; Arkansas, two; and Michigan, one.

I have the honor to be, with great respect, your obedient servant,

The number designated in the foregoing report, of removals in the Post Office Department, between March 4, 1829, and March 22, 1829, inclusive, will be observed, Deputy Postmasters, in the office of clerks, messengers and other agents of that Department, who have been removed within the aforesaid period, were included, it would probably swell the aggregate of Post Office removals considerably above a thousand, the number stated by Mr. Clayton.

By the Editor to the following passage, published on Thursday, of the foregoing speech.

"The Postmaster General, who, harmonizing with this Administration, has removed, within the last year, his thousand deputies, agents and clerks, though vested by law with the express right of appointing them, can point you to no statute conferring upon him the right to remove one of them."

Some Mr. Clayton's speech was delivered, the following report has been made to the House of Representatives by the Postmaster General.

To the Hon. John C. Calhoun,

My situation, as a member of the committee whose duty it has been made, by the order of the House of Representatives, to inquire into the amount of the public expenditures, as well as the objects upon which they have been made, enables me to furnish a correct statement of the same for both years. These of 1828 amounted to \$25,483,313 90 Those of 182