President Jackson and the U.S. Bank

PERVERSIONS OF HISTORY BY JULIAN HAWTHORNE AND OTHERS CORRECTED FROM THE RECORDS.

ing published in books and papers, and given to the resding public as historical fact, has become so great that it de-serves exposure and condemnation through the press of the country. Whole volumes are sent out from publishing-houses pre-tending to state facts in the history of records and state papers to be utterly false. These histories carry on their pages the evidence that when their au-thors make reference to political questions they rely for authority on statements made in partisan newspapers during the heat of political contests. Nowhere do they refer to public documents for the truth of their statements, for the good reason that none such can be found. There is evidence also that when they lack testimony from partisan sources th draw on their own imaginations to rou they out the story. One of the most notable instances of this is found in Julian Haw-thorne's "History of the United States," as the following extracts will show:

Julian Hawthorne's Misstatements. Vol. 111, page 761.-The Twenty-eventh Congress, which met in December, 1831, was full of men of the first ability, and had an exciting career. Benton was the chief defender of the executive; there were Web-ster and Clay, Rufus Choste and Everet, Thomas Corwin, of Ohio, and many others of prowers. Clay was chosen to lead the treated the second Labor. ruggie against Jackson. Jackson assumed composed and peaceful demeaner in his mesage, waiting for the other side to attack; which, under Clay, they were not alow i doing. The opposition was divided among self, but united against President Jackson, iay was, himself, in nomination for the Ciny was, presidency, and was now a stronger candidate than Calb

ng on Ciny's advice, the first question Acting on Chay's advice, the first question brought up was that of the recharter of the Bank. Jackson would perhaps have pre-ferred to have that matter go over until after the next election; but this was more the reason for Clay to press it now; he hoped to destroy the executive by a deadly discovering. There was a number of Demo alternative. crats who favored the recharter; it was most likely that Congress, in both branches, would vote for it, and then it would lie with Jackson either to veto or accept the measure. If he vetoed it, he would divide his party, and be subjected to dangerous criticiem, even if the bill did not pars over his veto; and if he signed it, he would appear as timorous and weak. In either case he would imperil his election. Webster, though siding with Jackson against Calhoun, was with Clay en this question, and McLane, the new Secretary of the Treasury, had already declared the bank to be indispensible. Moreover, the bank was apparently in a most prosperous position, and firmly rooted in the echeme of things. Nicho-las Biddle did not believe he could be beaten. The outlook for the bank was certainly good, on the surface. Its weak points were, first, that Nicholas Biddle was a rascal, and secretly guilty of all manner of disbonesty, and that the bank itself, consequently, which was practically under his exclusive control. was rotten to the core; and, secondly, that

Jackson was a fighter, that he hated and dis-trusted the bank, and would stick at nothing to destroy it. And neither Clay nor Biddle had any adequate conception of Jackson's strength with the country, or the trust it placed in his statements and acts. The battle was long and asymptity fought on both sides, but the upshot never really in doubt.

Was never really in doubt. Biddle bribed right and left, concealed all sinister facts either by direct lying or by cov-ering up traces; and Clay and his followers, many of whom sincerely believed that the bank was as honest and valuable as Hiddle declared it to be, deployed their sloquence in Congress. Benton and the rest of the Jackson men met them with a vast array of charges, some of which were guesswork, but none of which surpassed the facts when the latter came to be known; they hantmered everything in sight indiscriminately, and spared nothing and no one; and, though they did not prevent the recharger from passing the years and prevent House, the conviction aroused in the public mind was that so much smoke must portend some firs. When, therefore, Jackson, upon receiving the amended bill, sent it back with his veto, the country was prepared for it; and Consress failed to pass it over the veto by the necessary two-thirds vote. The sym-pathy, after this first round of the fight, was with Jackson, and against the financial octo pus which he affirmed and believed to be squeezing the independence and virtue out of the community. Jackson believed this because wanted to believe it; because he hated Biddis and had been offended by the bank's defiance. It was his good luck that the facts happened to justify his suspicions; but it cam hardly he doubted that he would have hated the bank and its manager just as much, had they been as pure as driven snow. To some extent he was fighting in the dark, and might, for aught he know, have been trying to kill an angel of light instead of a demon of dark-The time for the present charter of the bank to expire was still five years off, and the war was far from being decided yet; but Jackson had the best of it so for. Page 709: Courses being now scattered (the Summer of 1833), Jackson had a free hand; and it presently became known that he meant to withdraw from the bunk the Government. depends, amounting to more than half of the whole; and, what was quite as serious for the bank, he would accompany this act by giving his reasons for it, which were. In brief, that he did not consider the money and there; has believed it was used to believed it was used to corrupt the country and Congress, and be would not be a party to nourishing the parasite which was absorbing the vital forces of the Nation. Of course, it this were credited, the bank would be diited in proportion, and would be obliged to wind up its affairs forthwith. Jackson took but few into his confidence, but one of dhese had to be Duane, because only the Secretary of the Treasury had the legal right to withdraw the deposits. After much heseitation Duane declined to do it, and Jackson thereupon dismissed him, and put in his place a gentleman by the name of Taney, who was a thoroughgoing advocate of anti-bank principles. Taney did his duty, not bank principles. Taney did his duty, not actually drawing out the whole \$9,000,000 in one lump, but providing for its removal at a rate altogether too rapidly to be comfortable for Mr. Biddle. Biddle, however, had had some warning, which be had utilized to the utmost of his power by contracting his loans, and this of course had an effect on the coun-try. Money became dear and wages low. The istress was more in the anticipation of evil

The amount of falsehood that is be- | United States Bank. He first makes lusion to the question in his message of 1829. In that he says:

The charter of the Bank of the expires in 1836, and its stockholders will most bably apply for a renewal of their privileges. In order to avoid the evils resulting from a precipitancy in a measure involving such important principles and such deep pecuniary interests, I feel that I cannot, in justice to the parties interested, too soon present it to the deliberate consideration of the legislature and the people

The charter had then upwards of six years to run. Two years after this invi-tation, the Bank made an application for a renewal of its charter. It was at once declared that the application was pre-mature, and the bank was denounced for meconting the invitation which the Presi-tor of the Presi-mature, and the bank was denounced for meconting the invitation which the Presideclared that the application was pre-mature, and the bank was denounced for accepting the invitation which the President had formally given. Further on the message continues: If such an institution is deemed essential to

the fiscal operations of the Government, I submit to the wiedom of the legislature, whether a National ene, founded upon the credit of the Government, might not he devised.

So far from expressing an explicit opin-ion against all National Banks, President Jackson here makes a hypothetical ad-mission of the utility of a bank, and distinctly intimates the practicability of de-vising one on the basis of the credit and resources of the Government.

What Jackson Said.

In his next message, 1830, speaking of the bank, Jackson says:

Nothing has occurred to lessen in any degree the dangers which many of our citizens ap-prohend from that institution as at present organized. In the spirit of improvement and compromise which distinguish our country and its institutions, it becomes us to inquire

whether it be not possible to secure the ad-vantages afforded by the present bank through the agency of a bank of the United States so modified in its principles and structure as to obviate constitutional and other ob Here President Jackson admits "the ad-vantages afforded by the bank," and sug-

gests the inquiry whether it be possible to secure them by a bank differently con-structed. Towards the conclusion of that part of his message, his language fully justifies the implication that it was not to the bank itself, but to certain specific features in its charter, that he objected its permitting the holding of stock by for ctod. eigners being one of them.

In his message of 1811 President Jack-son said less about the bank than in former messages, but the following sentence occurs: Entertaining the opinions heretofore expressed

in relation to the Bank of the United States, as at present organized, I felt it my duty in my former messages frankly to disclose them. These quotations show that Jackson's "opinion" as to the constitutionality of a National bank was very unlike that which at the present day it is generally understood he held. From all he had ut-tered, it was the natural conclusion that if amendments could be made to the charter satisfactory to the President, he would approve a bill for its renewal. Accordingly, in compliance with the invitation he had extended to Congress two years previously, a bill for rechartering the bank was prepared, with such amend. ments as was supposed would be accepta-ble to him, and passed by the two houses, This was in July, 1832. Jackson vetoed the bill. In his message returning it without his signature he said:

A Bank of the United States is, in many respects, convenient to the Government and use ful to the people. Entertaining this opinion and deeply impressed with the belief that some of the powers and privileges possessed by the existing bank are unauthorized by the Consti-tution, etc., I felt it my duty, at an early period of my administration, to call the atten-tion of Congress to the practicability of organining an institution combining all its advan-tages and obviating those objections. I sin-cerely regret that in she act before me I can perceive none of those modifications, That a Bank of the United States, co to all the duties which may be required by the

him. On December 25 of that year, two full years after the date set by Mr. Hawthorne for an attack, Mr. Clay offawthorne for an attack, Mr. Ciay of-fered the following resolution in the Senate:

1. Resolved, That, by dismissing the lat Secretary of the Treasury because he would not, contrary to the sense of his own duty, remove the money of the Unlied States on with the Bank of the United States and its branches, in conformity with the Pres-Mont's optimion; and by appointing his successor to effect such removal, which has been done, the President has assumed the exercise of a power over the Treasury of the United States not granted to him by the Coustitution and laws, and dangerous to the liberties of the president of the second states of

2. Resolved, That the reasons assigned by the Secretary of the Treasury for the removal of the money of the United States, deposited in the Bank of the United States and its branches, communicated to Congress on the 3d day of December, 1833, are unsatisfactory and

ments made by these Senators, especially that of Calhoun, and not be convinced that the declarations set forth in the resolutions were true to the letter. The same may be said of arguments made in the House in favor of resolutions of the rame tenor as those offered by Ciay in the Senate. Wise, of Virginia; McDuffle, of South Carolina, and other prominent Democrats, all opposed to rechartering the bank, made able speeches condemna-tory of Jackson's "unlawful selzure of the Nation's treasure," their arguments covering the same ground as those made in the Security in the Senate.

Four Conclusions

Studying the discussion of these resolu tions, pro and con, in connection with public documents, and avowals made by Jackson and his supporters of that day, the student of history is forced to the lowing conclusions; First-That Jackson did not express any clearly defined opposition to a United States Bank prior to his election to the

Presidency, nor in any of his messages to Congress prior to the passage of the bill rechartering the bank. Second-That he favored the chartering of a bank by the Government, provided he could dictate the terms of its charter. Third-That he went before the peo in his campaign for re-election as a bank

Fourth-That the kind of bank he favored was one, as was subsequently developed, that would unite both the purse and the sword in the hands of the

executive. In his message of December 4, 1832, President Jackson recommended to Congress to provide for selling out the stock of \$1,000,000 held by the Government in the Bank of the United States. He also recommended an inquiry into the trans-actions of the bank, suggesting that it was "no longer a safe depository of the money of the people." These subjects of the message were referred by the House of Representatives to the commit-tee of ways and means. An investigation took place. An agent, appointed by the then secretary, Louis McLane, reported that the deposits were safe, and this report was communicated to the House On the 13th of February, 1823, a bill for the sale of the bank stock, recommended by the President, was rejected by the House. The House committee went to Philadelphia, examined witnesses, directors and others, on oath. They made a report to the House, and in accord ance with that report the House "Resolved. That the Government deposits may, in the opinion of this House, be safely continued in the Bank of the United States." Ayes, 109; noes, 46.

Congress would not sell the \$7,000,000 of took nor repeal the law which declared that the notes of the bank should be receivable in all payments of revenue. The Government received its proportion of the

of Representatives and the vote of the House, got on foot an inquiry of his own Government, might be so organized as not to infringe on our own delegated powers, or the a doubt. Had the Executive been called on to furnish the project of such an institution the

minded and honorable to be obnoxious to the charge of taking bribes. To think otherwise would be Jacksonism pure and simple

Bank Shares Went Down.

When Jackson declared war against the Bank of the United States the people owned 70,000 shares in that institution. Every one of those shares was worth \$100. Immediately after the removal of the de-posits they were worth at the utmost \$105 a share. Every share of the bank stock owned by the people lost \$25 of its value to them, aggregating \$1,750,000, the sum which Jackson levied upon the people by his electioneering against the bank and

In the 17 years between the date of the bank's charter and the removal of the deposits from its keeping it never failed in any one of its engagements with the Gov-ernment. In that period, in the collection and disbursement of the public revenue. amounting to \$450,000,000, not a single dol-lar was lost in the operation of disbursing

and collecting. And no creditor of the Government had to wait one moment for bis dues, so far as the bank was concerned; and, moreover, when he got his money it was money-coin or bills, at his option, which bills were at par with specie in every civilized country of the globe-facts unparalleled in the history of any other fiscal agent.

Not one of the charges made by Jackson and his Secretary of malfeasance on the part of the bank was backed up by a particle of proof. The bank wound up its affairs at the expiration of its charter in 1835, and search the records as we may, it cannot be found that during the 20 years of its existence the Government, the bank's stockholders or any one holding any of its notes ever lost so much as a penny by any one of its transactions. From first to last its record was without a blot. The nearest approach it made to a loss was where, in its magnanimity, it loaned a portion of its funds to one of

Jackson's pet banks to make safe the public money deposited therein.

In view of all this, what shall we say of Nicholas Biddle, the bank's president? Mr. Hawthorne, in his history, calls him a ruscal, and says the final collapse of the bank in 1841 revealed more of rascallty and rottenness than its enemies had charged against it. The bank, let the reader note, ceased to be a National institution in 1879, five years prior to the date Hawthorne gives. His ignorance of dates might be gives. overlooked if he had given one grain of proof in substantiation of his charges. Instead of proof, gathered from clean witnesses, he has gathered up from the filthy receptacles where they were first

deposited the moldy scum and sweep-ings of Jacksonism and given them a fresh airing in the guise of history." J. Q. Adams' Statement.

But let us have the testimony of a wiser man than Julian Hawthorne -one whose word on a question of fact cannot be doubted. Said John Q. Adams, in a speech prepared for delivery in the House of Representatives, but which, by a trick con-certed between the Speaker and a member from Virginia, he was prevented from reading:

When disbonest and corrupt conduct is charged upon the Bank of the United States the reproach nominally cast upon it really fails upon living men-upon the president and stock directors of the bank. And who are the pres-The dent and stock directors of the bank? president is a citizen of Philadelphia, whom any man in this hall may be justly proud to call his friend; a man of eminent ability, of a highly cultured mind, and in levery relation of life of integrity irreproachable and unreproached; a man, too, independent in his cirnstances, and to whom the loss of his office could scarcely be felt to be a misfortune. That office he holds by the choice, annually renewed, of the stockholders. From the time when he was first chosen president, for a succession of 10 years, until and including the year 1832, he had been nominated by the President and confirmed by the Senate of the United States as one of the Government directors of the bank. And even now, after all these charges and denunciations against him, he has twice received semi-annual dividends upon its capital stock. Therefore Congress would not make war upon the capital of \$7,000,009 nor upon the dividends. The President, not content with the exthe bank are chiefly merchants, with one or two inwyers of Philadelphia; men of good esmination made by Secretary McLane, nor tate and good name; interested, as stockholdwith the examination made by the House ers, in the bank; serving gratuitously; and never aligible more than three years in suc-costion. That such persons should be charged

liffcation in South Carolina from no high-er motive than that he hated Calhoun; up with by the woman with the unfailing who backed up nullification in Georgia, and refused to execute the law as de-clared by Chief Justice Marshall, because of his hatred of both the Chief Justice and the Georgia Indians; who had sub-sidized one press, and tried to break down mother by causing Government printing wen its tragedics.

another by causing Government printing to be withdrawn from it; who required of every office-holder that he should be an active political partisan; and who, to crown all, had no fixed political principles, ut was led wholly by impulse and pu sion.

With all this standing to his account President Jackson presented himself to the people as a preserver of their morals, the freedom of the press, and the purity of the elective franchise. There is a mythical story that the

Prince of Darkness, after doing his ut-most to break and destroy the only the that binds society together-the faith-keeping principle that rests in the hearts of men-made the ples before the high court of heaven that he did it to preserve man in his pristine purity and qualify him for an abode with the houris in para-dize. Let the reader judge how nearly the Mohammedan myth illustrates the Jacksonian reality. EBENEZER WARNER.

Oregon City, Or.

HENPECKED CHINAMEN.

Influence of Wives in the Flowery Kingdom.

New York Tribune. "Chinese humorous literature abounds with references to henpecked husbands," sald Professor Herbert Allen Glies, of the University of Cambridge, in the clos-ing lecture of his course at Columbia. Then he went on to tell a sample story culled from this branch of Chinese litera-

"Ten henpecked husbands resolved to form a society to resist the impositions of their wives," he said. "The 10 wives heard of the plan, and while the meeting for organization was inprogress entered in a body. Nine of the rebellious husbands incontinently bolted, but the 16th one retained his place, quite unmoved by the frightful apparition. The 10 ladics, mere-ly smiling contemptuously on the one man left behind, returned to their homes, satisfied with the success of their raid. The nine husbands thereupon returned and resolved to make the herole 10th the president of the society. When they went, however, to inform him of the honor it

was found that he had died of fright. "Women have a few privileges that men have not," continued Professor Glies. They are exempt from the bamboo punishment; no woman can be bambooed. And a woman is a source of anxiety and misgiving to magistrate and counsel in any case in which she may be a party, for no Chinaman will enter into an argument with a woman-not from any feeling of chivalry, at all, but from a rooted conviction that he will get the worst of

Professor Giles continued to reveal masuline secrets by describing something which he said really took place at a dinner at which a number of high-class tives and foreigners were present. The host, addressing himself to the latter, in-

'Do you fear the inner ones? Upon inquiry he explained that he meant their wives, and added, with un-conscious pathos, that many Chinamen stood in constant fear of their wives "Now, for example, he does," said the ost, naively, pointing at a solemn and rotund magistrate, who had impressed veryone as filled with a sense of his own

ortance. At this all the Europeans present burst into uncontrollable laughter, which rather surprised the Chinamen, who had been seeking to acquire information on what they thought were very serious matters. Professor Giles attacked a good many hoary traditions which have wrapped Chinese women in a cloud of gloom. He declared that while infanticide did exist it was no more prevalent than in England and some other Christian Western coun-tries. The presence of the ghastly tablets on Chinese river banks, announcing to the public that "Female children must not be drowned here," he explained in the following way: All rich Chinamen are ex pected to do something for the elevation of the people, either in the way of charity, education or the like. If they do not society looks at them askance. Some of society looks at them askance. Some of them have printed and circulated great numbers of tracts, warning the people goinat and others.. It is men of this class who have erected these tablets on the river banks and lake shores, without the least regard as to whether any girl baby ever has been drowned there or not. As to the "baby towers," of which Miss Gordon-Cumming gives such a horrible description in her book, he declared they were for the benefit of parents too poor to buy graves for their children. He He quoted Mrs. Isabella Bird Bishop's statement that II Bible women had confessed to her that they had destroyed not fewer than five girl infants each. He was no at all surprised at this, he said. It would be just like them to say so, although he did not believe a word of it. The Chinese seemed to think that the only way to ex-cite the respect of foreigners was by exaggeration "If girl children are destroyed," Pro-fessor Glics continued, "there must be an altogether disproportionate number of fe-male infants born in China. Every Chinaman has a sacred duty to perform when he reaches the age of 18-to marry, Every adult Chinaman has a wife. Some of wealthier mandarins have several. The Emperor has 72. It would see this would absorb a fairly proportionate number of women." All Chimese girls of good family, he said, were taught to read, and there was a great quantity of educational literature for girls. A mass of poetry existed, written by women, and one of the dynastic histories was written by a woman. Womer went out unvelled, vells having been abol-ished in the seventh century. In that century, also, women were admitted to offi-cial life in China, and some of them rose to the highest positions. But by the close of the eighth century men had rigorously excluded them from public life. Women took no part in social life, excepting in company of their own sex. They knew Women no men excepting those of their own lly. Boys and girls were separated at the age of 7, when the poys went to school. A Chinaman never referred to his wife. It was not good form to even ask after her health. Her existence was ignored, although the Chinese father often spoke of his children. Footbinding, he confessed, was a "horrible custom." The real obstacle to its abolishment was the rigid rule of fashion which makes it so difficult to marry a girl with unbound feet. The "Natural Foot Society," composed of both foreign-ers and liberal natives, though including many influential people, had been unable to make much impression on the nation-al custom. A Tartar Emperor, back in the early centuries, issued a decree against foot-binding. But he was obliged to rescind it. Although the Tartars could conquer the country they could not con-quer this custom. Within a few months, he said, another decree to the same effect had been issued.

sense of the bright side of life. It is a sense that lasts through life, through its OREGONIAN BUILDIN many ills, its distillusions, its tribulations,

FEWER FRIENDS.

Shrinkage in Membership Shown at Philadelphia Meeting.

Philadelphia Enquirer. Philadelphia Enquirer. The Friends, in the closing sessions of their yearly meeting, presented statistics showing the membership as follows: In 1852, 13.554; 1898, 11.684; 1890, 11.508; 1990, 11.556, 1906, 11.857, 1906, 11.657, 1800, 11.655, 1800, 11.556, 1906, 11.852, 1902, 11.570, Of the pres-ent membership there are: Maies, 5218; females, 6652; over 21 years of age, 506; under 21 years, 1761. They have 72 First-Day schools, 507 teachers, 5629 pupils, 21.-559 books in librarics; 31 day schools, with 157 teachers, 255 cucilly of methods, with 167 teachers, 2157 pupils, of whom 475 are Friends, 222 having one parent a Friend and the remainder, or two-thirds of their pupils are not Friends at all. Some meetings were wholly or partially

discontinued last year, and only one new meeting that at Lansdowne, where a \$3000 lot is secured for a \$5000 building, has been established. Orders were given for more specific statistics about causes of gains and losses, movements of members, and changes in meetings. Joseph B. Han-cock caused merriment. He said: "In the meeting I used to attend their principal business was discounting members. I say let the young men marry whom they please, if they are good characters. I married an orthodox wife. None of our women would have me. We considered

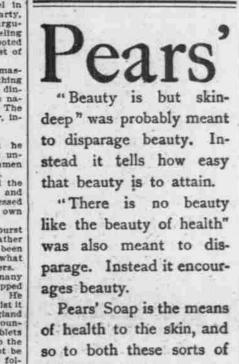
it beforehand. I said if my branch dis-owned ms, I would join the other, and she said if her branch disowned her she would join mine. Result they didn't turn either of us out."

Pope Praises American Newspapers

London Telegraph. It is seldom that Romans take much real interest in events out of their own immediate circle of vision, but the case of little Margaret Taylor, of Cincinnati, who was kidnaped by her aunt four years ago and was found in Bordighera the other day, has touched the motherly hearts of the Roman matrons, People in high places have also interested themselves in the case, and even the pontiff, through his archbishop in Genoa, was informed how the matter went. When he heard that a paper in Cincinnati, the home of the parents of little Margaret, had provided the funds to enable Mr. Taylor to come to Italy, claim his daughter and take her home, he said: "That paper understands the true mission of the press, viz., hu-manitarian help to those who cannot help

themselves. The English and American

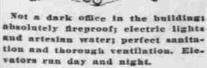
papers deserve their power."



beauty.

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THE PALATIAL



AINSLIE, DR. GEORGE, Physician ... 413-414

Co. BINSWANGER, OTTO S., Physician and

BROWN, MYRA, M. D. 313-114

COFFEY, DR. R. C., Surgeon...... COLUMBIA TELEPHONE COMPANY. ...400-405

ETY; L. Samuel, Manager; G. S. Smith,

GEARY, DR. E. P., Phys. and Surgeon 400 HESY, A. J., Physician and Surgeon. . 709-719 GILBERT, DR. J. ALLEN, Physician. 401-402

HAMMAM BATHS, Turkish and Russian

McCOY, NEWTON, Attornsy-at-Law. McELROY, DR. J. G., Phys. & Sur. 701-702-McFADEN, MISS IDA E., Stenographer.

distress was more in the anticipation of evil than in the actuality of it, for the money taken out of the bank was deposited in state banks throughout the land, and only time seemed needed to reassure business. Page \$11: The corrupt collapse of Biddle's United States Bank, which was now accom-plishing, showed that Jackson and Van Buren were right in the stand they had taken against it, and was a practical reply to the eloquence of the ensitors on the other side.

of the arators on the other side. Fage &IT: Van Buren took his defeat with his usual steadhoes, and his next meanage was the best and boldest he ever wrôle.

He reviewed the arguments against the National bank; and, as if to ac-cent his words, that schlarber institution, with Biddle at its head, found in its lowest deep a jower deep to fall into; its final collapse, followed by the revelation of more than its worst ensuries had charged of rascality and rottenness, took place in 1841. Biddle lingered three years longer, and then died of mortifica-tion, rather than shame, for he was too cal-He reviewed the arguments tion, rather than shame, for he was too callous in iniguity to feel the latter

Contains But One Truth.

In all that purports to be history, perhaps so much falsehood cannot be found compressed in the same space as is in the foregoing. It contains one truth, how-ever-"Jackson would stick at nothing to destroy the Bank"-and that iruth was the pivot on which our country turned from an era of growing prosperity to such bankruptcy and financial ruin as it has never witnessed in any other period since it became a union of states.

In view of what is said in the extracts moted, and of the erroneous accounts given from year to year of Jackson's acts and opinions, both before and after his clevation to the Presidency, the writer proposes to give a bit of history of a different complexion, compiled from Gov-ernment records and printed documents, intermixed with comments of his own

reserved rights of the states, i we called on to a doubt. Had the Executive been called on to furnish the project of such an institution, the furnish the project of such an institution, the to betray the trust confided to the Secre-to betray and appointed Mr. Tuney to dent Jackson array himself in oppos to any Bank of the United States. He did not oppose himself to the then existing bank under every organization of which it was susceptible. On the contrary, "he declared he did not entertain a doubt that a bank might be constitution-ally organized. He even rebuked Con-gress for not calling on him to furnish a project of a bank, which he would have cheorfully supplied, and he closed by adjourning the question for a "general dis-cussion" before the people, that it might be acted upon by a new Congress."

Jackson's Bank Campaign.

After all that Jackson had declared, it ould not have been anticipated by the people that, in his re-election, they were deciding against a bank. It was mainwherever those in favor of a Naned, tional bank were in the majority, that his re-election would be followed by a recharter of the bank, with proper amendments. So said Henry Clay, in a speech delivered in the United States Senate, and we may fairly credit him with knowing what he was talking about. It is not claimed by the writer, however, that if Jackson had boldly declared himself as opposed to any and all banks, he could have been defeated. His personal popu-larity was so great that he could have been elected on any side of any question. No cry during the campaign of 1832 was so loud and so frequently heard as the not care what the militia that defeated he commanded the militia that defeated the British regulars at New Orleans, coupled with the widespread, though er-roneous, belief that he was defeated in means of a corrupt bargain beensure his triumph. It was the founda-tion of his success, first and last. No one of our Presidents was ever elected so exclusively on the strength of his personal-ity, without reference to opinions or qualifications, as was Andrew Jackson. He seemed to have inspired his followers

with the strongest characteristic of his strong nature-the fighting element-and, as Hawthorne has truthfully said of their chief, they "stuck at nothing" in fighting for success. We come now to the removal of the

Government's money by order of Jackson from the United States Bank and placing it in the custody of state banks-and here it is proper to say that no "attack" was made upon President Jackson by Whigs during the session commencing December, 1831, unless the bill rechartering the bank could be called an attack. Mr. Hawthorne is sadly off his base base, both in facts and figures, when he so represents. Up to the date of the re-moval of the deposits, many eminent members of the opposition, Clay, Webster, Ewing and J. Q. Adams, being among them, supported the administration in more than one time of trial. With them, them, s more than one time of trial. with them, the man Jackson was nothing-the pros-perity and honor of the country was everything; and when, as chief executive, and for he stood for a united country and for measures conducive to the country's well-fare, he found in these men his strongest backers. They dropped party and supported principles.

First Attack in Congress

tary by law, and appointed Mr. Tuney to consummate his scheme. September 26, 1833, three days after his appointme Taney hastened to obey the mandate of his chief. The deposits being so changed, loans of

\$2,300,000 were made by four Treasury checks on the Bank of the United States of \$500,000 each, and three others of \$100,000 each, in favor of the cashiers of certain of those selected State Banks, "to be of used upon certain contingencies"; in other words, to enable those banks to settle the balances against them and to guard them against bankruptcy. These loans were not drawn for any financial purpose of the Government, but for the private purposes of State Banks, and were not auth any appropriation by law.

Uninwful Removal of Funds.

The removal of the deposits from the Bank of the United States was unlawful, and the contracts made with the State Banks to receive the deposits was also unlawful. Neither of these measures was authorized by the 16th or any other section of the bank charter. The Secretary could withhold the Government's funds or rebut once placed in the bank, he had no legal control whatever over the depos except according to the provisions of the Constitution and the general laws, which forbid that any money should be drawn from the treasury unless in consequence

directly be concerned or interested in car-rying on the business of trade or commerce . . . or take or apply to his own use any emolument or gain for negotiat-ing or transacting any business in the said department other than shall be allowed by law." Both the spirit and letter of this law was violated by Secretary Taney when he transferred a portion of the pub lic funds from the Bank of the United States to the Union Bank of Baltimore, he himself being a stockholder therein. In the words of J. Q. Adams, "he trans-ferred the use of the public funds from the Bank of the United States, where they were profitable to the people, to the Union Bank of Baltimore, where they were pro-

fitable to himself." Jackson gave to Secretary Duane as a reason for removing the deposits only 60 days before the meeting of Congress, instead of walting and laying the matter be-fore that body, as Duane had suggested, that "if the last Congress had remained in seesion but one week locger the bank would have corrupted two-thirds of the members of both houses and purchased

a charter beyond the reach of a veto." Such was the standard by which he measured members of his own party. Not one of his satellites in either house dare peep or mutter against the base calumny, while Adams and Corwin in the House, and Ewing and others in the Senate, expressed their bellsf. In strong terms that the Democratic members not agreeing with the President were too honorable to be guilty of bribetaking. It may have been that Jackson better understood the char-acter of the men who had been swept into Congress on the tidal wave of De-

can chop round from north to south and from east to west in the twinkling of an eye, and blow with equal fury either way, is not at all surprising, but men of honest fame, and such I should believe the Secretary to be, should t slander one another.

Horace Binney, a member of the House, and who as a lawyer stood at the head of the Pennsylvania bar, gave like testiiony touching the personal honesty and high standing of the officers of the bank. He and Adams were on the scene of action, were acquainted with the men they were eulogizing, and knew what they were saying, while Hawthorne, if born into the world at that period, was in his swaddling clothes. Shall we take their testimony or that of a mere penny-a-liner, who writes fletion for the money there is in it? The reader of history who believes that the

bank, in the person of its managers, was corrupt, believes it, as Hawthorne says of Jackson, because he wants to believe it. The same reason may be truly given for the belief among Democrats and Pop-ulists that Jackson and his party were opposed to State Banks and the banking system generally. The assertion made in Hearst's Chicago American of November 13, 1900, that "In Jackson's time the Demo cratic party made a winning fight against 'wild cat' bank money," may be taken as a specimen of the general belief of as a specimen of the general belief of the present day Democracy. The truth rests in the very reverse of the asser-tion quoted. From a table before the writer, complied in 1834, it can be shown that between the more 1932 and 1934 that between the years 1832 and 1834, \$42,900,000 of banking capital was incor-perated in 16 of the states, the legislatures of nearly every one of which states was Democratic. The chartering of the banks Democratic. The chartering of the banks holding this capital was encouraged by Jackson, and he told them to "issue freely" to supply the place of United States bank notes withdrawn from cir-culation. The wildcat banks were the spurious offspring of Jackson's policy. He had declared to Secretary Duane that "such a state bank agency must be nut in operation as would show that the put in operation as would show that the United States bank was not necessary." He was the father of wildcat banking. The destruction wrought by his brood of kittens has never been more than half told. Men born since that day have no conception of it. And those who attempt to make it appear otherwise than the result of Jacksonian Democracy are very ignorant or very knavish.

President Assumed Responsibility.

Enough has been said, but it may not be out of place to touch upon one more point in the bank controversy. In his manifesto, read to his Cabinet on the 18th of September, 1833, the President says he "assumes the responsibility of removing the deposits, after the most ma-ture deliberation and reflection, as necessary to preserve the morals of the peo-ple, the freedom of the press, and the purity of the elective franchise."

This manifesto, given to the country through Jackson's organ, the Globe, bore on its face the evidence of being an electioneering missive, and nothing else It came from an Executive who had violated his most solemn ante-election pledges by fastening on the body politic the spoils system-a loathsome ulcer, which has worked corruption in the vitals of the Government from that day to the present; who deceived the people in regard to his views of a National bank; who made a war of spite and revenge upon that bank its fun, because he could not corrupt it into a It sho machine for his own political advance-

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