THIS BALL IN MOTION.

only but place them at the bottom of your pic- their children may live to see the day when ture, and you will sell thousands and ten thou- they shall curse, in the bitterness and deep sands in the western country !"

"The artist was dissolved in gratitude—he poured out his thanks in the cordial and glowing expressions of his country. They swelled the vanity of the great projector of the expunging farce-and nothing would do but he must split the ears of the polite foreigner with paragraph after paragraph of his prosy and pointless twaddle. Certes, he did read more than a column and a half of the Globe, pointing out the beauties that lay couched in the language or ideas, and commenting as he went along thus ; 'a fine idea that, sir !' 'an admirable image that, sir! And after a paragraph | he could have known that, under the despoor two of inimitable absurdity, he would cry, 'ah, sir, there are some noble PLUNGES!' (not to be so som confiscated and his dripping head PLIGHTS, but PLUNGES ! Good that, is is not and most appropriate ? Let us hereafter dignify those efforts of our young orators by calling them true Bentonian plunges !) 'Ah, sir, there are some noble plunges, and the whole speech is in the same style. Many of my speeches are argumentative and demonstrative but this is a sort of winding up-more embellishment here—it is a peroration—it is pero-

"The enthusiatic artist's eyes kindled as he spoke. As the Colonel found out his magniloquence, he would exclaim, 'ah! very fine! grand!' &c. &c. He evidently considered his fortune made. It was a lucky stroke of the pencil that made the likeness of a man who 'solitary and alone.' has set a ball in motion ! -whose 'great expunging speech will be read every where in Europe and America!!'whose mottoed image will be sold by tens of thousands in the Western country !!!-- and forth. Where is old Massachusetts? There whose Senatorial efforts are all FLUNGES and she is firm as her granite and everlasting hills. PEROBATION ! ! !"

Extract from the Speech of Mr. PICKENS, (of S. C.) on the resolution proposing an enquiry into the condition of the Executive Departments. In the House of Representa-

Tuesday, Jan. 3. Mr. P. continued, Mr. Speaker! it is with great pain and reluctance that I am compelled to speak of these transactions as I feel that I ought. Nothing could induce me to do so at present but the solemn conviction that I believe that they are deeply identified with the liberties of this country. I speak of the President as officially connected with the institutions of freedom. I scorn to excuse him, and to hold up his minions and understrappers for ressonsibility and denunciation. No, sir! I disdain to use moderate language. I shall take his ewn epithets. I here then charge that the President has wilfully and openly interfered to appoint his successor, and that he has endeavored to accomplish his object by shameless "bargain and corruption." He has succeeded' and now, standing on the defaced and spurned Constitution, waves aloft the unrestrained sceptre of empire over a deceived and betrayed country. Let us be rich and prosperous; let us be happy and free from personal rectraint; let us retain all the forms of a Republic, yet are we slaves, and history will hold up our infamy and degradation, if we acquiesce and submit to this lawless dictation. Rome still retained the forms of a republic, long after her conquering generals from devastated provinces brought in the plunder of sacked cities, to be divided amongst those who were styled "Roman citizens." Her people still nominally elected their tribunes, long after the very sources of power had been corrupted and polluted by the bribery and profigacy of captivating chiefs and abandoned demagogues. These tribunes, who were at first elected to defend, as they nobly did, popular rights, afterwards became prostituted, and although ostensibly appointed still by the People, yet they knew the hand of their master, and prostrated the liberties of their country before his will. They were arranged and appointed beforehand by those who held the power of the Republic. We. too, may still boast the forms of a free People, and long preserve them. We have seen the nomination and appointment of a successor to the chief Executive; we have witnessed the success of that appointment. All the popularity and influence of the President, with nis hundred thousand dependants; all the weight, and power, and influence of the Goverument, in all its vast and extensive ramifications, have been brought to bear upon the appointment of a successor. And I ask, sir, if we confirm, by re-election, this fraudulent appointment, will not posterity say we, too, are free only in name? Our country has been foully deceived; we have been basely deluded by all the arts of "intrigue, bargain, and corruption." Let it not be said that these things are of no importance; that they have no effect upon practical liberty. Look to their consequences in the future. In physics, in morals, and in politics, those causes are at first small which produce the most tremendous effects upon the destiny of man. The collection of a few shillings of ship-money brought the head of a monarch to the block, and changed for a time the Government of Great Britain. Go into the far West, and trace out. if you can, the origin of the vast Mississippi itself; you will find a bubble at the foot of perhaps some nameless hill, from which runs a stream, at the ripple of whose waters, not a living creature turns aside; bit follow it to the valley below, and it swells, and it deepens. and it widens, until the wealth of a nation floats on its surface, and at the angry voice of whose stormy wave the hardy mariner trembles. I need not say that this is a full illustration of the history and progress of political

chy, because it will be exercised under the deceitful name and habiliments of a Republic. We are told that the South is to be "reconciled by the successor falling into Southern principles," and that it is policy to acquiesce in the appointment. Sir, there may be at heart traitors in the South, but it will be treaor gerish under it,

affairs; that from apparently a small begining

the most tremendous results are produced;

that one step over the great landmarks of the

Constitution will lead to the overthrow of all

law, to the prostration of liberty, and the

abandoned reign of arbitrary power. A drop

of water, oozing through the dykes of Hol-

land, if unnoticed, would desolate the fairest

regions, and spread terror through a ruined

country. If now, in the infancy of our Gov-

ernment, the President has it in his power

to nominate and appoint his successor, the

day is not far distant when we shall live under

a power more odious than hereditary monar-

state of things is to last forever—let them not continue to vindicate and to perpetuate the You must do something that has no precedent. he has fought it every where for success, and try. But the charter of the Bank of the United ington.

-SOMETARY AND ALONE, AMID THE TAUNTS to be the dominant party of to-morrow-let INDUSTRY AND ALUNE, ARID I HAVE SET them not, in the arrogance of power, forever forget right. These things they may not per-"There, sir," he commued, 'a few words haps feel in their day and generation, but anguish of their hearts, the memory of their fathers, for having brought down upon them degradation and ruin. Even Robespierre would have paused in his bloody career of ambition if he could have foreseen that the same guillotine which he raised over the neck of Danton, was so soon to be brought down with a just vengeance upon his own. And the Duke of Orleans, unprincipled as he was, when he sat in that unprincipled assembly which voted the death of Louis XVI. would have trembled with horror as he gave his vote for the death of his own blood cousin, if tism he was aiding to raise, his property was held up by the executioner to the vengeance of a lawless mob.

How can the South acquiesce under an Administration, the head of which has admitted that this Government has the constitutional power to abolish slavery in the District of Columbia? I tell gentlemen they will yet be brought to quail and tremble under the tremendous power of this doctrine. We will yet see the lightning flash, and feel the earthquake's heave. The issue will be made, and representative, to make, as I now do, on behalf of expressing an opinion. I put it to the canwe must be prepared to meet it like men, or of South Carolina, her public and solemn pro- dor of that honorable gentleman wether this is to crave mercy from one who is against us in test against this open and flagrant violation of a mere expression? The resolution which sentiment and in feeling.

The coming Administration has elements of weakness which it will be difficult to recover from. The opposition can never be satisfied with the corrupt and profligate principles under which it has been dictated. Look around and see the strength that is to be put ready for another contest. Look to those People on both sides of the Ohio, who have raised their flag over their country's ramparts, and have so nobly defended themselves against the mercenary bands of power; look to those intrepid People, through whose bosom run the waters of the Tennessee and the Cumberland -where are they all? Ready and eager to step forward in the breach that has been made over the barriers thrown around the freedom of the elective franchise. Look to those People on both sides of the Savannah, where are they? United in feeling and in sentiment, with one banner streaming aloft in the breezethat banner under which the Constitution was made-the banner under which Jefferson fought his way to victory and to fame-the be reformed—the noble banner of free trade and State rights, under which defeat is no disgrace, and victory is redemption and liberty.

We may be defeated, but not conquered; we have yet the undying spirit of freemen. Then let us come to the rally, and the Republic may yet be safe.

Mr. Pickens then concluded by moving the adoption of the original resolution.

SPEECH OF MR. PRESTON, (of S. C.) On the resolution to expunge a part of the journal for the session of 1833 1834.

DELIVERED JANUARY 13, 1837. Mr. PRESTON addressed the Senate as Nothing, Mr. President, (said he) was farther from my intention, than to have said a single word on this subject. Nor do I now propose to discuss it. That has been done so fully and elaborately on both sides, that I shall not enter upon the argument. I thought I should not have said a word, but I feel a sort arrived at the very issue; if the question were not ready to be taken, I should have retained my seat, for I have long been endeavoring to submission. During the entire course of events which has gradually brought my mind to the conclusion that this resolution would at some time pass, I have endeavored to discipline my feelings, to curb and restrain them, and bring down my mind to the event, so that when at last the sad moment should arrive, I might meet it with a becoming resignation; and I did suppose that I had succeeded. I had long seen the growing popularity of this measure. I was no stranger to the arts and the industry by which the progress of that popularity had been stimulated and urged on from day to day. I well knew the power and the popularity of the Chief Magistrate. I had heard of his own personal exertions to promote this object. I saw that it was resolved upon as a party measure, and I saw the party which had resolved upon it, rapidly and triumphantly rounds them. An attack upon the Constitusucceeding throughout a large part of the Union. These things certainly are sufficient to have forewarned me, and I had hoped, and till this moment believed, and they had forearmed me also. But there was added to all these the still less equivocal evidence arising from the proceedings of several of the State Legislatur. I again ask, will you do execution upon? Up. And all these properties, and all this glory, is for all future time. No, sir, our voice must es. Sir, when first I heard that a State Legislature had instructed her Senators on this floor to vote in favor of this thing, it struck But when I from time to time beheld various other State Legislutures acting under the same | the United States. It is one of the co-ordi- ment. I say nothing now of the truth of the dictation, or at least misled into the same mistake, sorrow assumed in my bosom the complexion of despair. But there was still one of this Confederacy one after another giving triumph and boast that you have brought that conspiracy to prostrate the Senate. But when solation will be that I can reply to my country, at length it came to pass that the ancient and "Thou canst not say I did it." The People, has left us of ancient Rome, and all we have footstool of power, forgot her rast history, forgot who and what she is and what she has been. and associated herself in a combinetion like this, how shall I describe to you my feelings. As a politicain, I might have been mortified at such a spectacle; as a statesman, belonging to the United States, I turned from it with shame; but as a native of Virginia, I deplore, to your shouts of exultation, burn the Constitation that General Jackson is the greatest and best I lament, from the bottom of my heart, that she, ution as incense under his nostrils. This, and man that now lives, has lived, or will ever t to, has joined the funeral procession of the nothing less than this, will satisfy the idolatro- live again; that he is worthy of all honor and Constitution. Sir, I was proud to remember her | us devotion of his admirers. Do execution on | glory; that the Constitution is to be sacrificed in her proud day; to consider her as she once the records of your land. Obliterate your and the records of one branch of the Governwas, and perhaps still is—the great mother of own journal. Do not introduce the report of ment defaced and mutiliated for his gratificachildren from these halls of national legislation sical act of execution. Why, sir, does the see how it will be received.

air of Bomhastes Furioso, these magical words, | suppose that the dominant party of to day is | dectrine and the spirit of liberty. Sir, I | Your Clerk is to be exhibited, not reading, not | with success. But I never knew until I was | States-what did not that effect! That was no the powers which he unquestionably possesses, Might it not be as well to order in a file of with his liberal education and large experi- soldiers with their bayonets? Or would it not ence, and especially with the good fortune of be better still to purify the journal by fire? foundations of our Republic, I had hoped that to the flames; and then, like a company of the told, and who are themselves to become imhe would have invoked the ancient spirit of native Sagamores, sit round and inhale the his State, and would have added the suffrage agreeable fragrance as the smoke of the guilty of his voice to save the trembling Constitution lines shall darkly ascend to heaven. When about to be immolated at the footstool of Exec- the act is performed you will have set a memo. cutive power. But it was my lot to be disap- rable precedent. And do you think there will ordinary resolution. Where are the sedateness enlarged views, and popular predilections of ry course, the men themselves who perpetrat-Jefferson? Where the sturdy republicanism | ed the deed-it is they who should be expungothers control her destiny. Sir, I lament, I mourn that my native State should have lent consolation, however, Mr. President, that there is one State, one free and fearless State which has kept herself aloof from this conbination: whose pride and honor demand of me, her expunging resolution is merely a strong mode the Constitution.

But, sir: I have done. The argument is exhausted; the verdict has been rendered; the judgement given; execution is demanded-av. sir, and let me add, the executioners are here with ready hands. Exercise your function, gentlemen. You have been called on to do execution-do it. The axe is in your hand; perform that which is so loudly called for .-Execution, sir? Of what? Of whom? Is hatred. I admit, indeed, that the bosoms of ment, and in favor of the dving liberty of the the axe aimed at me, and at those of us who voted for the resolution you are about to ex. from some feelings of that description, and punge ! Is it us you strike at ? If so, I would that some of the speeches on this floor mansay, and with comparative satisfaction, in God's lifested at times a strong sentiment of hostiliname let the blow come, and while the fatal ty towards the President. But did it ever famy as the anstocratic branch of the Govedge fell upon my neck, I would declare, with enter their thoughts to make the journal of honest sincerity, that I had rather be the criminal of 1834 than the executioner of 1836.-Proceed, gentlemen, do your holy work .--Grant judgement. Do execution-execution upon your own records-execution upon the Constitution of your country. I do not envy your office. Personally, however, it does not touch us. No, sir, I am glad, I rejoice that, on that record, my name is found as one against whom this act is aimed. I would appeal from only banner under which this government can the present time to posterity, and ask whether the names of myself and my associates or the names of our executioners are then most likely to be venerated as guardians of the Constitution. But can you suppose that your work is to be done on that body of representatives of the States who voted for the obnoxious record! their deep mourning that the feelings of the rights of the People and the rights of Parlia-That you will execute us? Our reputation, our character, and standing? No, sir; it is record is to be carried into his presence that and of the royal party in the House of Comnot in the power of your black lines to touch | we may show the Chief Magistrate that we | mons? Was it wielded for the Whigs against us. I, indeed, was but a common soldier, and have put ourselves permanently in mourning the Tories? or for the Tories against the served in the ranks under greater men. But for the offence we have committed, and to would gentlemen strike out of the record of express our humble hope that this may go some this Government the names of those who offer- little way toward healing the wounds which and gild the British history once in two huned that resolution? No, no. They are far have been inflicted on his sensibility. Possibeyond your reach, and the only result of your | bly the President may deign to listen to us; impotent attack will be the more firmly to es. nay, he may even give a gracious smile of tablish their fame. Wrong they may have approbation, a glance of complacency, on those been, but their business and their aim was to who humbly present to him this most grateful sustain the Constitution. An act had been oblation. Yes sir; the proceeding is intended done of equivocal import, and attended with to inscribe upon our records more than lances swept over the Union like an inundation, or able to put into words ; a deed, an overt act and in that dark hour, and in the face of a will, it is humbly hoped, prove more graceful popularity before which nothing could stand, than any words could have been rendered to it was entered at the inslance of Luitrel they dared to raise their voice in this IIall, of impossibility of withholding. If we had not and so far as an expression of opinion could go, to record their censure of that act. And will gentleman pretend to tell me that these men will not receive the gratitude of posteri school and to subdue my heart down to this ty? This expunging process may for a season promote the reputation of those who perform it; but this deed will bring fresh

into remembrance the names of those who Some of these individuals are present, and I must forbear. But long after we shall have is written, and fondly and proudly dwelt upon by our posterity, their names will be mention-Washington, and Adams, and Hancock, and Lee, and Lafayette are now taught to our children. If the hope, if the design is to efface those names from the leaves of our national memorials, it will fail. Every effort to extintion may, indeed, confer on these who perpetrate it a sort of immortality, but it is not such as will belong to its defenders. We remember, Proceed then to the sacrifice. Do execution on the Senate. Consummate your solemn him, and, as an offering for his great services, sion that the record of our proceedings is to for his unequalled popularity, for the unsurpassed confidence which he enjoys, sing hosannas in his ears, and, while the sky re-echoes | embodying the substance of his speech, to wit,

pointed; and I mourn, from the bottom of my | be no improvement on this patent mode of heart, the instruction under which he feels conciliating the Executive? May it not be himself contrained to vote for this very extra. profitably applied to some other purposes? Why not expunge those who made the record? the gravity, the calm and cautious wisdom of If the proceeding had a guilt so momtrous as Madison? Where the philosophic spirit, the to render necesary this novel and extraordinaof John Taylor? They are gone-gone, and ed. Men who entered so foul a page upon your journals cannot be worthy of a seat here.

But the honorable Senator who has just

us-march us off.

is to be expunged, asserted, on behalf of the Senate, a difference of opinion from the President of the United States. It expressed that difference fairly and openly. The whole extent of its offence is the expression of a difference of opinion from the President on a constitutional question. It never once entered the minds o the authors of that resolusome of them may not have been who'ly free this body a record of personal sp te? They expressed a difference of sentiment, and this surely may be done in the very kindest spirit. But sir, is that the temper of the present proceeding? Is it to express a difference of the gentleman from Virginia, on the ground opinion that we are now invited ? Is it to ex. that it is a great engine to maintain the cause press an opinion at all? What is it the expression of? Vengeance. That is what is to be to maintain his position? Why, truly, because expressed. The compass of the English language is not able to bring forth a tone sufficent for the purpose. Vengeance! vengeance! must be taken on the records. They are to be put in mourning. They are to be hung with black. In this there may be a double purpose. The Senate may intend that their journals shall bear imperishable evidence of to guard the rights of popular bodies? the President should have been wounded. The the august, the "miraculous" being who is to against J. Wilkes, the Patroclus over whose be propitiated. Attend, sir, to the pallinode which has just been sung to the honor and that was the reason of its expunction from the glery of the President of the Uhited States. The attenuated period both of political and physical existence, of the President, makes me | the most powerful engines weilded in the land very reluctant indeed to offer any remarks on of our ancestors in favor of popular rights are the very extravagant language in which he all seized upon and employed for the increase has been praised; nor should I advert to the and advancement of Executive power. Ail passed that resolution which they cannot gentleman's speech at all but to notice the suffer to stand on the records af the Senate. ground on which this measure is advocated. betray them. The People, the People, the Expunge, expunge," cries the gentleman; "expunge a resolution which is an attack on passed away, when the history of our country | the good, the glorious, the popular, the powerful, the miraculous, President of the United States." This, sir, was the tone, and this the ed. They will be familiar as household words, argument in three-fourths, nay, in four-fifths and will be taught to children as the names of of the venerable gentleman's discourse. He puts this resolution on the ground of his eulogy of the President. That is the sole argument. Because President Jackson is praiseworthy and glorions, expunge, expunge.-Why, sir. what is the connexion? The Senguish will but increase the splendor which sur- ator has certainly not given us a very logical conclusion. General Jackson is to be praised; record is to be expunged; that is the conclusion. We are to oblitcrate our records, and indeed, but we execrate, the name of the bring them in the habiliments of mourning, to miscreant who, for a sort of fame, destroyed his feet, because President Jackson is gra- that is the fate which awaits him. It is to be a venerable temple of antiquity. And whom, cious, glorious, popular, powerful, miraculous. set up by way of memento, to muzzle this body on the records? Is it the object of offence? to be transferred bodily to another gentleman never be heard save in strains of adulation, Will you make your war on the paper? Will who is just like himself. Alter et idem. We and in chanting palinodes like that which has you wreak your spite upon so much rags and are to abolish our journal, because General recently been furnished as a pattern to this me with inexpressible sorrow and dismay .- | cotton? Who or what is it that is to be pros- Jackson is thus and thus, and his successor | body. trated and broken down? It is the Senate of will be thus and thus. That is the argunate branches of the General Government, premises, because this is not a convenient opportunity for the investigation of that subiect. Those who are in ecstacies, who are ingredient to be added to this cup, to render farce, and then rise and congratulate yoursel- in exaltations of admiration, who are shouting, the odious draught more intolerably bitter. I ves that you are yourselves members of the clapping hands, and singing hallelujahs, are could, I will confess it, with some comparative very body that you have bowed to the footstool not exactly in a condition of mind to listen or degree of philosophy, have seen certain States of power. Offer your glad hosanvas-ay, be argued with. They may be within the extreme pale of reason, but they are, to say borne to see this and that and the other State | will mourn at your jubilee. I shall be present | that immaculate, that unequalled, that miraprostrating herself and aiding in the general at the scene, but not of it, and my only con- culous person which he is represented; allowpowerful commonwealth of Virginia was it seems, have decided against the Senate. read of modern worth and virtue, admitting brought to bow her venerable locks before the The People order the Senate to take the that all this is transferable, and has been trans-Constitution in their hand-to bring it into ferred, for the glory and blessedness of our the presence of the "miraculous man," as an | country, to one worthy to be his successor, let

be expunged?

Let the gentleman introduce a resolution

place seven cities are said to have contended, It is said, from high authority, that men make to themselves idols and worship them, and I shall not now pause to censure this pro-

East men sacrifice themselves, and sometimes their wives and children. But these gentle-Remove us. Turn us out. Expel us from the men are far wiser. They do not sacrifice herself and the remnant of her glory to pro- Sen ite. Would to God you could. Call in themselves-nothing is father from their mote and gloss over this proceeding. I take the Prætorian guard. Take us-apprehend thoughts. Such a thing does not enter into their purposes. But still the sacrifice must be conspicuous, impressive, such as will produce effect. They look round for a victim. resumed his seat takes the ground that this But will they, like Eastern devotees, cast themselves beneath the onward crushing car of Executive power? Oh, no, sir. Nothing like it. They stand cautiously out of the way of its career, and cast down the Constitution of their country. That is the victim-crush it. There is the official record of the Senatecrush it. There is the very body itself, the collected Senate of the United States-crush it. And do you crush it, gentlemen? Do you expunge the Senate for daring to speak a word in its last expiring hours, to indicate that tion to stain your record by an official act of it is still a co-ordinate branch of the Governland? I ask, again, whom it is that you thus offer to stigmatize ! On whom is this resolution to act ! Against what body is your b'ow directed? What body will you brand with inernment? It is the Senate of the United States, your own Senate. That is the victim dragged out for immolation to the powers that

> But this expunging process is defended by of human liberty. And how does he attempt it was resorted to in England in support of the right of popular election. Ay? And will gentlemen seek to wrest out of the hands of the British Whigs a weapon so powerfully wielded by them but in a cause so different? For whom did they employ it? and against whom? Was it not used to protect popular rights? ment against the abstrary power of the King Whigs? Let the gentlemen answer. Yes; when the beams of liberty struggle out to day, dred years, you find this process of expunging resorted to by our sturdy ancestors in their struggles with the Crown, and as an extreme been expunged? No, sir. It was because bor this fight for freedom was maintained; journals. And it forms one of the most ominous signs of the times we live in, that here, that belongs to the People is invoked only to voice of the People, gentlemen claim as their own. They cite every popular argument, and all for what? To hold up the cause of the many against the few? of the millions against the grasping power of the one? No, sir; no, no. All these mighty motive powers are called up to exalt the Executive, and to put down the legislative power; to increase the power of the one against the rights of the many -They are brought forward to silence, for all future time, the voice of the Senate, whenever it shall be raised against the encroachments of

but the language of culogy. "Horribili sedere flagello."

A gentleman, whose talent and intelligence I highly honor, has asked us to strip this matter of all the humbuggery which has been thrown around it. Well, sir, let us do so .-And what is it, when thus denuded, but a bit in the mouth of this Senate, to bring it down when it becomes too restive for the taste or safety of those in power; so that the Chief Magistrate may, undisturbed by its curvetings, proceed to seize upon the national treasure, way and bringing their successive sacrifices | Senate, of which you form a part, to this pass. | the least, on the confines of enthusiasm. But | and repeal the decisions of the Supreme Court, to this altar of executive power. I could have But while you are making the welkin ring, I admitting that the President is that axalted, & if any adventurous mouth shall dare to whisper he is acting against the Constitution, such rashness may instantly be checked by the warning "hush! take care! remember the expunging resolution !- do you wish to bring us again under the discipline of the black lines?" I suppose the fac sim' of that blotted and defaced page of our records will be fixed up in some conspicuous position above the seat of honorable Senator (Mr. Dana) has just termed | me ask, how does this bring us to the conclu- our presiding officer, so that, when we would dare to think, to feel, and to speak, as free men and American legislators, we may look up, formed his detested office, and has mangiand beholding the awful monitor, may put our ed the record of the Senat, will any here hands on our mouths, and our mouths in the rise in his place to cry aloud-thus perish dust, and repent, while it is yet time, all such all traitors? Or will they not rather hang presumptuous aspirations.

other in opinions and policy, and have in like shall feel nothing personally. So far as I am manner differed from the Executive, and each personally concerned, I can fold my arms in men; to look back to that bright, that immors a committee. Do not revoke your former act tion. Let him lay that resolution before the Senate has freely expressed its own sentital period in our history when she recalled her by recording a resolution; but perform a phy- People, to whose verdict he has appealed, and ments. In regard to the United States Bank, shrinking. All I feel now is for the Senateon to the Constitution and to the country to into her own Legislature, there to vindicate Senate of to-day differ from the Senate of yes- The honorable gentleman, however, stated varied at different periods. The Senate, at may cry, we we to England, but not to me. submit to the dictation. No! never, never. the rights and independence of the State, and terday? Has the Senate of 1837 different one fact in reference to the President, which is one time, thought that bank constitutional; at In a moment I shall recover my self-possession, We have been foully betrayed, and against to re-assert the violated Constitution against views from the Sencte of 1834! Does the more novel, at least, than many of the remarks another time, thought it unconstitutional; shall rise, shall rejoice, that it was my good the principles of the succession we declare the usurpations of this Government. Then, Senate now think that the Senate then grossly with which he favored the Senate. It is, if I a majority now consider it as a monster. Why uncompromising, unextinguishable war, "war to the kinfe." It may be that we shall be acter which had descended with her from the to the kinfe." It may be that our flow that the President was mibut few in numbers; it may be that our flag Revolution. Then she put herself on her State words to express a difference of opinion? Can- raculous. But the miracle, it seems, hes in which records the act by which that bank was Senate's honor, it shall safely abide forever, in staff shall be shattered and broken, but we rights, and on the popular doctrines of a free not you state the strength of your conviction the fact that he was born a foreigner, and is chartered? The resolution against which spite of your BLACK LINES. will part the flag to the gunwale, and conquer Government; and all who witnessed the ani- in all the compass of your mother tongue? No. President of the United States. Sir, Gene- your magnanimous wrath is now directed has mating sight must have concluded that, You must do a physical act. You must put ral Jackson, I admit, has overcome great different of the present of the United States. Sir, Gene-your magnatimous wrath is now directed has mating sight must have concluded that, You must do a physical act. You must put ral Jackson, I admit, has overcome great different of the United States. Sir, Gene-your magnatimous wrath is now directed has mating sight must have concluded that, thoughout her existence, she would ever nothing on record. You must perform a deed. It is not gentlemen suppose that the present of the United States. Sir, Gene-your magnatimous wrath is now directed has done no harm. It has led to no action. It is not gentlemen suppose that the present of the United States. Sir, Gene-your magnatimous wrath is now directed has done no harm. It has led to no action. It is not gentlemen suppose that the present of the United States. Sir, Gene-your magnatimous wrath is now directed has done no harm. It has led to no action. It has brought no long train of evils on the counterpresent throughout her existence, she would ever nothing on record. You must perform a deed.

could have wished that the honorable gen- writing, not enunciating your decisions, but now officially informed, that he was born in empty declaration of opinion. It was a subtleman who now represents that distinguished performing mechanical execution on a bit of Iteland. [A laugh.] To prevent his future stantial act. And to what a long black cata-State could have found in his own mind paper. He is not to be occupied in his ordi- historians from falling into a difficulty like logue of national calamities did it not in your reasons for taking a different course from that nary and legal functions. No, sir. He is to that which happened in the case of a more opinion lead? If any thing is to be expunged, which he has pursued in this matter. With the perform the duty of a common hangman .- obscure individual in Greece, for whose birth why not expunge that ? It seems not to have entered the imagination of gentlemen on the the gentleman from New Hampshire has other side to draw their lines round that resource kindly fixed the spot; and when that cloud lution. Yet the honorable Senator from Virgrowing up amidst the very men who laid the Fire is the ancient ordeal. Give the victim of future historians of whom we have been ginia believes most sincerely that the act was unconstitutional. He holds that it led to mortal by writing General Jackson's life, shall | consequences greatly detrimental to the nabe searching for panegyric to adorn their rival | tional good, and tells us that the President pages on that deathless theme, they will at deserves the everlasting gratitude of the counleast be releived from the pains of uncertain try for having abolished and dustroyed the conjecture as to the nativity of the hero of their | bank. Well, sir, if it is not fit in that case, how and why is fit in this? Because this violates the rights of the People ? So did that. Is this unconstitutional? So was the other. Is this derogatory to the feelings and wishes pensity of our nature; and I know when the of the President ? So was that. Is the Senidol is fashioned it is difficult to restrict its ate bound in duty to express its disapprobation worshippers as to the mode of worship, or the of this act? Why not of the other? But is extent of the sacrifice. To the idols in the it really so great an offence to differ from the President on a constitutional question, insomuch that all traces of such a thing must, be obliterated from our records? that it must be effaced-expunged-purged off! Why, sir, the President differs from us constantly on constitutional points; and both he and this Senate differ widely from President Washington on a constitutional point, viz. on the constitutionality of the Bank of the United States. Why is not the opinion of Washington to be expunged! Why not go back, and hold him up as a sacrifice! It has, indeed, in some sort, been already done. You have not broken into the sepulchre of Mount Vernon, and dug up his bones, and burnt them, like Wickliffe & but you have immolated his name; his virtues, his glory, have been taken from him, and transferred to another. Why not make your sacrifice complete? If the principle on which you act is jealousy for the honor and power of the Executive, why not, when former Presidents have sent us messages containing unconstitutional notions, expunge their messages from your archives? The President sent us a message in the panic session uf 1834. How would gentlemen have taken it, had those who constituted the majority at that day proposed to expunge it from the records?

Both Houses of Congress have differed

from other Presidents. Does any gentleman here dream of a leading member in either House under the Jefferson administration proposing to expunge any Presidential opinion which did not correspond with his own? Or would any supporter of the wise, the sedate, the grave, the temperate, the forbearing Madison, ever conceive the notion that he was to be propitiated by effacing the public records? Did he ever require his friends to depart from their public duties, neglect the exigencies of the public business, and address themselves to this most extraordinary method of silencing the indignation of a President? There was a great struggle in '98, and after a long course. of most bitter and acrimonious party warfarethe republican party eventually triumphed. and came into power, but in the very heat of conquest, and still covered, as it were, with the sweat and the dust of battle, did it once enter into their heads to expunge from. the public journals the acts of their predecessors ? Or could it now occur to the minds of intelligent and honorable men that they are called upon to vindicate the ashes of the illustrious dead by removing from the national a measure, to resist the encroachments of law- all traces of difference of opinion on the part less power; not, as here, to wipe out and of either House of Congress, from the departed saviours of our country? Dare the honorable If the resolution of Parliament in the great | Senator from Pennsylvania rise in his place. done of equivocal import, and attended with to inscribe upon our records more than lan-tremendous consequences. Those consequen-guage can impart, more than we are willing the words a deed, an overtact wilkes and against Mr. Luttrel, would it have of Washington, introduce a resolution to expunge whatever on our journal intimates. a difference of opinion from that great man ? Will he venture to look into that venerable and venerated countenance, and make such a motion in this chamber? No sir. His own heart tells him that the image would frown upon him from its frame, and, could it speak. would cry, Forbear. Destroy not your Constitution. Dishonor not your own archieves. Draw no black lines upon your journal on my account. Write no history for me. My history is written in a nation's eyes. I desine you to play off no mountabank farce for me glory; it is safe in the keeping of my countrymen. Yes, sir, such wealth be the language of Washington; and I well know that the honorable Senator from Pennsylvania has ita response in his heart. And, sir, if we are not called to do this for the illustrious great & good, who have departed, shall we do it for the living because he is powerful ? Because he is the dispenser of office, who is to propagate his own system of policy through another generation, and to transfuse his own vital spirit into a living branch of the same stem ? power. Yes, sir, they seek to lang up in If this sacrifice was to be offered to the torrorem over your head, and in full view of illustrious dead, whom history has siready that forms the premises of his argument. This every Schator, a scourge, to be applied with- fixed in ninches of imperishable honor, we out mercy to any who shall dare to use aught endure it with greater patience. But to a living man, and a man who can reward the deed, sir, I cannot look the thing steadily in the face. I protest to you that my inmost heart is bowed down at the thought with sorrow and shame. But the deed is to be done. States have

spoken. Whether the People of the United States have spoken might bear a question, Certainly many States have uttered their voice, whose right to speak I should be the last to question. That they have acted under mistaken views, I have not a doubt. The act is fraught with most dangerous consequences. It inflicts deep wounds on the dignity and the potency of this body ; for I see in the countenances of many honorable gentlemen that they would gladly avoid this thing, and would, if they could; avoid the deed. I do believe that in the very moment of inflicting the blow, their hearts will be haunted by the same emotions which fill and oppress my own. And while, under the pressure of dire necessity, they raise the axe, they feel prepared, like other executioners, first to ask pardon of the victim. Ay, sir, I believe that when it comes to the actual performance of the tragedy, there will be a secret whisper in their ear that will say to them, perhaps our party feelings have pressed us a little too far. And when, after asolemn and mournful pause, the Secretary has pertheir heads, and, smiting on their breasts, In other days, it has often happened that heave mournful sighs over so hard a necessity? successive Senates have differed from each I shall witness it, and whatever I may feel, I for example, the opinions of this body have is for the Constitution-is for the country. I

\* Mr. Buchanan sat opposite the picture of Wash-