

DEBATES IN THE SENATE.

ON

THE REPORT OF THE COMMITTEE ON THE CONDITION AND MANAGEMENT

OF

THE AFFAIRS OF THE GENERAL POST OFFICE.

TUESDAY, JUNE 10, 1834.

The Senate having resumed the consideration of the motion, made yesterday, to print 30,000 copies of the Report of the Committee on the Post Office, together with the Report of the Minority of the Committee:

Mr. SOUTHARD said, the motion made by him was to print 15,000 extra copies. The Senator from North Carolina, [Mr. MAXWELL] had moved to amend it by ordering 30,000 to be printed. Although (Mr. S. said) he should have been satisfied with the smaller number, he was willing to receive the amendment, at the suggestion, and in conformity with the wishes of its mover.

My object is, to furnish as wide a circulation as possible to the report, both of the majority and the minority of the committee, and of the documents selected to accompany them. I desire the facts exhibited by them all to be known to the people of the United States, that they may form their opinions upon the important subject to which they relate, with the best and most authentic guides.

I understand the Senator from Georgia [Mr. FORSYTH] to make two objections: first, that so large a number of them is not necessary, and will not be useful, because they will be published in the newspapers, and scattered as widely as possible. This objection is common to every case, in which the Senate is called on to print extra copies. It applies to the President's messages, and to every other document of every description. It would forbid the printing of extra copies in all cases, whatever might be the value or importance of the information to be communicated by them. But it is correct only in regard to small documents. Those of great length, like the present, are not, and cannot be, inserted in the ordinary newspapers of the country. Short extracts from, or references to them, can alone find a place; extracts and references often calculated to mislead rather than instruct. Besides, they are not read and examined with the same care as when issued in pamphlet form by the Legislative authority. In that shape they are read more diligently, circulated more widely, and preserved with more care for future reference. This is the object in the present instance. I desire that as many of the people of the United States as is practicable may have these reports in their hands, with full opportunity to read, examine, and refer to them; and that they may also have the documents on which the reports are founded to compare with them, and test for themselves the truth and accuracy of the allegations which are made against this department. Let light be scattered. Let means of forming a just judgment be afforded, and that judgment will be pronounced by the public. In the second place, the Senator objects, because it will cost a large sum, and be an unjustifiable squandering and waste of public money. Whether this be so, depends entirely, in my apprehension, upon the importance of the document itself. If the information be useful and necessary, there can be no

waste in communicating it to the people. Under our institutions, where the people judge and control their public officers; where, to discharge their duties wisely, and exercise their rights justly, accurate information respecting the conduct of their agents is indispensable; where, if they are led into error by false professions, and concealment of criminal conduct, the most fatal consequences to them and to their institutions may follow; there is, there can be, no wiser and better course, in the expenditure of their money, than to distribute information of the conduct and management of their concerns for their use and benefit.

The true inquiry for us to make is, is the document of sufficient value and importance to justify the expenditure? To this inquiry, I answer, without hesitation, it is of sufficient weight to demand the widest distribution. To what does it relate? and what does it contain?

It relates to one of the great Departments of the Government—to one, most important to the interest and convenience of every citizen of the republic. All who transact business—all who are separated from their homes or friends—all who take any interest or concern in public matters, are affected constantly, almost daily, by its action. It extends its influence from the crowded city to the remotest and most isolated hut in the land. Every man feels it—every citizen depends more or less upon it for his convenience, and comfort, and prosperity.

It relates, too, to a department of wider and more direct influence upon popular opinion and popular elections, than any other in the Government. If used for corrupt purposes, it may have the most fatal influence upon the elections and the prosperity of the nation. With its army of many thousands of agents, scattered over every mile of our territory, its potency is almost irresistible—the poison of its corruption, if corruption exists, will debilitate and weaken the political and moral energies of the people. The President, in one of his messages to which I shall refer, has well described its importance; and, in proportion to that importance, is the necessity of accurate information as to its condition and conduct.

It is also a department, of which more complaints have been made for several years past, than of any other portion of the Government. Its irregularity, its failures, its want of system, its alleged corruptions and misconduct, have been the burden of private and of public accusation and rebuke—not confined to the opponents of the existing administration, but extending to many of its most devoted advocates. And these complaints have not been without cause. There is not a man in the community who does not know that they are just. Now, sir, I desire that its condition shall be explained—that the reasons for its failure to answer completely the great objects for which it was created and is now sustained, should be exhibited to the people; and I am willing that enough of the people's money should be used, to communicate to them the most accurate knowledge upon such a subject.

But, sir, what do these reports and documents con-

tain? What information will they communicate? They are the result of laborious investigation by an intelligent and faithful committee into the concerns of the department; and, if they are favorable to it, it is due to it, and to the public, that they should afford it support and protection. If unfavorable, it is equally just that they should be known for its condemnation. Their precise contents are not, of course, recollected by me; nor could they be merely from the reading of them, in the Senate. But enough is remembered to justify me, in speaking of them, and in deciding that they ought to be known and read by the people of this country.

I beg permission to refer to some of them, by memory. When the resolutions shall be discussed, and an opportunity afforded for closer examination and reference to public documents, more striking views, and clearer exhibitions of facts and principles may be presented; and, if others do not afford them, I promise to make the effort.

What do they show?

1. That this great department of our Government is insolvent, bankrupt, unable to sustain itself and to pay its debts. This department has, *heretofore*, I believe, at all times, under all administrations, supported itself. While extending and scattering its benefits and its blessings throughout the wide circuit of the nation, it had not called upon the Treasury for aid. It had claimed nothing from the pockets of the people. It had done more; it had poured upwards of a million of dollars into the treasury, and it was constantly gaining strength and vigor, and promised to become a fruitful source of national revenue. In 1829, when the present *economical and reforming* administration commenced its operations, there was a surplus reported by the then Postmaster General of about \$289,000. The present incumbent, Mr. Barry, admitted, in one of his reports, that that surplus amounted to 230,000 dollars. The department was then in a most wholesome and efficient condition, and we were assured that it would, if correctly managed, give an income, over and above its wants and expenses, of half a million of dollars annually. It is but five years since that time, and what is now its condition? Where is the admitted surplus of 230,000 dollars? Sunk—lost—squandered. Shall not the people know this fact? Where is the promised annual half million? In its place we have an acknowledged debt, contracted in violation of the laws and the constitution—a bankrupt department, calling upon the Treasury for aid to enable it to continue its operations. To what extent is it insolvent? The minority of the committee state its debts, beyond its means, available, and, I believe, unavailable, at about 290,000 dollars—nearly the amount of surplus on hand, which was received by the present Postmaster General. If this statement be entirely correct, and we add the surplus on hand to the sum which is deficient, we make the amount which has been sunk, in five years, beyond all the receipts, much more than half a million of dollars; and this is the most favorable exhibition which has been or can be made. But it strikes me with some surprise that the minority should place the deficiency at less than three hundred thousand dollars, when the Postmaster General asks for four hundred and fifty thousand dollars to enable him to get along. Has he so managed that he cannot, in the ordinary mode, command and control the means of the department? Has he permitted those who receive the postage to be so much in arrears as to cause additional embarrassment? It would seem to be so from the reports. Or, if this be not true, is he ignorant of the condition of the department, and does he require the aid of the minority of the committee to instruct him that he is not so much in debt as he believed himself to be? He ought to have called in their valuable aid before he made his statement. But, Mr. President, I rely on his admission. He would not represent his insolvency greater than it is. He has borrowed

more than the minority estimate the deficiency, and he would not, I hope, violate the constitution and laws from mere caprice, and borrow more money than he needed. Now, if you add his estimate to the surplus, as represented by his predecessor, you have the sum of something more than \$700,000, sunk by the administration of this department, by this Postmaster General. But this is not the worst of the case.

The majority of the committee state the deficiency at \$803,000; and their mode of reaching their conclusion is plain, and demands confidence. They take the debts of the department as they are stated by the department. They do not, therefore, allow too much. They then take the credits and means of payment, as represented by the department, and, testing the items by official papers, they reach the result stated, as the inevitable conclusion from documents and by figures. And what a conclusion—in such a department! Adding to it the surplus, or money on hand in 1829, there is an actual expenditure, in five years, of nearly \$1,100,000 beyond the income. Did any department, in any Government, ever before make such an exhibition? Shall we hesitate at expense, which is proper to convey a knowledge of the facts to the people of the Union?

Why should there have been such a deficiency? Does it result from the legislation of the country? Or is it the effect of pure mismanagement and corruption? Let the people examine, and answer. And while they make the examination, let them take into view another astounding fact, exhibited by these reports. It is this: The deficiency has not arisen from a falling off in the amount of postage received. That is increasing with the growth of the population, and business, and intelligence of the country, until it has amounted to nearly three millions of dollars annually. As these augment, the number of letters and communications by the mail will increase in an equal or greater degree. It is not because less postage has been received, but because that which has been received has been shamefully squandered, and, as I believe, for the most guilty purposes. The report informs us that the expenditures of this department, in four years, by Mr. Barry, have been three million three hundred thousand dollars more than by his predecessor in the same time. Is there credulity in any man so great as to believe that this can have been correctly, properly, honestly, legally done? Can devotion to personal or party considerations blind the eye to this glaring fact? Will men who act thus, be sustained? Whether they will or not, it is due to the people of this country, that those who have the power to effect it, should scatter widely the knowledge of the truth, and then let them take the decision into their own hands. But I desire a large number for another reason. It exhibits gross and palpable violations of law. The laws seem to have been utterly disregarded in the action of this department, which is superintended by the Executive, and sustained by the Executive. Permit me to notice some of them.

1. The department has borrowed more than 450,000 dollars, and paid 12 or 14,000 dollars of interest. I ask for its constitutional and legal right to borrow the money. It can have none, unless the warrant for it is found in the laws of the land. The constitution vests the power of borrowing money in Congress, as a separate, independent, legislative power. (Art. 1. Sec. 8.) It is not vested in the Executive, nor in the department. The sanction of the Executive cannot justify it, unless the Executive is higher than the constitution. And this violation, direct and apparent, has taken place under the most aggravating circumstances. That department has been uniformly praised by the Executive himself, and his advocates. It has been represented as economical, efficient, prosperous. Applause has been constantly claimed by the party for its skill and energy. Yet, amidst all these

praises, by which the public have been deluded, it was sinking into bankruptcy, and at length resorted to borrowing money, secretly, without the knowledge of the people or of Congress. Nay, more; while Congress, the only constitutional power, was here, in session, and told that it was in a "satisfactory" condition, within a mile of the Capitol, when, at any moment, its true condition might have been explained, and money to meet its wants legally and constitutionally appropriated, it has resorted to illegal loans to sustain itself. If higher insult can be offered to the Legislative Department, it must be devised by the same agents; it is beyond the comprehension of ordinary minds. If more grievous infractions of law can be perpetrated, let these same agents proceed without rebuke by the people, and they will accomplish them. Congress is asked to give the money to pay these illegal liabilities. Can it be done while they remain in office to repeat their aggressions?

2. By the first section of the law of 3d March, 1825, "to reduce into one the several acts establishing and regulating the Post Office Department," the Postmaster General is authorized to "appoint two assistants, and such clerks as may be necessary, for the performance of the business of his office, and as are authorized by law." The authority to appoint is vested in the head of the department; but the clerks are to be such as are authorized by law. I do not recollect what is said in the report in regard to this matter, but we know from other documents that the number of clerks, and the expense of paying them, have been nearly, if not entirely doubled, since this administration has been in power.

3. By the 39th section of the same law, it is made the duty of the Postmaster General "to report annually to Congress every post road which shall not, after the second year from its establishment, have produced one-third of the expense of carrying the mail on the same." Has this requirement been complied with?

4. By the 42d section of the same act, it is declared, "That no postmaster, assistant postmaster, or clerk employed in any post office, shall be a contractor, or concerned in a contract, for carrying the mail." Yet this report, and the report of the minority, both exhibit, in the case of Temple, a clerk, one of the most unjustifiable of the exhibitions of extra allowances and favoritism.

5. The law had taken care to guard these extra allowances from abuse, as far as legal provision seemed necessary. It gave a clear and explicit rule by which they were to be governed. Read the 43d section: "That no additional allowance shall be made by the Postmaster General to the contractor or carrier of any mail, on any route, over or beyond the amount stipulated in the contract entered into, for the transportation of the mail on such route, unless additional service shall be required; and then no additional compensation shall be allowed to exceed the exact proportion of the original amount to the additional duties required; and the Postmaster General shall, in all such cases, within thirty days thereafter, transmit to the First Comptroller of the Treasury an account of such additional services, and the compensation to be allowed therefor." Sir, as I understand the report, there has not been one single provision of this section habitually obeyed. They have all been violated. Extra allowances have been made without additional services. I refer to the Michigan case; to the route from Philadelphia to Pittsburg; and the remarkable forty dollar case, with others. In one of these cases, 10,000 dollars were given without any additional service. The extras have not been governed by the proportions which the law requires. The reports have not been made to the First Comptroller. Indeed, the whole section seems to have been regarded as a dead letter. It has served as a mere cover for fraudulent favoritism. The contracts have, in many instances, been commenced in fraud, continued, and consummated in the same spirit.

The objects of bidding for contracts are, to give to every one an equal chance, and to obtain for the Government the transportation at the lowest rate. And it is the duty of the department to accept the lowest bid, where the execution of the contract can be properly secured. But neither object seems to have been regarded in various instances. The whole arrangement is not only susceptible of abuse, but leads, by almost inevitable consequence, to the most detestable frauds. Bids are made; some favorite puts in so low as to secure the contract. He is in no danger of loss; he is not held to his bid; for before the contract is executed, or shortly after it, it is altered, and with or without change of service; and the compensation increased to an extravagant extent, greatly above the offers of his competitors.

Take the \$40 contract, referred to in the report. Its history ought to be written where it will not be erased or forgotten. It was a route, if I remember correctly, between Hagerstown and McConnellsburg. The bids were all apparently fair. They were opened—the old contractor had bid some 300 dollars for twice a week, or 600 dollars for three times a week. Other persons bid other sums, and, among the rest, Reeside bid 40 dollars, or 99 dollars improved. I confess I do not distinctly understand what is meant by the 99 dollars improved. One thing, however, is sure about it—it has talismanic influence, and gives the contractor more money when he wants it. The contract is entered, executed, reported to Congress, and continues up to the time of this investigation; when it is discovered that a sum has been paid much beyond the bid, not only of the fortunate contractor, but of all the others. Inquiry is made by the committee, evaded, delayed until the arrival of the contractor, when the Postmaster General answers. And what think you was the answer? Why, that the contractor had made his bid in pencil marks; his clerk mistook the figures. He meant not 40 dollars, but 1400—not 99 improved, but 1999. And yet the contract had been in existence since '31, reported to Congress, and payments made upon it; and neither contractor nor department had discovered the error!—*Credat Judas*. Take my word for it, nothing but this investigating committee would have ever caused this discovery. But, sir, did I hear this report correctly? Is it true, that, after the Postmaster General had delayed answering the inquiry of the committee until the arrival of the contractor, he then stated, that the contract had been corrected, and reduced, not to the bid of 40 dollars, but to that of the lowest offer made by others; and did not tell when it was done, but left the committee to infer that it was done long since? Whereas it was, in truth, corrected after the committee had made the detection, and after the contractor had made his extraordinary explanation. I hope I misapprehended this part of the report.

So, sir, these extras have been most extravagant. The single one in Michigan, to which I before referred, swallowed up more than all the postages received in that Territory; and several of the States in the Union stand in the same condition. The line between New York and Philadelphia may be regarded as a fair sample. That route has always been bid and struggled for by rival companies of stage owners. It was given to the Hagerstown and McConnellsburg contractor for 6,000 dollars. It has been changed, and extraed, until it has risen, for the four years, to above 100,000 dollars—I believe to 116,000 dollars. A most extraordinary exhibit is made by the publication of the Blue Book, which shows that the extra allowances are more than one-half of the amount of all the original contracts for carrying the mail. And now, we are informed that that book itself is false, and does not show their full amount. Can all this be accounted for upon any fair or honest principle, or motive? It may, perhaps, but I am incapable of guessing how it is to be justified. I fear, sir, the causes lie in a different direction from regard to

law and the public interests. The very mode of keeping the record of bids and extras leads directly to temptation and frauds—frauds which can only be detected by the closest scrutiny. Marks in pencil and red ink, on the margin of contracts, sometimes change their whole character, and are the only authority for the payment of thousands of dollars. The loaning of money, too, by the contractors to the officers in the department, even if an honest transaction, leads to improper consequences. The report tells us that the Postmaster General has borrowed of a contractor; and that O. B. Brown, an important officer in the department, has done the same, to the amount of several thousand dollars; and these loans were without witnesses, without note, bond, or even memorandum; and that when a part was returned, it was without interest. Can we wonder that such lenders are favorites? that they obtain large contracts to the exclusion of other bidders? that they are almost overloaded with extra allowances? that the borrower should be so much a friend as to take a journey to Pittsburg to settle differences between rival lines, to put down opposition, and write contracts, to the execution of which the department shall lend its aid? Sir, that department wants cleansing. We have heard of Augean stables. The difficulty is not in finding, but in purifying them.

But, Mr. President, it seems that these contractors and extras do not enjoy the whole profits of Post Office favors. The press, whose purity is the object of so much patriotic solicitude with the Executive, comes in for its share. There are editors at Louisville, and Boston, and Concord, and I know not in how many other places; they have their purity preserved by "blanks, paper, and twine." We have heard of "stay tape and buckram" men; we now learn the existence of another class, who have not less skill in cabbaging and making up accounts; they are these "blanks, paper, and twine" editors. I do not recollect the amount paid to them, but it is some 50,000 dollars in two years. Do you wonder at their zeal? In New Hampshire, sir, there is, in addition to the "blanks, paper, and twine," a fine model for extra allowances; and a patent ought to be taken out, to be called the New Hampshire or Concord patent. The editors of the Patriot, whose character every reader of political news is acquainted with, are Barton & Hill. They hold, between them, some fifteen contracts for carrying the mail, and their extra allowance is endorsed in these words: "With newspaper privilege"—a short, but very emphatic kind of contract. "*With newspaper privilege!*" Now, it is a subject of curious speculation to explain the meaning of these terms. I am not sure that I understand it, or am competent to the task, but I suppose it to be somewhat in this wise: The Postmaster General, by the 50th section of the law, is authorized, in making contracts, to agree that the contractor "may carry newspapers, magazines, and pamphlets, other than those conveyed in the mail, provided that no preference shall be given to the publisher of one newspaper over that of another in the same place." Well, under this provision, the Concord editors receive "newspaper privilege" on fifteen contracts in one State—some of them, probably, running into the adjoining States. These contracts can very conveniently be let to under-contractors, who may agree to carry the mail for a less price, or the same that is allowed to their principal, and one-half or one-third of the amount to be taken in newspapers. Thus prepared for carrying the mail, the drivers can sell or dispose of the Patriot at a moderate rate, and thus the paper of the editors of 15 contracts may be circulated in every nook, and corner, and lane of the routes, with all the instructive contents with which it is filled, and the good people enlightened in the "improved" mode. And this is a sample of the manner in which the purity of the press is preserved and protected in these times of zealous guardianship over it.

But, Mr. President, this report contains some information of the incidental expenses of the department—not of the *contingent* expenses, which embrace repairs, clerk hire, &c., but of what are denominated *incidental*. These constitute a *secret service fund*, not appropriated by law, but taken by the Postmaster General, according to his own unrestricted discretion, out of the receipts of the department, to any extent he pleases, and expended on any object that he pleases. The Executive has also a secret service fund, which is given by law, and is used to carry on those parts of our intercourse with other nations which may not safely or properly be exposed at the time to the world; and to pay secret agents. It is a necessary fund, and it supplies all the wants, of this character, of the Government, in all parts of the world; and it has been between twenty and forty thousand dollars annually. But this secret service fund, these incidental expenses of the Post Office Department, have been almost three times the amount of the other. And how has it been expended? Among other things, secret agents have been sent to all parts of the Union—one of them an officer of the department—at a salary; and, what is somewhat curious, they have travelled much more a little before important elections than at any other period of the year. The few months preceding the last Presidential election was exceedingly prolific in such journeyings. It seems that they travel to see if the postmasters do their duty, if the contractors are faithful, to detect crimes, &c. &c.; and it has so happened, that the postmasters wanted most watching, contractors were most suspected, and crimes prevailed most abundantly, just at the very time when the Presidential contest was waging most fiercely. The report tells us, that these incidental expenses were largely increased, almost doubled, in the summer and fall of 1832. This is an age of coincidences, and this coincidence, of the necessity of secret agents with the Presidential election, is not the least remarkable. Mr. President, I desire a large number of these documents to be printed and distributed, that the people may be informed of this mode of avoiding all "interference with the elective franchise," this instrument for protecting the purity of elections. We, in New Jersey, have thought that we saw money very plenty, and agents very busy, about the time of elections. Let the people have these papers, and draw their own inferences as to the source from which they come.

But, sir, I advocate this motion for another reason. I desire to expose the imposition which has been practised in relation to this Department. I have been bitterly rebuked, and by a part of my own constituents, among others, for questioning the correctness of the Executive, in the assertions made by him on another occasion. I hope they will find some "*consolation*" in the statement to which the attention of the Senate is now requested.

In the message of the President of the 8th December, 1829, he uses the following language: "The report of the Postmaster General is referred to as exhibiting a highly satisfactory administration of that Department. Abuses have been reformed; increased expedition in the transportation of the mail secured; and its revenues much improved. In a political point of view, this Department is chiefly important, as affording the means of diffusing knowledge. It is to the body politic what the veins and arteries are to the natural, conveying rapidly and regularly, to the remotest parts of the system, correct information of the operations of the Government, and bringing back to it the feelings and wishes of the people. Through its agency, we have secured to ourselves the blessings of a free press." The administration of the Department was highly satisfactory—abuses had been reformed. We now see, sir, the kind of reformation which was promised, and has been effected. Its "*revenues* were much improved." This was the Executive assurance in December, 1829. The improvement is now exhibited in

an expenditure of more than three millions of dollars, beyond the expenditure of the former administration, in the same period of time; in the illegal and unconstitutional borrowing of money to sustain its operations; in the waste of more than a million beyond its receipts; and in a degraded and bankrupt Department. These assurances were all believed by the people, because they were given under high official sanction, by one who enjoyed their unshaking confidence. These reports will exhibit the mode in which these assurances have been justified by facts.

In the message of the 7th of December, 1830, we find these words: "The report of the Postmaster General, in like manner, exhibits a satisfactory view of the important branch of the Government under his charge. In addition to the benefits already secured by the operations of the Post Office Department, considerable improvements within the present year have been made, in the accommodation afforded by stage coaches, and in the frequency and celerity of the mail between some of the most important points of the Union."

The view, sir, is still satisfactory—considerable improvements are made. I do not know how great has been the increased accommodation of stages, nor do I remember whether among them is to be numbered the destruction of the opposition line on the route in Western Pennsylvania, by the friendly interference of one of the officers in the Department, who received some fifty dollars for drawing the contract which was to be officially enforced. That probably occurred at a later period. But one thing is apparent, whatever accommodation and celerity have been procured, have been most amply paid for, by some hundreds of thousands of dollars in extras. So far as my own experience has extended, the convenience and interest of the people, and the security of their letters, have not been promoted; but the reverse is true to such an extent, that almost universal complaint and dissatisfaction have prevailed.

By the message of the 6th of December, 1831, we learn that the report of the Postmaster General still "presents a satisfactory view of its operations," and suggests improvements, which are worthy of, and to which "the President invited the serious attention of Congress." Satisfactory views!—improvements worthy the attention of Congress!

In December, 1832, the President assures us: "From the accompanying Report of the Postmaster General, you will also perceive that that Department continues to extend its usefulness, without impairing its resources, or lessening the accommodations which it affords in the secure and rapid transportation of the mail." This, sir, was in December, 1832, "without impairing its resources"; yet at that very time the Department had swallowed up the surplus which had been left to it—was in debt—insolvent—and actually borrowing money to enable it to continue its operations. Did the President know the facts? or was he intentionally imposed on? Did he mean to deceive Congress and the country? or, was he himself deceived? In either case, how has he discharged his duty? If the boast be true, that he looks to every thing for himself, and understands how all the Departments are managed, he ought not to have been ignorant of the condition of this Department. If he was deceived, it was his duty to have spurned from his confidence those who had cheated him. Upon his own principles, he must bear the responsibility. He holds that he is bound to look to the conduct of all his subordinates, and is responsible for them. Then let him bear the responsibility of the violations of the law—the misconduct and corruptions to which I have referred—the abuse of his high trust in retaining in office and confidence those who have perpetrated such official misdeeds; and let the people have these reports and documents, as a part of the evidence by which the issue is to be tried.

But, Mr. President, we had still another message sent to us in December last. And here, for the first time, doubt is intimated. Yet it is done in a mode well calculated to mislead. He admits responsibilities beyond the current resources of the Department, and attempts to account for it by three causes. Let me read the message:

"The General Post Office Department has continued, upon the strength of its own resources, to facilitate the means of communication between the various portions of the Union, with increased activity. The method, however, in which the accounts of the transportation of the mail has always been kept, appears to have presented an imperfect view of its expenses. It has recently been discovered, that, from the earliest records of the Department, the annual statements have been calculated to exhibit an amount considerably short of the annual expense incurred for that service. These illusory statements, together with the expense of carrying into effect the law of the last session of Congress, establishing new mail routes, and a disposition, on the part of the head of the Department, to gratify the wishes of the public in the extension of mail facilities, have induced him to incur responsibilities for their improvement beyond what the current resources of the Department would sustain. As soon as he had discovered the imperfection of the method, he caused an investigation to be made of its results, and applied the proper remedy to correct the evil. It became necessary for him to withdraw some of the improvements which he had made, to bring the expenses of the Department within its own resources. These expenses were incurred for the public good, and the public have enjoyed their benefit. They are now but partially suspended, and that where they may be discontinued with the least inconvenience to the country."

"The progressive increase in the income from postages has equalled the highest expectations, and it affords demonstrative evidence of the growing importance and great utility of this Department. The details are exhibited in the accompanying report from the Postmaster General."

What shall be said of this language? Recollect that it was used at the opening of this session, in December last: "The General Post Office Department has continued, upon the strength of its own resources, to facilitate," &c. Is this representation correct? Had not the Department then borrowed and overdrawn more than three hundred thousand dollars? Was it not insolvent? I entreat attention to every word in this message, for it does seem to me to be a studied concealment of the truth—not prepared by the President, but which was furnished to him by those who knew better. But could he then have been ignorant that the Department was embarrassed? Did he not know that the money had been borrowed? And was it right, was it fit, in his high office, to conceal that knowledge from Congress, until a committee of investigation exposed it? The suggestions which he makes respecting the condition of the Office are worthy of attention. He seems to apologize, by referring to three causes of embarrassment. In the first place, he hints at difficulty, by an allusion to the expenses of transportation, and the mode in which the accounts have been kept and the statements made. He alleges that the annual statements of the expenses have been "illusory," and exhibited an amount considerably short of the truth. In what respects were these statements *illusory*? Why was not the discovery made in four years by Mr. Barry? Is it quite fair towards the public, or respectful to the Postmaster General, to attempt an excuse, by casting blame on all who have preceded him, for misstatements, and by charging incompetency, or neglect of duty, on the incumbent? Until the specific mode in which the illusion has been produced

shall be pointed out, but little credit will be given to this ground of the apology for an insolvent Department.

2. The law of 15th June, 1832, to establish new routes, is also referred to, as creating additional expense. The report assures us that the bankruptcy does not arise from this cause. 3. The disposition of the Postmaster General to gratify the wishes of the public, in the extension of mail facilities, may possibly have produced some effect, but will afford little apology. The truth is apparent. The insolvency has arisen from other and more powerful causes: the inattention, or something worse, in the head of the department: enormous extra allowances to favorite contractors: "newspaper privilege: friendly interferences with stage companies, to settle disputes and remove opposition: the alternate loaning of money to and from the officers: secret agencies: "blanks, paper, and twine:" protection to the purity of the press: and other kindred causes.

In forming our opinion of the case, as stated by the President, we cannot overlook his declaration that "the progressive increase in the income from postages has equalled the highest expectations, and it affords demonstrative evidence of the growing importance and great utility of this department." It is not, then, want of income, decrease of revenue and means in the department, but the mismanagement of that revenue and those means, to which we are to look for an explanation of its insolvency.

But, Mr. President, not only had the truth been concealed from the public, in the reports and messages respecting this department, but by other modes. I ask attention to two or three matters referred to in these reports. Omissions have occurred in advertising for contracts, and in reports respecting them. Did the Senate remark the Michigan case, which has put three or four thousand dollars into the pocket of a clerk? It was not advertised. It was taken without notice. Now, this might have happened by accident, or oversight, and no serious blame attach to the department; but it is rather unlucky that this omission should have enured to the profit of one of the clerks, with whom one of the principal agents in the department had contracts respecting property. And it is still more unlucky, that the reason assigned by that agent, when examined before the committee, should turn out to be untrue.

So, also, there seems to be great error in the representations, by the Postmaster General, of the number of miles which the mail was transported formerly, and at this time; but the person whom the committee employed to make the calculations may have erred; and I do not urge it as an undoubted deception. Again: there are plain contradictions between the reports of the Postmaster General, in the two years 1832 and 1834; contradictions, inexplicable to me, and to be justified on no fair principle.

Another case—the post office in New York. The postmaster there paid large sums to secret agents, by order of the department. It was his duty to do so. He had money to pay, and it was to be paid to the order of the Postmaster General; and, to Mr. Gouverneur, it was of no consequence to whom it was paid. What he has done in this, as in all other cases, I pledge myself, was fairly, and honestly, and honorably done. But, Mr. President, how was that payment to the agents accounted for at the department? It was convenient not to exhibit the full amount paid for these travelling agents, especially as they travelled so largely about the time of the Presidential canvass; and these payments were placed under the head of the incidental expenses of the post office in the city of New York. It is important, I think, that the people should see how these matters are managed. Travelling electioneers—for they deserve no other name—are scattered over the country, and their pay hid under the

incidental expenses of the post office at New York. But once more: this Blue Book, which is before me. It is an official publication—made on the faith of the Government—under the orders of Congress. It ought to speak the truth, and the truth only. Who would anticipate deception in it? What would not men do, who would publish deceptive statements in it? Yet they are found even there. There are omissions of extra allowances, or amounts of contracts; and, among them, "the newspaper privilege." And there are false statements of contracts and allowances; some of which are pointed out in this report.

But I will not detain the Senate further, in assigning my reasons for this motion. This department is corrupt and insolvent. I doubt whether there ever existed one, in any Government, which can be compared to it. "None but itself can be its parallel!"

I do earnestly desire that all the people of the United States may possess and examine these reports and documents. A struggle is going on which is to test the value of fundamental principles. The approbation of the people is demanded by professions which have been violated. An "economical" administration claims support. It is right that it should be known, that that administration has raised the expenditures of the Government from twelve millions to twenty-millions of dollars, annually—that one of its departments has squandered three millions more than its predecessor in four years—that it has aided the purity of the press and of elections, by secret service money—secret agents—all the machinery of imposition and corruption.

Mr. GRUNDY rose, and said, that he did not propose to go into a general discussion of the various subjects embraced in the two reports made by the different members of the Post Office Committee. He only wished to make some explanations, which he thought would have a tendency to produce a more correct understanding of some portion of the facts in relation to the Post Office Department. In justice to that department, he would say, that it had not closed its doors against the committee appointed to inspect its affairs; that whatever information its records, correspondence, or any thing else, might be supposed to contain, was willingly communicated; and its whole proceedings subjected to the inspection of the committee. Therefore, whatever violations or omissions of duty may be alleged to have been practised, no disposition has been manifested to conceal its acts from the public view. In regard to the reports that have been drawn up by the majority and minority of the committee, he thought this was not the proper time (perhaps it would be improper at any time) for the authors of these reports to go into any comparison of their respective merits.

When, however, they shall have been printed, the Senate would be able to give them such consideration as they might deserve, and judge fairly of their correctness. He would at present merely say, that there were two material points of difference between the two documents: one was, as to the amount of the deficit which existed in its means; and the other, the amount of services which had been rendered to the public by the department.

He should not enter into any detail of what was said in either of the reports; but would suggest to the honorable Senator from New Jersey, [Mr. SOUTHARD,] that he was altogether mistaken when he used the letter of the Postmaster General as authority or evidence in favor of the majority, and against the minority of the committee.

Mr. G. said that he had written the letter to the Postmaster General, to which the letter of the Postmaster General referred to is an answer; and neither of them was written under an impression that there was a balance of more than 300,000 dollars against the department.

The Treasurer of the Post Office Department, shortly

before these letters were written, had reported to the committee that the debts against the department were upwards of a million of dollars, and that the debts due to the department, from the postmasters throughout the United States, amounted to eight hundred thousand dollars; leaving a balance against the department of nearly three hundred thousand dollars, even if all its debts were collected, and in the possession of the department.

When the Postmaster General was inquired of, by the committee, what amount, loaned to him from the public treasury, would enable him to comply punctually with his engagements, and relieve his department from embarrassment, he very properly took into view the failure in punctuality that would occur in the debtors to the department; and knowing that creditors are always more punctual in demanding, than debtors are in making payments, he very properly concluded that a larger sum would be necessary to meet all the demands against the department punctually, than would be requisite if the moneys owing to the department were now in hand; therefore, he gave it as his opinion, that four hundred and fifty thousand dollars might be necessary, when, in fact, three hundred thousand dollars would be sufficient, if all the outstanding debts could be collected at the time they fell due.

[Mr. G. here read his letter to the Postmaster General, and the Postmaster General's answer.]

Mr. G. continued: Now, sir, what is the meaning of the Postmaster General? He owes upwards of a million of dollars; and has owing to him, from different Postmasters, scattered all over the country, the sum of eight hundred thousand dollars; so that there is a difference against him of nearly three hundred thousand dollars. In this state of things, he is asked by the committee what sum of money will be sufficient to pay every contractor, and to pay into the banks every cent of money that has been borrowed? The answer given to that question, put by the committee, is, "with my present means, if Congress will advance, &c. four hundred and fifty thousand dollars, I can pay every debt against the department," &c. The amount thus advanced can be returned to the Treasury, without injury to the successful operations of the department; and this can be done in three annual payments.

The minority of the committee, continued Mr. G., came to the conclusion that there was a deficit of about three hundred thousand dollars; and, without going into any argument, he would say, that the Postmaster General was of opinion that that was about the true amount; and Mr. G. was desirous that no argument should be drawn from the letter alluded to, unfavorable to that officer, or which might weaken the force of the arguments employed by the minority of the committee, in their report. To illustrate the views of the minority of the committee, let the case be put: A merchant owes ten thousand dollars; he has given his note for the payment, due on the first day of January next; he has ten thousand dollars on his books against his customers; but, judging from collections made in former years, his opinion is, that he cannot collect from his debtors more than 5,000 dollars by the first of January. If he should apply to a bank for a loan, he would certainly take into view the probable failure of his customers promptly to pay their accounts; and he would ask a loan of at least 5,000 dollars. So in this case; although 300,000 dollars only be the difference owing by the Department, over and above the debts owing to it, still, as all the postmasters have not and will not pay punctually, a larger sum than the ultimate deficits may be necessary to extricate the Department immediately from its difficulties. When the Senate shall go into an examination of the two reports, it will be found that the greatest cause of the disagreement between them consists in this—that of the debts estimated to be due on

1st of January, and 1st of April last, a large amount has been collected. The majority of the committee deduct the sum thus collected from the sum due to the Department, and leave the debts owing to the Department unaffected by it. The minority of the committee take a different view of the subject, in this: that all depending on estimate, and the transactions of the Department still going on, and changing daily, the debts and credits being ascertained or estimated on any particular day, whatever amount you find to have been paid in, of antecedent debts, after that day, must either be in the possession of the Department, or applied to the payment of its debts. But the principle adopted by the majority of the committee is, that the debts collected shall be deducted from the means of the Department, while the debts against the Department shall be considered undiminished. Which of these views of the subject may be correct, was for others to decide.

The other, and perhaps most important disagreement between the two reports, is, the amount of services rendered by the Department to the public. This, he (Mr. G.) considered a very interesting matter, as it furnished the best criterion by which to judge whether, in general, a due regard had been paid to economy in conducting the affairs of the Department. He believed the general character of the administration of the Department depended upon the question, which report was correct upon this point? If the majority were right in their estimate of the number of miles of mail transportation, there was no such increase of services performed as would justify the expenditure which had been made. If, on the other hand, the minority of the committee were right in their opinion upon this subject, then the transportation of the mail had been procured at a much lower average price than at any former period.

The majority of the committee take as their guide the estimate of the Messrs. Bradley, made out from the advertisements for proposals, and the improvements for which extra allowances are made, and by measuring distances on the map—leaving out all changes and improvements, which are produced by the improved bids invited by the advertisements. The minority of the committee are governed, in their estimate, by the route book, which has been compiled from the information given by the postmasters, at the termination of every route in the United States; and, in case of a difference of opinion between the postmasters at the different ends of the same route, the mean distance has been taken. In this way the length of each route has been fixed. Then, by ascertaining how often the mail is transported over each route in a year, the precise amount of mail transportation, in a year, can be arrived at with reasonable accuracy. The difference between the results produced, between the standards relied on, in the two reports, is immense, amounting, probably, to seven or eight millions of miles a year. Mr. G. said he could not hesitate on which to rely. In the route books there may be some slight errors; but in the report of the Messrs. Bradley there are plain and palpable errors, because they had not the means by which to make accurate calculations or estimates; therefore, it seemed to Mr. G. that the Senator from New Jersey had no authority for supposing that the Postmaster General had over-estimated the number of miles of mail transportation.

Mr. G. proceeded to say he would defend the department where he believed it to be in the right, but he should not defend its errors. He did think it was an error that the head of that department had not ascertained, at an earlier period, the true condition of its finances. Had this been done, he could have avoided going beyond its means. But the Postmaster General relied upon the reports made to him by the officer having the charge of the finances of the department, and, in doing so, he was

misled, and went on increasing mail facilities until an actual failure of means to meet current demands disclosed the existence of the error. Upon this disclosure, the Postmaster General resorted to loans to supply the deficiency. Loans were made upon the credit of his department, and not upon the faith of the public treasury. Mr. G. was of opinion, as there was no law authorizing this proceeding, the loans were not, in strictness, binding upon the Government, or any department of it, and rested, in a legal point of view, upon the personal responsibility of the Postmaster General alone. Yet it should be recollected, on the other hand, that the whole department would have ceased its operations, and have gone down, had not these loans been resorted to. He would not say that it was justifiable to have borrowed the money without any law authorizing it; but, so pressing was the necessity, that it argued strongly in favor of excusing the Postmaster General from censure. It were better to have done almost any thing rather than to have permitted the Post Office Department to have gone down. He would repeat that there was error, and no inconsiderable error, on the part of the Postmaster General, in not ascertaining the true condition of the moneyed concerns of the department, and in not having guarded against its getting into the situation in which it was at present placed. The Senator from New Jersey, he thought, was mistaken in another thing, when he supposed that no extra allowances for extra services were allowed by law; and that it depended upon Congress to make appropriations for such purposes. He, Mr. G., considered the whole proceeds of the Post Office Department as appropriated for the transportation of the mail, and placed, by existing laws, at the discretion, and under the control, of the Postmaster General; and this has always been the understanding and practice; and that the action of Congress was not necessary for its appropriation. As to making extra allowances for extra services, they were expressly allowed by law, and a rule laid down by which they should be apportioned.

Mr. G. said, that it had been urged against the department, that a true account of the extra allowances has not been annually reported to Congress. When gentlemen come to read the report of the minority, they will see that the ancient mode of reporting to Congress has been pursued by the present Postmaster General; that the report to Congress has been made from the Proposal Book, and did not embrace the improvements and modifications made between the time of the acceptance of the proposal and the execution of the contract; and that extra allowances are made for services, in addition to those stipulated for in the written contracts, and which are ordered after its execution. He could not, therefore, say there was any great cause of complaint in this respect. Still he thought the mode adopted by the department, in its report to the present session of Congress, was preferable to the old method, as the Senate had now before them the contracts, with all the modifications and improvements which were made prior to the execution of the written agreements.

In regard to the printers, to whom allusion had been made, he was not disposed to say much—they were able to take care of themselves. He found that the Department had vouchers for all the services these printers had performed; and the prices, upon comparison with the price of other services of the same kind, were at the usual rates which had been charged by and paid to others for the same kind of work. The evidence that the printing has been executed and delivered in every case, is the certificate of the postmaster of the town in which the printer resides, which not only states that the printing has been executed and delivered to him, but that it has been done according to the sample furnished by the Department. It is true, said Mr. GRUNDY, that the accounts of these

printers for paper, printing, twine, &c. appeared large; but it required an immense quantity of paper, printing, twine, &c. to supply this Department in all its various ramifications: for a portion of these articles has to be sent to every post office in the United States and Territories. In relation to the account of the postmaster at New York, a fairer transaction was never presented.

He thought if the honorable gentleman from Delaware [Mr. CLAYTON] had examined the papers fully, he would not have been at this time laboring under the error which seems to exist in his mind. He would have found that the moneys paid to Mr. Bates and Mr. Loughborough formed no part of the incidental expenses of the post office at New York, but were only advanced to them by the postmaster at that place. They being in that city at the time they needed the money, Mr. Gouverneur, the postmaster, by order of the Postmaster General, advanced them the money; and the only effect produced was, that Mr. Gouverneur obtained a credit upon the books of the Department for the sums advanced to them, and they were charged with the same amount. It is, however, insinuated, that the secret agents employed by the Department are sent out upon electioneering expeditions, and not on business of the Department. This assertion is unsupported by testimony, and is in itself uncharitable. If the fact were so, why has not some one witness been called on to establish it? If these agents are necessary for a lawful and laudable purpose, is it right to say, without the shadow of proof, that they have been employed for illegal and dishonorable purposes? I think not. Every individual acquainted with the operations of this Department must know that these secret agents are indispensable, not only for the detection of depredations on the mails, but also for ascertaining the manner in which contractors and postmasters perform their respective duties. It therefore seemed to him, that to say that any part of the money of this Department had been used for electioneering purposes, was presuming the fact to be so without any evidence whatever; and he thought honorable Senators rather uncharitable in their remarks upon this subject. If any Senator will name a man in the United States who will give evidence to that effect, he [Mr. GRUNDY] would instantly, with the consent of the Post Office Committee, send for him, and have him brought before that committee to give testimony. This would be proceeding in the right way: then we can act upon proof, and not upon vague conjecture, and unsupported assertion. Mr. GRUNDY said he supposed it would not be proper to go into an examination, before the reports were printed, of any of the particular cases examined in either of the reports. He should, therefore, refrain from saying any thing respecting them.

It is charged upon the Postmaster General that he borrowed money during the last session of Congress, and did not inform Congress of the fact. He only borrowed a sum of money, the amount of which he supposed was then in the hands of postmasters, and would be received by the Department in a few days, and from which the loan could be repaid. The only error, if any, was in the act of borrowing; for he was only anticipating the actual receipt of money then in the hands of postmasters, while, at the same time, he felt confident that the Department was perfectly solvent, and had no idea that it was in the condition which after-developments show it to have been.

If the Senator from New Jersey [Mr. SOUTHARD] had kept his hands off the President of the United States, it would have been as well; but that was scarcely to be expected. He says that the President, in his message in 1829, informed Congress that the Post Office Department was in a favorable condition. Mr. GRUNDY said he should like to know how the President could be censured for making that statement. Before the commencement of every session of Congress, each head of a Department

makes his report of the condition of his Department to the President of the United States; and, upon the reports thus made to him, the President makes his report to Congress. And would the Senator from New Jersey require of the President to go into each of the Departments, and examine into the correctness of the reports made by the different Secretaries? He [Mr. GRUNDY] supposed that the Senator from New Jersey knew that this was never done, and was in itself impracticable. The President, in his message, gave a full and fair exposition of the condition of the Department, according to the report made to him by the Postmaster General. He [Mr. GRUNDY] remarked, that he had now said all he intended to say in answer to the remarks of the Senator from New Jersey, and he would detain the Senate no longer.

Mr. EWING next addressed the Chair, as follows:

Mr. President, the honorable Chairman of the Committee on the Post Office and Post Roads has said truly, that the doors of the Department were not closed on us, or against our investigation. It is true, sir, we were permitted to enter the building, and examine the books of the Department; but if he means by this to convey the idea that all proper facilities were afforded to each member of the committee in the examination, the suggestion will lead to error; it is not so. I, as a member of that committee, have a right to complain, and I do complain, of delay, prevarication, and finally refusal to answer inquiries which I made through the clerk of the committee, touching matters which were the subject of our investigation. I have no doubt that the chairman received more consideration at their hands, and his inquiries were more promptly answered. But, for me, my labors were much increased, and the time necessarily employed in the investigation was much protracted, by the necessity under which I was placed, especially during the first few weeks of the investigation, of extorting from them all the information which I sought, and, in some instances, receiving it only through the hands of the chairman.

The honorable Senator has stated the transaction, which relates to the application of the Postmaster General to the committee for funds to sustain the Department, with strict truth; but yet, in such a manner, as to leave a false impression upon the minds of all who hear him, and who are unacquainted with the history of the negotiation. The idea is very clearly conveyed that the proposition to appropriate money, for the relief of the Department, originated with the committee, and not with the Postmaster General. The fact is far otherwise. It was first named, in my hearing, by the chairman, who spoke of the pressing necessities of the Department, and the impossibility of sustaining it without pecuniary aid, and he urgently solicited my consent to some measure of relief. I expressed, at once, an impression against it, but agreed to reflect on the subject. In the mean time, we received the statements of the officers as to the debts and credits of the Department. My first impressions were confirmed by reflection. I expressed a willingness to permit the inquiry to be made of Mr. Barry, which the chairman proposed, namely, what sum, less than five hundred thousand dollars, would enable him to pay his debts and go on with the business of the Department? But, from first to last, I discouraged the application to Congress, through this committee, for an appropriation. I never did consent to it, and do not think I ever will, while the Department is under its present superintendence.

Mr. President, the honorable chairman has said that he would not go into an examination of the comparative merits of the report of the committee and the paper presented by the minority; and, at the same time, he has entered at once, and largely, into that very comparison, in the most important points discussed in either paper, and those in which they differ most; that is to say, the amount in which the Department is insolvent, and the extent of mail

transportation. As to the first, the amount of the insolvency, I confess I was not a little surprised at some of the views taken by the honorable chairman, in his paper read yesterday, and at the repetition of those views to-day. Let us, sir, look at the subject for a moment, that my opinion of it may be understood.

The statement of the amount due and owing to contractors was made us by one of the clerks, Mr. Sutor, on his oath; and so far as I was then informed, and so far as I am now informed, I have no reason to doubt its correctness. I did not then doubt it—it was probable upon the face of it, and there was no reason to question the veracity of the man. The amount of the debts due to banks, including sums borrowed and overdrawn, was given us by Obadiah B. Brown. I trusted to that also without much hesitation: for, had he misstated it, he well knew that it was in our power to test its accuracy, or expose its fallacies. We took it as correct; and the aggregate sum was, in round numbers, due for transportation, six hundred and thirty-five thousand dollars; borrowed and overdrawn on banks, four hundred and eighty-eight thousand dollars—amounting in the aggregate to one million one hundred and twenty-three thousand dollars. I know it is stated at less by the chairman in his paper, but he is in an error. The reports of the officers of the Department give the above sum; and the mistake arises from this, that the person who made out the papers did, in one of them, deduct all the deposits which the Department had in any and every bank from the sums which it has borrowed from any and every other bank, by way of casting a balance with banks generally. But, for the credits, which is the principal question between the honorable chairman and myself, Mr. Brown made us the estimate, and he gives three hundred thousand dollars as the available sum due for postages prior to the 1st of January, 1834, and five hundred thousand dollars due for postages accruing from the 1st of January to the 1st of April, 1834.

The same officer estimates the whole nett amount of postages, accruing within the first quarter of 1834, at 520,000 dollars, in which, I believe, he is correct—that is, I consider it a fair estimate, allowing the increase of postages in the present to have equalled that of former years. Then admitting the receipts to be 520,000 dollars, we had only to ascertain what part of it had been paid in and placed to the credit of the department, prior to the 1st of April—to deduct that from the 520,000 dollars, and leave the balance to its credit in the hands of postmasters. This was done by a member of the committee, and we found that there were deposited by postmasters in banks, to the credit of the department, within that quarter, 314,704 dollars, which would leave of that quarter's proceeds 206,296 dollars, instead of 500,000 dollars, as estimated by Mr. Brown, whose estimate is implicitly taken, and is written down in the paper presented by the honorable chairman. I was surprised to hear the honorable chairman say, that the sums deposited in banks had not been credited to the department, and therefore ought not to stand as a charge against it. Where, I ask, did he get his information of that extraordinary fact? It never was given to the committee by any officer of the department, either directly, or through the chairman; and I stand prepared, at this moment, to disprove the allegation. I have before me, spread out on my desk, a balance sheet of the accounts of the department, with all the banks in which it has any transactions. They number about 70. Among others, are enumerated *all* the banks in which these deposits appear to have been made, and the accounts bear date down to the time of the date of the last deposits taken into the estimate; and the department is accredited, in the paper presented by the honorable chairman, with all the deposits which at that time remained as a balance in all the banks. It is therefore impossible that the sums so deposited should not have been

credited with the rest. Two things have operated to mislead the honorable chairman. One was the manner in which the bank accounts were made up for him, which, I presume, by his report, shows merely the balance which the department owes to all banks, taking them as a class, without distinguishing debt from credit—a circumstance which has also caused him to state the aggregate indebtedness of the department \$37,000 92 less than it really is, and which, being implicitly relied on, has prevented an exact examination of the state of the facts. The other cause of error is a mistake as to the import of what some officer of the department did tell the honorable chairman, and which he communicated to the committee; and which, as we could not put it to the test, we, as well as he, took for the truth, and still receive as such, without by any means vouching for it. It is this: They say that when they draw on a postmaster in favor of a contractor, they neither charge the contractor nor credit the postmaster until the draft is returned paid. And hence, although much money may have been drawn out of the hands of postmasters, by drafts in favor of contractors, neither the debts to contractors, nor the credit from postmasters, is lessened by the operation. But, in showing the state of their affairs, this, where it really occurs, is immaterial; the balance remaining still the same. Now, I can understand this: it appears consistent and reasonable, though somewhat loose as a business transaction; but I take it as it is, and I give it credence. But the case is very different with the deposits in banks: they pass at once to the credit of the department; and when those credits are signified to the department, as, in the regular course of business, they must be by the next mail after they are made, they are entered on the books here to its credit, and to the debit of the bank. And when a draft is drawn on a bank in favor of a contractor, does any man in the department pretend, or does any man for them pretend, that it is not at once charged to his account? This would imply a degree of irregularity which could be attributed to nothing but wantonness or stupidity. The honorable gentleman does injustice to the officers of that department. I never suspected, much less accused them, or any of them, of a course of conduct such as this; and if I had found a case or cases clearly and fully established, in which drafts to the amount of 300,000 dollars had been drawn on banks in favor of contractors, and had also found that the contractors were not charged with the drafts, I should have voted to give it a conspicuous place in the report of the committee. But it is not so: they are clear, at least, of this charge of malversation, which the honorable chairman has brought against them.

As to the postages accruing prior to the 1st day of January, 1834, we cannot reduce the amount of that to a demonstration, but we can give that kind of evidence of the correctness of our report, or its very near approach to accuracy, which will satisfy any reasoning mind upon that subject. But I will not now enter into it fully. I will only say, that we have the aggregate nett proceeds of postages for the quarter ending January 1st, 1834: it amounts to 467,449 dollars. We have found, of deposits in banks, within that quarter, 334,903 dollars. We estimate that there have been drafts drawn on postmasters, accepted, and returned to the department paid, so as to be charged to contractors, to the amount of at least 58,522 dollars; which would leave, of that quarter, due 83,725 dollars. Now, if there be any thing due prior to the 1st of October, 1833, it ought not to rest in conjecture. The Postmaster General does know, or can ascertain in one day, or two at most, by the aid of a diligent clerk, what amount is due; and who of his reform postmasters are, and continue to be, defaulters. The postmasters are bound, under a severe penalty, to account, within one month after they shall be called upon for that purpose; they are, by a standing order of the department,

called upon to account, at the end of every quarter; and it will not do to say, as I understood the chairman to say, that it is, at this time, impracticable, or a task of great labor, to get at their accounts. The books are, it is understood, behind something more than one quarter; but no one has pretended that they are in arrear more than two. There is doubtless money due for postages prior to the 1st of October, but, without extraordinary misconduct on the part of postmasters, the sum cannot exceed forty or fifty thousand dollars; and if it do exceed that sum, it is pretty clear that it ought not to be considered available.

It is said by the honorable chairman, with respect to the next particular, in which the report of the committee and the paper which he has offered differ so materially, that the error is clearly on the side of the report, and that such error is the natural consequence of the defective materials which the person employed by the committee had to find it upon.

Mr. President, the law requires that no contract shall be made for the transportation of the mail without first advertising it; and that no additional allowance shall be made without additional service commensurate thereto; and that the Postmaster General shall report such additional service and extra compensation to the Comptroller of the Treasury within thirty days after the same shall be made. It would seem, therefore, that if the law had been observed by the Postmaster General, there would have been no difficulty in procuring the necessary data for the calculation. But this not having been done in all things, its deficiency was supplied by substituting the answer made by the Postmaster General on the 3d of March, 1834, to a special call of the Senate; which answer professes to give "all the allowances made beyond the sums stipulated in the original contracts, since the 1st of April, 1829, and to specify in each case the service to be performed by the original contract, and the sums to be paid thereon, and the nature and extent of each facility or improvement, and the sums to be paid therefor." Now, it is evident, if all these be given truly, the data necessary for the calculation was at once in the hands of the man to whom your committee confided their papers.

But the honorable Senator says, it is not so; that there is still a very large amount of compensation and transportation behind the curtain, which is only to be had by groping among the files of the department; and that the whole difference of 7,000,000 miles is thus accounted for. Now, is this possible? Is it to be credited that there has been, and is habitually, in that department, such a total disregard of all legal instruction, as this defence would indicate? Manifold and multifarious as were the cases stamped with this character, which came under our observation, this would prove that we had not discovered or noted the twentieth part of the title of those which exist in this single group. The contracts, then, are let—habitually let—on different terms, and for different services than they are advertised! Why is this, and where the warrant in law? Why is the advertisement for contracts required by law? Is it to inform the public of the true service to be rendered, and to which competition is invited? or is it to conceal it from them, that it may be made known by a private note, or in a private whisper, to a favorite corps? And then the annual statement of contracts, and the special statement of extra services and extra allowances—what are they for? To inform the public, or to deceive the public, as to the amount of service and compensation? I know not which is deserving of the heaviest censure, the grand misrepresentation which is thus attempted to be bolstered up, or the succession of misrepresentations of which the honorable chairman accuses the department, for the purpose of exonerating them from that first and wholesale misstatement. If the department have heretofore told the

truth, then is the estimate of Phineas Bradley right; and it does not well become the supporters of the department now to allege the falsehood of its former allegation, in order to prove the incorrectness of this. Let them obtain credit where they may for this; I can give them none. But it is said that this mode of reporting untruly the service and the compensation is according to the custom of the department; and three or four cases are cited, said to have taken place during a former administration.

[Mr. GRUNDY. There are half a dozen cases.]

Mr. EWING. Be it so; but I have no proof, nor do I know on what evidence the honorable chairman of the committee rests it. While I, on behalf of the committee, gave him information of each case that I had examined, or intended to examine, (and if any omissions occurred they were accidental,) he gave me no information of this or of these. It is true he once told me that there were cases of the kind, but he did not tell me what cases; and it would have been a vain search for me to attempt to find and explain them. They may, perhaps, exist; but if they do, I doubt not they exist under peculiar circumstances, which destroy their application as a precedent; if, indeed, any thing could be received as precedent for an act involving official falsehood. And, sir, I care not whence the precedent comes, or with whom it may have originated. The act is a gross breach of law and of official veracity, and, if it were wilfully and designedly fallen into by any former Postmaster General, he merits, and shall receive, his due share of censure. But what is the precedent—*half a dozen* cases in former times, within the last forty years, of omission to state the increased service required on a contract. Well, sir, I doubt not that there has been that number of cases within that time, and I further doubt not that all that ever existed have been found by the officers of the department, and paraded by the honorable chairman in this paper. In the extensive ramifications of this complicated department, it is not possible for any intelligence, however expansive, or however minute and capable of concentration, to compass the whole, and follow it out in all its details. Something will be omitted which should be done, even if nothing wrong be committed; and I would excuse very much to human infirmity, and not set down as a fault that which is merely a frailty. Had no more, and no other cases of this kind occurred, under this administration, than such as are alleged by the honorable chairman to have taken place under former ones, I should not have thought it worth the notice of the Senate. But how is it here? A fixed and habitual rule of action; misrepresentation and deception on a grand scale, and as a general system constantly acted upon; and now that it is exposed, beyond controversy or contest, it is openly avowed, and even defended upon this floor—nay, brought forward and asserted as a fixed rule of action, and one that is to wipe away what is considered, by gentlemen here, as a fouler blot. Why, Mr. President, suppose the custom of making false statements to Congress, and to the nation, had been as inveterate in former times as we now find it; and suppose a man, possessing but a common share of moral integrity, placed at once within it, and amid such a scene of iniquity; would he not revolt at it? and would he permit its foulness and vice to remain for one moment concealed from the public eye? For now, sir, in one class of the reports of the department, falsehood is habitual and avowed—*habitual* for years past—avowed only since it was detected. It is asserted by the honorable chairman as the custom of the department—and that custom of giving to the world a tissue of falsehoods, in one branch of their reports, he adduces as *proof conclusive* that they are correct, and that the committee err in another particular, in which there is a wide difference in the conclusions of the department and those of the committee. Sir, the honorable chairman is right

in saying that there is no safety in any calculation made upon such data as the reports of the department. Take that of the 18th of April, 1832, for example: if there be truth in that any where, I have not found it, and I studied it with care for weeks. I examined some hundreds of cases, and do not recollect to have found one that was stated truly. Sir, it is enough to sicken the soul, to shock the moral sense of any man, to walk amidst, and wade through, the scenes of rank iniquity which our duty has required us to explore, and now requires us to expose.

In one part of the paper presented here, by the honorable chairman, I confess I was deeply disappointed. It is a matter in which there is no dispute about fact—it is principle, plain principle merely, that is involved; and I knew well before, and I know now, and all the Senate knows, that the opinion of the honorable Senator and my own do not differ upon it. We here, on this floor, agree that the Postmaster General has borrowed large sums of money on the credit of the United States, for the use of the department; and we agree that the act was a violation of the constitution; but yet you may seek, and seek in vain, in the paper which the minority of the committee have presented here, and which we send abroad to the world as the exponent of their opinion, and the opinion of the party in power—you may search in vain in that paper for one word of censure on this unwarranted and unconstitutional act. Sir, I complain of this; I complain of it, and I deplore it. Our words upon this floor are but passing breath; they are heard, perchance read, and then laid aside as things of the day, and forgotten; but the more solemn opinions of your committees, charged with grave and important duties, are placed among your archives, and preserved in perpetual remembrance of the thing; and the censure or approbation which they bestow will stand on this enduring record, to condemn or to sustain like deeds in all future time. In this, and for this purpose, the honorable chairman represents the great party which now wields the destinies of this republic; and as I knew that he condemned this act, I had hoped that his disapprobation would have been, in some form, or in some language, stamped upon his paper, that in future times it might be seen that he condemned it. Suppose that in the contest which is waging, and will be waged, in this nation, for power; suppose the party now dominant in our councils, and of which the honorable chairman is a distinguished member, should prevail, and that the public voice should sanction and sustain their acts—this act, with the rest, must be sustained, because he who is for that purpose the exponent of the will and opinions of the party, does, in his solemn paper, sustain it—it is not another wound, deep, if not vital, inflicted upon our constitution? Is not another of the safeguards of our liberty gone? For, if the head of this department may plight the faith of the nation for a loan of money, surely the Chief Magistrate, whose he is, and whom he serves, may do it. But I will not follow out this subject into detail; it would lead me wide, far from the point to which I intended to direct my remarks.

It is said, that no faith is pledged for these loans; that the nation is not bound for them; and, therefore, the constitution is not violated, and that the act is consequently innoxious. I say, too, that the act is not obligatory upon the nation; but the other consequence does not necessarily follow. Suppose we pay the money by an appropriation; do we not sanction the act? If we pay this, and a like loan shall be made hereafter, where will be our apology for then refusing it? And if we deny it, the lenders of the money suffer a heavy loss by their reliance upon the public faith, supposed to be pledged by a public functionary.

The honorable chairman sustains the act on this ground: he says, the Postmaster General was deceived by the mode of keeping the books; he supposed there was a

large amount of money outstanding in the hands of postmasters, which did not turn out to be the case, and he therefore found the department suddenly involved in difficulty; and that it must have gone down if he had not borrowed to sustain it. We have heard much of this pretence about an error in the mode of keeping the books; and a more ridiculous excuse never was invented. But the chairman is mistaken about the apology itself. It was pretended, not that there were sums which appeared to be due from postmasters which were not in fact due, but that their books did not show all that was due, or that had been paid to contractors. It would consequently be the amount of cash on hand, in which the error would exist; an error which would be easily discovered when the money was all gone. But it is a matter of their own, and they can make what they please of it. And it is also a little remarkable that this pretended error, which existed from the very organization of the department, should never have been detected by any of the former Postmasters General, and should never have led any one of them into the slightest difficulty, even when the department was annually paying every dollar of its surplus proceeds into the treasury.

The honorable chairman has said that there was no case of extra allowance, without additional service rendered equivalent to such allowance. In this he is mistaken. The extra of 10,000 dollars a year to Reeside and Slaymaker is not, nor do I understand it is pretended to be, for any increased service beyond what the contract requires. The report of the 3d of March, 1834, states the whole matter thus: (p. 199,) "Reeside and Slaymaker are contractors for carrying the mail from Philadelphia to Pittsburg, Pennsylvania, 303 miles, twice a day, and from Pittsburg, by Washington, Pennsylvania, to Wheeling, in Virginia, 57 miles, daily, all in four horse post coaches, from the 1st of January, 1832, to the 31st of December, 1835, at a compensation of 27,000 dollars per annum.

"In consequence of the increased rapidity of this mail, the newspapers, which were formerly sent from the East by other routes, were now sent upon this; and the general cry of the public for the more rapid conveyance of newspapers required them to be sent in this rapid line, instead of the slower line, as was contemplated in their proposals; which so loaded it as almost entirely to exclude passengers. They were, therefore, allowed from April 1, 1832, for transporting all the papers by their most rapid line, at the annual rate of 10,000 dollars."

This is their own story, and I do not understand that any thing is here alleged to be done by the contractors, which is not written down and enjoined on them in their contract. The statement, it is true, says, that it was contemplated in the proposals that the newspapers should be carried in the slow line; but there is nothing of the kind to be found in the contract. And as to the general cry of the public for the more rapid conveyance of newspapers, I really would like to know who heard it. I have heard it urged as a subject of complaint that some newspapers were not carried at all, or, if they were, that they did not reach their place of destination in the regular course of mail. But this general cry for the more rapid conveyance of newspapers was probably never heard by any one except the officer in the department, who made out this report, and presented it to the Postmaster General for his signature. But to the point. No service is alleged, even here, that is not required by the contract; and it will be recollected that this is a route which was bid off at 8,250 dollars, and was raised, by extras, first to 27,000 dollars, and then this 10,000 dollars was added for hardships encountered, and not for increased service rendered.

The story in this report is disproved by the testimony of Reeside. It is stated here, that the quantity of papers

was so great as nearly to exclude passengers on the rapid line. But Reeside says, the inconvenience occurred but three days out of the seven, and then they could sometimes carry three passengers, and sometimes but one; the other four days they could carry their allotted number. But the time of the allowance shows that it was not for any required extra service; it was made in May, 1833, to commence from the 1st of April, 1832. The honorable chairman is, then, mistaken in supposing that any extra service was required as an equivalent for this allowance. There are others similarly situated; but I do not purpose now to consider them.

The honorable chairman need not have gone into a defence of the conduct or character of Mr. Gouverneur. The committee have charged him with no impropriety, nor is his integrity at all implicated in the discussion. He has paid over the money which he received, as he was bound to pay it, to the order of the Postmaster General; and his payments have been used to cover and conceal a part of the immense sums which were applied to fit out and support secret agents and spies of Government: those agents and spies who, under the pretence of detecting frauds and robberies, have spread over and infested the land. The year 1832 appears to have been their carnival. It is the same year in which such large sums were paid to printers throughout the United States, and such an immense amount of *blanks, paper, and twine*, were purchased up for the use of the department. It was the same year, too, in which the transportation of the mail was first overrated, by many millions of miles, in the published reports of the department, and the contracts, in a mass, all misrepresented in those reports.

These things have produced the effect which they were intended to produce; they have enabled those who possessed political power, and who abused it, to conceal those abuses, and to retain that power. And detection, though it has come at last, comes too late to defeat their purpose.

TUESDAY, JUNE 10, 1834.

The question being upon the motion made yesterday, and postponed to this day, for ordering the printing of 30,000 copies of both the Post Office reports—

Mr. CLAYTON followed Mr. EWING, in explanation of the financial condition of the Department, and discussed the question of the extent of its insolvency, which was, on all sides, admitted to exist to a very large amount. He showed, by calculation, that, besides the waste of the funds of the Department, arising from postages, the Treasury had been called upon to aid it for the last five years to a most enormous amount. Thus the sums appropriated by Congress for salaries of officers in the Post Office Department, and paid out of the Treasury for the last four years, and required for the present year, amount to

		\$322,399 44
By act of appropriation of 1830,	-	52,100 00
1831,	-	52,150 00
1832,	-	52,100 00
1833,	-	86,578 00
And per bill before the Senate, passed House of Representatives for 1834, as per estimate,	-	79,471 44
		322,399 44
For five years previous,	-	\$49,100
		38,350
		38,350
		38,350
		34,350
		198,500 00
Excess,		123,899 44

To which sum add the excess of the "contingent (not incidental) expenses" for the last five years, over those of the five years previous, \$13,500, and the whole excess is - - - - - 137,399 44

Without taking into the account any sums drawn from the Treasury for Post Office buildings and repairs.

Mr. C. then referred to the documents to show that the amount of *surplus funds* of this Department, left by Mr. McLean, when Mr. Barry came into office, was 289,000 00

426,399 44

To which, if the amount of the insolvency of the Department, as now ascertained, be added - - - - - 803,625 00

The amount expended in the last five years beyond the resources, and embracing the excess of Treasury money over that of the five years previous, is - - - - - \$1,230,024 44

With these facts before us, said Mr. C., we also have the deliberate opinion of the late Postmaster General, as expressed in his annual report for the year 1827, that this Department ought now, *by a vigilant administration of its affairs, to yield an annual revenue to the Treasury (besides supplying all the mail facilities required for the convenience of the country,) OF HALF A MILLION OF DOLLARS!!*

Sir, this Department of the Government is an old acquaintance of the Chairman (Mr. GARDNER) and myself. I attempted to investigate its financial condition in company with him three years ago, and to arrest the downward tendency of things. He was averse to the inquiry, and caused it to be suppressed by a resolution at the time, under the pretence that the disclosures which it was making might embrace impeachable matter, into which the Senate ought not to inquire. The principle on which that resolution was adopted is now exploded, and I only recur to it for the purpose of reminding the Chairman, who then stood forth as the advocate of the Department, of our respective views of its condition so far back as February, 1831. For this purpose I now read from Gales & Seaton's Register of Debates my own sentiments on that subject as then expressed: "Without considering the appropriations from the Treasury," (said Mr. C. in February, 1831,) it must be evident to every man who reflected on this subject, that, unless some change should be made in the administration of its affairs, this Department will soon reach the period of its insolvency." In reply to this remark the Chairman (Mr. GARDNER) made a most imposing statement, showing how wonderfully Mr. Barry had increased the revenues of the Department. Hear him, sir, and then contrast his present tone with that which he employed in 1831. I will read from his speech, which was then franked by his party throughout the country, and has ever since formed a political text-book for them. I suspect that three-fourths of those who read it were as completely deceived by it as the honorable member is now astounded by the development of its utter fallacy. In his speech of 1831, the Chairman declared there was a great increase of the funds, and he thus proceeded: "As an evidence that the condition of the Department has improved since Mr. Barry came into office, I will state the fact, that the whole amount of postages, from the 1st of July, 1828, to the 1st of July, 1829, was \$1,707,418 42; and the amount of postages, from the 1st of July, 1829, to the 1st of July, 1830, is \$1,850,583 10, giving an increase in the first year of \$143,164 68. This is an UNPRECEDENTED INCREASE of revenue in the history of this Department."

The Chairman then proceeded to lecture my friend from Maine and myself thus gravely and learnedly:

"Notwithstanding these facts ARE KNOWN AND EXHIBITED TO PUBLIC VIEW, and to the inspection of gentlemen on the other side, still they say this Executive Department is going to ruin. Facts appear to have no effect on their minds, [ours was a lamentable case, Mr. President:] *arithmetical demonstration* produces no conviction. [Truly, sir, the Chairman's mathematics were put in requisition in vain.] This investigation," continued he, "has produced a very different impression on my mind. I viewed the present Postmaster General chiefly as a man of general talents, an able and eloquent advocate; but I now perceive him to be the practical man, the able *man of business*, capable of grasping, with ease, the vast system, and comprehending the intricate machinery of this Department, and of directing its energies to the GREATEST BENEFIT TO THE COUNTRY."

In this same speech of the Chairman, delivered in 1831, it further appears, by one of those *arithmetical demonstrations*, which so failed to enlighten me at the time, that the new Postmaster General had made savings, by letting out the mail contracts, to the annual amount of \$72,840 89, and that there was an immense increase of expedition, not to be estimated, besides a most flourishing condition of the finances of the Department. There are other curious things contained in this speech, which contrast strangely with the real state of affairs at this day. What is the language of the Chairman now? Sir, his words in this day's debate, as taken down at the time, are, that the Department is insolvent, beyond all its resources, to an amount approximating to \$300,000; and, with a view to palliate what he dares not either deny or justify, the fact stated by him in his minority report, that the Postmaster General has borrowed, on the credit of the Government, without any warrant of law, about \$450,000, is now attempted to be excused by him in debate, on the ground that *it was better that any thing should have been done, than that the Department should have been suffered to go down*. We know, sir, that the actual amount borrowed from, and overdrawn on banks, as stated by the officers of the Department themselves, was \$488,000. The gentleman admits that this conduct of the Postmaster General is directly in violation of the law and the constitution, under which Congress alone has the power to borrow money. He therefore says that he will not defend this violation of the constitution; it is, he says, *indefensible*. Nevertheless, he puts the best face he can upon it, and, like a practised advocate, while he disavows all pretence of justification for the act, tells us that without it the Department would have "sunk;" yes, sir, it would, he says, have "gone down." And then, he adds, "it was better that any thing should have been done than that the Department should have been suffered to go down."

Sir, I think we have reason, from past experience, to examine with some caution, not only the statements of the gentleman in reference to this department, which he has been so long defending, but his conclusions and reasonings from them. Is it, indeed, better that the constitution should be thus trampled under foot, and the laws thus disregarded, than that this department should be suffered to go down? The Postmaster General is an officer sworn to support the constitution. He is one of the sentinels on the watch-tower, to guard and defend it. So far from being above the laws, he is the creature of Congress. If he and his associates in the cabinet may thus, in defiance of the obligations which the constitution imposes, at any time usurp the powers of Congress, whenever in their judgment the plea of State necessity can be successfully made, wherein does this Government differ from a monarchy? What feature of a representative Government is left us?

The Secretary of the Treasury may, with such an excuse, loan out the whole of the public treasure, under the pretence that he could get interest on it, or that it would be safest so to dispose of it. The Secretary of War may, with quite as much propriety, borrow a million to go to war with any Power which has incurred his displeasure. He of the Navy may, by the same means, to-morrow contract for a fleet of gun-boats, and borrow the money to pay for it. It is in vain to say that here was, in the Postmaster General's opinion, a necessity for the loan; for, admit it, and still the question is, who shall judge of that necessity? Congress alone can decide that question; and any attempt on the part of a mere head of one department, or of all the heads of all the departments, to decide it, under any circumstances, is a usurpation of the legislative power, so flagrant, that the mere attempt to justify the means used, by the end so attained, is a gross abuse of common reason. It was the duty of the officers of this department, when its insolvency was first ascertained, frankly to have disclosed it to Congress. It was known two years ago, and no reason can be assigned for the concealment of it for such a length of time, consistently with the official obligations of those who controlled it. It may be, as is said, that Mr. Barry was kept in ignorance of it by those who have abused his credulous confidence, until things were in such a deplorable condition, that immediate relief, or the utter prostration of the department, was the only alternative offered him. It may be, that bad advisers, aided by the sense of shame resulting from the abuses which other men have practised upon his own confiding temper, may have for a time restrained him from the discharge of this duty. But let no man, especially let no American Senator, tell me that it was better the constitution and the laws should be struck down to save the Post Office. No, sir; better, far better, that this and every other department should, at any time, be arrested for the want of money, than that so gross a violation of the charter, which secures to us all the blessings of civil government, should have occurred to prevent the disclosure of the truth. It is immaterial to me whether the object of this concealment was to save appearances before an election, and thus gull the public again into another confiding vote, as the official reports on this subject, and the messages of the President himself, had often done before; or, whether the motives for it were merely such as I have before suggested. Be that as it may, not the concealment of the facts—bad as that was—not the misrepresentation of the facts, in all the reports, with whatever motive made, is half so worthy of censure, in the eye of a just and upright man, as the utter disregard of the constitution and the laws manifested in this usurpation of the legislative power. It yet remains to be seen whether Mr. Barry was driven to this very measure by the command of him who had power to compel him to do it, or leave the office; or whether he was seduced into the measure by the assurances of men about him, who may have told him that the loan could be paid out of the postages, without the necessity of ever disclosing it to the public.

There is another fact now appearing, in reference to this matter, which is more censurable in the officers of this department, whose views and defence are contained in the minority report, than any other matter which has been yet developed, except the negotiation of this Post Office loan. I allude to the misrepresentation now made and persevered in, that the whole amount of the deficit in this department, beyond its available resources, is only about three hundred thousand dollars! For this statement, the Rev. Obadiah B. Brown, the Chief Clerk, is, we know from the report, responsible. It is monstrous that such an effort to misrepresent should again be repeated, after all the falsehoods that have been uttered on this subject heretofore. That Mr. Barry should know no more about the matter, absent as he has been so long

every year, and last year absent as he was, I understand, for more than six months, is not strange. He has, as Postmaster General, an almost infinite variety of matters to superintend besides the finances of this department. But that those in this department who have the full knowledge of the facts should thus continue grossly to misrepresent them, is intolerable. One truth will establish their falsehood, and that is known to three-fourths of all the postmasters and mail contractors in the Union—that the department has generally (nearly all over the country) overdrawn on the postmasters in favor of contractors; and thus, by anticipating the future revenue, has really borrowed more money than is acknowledged on the credit of the Government. Whether a future administration will allow these loans, by way of set-off to such postmasters as have thus become accessory to such a violation of the laws, we shall see. But every one of them who, understanding the subject, thus makes himself a party to this fraud on the constitution, ought to be removed; and, when removed, he will probably be compelled to pocket the loss of his money. Yet, notorious as these overdrafts are, not one dollar is allowed for them in this minority, or rather Post Office report. Not the slightest notice is taken of them; and the chairman, deriving his views from these same officers, passes in debate the whole subject, without debiting the department with one cent in his estimate of 300,000 dollars on account of this item.

Sir, it was but three years ago, as I have shown you, that I was lectured by the chairman for doubting the perfect prosperity of this concern, which is now acknowledged to be insolvent by all parties, advocates and witnesses. The subsidized press then belched its sordid outpourings upon my old friend from Maine [Mr. HOLMES] and myself for daring to express our belief of the facts now acknowledged. We were denounced as calumniators of the power that fed them, by the whole hungry and voracious pack of partisan editors. I shall expect the same attacks again, not for our old statement, which is now agreed by every body to be true, but because the report presented by my friend from Ohio, [Mr. EWING], to which I have assented, goes still farther in exposing the falsehoods and corruptions of this department than we had gone. Yet, sir, this report, disgusting as its details of the misrepresentations and corruptions of this department are, does not, I verily believe, disclose one-fourth part of them. The reason for this may be easily understood. As chairman of the Judiciary Committee, I have been almost every day otherwise employed; and my colleagues, who were disposed to investigate the affairs of this department, have also been occupied in other business. Yet the development we have made, even under all these disadvantages, is as irrefutable, as it is sickening, in its recital of public speculation and fraud.

I cannot leave the subject of the finances of this executive department without adverting to the old excuse rendered by the chairman three years ago for the even then declining state of its surplus fund. He accounted for the fact that it had diminished in the first year, by pretending there had been an immense increase of mail facilities. The present report shows that P. and A. Bradley, the former Assistant Postmasters General, who have had more experience in the affairs of this department than all its present officers combined, after a laborious investigation, have ascertained errors, in the increase now pretended by way of excuse in part of its insolvency, to the amount of more than SEVEN MILLIONS OF DOLLARS. As to the new *post routes* ordered by Congress, which form a large part of Mr. Barry's pretended increased mail facilities—why, sir, I have the laws before me, in obedience to which John McLean established, from 1823 to 1828, more than seven hundred and eighty new post routes, at an expense of less than forty thousand dollars. During the same five years he increased—

The stage transportation - 1,949,850 miles.
And that on sulkies and on horseback 1,658,949 miles.

Making an increase of 3,608,799 miles.

For which I refer to his report in November, 1828, from which it appears, that on many of the routes then so improved, the mail was conveyed at the rate of more than one hundred miles a day; and notwithstanding all this, the surplus funds rapidly increased; so that the real surplus, left at the end of that year, was \$332,105 10. This only proves what every reflecting man will at once perceive must be the consequence of judiciously increased mail facilities—that is, a necessary increase of revenue. Yet the chairman's only excuse for the utter bankruptcy of the department is, the establishment of new post routes, (though fewer in number than those actually established by his predecessor in a corresponding period of five years,) and an increase of expedition and transportation.

Mr. C. concluded his remarks by an examination of the accounts for the large sums paid to printers and travelling agents during the Presidential election in 1832, for which he referred particularly to the report of the Committee; and sustained the views of Mr. EWING and Mr. SOUTHWARD.

Mr. GRUNDY remarked that the Senator from Delaware [Mr. CLAYTON] had certainly proved that he [Mr. GRUNDY] was in error some years ago, when he insisted that the Post Office Department was solvent, and would continue to be so under its then management; and that he [Mr. CLAYTON] was right in asserting that it would become insolvent; and the difference between them [Mr. G. and Mr. C.] seemed to consist in this that he [Mr. GRUNDY] formed his opinion according to the evidence before him, and according to that evidence his opinion was certainly the correct one; but the Senator from Delaware formed his opinion contrary to the evidence then existing, and it has turned out that his opinion thus formed, or rather his predictions, have been verified. Now, (said Mr. GRUNDY,) whether this was accidental or not, he would not undertake to say. It might be that the gentleman's mental vision was so penetrating as to enable him to put aside all those evidences on which ordinary minds have to rely for the ascertainment of facts, and at once, without the aid and in despite of the ordinary means, to see how things will be at some future period. It should, however, be remembered that that Senator stood alone, or nearly so, in the predictions he then uttered; for at the next session, he [Mr. GRUNDY] found much difficulty in resisting the effort then made to take the postage entirely off newspapers, which effort was predicated and advocated upon the idea that the Department could bear the diminution of its revenue, which would be produced by a repeal of the postage on newspapers.

Mr. CLAYTON said, that, in regard to the trouble which the chairman declared had been given by the investigation to the Post Office Department, he would recall the chairman's attention to the fact, that months have elapsed since several most important resolutions of the Senate, calling for information, were adopted; yet, not a line of reply, to the calls by him referred to, had yet been furnished. These resolutions may have been troublesome to answer, in one sense of that word. They may have been distressing; because, if answered fairly, they would have disclosed the full extent of most of the abuses and corruptions in the department. But if, by troublesome, the chairman means that the department has been caused additional labor, we have not the slightest evidence that the calls I allude to have employed any more workmen, or even excited any attention.

Among these calls, was one resolution offered about three months ago by a member of the committee, calling,

among other things, for an account of the postages due prior to the 1st of July, 1829, which have since been collected. The answer to this would, if fairly given, have been sufficient to have shown the utter fallacy of the whole foundation on which the chairman has, by the advice of the officers of this department, rested his minority report. When the resolution, authorizing the committee to institute this investigation, by clothing it with power to send for persons and papers, was first adopted, about ten weeks ago, it was preceded by a debate, in which I availed myself of the opportunity of warning the gentleman from Ohio, who offered that resolution, that no answer would be given to many of the most important calls made by him through the other resolutions which he had caused to be adopted, until it would be too late for the committee to avail itself of the information thus obtained. I spoke, sir, from the experience I gained on the investigating committee three years ago. Similar inquiries, made by that committee, were then entirely neglected by this department; the excuse rendered for the neglect being, that there was not enough time to answer them. Every effort was then used to baffle, and, at last, to suppress that investigation. Is it not now, sir, enough to test human patience, that, after all the neglect to answer these resolutions of the Senate, calling for information, an advocate of this department should be found to boast that its doors have been thrown wide open to the investigation, and that it has boldly and promptly met the light? Sir, aware, as I am, of the shuffling disposition which some of those interested to shun disclosure have hitherto manifested, I now again predict, that the calls to which I refer, made months ago, and not yet answered, will not be answered at all; or, if answered, the reports will come in at the very close of the session, when they know that no committee can examine them. If answered as they should be, the report of the Senator from Tennessee, in regard to the finances of the department, would not have an inch of ground left for it to stand upon.

The chairman does me more than justice when he ascribes to me the sole merit of having first announced the approach of the insolvency of this department in 1831. Has the gentleman so soon forgotten his old partner about that time, claimed as a member of the celebrated firm of "Felix Grundy and the d—l?" My old and able friend from Maine, [Mr. C. was here supposed to allude to Mr. Holmes, late Senator,] though little versed in the tenets of that school, did foresee (and, foreseeing, did, in 1831, join with me in announcing) the approaching bankruptcy of this department. At that day, he shared with me in all the denunciations of the *Post Office press*. From the same source, those who have ventured with me to encounter it again, may expect the same treatment.

In reference to the printers' accounts, the chairman thinks the statements of the *Blue Book* are well enough. Why, sir, in every instance mentioned in the report, the amounts stated in that book to have been paid to them are grossly underrated. True and Green, of the Boston Statesman, were paid nearly \$30,000; yet the amounts appearing on the *Blue Book* are less than 7,000 dollars. The sums paid them for printed blanks alone were about 16,000 dollars. Similar impositions on the public are practised in publishing the sums paid to Hill and Barton, of the "New Hampshire Patriot," Shadrach Penn, of the "Louisville Public Advertiser," &c. But the excuse rendered by the chairman for these misrepresentations, by which the people are prevented from knowing the amount of public money paid to these printers, is, that the sums set down in the *Blue Book* MAY (he knows not) have been for the printing only; that is, for the mere typesetting and presswork, without counting the cost of paper on which the printing is done. So that, by his rule, whenever hereafter a printer presents his account for an advertisement, he should not include in it the price of so

much of the newspaper as is occupied by the types, but make a separate charge of that, as in no way connected with the price of the printed advertisement.

True and Green, therefore, he thinks, received 16,000 dollars for the printed blanks, (besides about 14,000 dollars for wrapping paper and twine,) but only 6 or 7,000 dollars for typesetting and presswork. *Ergo*, says the chairman, the Blue Book may perhaps tell the truth. But the gentleman's excuse is in the very teeth of the resolution of the 14th July, 1832, which directs that this book shall contain "a correct list of all printers in any way employed by any department." Sir, nothing is clearer than that the sums received, not only for paper, but for wrapping paper and twine, should also have been set down, in order that the public might be able to judge of the extent and value of these monopolies to newspaper editors, for furnishing to this department these articles.

The chairman has further said, that the account of Mr. Bates, one of the travelling agents in New England and New York, in 1832, is not set down under the head of the incidental expenses of the City Post Office, at New York; in this he is entirely mistaken. The document annexed to the report does not contain any charge for, or other notice whatever of, this secret agency. It is, with other things, entirely concealed in the sweeping item of 6,005 dollars for incidental expenses of the post office at New-York; and, what is remarkable, this is the only post office in the whole Union whose incidental expenses are thus included in the incidental expenses of the General Post Office. As to Mr. Gouverneur, the committee have attached no blame to him. He has done his duty, and no more; and the chairman ought, long since, to have known that no man among us intended to censure him for any thing.

I congratulate the chairman on the change of his tone from that employed by him, on the subject of this department, three years ago. Then, all was vaunt and boast as to its finances. He has now learned, that, in reference to this whole subject, the better part of valor is discretion. His tones are lowered, and, instead of daring justification, all is now but apology and excuse for violated law and gross malversation. I wish to detain the Senate no longer, until the resolutions, offered by the committee, shall regularly come before us. As to the number to be printed, I have but little care on that subject.

Mr. GRUNDY said that he believed that the Senator from Delaware was correct in saying that he was not the only person who formerly entertained the opinion that the department would become insolvent. He has referred to a former Senator from Maine, who, he says, was a member of an ancient firm in which he (Mr. G.) was a partner. In regard to that absent gentleman, he (Mr. G.) would now say, that for him and his opinions he always entertained a high respect, and he did concur with the Senator from Delaware, in his conjectures in regard to the insolvency of the Post Office Department. In regard to the ancient firm, he (Mr. G.) would say to the Senator from Delaware that it was dissolved in 1829, and he got entirely rid of a certain member of it. That the Senator from Maine, although not in partnership from the time last mentioned, kept along with him pretty comfortably until 3d of March last; and it may be, that in due time he (Mr. G.) may get rid of the Senator from Delaware.

Mr. CLAYTON said, that he had never belonged to that celebrated firm of which his Satanic Majesty was so conspicuous a member. The chairman need be under no apprehensions of his joining it; for he had seen that at least one of its members, even the chairman himself, had lately gone into partnership with the Post Office Department, which his own report declared to be utterly bankrupt. I cannot, said Mr. C., agree to be in any way connected with that insolvent concern.

Mr. FORSYTH rose, and asked if the question was on printing the reports alone, or the reports and documents?

Mr. SOUTHARD replied, that the documents which it would be proper to append to the reports had not yet been selected by the Chairman of the Committee, [Mr. GURNEY,] and the Senator from Ohio, [Mr. EWING;] therefore, it was only the two reports which the question embraced.

Mr. WEBSTER said that he was not a very good judge of the number of documents which ought to be distributed. Yet he could not suppress his profound surprise that there should be any member of the Senate who did not consider this as one of those great occasions which called for a general diffusion of knowledge among the people. The Post Office Department is a most interesting department to the whole people. Every class of citizens has a direct interest in its efficient and correct administration. More than any other department it is known, in its local administration, to the community. The people are taxed, willingly, it is true, but very severely, for letter postage; for the purpose of securing a safe, and rapid, and extensive communication between the different portions of the country. This department now stands charged with very great maladministration. The majority of a respectable committee have made a report, very imposing in the style in which it is presented, and not less so in its substance. The minority of the committee have taken a somewhat different view of the matter. It is proposed to publish their report also, with that of the majority. The question is, whether an unusual number of this document shall be printed and circulated? The gentleman from Georgia must admit that the printing of more documents than are necessary for our own immediate use is according to the practice and usage of the Senate; and that this is a mere question of how many; because the gentleman knows that he is in the habit daily of giving his vote for the printing of a larger number of every document than the members of the Senate have occasion for. How long was it since the gentleman from Georgia voted for 6,000 copies of the veto message on the Bank? How long was it since he voted for 5,000 or 6,000 of the veto on the land bill—although that document was altogether useless to any legislative purpose?

The gentleman from Georgia had said that this report would be published in all the newspapers. He dissented from this view. It might be correct as to the veto message, because a newspaper would contain that. But what newspaper could contain the whole of this document? There could be no more reasonable application of the contingent fund than to expend it in furnishing the people with intelligence on this important subject. It was one of general, and not of local interest. There was no portion of the country where there were not some who feel an interest in the condition of the Post Office Department. The proposition was a perfectly fair one, because the antidote was to be sent out with the poison, if it be poison. The views in favor of the department, and the views adverse to it, were both presented. The proposition was, therefore, an entirely equal one.

But, said Mr. W., my purpose in rising is to suggest to the gentleman, who is the chairman of the committee, that it must happen, in the progress of the session, whether this report shall come up for consideration or not, that there will be questions arising which must bring on an examination into the conduct of the Post Office Department. The gentleman is aware that the general appropriation bill is now before the Committee on Finance. That bill I expect to be able to report to-morrow, or certainly the next day. It contains some appropriations for this department, and on these a discussion must arise. Wishing to put the gentleman in a condition to meet this discussion, I will now suggest some few points on which

I hope to hear him say something when the discussion shall take place.

First. Is it admitted that the Post Office Department is insolvent; and that the only question between the majority and minority of the committee is, whether the amount of the insolvency is 400,000 dollars or 800,000 dollars?

It is unavoidable, not only that our own opinions, but the opinions of the country, should be made up on some of the great points; for few will find it convenient to go into the extent of details which the report contains. Is it true, then, that in a time of profound peace, and of great activity of business, that enormous insolvency has occurred?

Secondly. Is it true that the Postmaster General has contracted loans to the amount of 450,000 dollars, without the authority of law? that he has withheld the fact of his so borrowing money from the knowledge of Congress, session after session?

The gentleman from Georgia gives up this point, and thinks it was excusable; but thinks that the conduct of a former Secretary of War is a parallel case with this.

Mr. FORSYTH said he knew nothing of the facts, except what he had caught on the reading of the report. It was for the Postmaster General to make out the necessity.

Mr. WEBSTER: Certainly. If the statement was true it was not justified by the gentleman from Georgia; but, under certain circumstances, the gentleman thought it might be excused; and if the necessity shall be made out, and the circumstances are sufficiently strong, the act is to be pardoned. The Secretary of War, in the case which has been referred to, borrowed a sum of money to meet a legal demand on the treasury, and communicated the fact to Congress, and to the whole world. In this case, in a time of peace, while the professed policy of the administration was to draw within the most economical limits the expenses of the departments, the Post Office Department has been borrowing money without the authority of law; and the fact had been withheld from the knowledge of Congress for many months, if not for years. The gentleman from Tennessee will be called upon, when the general appropriation bill shall come up, to say if this charge be true, and if the conduct of the Postmaster General be defensible or not.

He will also be called on say whether the practice has been, that the proposals of bidders for a contract have been opened and made known to other bidders; since the gentleman has introduced into his new bill a clause providing against the opening of sealed contracts.

Mr. GRUNDY: I wish the gentleman would let me answer that question now, that I may get it off my mind.

Mr. WEBSTER: Certainly; I shall cheerfully let the gentleman have an opportunity to clear his conscience.

Mr. GRUNDY: That clause was entirely the suggestion of my own mind. If ever there should be a time when a wish may exist in the department to favor any particular contractors, it will be best to introduce a clause to check that disposition by a positive enactment. Not that I have known, as yet, of any such transaction.

The Senate then adjourned.

WEDNESDAY, JUNE 11, 1834.

Mr. LEIGH said, the Senate, perhaps, might remember that he had taken occasion, some time ago, to call its attention to the system of extra allowances to mail contractors, as exhibited by the Blue Book, and had referred to a very remarkable page in that register, containing an unusual number of extra allowances, and to large amounts, to mail contractors in Virginia. On that occasion, of course, he had mentioned the names of the contractors, to whom those allowances were there stated to have been

made; and, as the subject before the Senate was a memorial from Culpeper, he took notice that one of these contractors was a resident of that county, and was very active in politics. This gentleman considered this bare mention of the facts of his case as an imputation, against which it behooved him to defend himself before the public; and, without denying the facts at all, he entered into a labored vindication of his integrity and purity, and of the fairness and propriety of the extra allowances made to him. In doing this, his own conscience had been his accuser, the witness against him, and the judge. He [Mr. LEIGH] had made no accusation, given no testimony, pronounced no sentence. His object was general—to call the attention of the Senate to the extra allowances exhibited by the Blue Book—to show that extra allowances, so numerous, and to such vast amounts, were directly contrary to the principle of the laws regulating the Post Office Department; that they constituted a system of favoritism, which, if not corrected, must work corruption; and that this abuse had been carried to greater excess in Virginia than in any other State of the Union.

He had never doubted that extra allowances might be made to mail contractors without design to give favors, without intent to corrupt; and might be received without the guilt of corruption. He had aimed his censure at the general system; he had entered into no examination of particular cases of abuse. Another of the mail contractors, to whom Mr. LEIGH had referred on that occasion, (because his name was found on the same remarkable page of the Blue Book, and to whom a very large extra allowance was there quoted,) correctly understanding the purpose and temper of his remarks, and having a conscience wholly void of offence, had vindicated his contract after quite a different manner: he had shown that the Blue Book misrepresented his case. Messrs. Peck and Welford were stated, in the Blue Book, as being entitled to an annual allowance, *per contract*, of \$5,221; and to an annual *extra* allowance of \$6,557. Now, Mr. Welford had exhibited to him the most satisfactory evidence that the utmost amount of extra allowance made to him and his co-contractor, was 2,000 dollars per annum for extra services; and this was entered on the margin of the original contract; that even this extra allowance was continued for only a year and three-quarters, so that they had received only 3,500 dollars of the extra allowance; that they, at least, were no favorites; that the improvements, as they are called, on the route next above theirs, had been grievously injurious to them; and that the system of extra allowances, instead of operating beneficially to them, had given them just cause of complaint, and had been the subject of complaint to the department. Mr. LEIGH thought it proper to mention the facts, of which he had thus been informed, in justice to Peck & Welford. But he had another reason for mentioning them. The Committee on the Post Office Department had done as much as could reasonably have been expected of them; they had detected numerous and enormous abuses; they had exposed many errors in the reports made to Congress; but much, doubtless, remained yet unrevealed. They had pointed out instances in the Blue Book, of payments reported to have been made, much smaller in amount than the sums in fact allowed and paid; but they had not pointed out the instances of allowances there stated to have been made, far exceeding the sums in truth allowed. This case of Peck & Welford was one instance of a misrepresentation, or inaccuracy, of the latter kind; and Mr. LEIGH had no doubt there were other instances of the same kind, equally remarkable, and, he would add, equally unaccountable and inexcusable.

The first time he had cast his eyes upon the Blue Book, he had been forcibly struck with the fact, that the Register of officers of Government, other than those of the Post Office Department, Executive, Legislative, and

Judicial, including the army and navy list,* the public printers, and the Directors of the Bank of the United States, and its branches, occupied *one hundred and eighty-six* pages; while the officers and contractors of the Post Office Department filled *two hundred and sixty-seven* pages of that volume. It was not too much to say, that at least one moiety of the immense patronage of the Government, was exercised through the Post Office Department. How the other patronage of the Executive had been exercised, Mr. LEIGH would not, in the present state of his information, pretend to say; but how the patronage of the Post Office Department had been exercised, the reports of this committee—he meant the report of the minority, as well as that of the majority, of the committee, for, as to matters of fact, there was very little difference between them—but too plainly showed. He had heard the disclosures made, and admitted in these reports, with astonishment and indignation. For abuses so gross and palpable, the attempt to find even plausible excuses was a vain and hopeless labor.

It was now admitted, on all sides, that the Postmaster General, in borrowing money at six per cent. interest, from time to time, to the amount of near half a million, had committed a direct and plain violation of the constitution; and the Senators from Tennessee and Georgia, [Mr. GUNDR and Mr. FORSYTH,] both, in the most explicit terms, admitted that this was such a violation of the constitution as could nowise be justified. The most they contended for was, that an excuse might be found for it in the necessity of the case. There might, indeed, be a degree of necessity that might excuse violations of the constitution, in sudden and unavoidable emergencies, for which no provision had, or could have, been made by law; and when such a case of necessity was made out, the officer yielding to it ought to be excused and indemnified; but care should be taken, always, that the case should not be drawn into precedent. This was the use of bills of indemnity on such occasions. The gentleman from Georgia mentioned an instance of a head of a department borrowing money, without authority of law, and, therefore, in violation of the constitution, yet under such circumstances that his country not only excused the act, and refunded the money, but was most grateful, and gave the officer the highest evidence of its gratitude for the service. He reminded us that Mr. Monroe, while Secretary of War, borrowed money of the banks for the use of his department; borrowed it at a time when the treasury was empty, and the Government unable to negotiate a loan in the regular manner; borrowed it on his own responsibility, because it was absolutely necessary to enable the department to furnish those essential supplies for General Jackson's army, which enabled General Jackson to make his successful and glorious defence of New Orleans. And the gentleman said that this violation of the constitution, in effect, elevated two persons (the Secretary and the General) to the Presidency. This was the first time Mr. L. had ever heard it surmised that Mr. Monroe owed his elevation to the Presidency to the public confidence and gratitude he had earned by this piece of service, or, indeed, any one act of public service. And, as to General Jackson, it is well known he had regarded the ascription of praise to Mr. Monroe, in this particular, as a detraction from the credit he claimed for himself exclusively, for the successful defence of New Orleans. The share of praise bestowed on Mr. Monroe had excited the General's warm indignation, as the gentleman from New Jersey [Mr. SOUTHARD] could avouch, if any gentleman wanted information on the subject. The gentleman from Georgia was better acquainted with the history of those times than Mr. L. pretended to be, and might be able to explain why and how Mr. Monroe's violation of the constitution, in the instance alluded to, contributed to elevate him to the Presidency.

[Mr. FORSYTH explained; but his remarks were not distinctly heard by the reporter. He was understood to say he had not expressed any approbation of the conduct of Mr. Monroe in negotiating the loan alluded to, nor given any opinion of the propriety of it.]

Mr. LEIGH said he had not attributed to the gentleman from Georgia any opinion as to the propriety or impropriety of Mr. Monroe's conduct; he only attributed to him the words he used, that this violation of the constitution by Mr. Monroe was the operating cause of the elevation of two persons to the Presidency. However, the only question of importance was, whether a precedent was to be found in Mr. Monroe's conduct, upon the principle of which the borrowing of money by the Postmaster General could be excused? The gentleman from Massachusetts [Mr. WEBSTER] had already pointed out many and strong points of diversity between the two transactions. Mr. LEIGH would not repeat what he had said. He only desired to remark, that the plea of necessity could never furnish any excuse for a violation of the constitution and the laws, by any officer of Government, if the necessity which he relied on for his excuse was a necessity created by himself. The necessity under which Mr. Monroe acted was sudden, unexpected, unavoidable; not produced by any conduct of his own, by any neglect of duty, by any mismanagement or wasteful expenditure of the funds appropriated for his department; it was a necessity suddenly imposed upon him by the operations of war, over which he had no control. The Postmaster General had created the necessity, which was now pleaded in his excuse. He, himself, had extended the operations of his department beyond its financial capacity. The deficiency of the funds of the department to meet the expenditure must have been at first trivial; he ought to have known when the expenditure exceeded the revenue as soon as the fact occurred, and to have retrenched the expenditure; which he might easily have done, by cutting off the extra services of the mail contractors, and so saving the extra allowances. The deficiency of the funds must have grown to its present amount by slow degrees. The deficiency was then imputable to himself, and was, of itself, a palpable instance of misconduct or neglect. He had deliberately created the necessity to borrow money; and that necessity, instead of being an excuse for violating the constitution, was an aggravation of his fault.

In speaking of the Postmaster General, and imputing the whole fault to him, Mr. LEIGH said he had followed the example of other gentlemen in the debate, who had referred only to him, because he was the head of the department. But he apprehended that the whole fault was not justly imputable to this officer; that many abuses were laid at his door, which were more justly imputable to others, who stood in the back ground, and were willing enough to see him bear the whole blame, if they could be screened from observation and censure. If the President was right in the doctrines he had promulgated to the nation, he was responsible for all the abuses of the Post Office Department, whether he was actually a party to them or not; but Mr. L. held him to no such responsibility. He would gladly be informed, whether the Postmaster General had negotiated his several loans of money without the President's knowledge; without any previous authority given by him, or subsequent sanction? Was it possible that the Postmaster General had taken such measures, without apprizing the President of his proceedings, and without his approbation or sanction? When was it that the President was first informed that the Postmaster General was going to borrow, or had borrowed money? Was it before the first loan was negotiated, or at any intermediate time before the last? From the moment the President was informed of the proceedings, he sanctioned them, and made them his own, by retaining the Postmaster General in office; and, thence-

forth, the President became really responsible for this unconstitutional borrowing of money. And Mr. L. hoped, that, in the further investigations which this subject required, some information might be revealed, which would enable him to determine the just share of the blame that ought to be imputed to the Postmaster General, and whether, and how much of the censure ought to fall on the President himself. Justice to the subordinate required that he should not bear the whole blame of what the chief authorized or sanctioned.

Mr. EWING said he would very briefly notice a few points touched in debate: and first the suggestions of the honorable Chairman, as to the legality of allowing a clerk in the Department to be a contractor. The honorable Senator did not seem to be aware that there is a provision in the act of 1825 expressly prohibiting it.

Mr. GRUNDY explained that he had said there was no legislative provision which conflicted with the view he had taken. He had now doubts if that legislative provision covered all the ground.

Mr. EWING resumed. The honorable Senator inquired of me for the provision of law, and, being referred to it, he proceeded to construe it away; and tells us that the law in which this provision is found, was principally intended to regulate the conduct of country postmasters and their clerks. In this he is entirely mistaken. The act of 1825 is entitled "An act to reduce into one the several acts establishing and regulating the Post Office Department." And it is what it purports to be. And, as the 42d section provides that "no clerk employed in any post office shall be a contractor," there can be little doubt that it is intended to refer to clerks in the General Post Office, as well as in the offices of deputy postmasters. If he would look at the mischief which the law was intended to guard against, it would remove the doubt of the honorable Chairman himself. There is little danger of bias, or influence, or partiality, between those who grant contracts here, and clerks in the post offices in remote parts of the Union. And there is no danger that such clerks will inspect the bids of other persons, and thereby be enabled to regulate their own bids accordingly; but a clerk in the General Post Office has this advantage over every other person who may be a bidder; and the object of the law was to prevent this, and to prevent partiality towards a dependant or favorite at the Department. The memory of the honorable Chairman, as to ancient transactions, is better than his observation of passing events. He remembers a case in which Phineas Bradley, then a clerk in the General Post Office, had, some twenty years ago, a share in a contract to the amount of *one hundred and twelve dollars* a year, and that, too, before there was any law forbidding it; but, although he has been long Chairman of the Committee on the Post Office and Post Roads, and although this contract for *four thousand five hundred dollars* a year was given to Doctor Temple, also a clerk, under his very eye, and against the act of 1825, yet this old case of Doctor Bradley is made his moving cause for legislation, and the act of the Department, in granting the contract to Doctor Temple, is passed over and excused. I shall not vote for that provision in the honorable Senator's bill. One express statutory provision is enough, if it be regarded, and I do not know that a duplicate act would the better ensure obedience.

A single word, said Mr. E., in reply to the Senator from New Hampshire [Mr. HILL.] That honorable Senator has read a labored defence of the Post Office Department generally, as a branch of the Government, and has succeeded in proving that it is a great convenience to the country, and, on the whole, a very good thing. To this part of his lecture I can offer no objections, for it falls in with my own preconceived notions on this subject, and I believe with the general opinion of the country;

and the honorable Senator will be comforted when I assure him that it is not the Department itself, as an arm of the Government, to which I object, but to the abuse of it by those who were appointed to watch over and direct it. And that there is not the slightest disposition to injure or destroy the thing itself, but rather to preserve it from that destruction with which it is threatened by those into whose hands it has unfortunately fallen; so that the honorable Senator and his friends are not likely to be deprived, through the agency of the committee, of any convenience, or comfort, or profit which that Department now affords them. He says that, of all the departments of Government, this is the only one that has sustained itself. Very true still, and this is no new discovery. It has been, and at the time of its establishment it was expected to be, a source of revenue. He might as well say, when we complain of abuses in the custom-houses, that our complaints are all unreasonable, because the revenues of the nation are supplied from the customs. It is thought that there may be abuses by those who both collect and disburse, as by those who merely disburse the public money; and when that abuse is found to exist, we cannot give those guilty of it credit for creating the fund, which, as mere instruments of the law, they receive. They should be held amenable to the same extent as if they received it out of the treasury.

The Senator says that there are as many miles of mail transportation in Vermont as in New Hampshire. This I presume correct; indeed, I never questioned it. It is the amount of money paid for transportation in New Hampshire, beyond that paid in Vermont, that attracted the attention of the committee. If small, it would not have been noticed, as it might then have been accounted for by the routes running through both States, and the contractors accidentally residing in New Hampshire. But the difference is so very great, that it can be explained only on the supposition that the New Hampshire contractors are favored in some way, either in extent of contracts or in compensation, that their neighbors are not. The Senator from Tennessee says that *newspaper privilege* is granted to contractors pursuant to a provision of law. Be it so. It is not that privilege alone to which the committee objected, even as an abuse, and there are many abuses which are not violations of law. But we object to placing numerous contracts, covering almost a whole State, in the hands of a partisan editor, and accompanying those contracts with the newspaper privilege, which, in effect, gives his papers the almost exclusive circulation in the State. In answer to the inquiries made by the Senator from Virginia, near me, [Mr. LEIGH,] I have only to say, that the committee did not discover the misstatement in the Blue Book, of the extra allowance to Peck & Wellford, which he has noticed and explained. The committee was aware that Peck & Wellford had been very hardly dealt with in an adjustment of their route, and that of Wm. Smith, which runs parallel to theirs, by which they lost the transportation of passengers, which had used to be carried on their line. Their case was considered one of great hardship, but it is one which does not seem to admit of a remedy. The error in the Blue Book, attributing to them an extra allowance, which was never made them, though it had escaped my notice, does not at all surprise me. It was but a small matter of but a few thousand dollars, and therefore not likely to attract attention, when so many and much larger cases were under examination.

After Mr. E. had concluded,

Mr. SPRAGUE said, at this late hour of the day, I do not intend to say a word, except as to the precise question before the Senate, that is, the number of copies there shall be printed. The number proposed is certainly large, and opposition has been made to it on two grounds: First, that the matter is not of sufficient im-

portance; and, second, that the distribution will be effected by other means.

It is said by some that it is not of sufficient moment to justify us in ordering so large a number to be printed. And one of the reasons assigned by the gentleman from Georgia is that which tends to throw the whole matter into doubt, because there are two reports: a report and the counter statement of the minority; and it is suggested in a manner which might carry the idea that every thing contained in the report of the majority is denied by the report of the minority, and hence uncertainty may exist as to the whole. I do not so understand it. I learn, from the reading of these reports, that the difference between the two consists in matters of argument and inference, and very little as to matters of fact.

Sir, as to most of the matters of fact, I am sure that the intelligent gentlemen composing the committee, of the majority and minority, could not differ, because they are matters of record; and any man who can read, can, by the inspection of those records, determine what the contents are. I say, upon listening to those two papers, I do not understand that, as to the leading prominent facts, with a few exceptions, there is any material difference between them. The difference, in the views which they take of the argument, and the inferences which they deduce from it, is comparatively of little importance.

Let the people be put in possession of the facts, and I have the most perfect confidence that they will make the true deduction. Holding, as I do, that the matters of fact disclosed in the report of the majority, and not denied by the paper of the minority; not denied in the speeches of the minority; holding that these matters of undisputed fact are not only important, but of the gravest moment to the whole people of the United States, and to the character of our institutions, I, for one, am desirous that the people should be put in possession of that information.

As to the other point, can this be efficiently accomplished by other means? It is said that the newspapers will distribute these reports throughout the whole country. If that were the fact, unfortunately it so happens that the newspapers on the one side and the other on the political questions of the day, are so directly opposed in other statements of facts, as well as arguments and inferences, that the one class of persons disbelieve almost every thing contained in the papers supported by their opponents: and hence it often happens that the documents contained in a paper will not be credited by those who do not believe in its political sentiments.

In illustration of this I would remark, that I have actually been written to by some of my political friends to ask me to send them the official paper, published at Washington, containing the President's Protest, because the friends of the administration could not be convinced that such a document had emanated from the Chief Magistrate, and they would not believe it. I tried to get them the *Globe*, but unfortunately the 40,000 copies, which are said to have been printed, had disappeared, and I could not obtain it. If it had been proper to record that upon our journal, I would gladly have voted for the printing of 30,000, in order to have convinced the people that it was an official paper, and sent to us by the President.

Now, I am afraid that some will disbelieve that the President ever arrogated such powers as are asserted in the Protest. I am anxious that the Post Office report should go in such a form, being an official document, from the Senate, as to convince the people, universally, that it is genuine, and that such a report has been made by a committee of this body. I wish them also to be put in possession of the evidence thereto annexed, and I know of no better way than publishing a large number for distribution. But it will not be universally published by

the newspapers: there would be much difficulty in getting it into the newspapers generally; many of those which are printed in the country could not contain it.

I shall vote for the number proposed, believing it to be a useful, and, in fact, economical expenditure, as it will tend to the correction of most enormous and unprecedented squandering of the public treasure.

Mr. MANGUM said, it being on his motion that the printing of this extraordinary number of copies of the reports and documents had been proposed, he thought it necessary for him to make some few remarks on the subject. He was very much gratified that the friends of the administration were not unwilling that this number should be printed, because of having the slightest apprehension of injury to their cause. He was also gratified to find that the only objection to have them printed was, because it would involve an extravagant waste of public money. Though glad to harmonize with gentlemen in any thing that will tend to save the public money from waste, yet he regarded the circulation of these documents as so important, that he would be willing to print 50,000 copies of them. What had this administration chiefly rested on? It was on economy, reform, and, above all, on their purity. Sir, said he, we have had, for six months, an incessant war waged against this monster at Philadelphia—the Bank. Was this because the friends of the administration believed that such an institution was not necessary for the purposes of the Government? On the contrary, the administration and its friends believed that some such institution was necessary. The war, therefore, was waged because of its alleged corruptions and impurities. He should be glad to find that they were as ready to stop these corruptions elsewhere as in the Bank. As to any corruptions existing in this institution, he would be willing, at any time, to join in ferreting them out. As he would not join in unfounded invectives against this Bank, he would always be ready to give to the charges against it the fullest investigation. He believed in his heart that there was more abuse and more corruption in this administration than there ever has existed in any other period of the Government; and he was anxious, therefore, to give the evidence to his constituents on which his mind had been brought to this conclusion. Sir, what was the situation of this Post Office Department previous to the present administration? It was in a prosperous condition; with increasing routes and increasing facilities of communication between the different parts of the country; it was sustaining itself from its own resources, and was flourishing, up to December last, in the highest degree. What was its condition now? Insolvent to the amount of \$800,000; and the evidence was conclusive, that corruption had penetrated through all its recesses. In the administration of the former Postmaster General, when mail facilities were afforded to an unexampled degree, far beyond what they are now, yet the department was remarkable for its punctuality, and the strength of its resources; now, it was wholly bankrupt. His great object, therefore, was to make these facts known to those most interested. When an objection was made to the expense of printing this extra number of the reports, and he compared that objection with the defences he heard of these extra allowances of the department, he turned a dull ear to such objections. We have fallen, said Mr. M., on strange times, when we hear gentlemen on this floor defending such extravagant and unlawful waste of the public money as these extra allowances amount to. To hear an honorable gentleman, who has heretofore been regarded as an advocate for strict economy, defending these abuses, was one of the most alarming signs of the times, and showed the startling fact, that the Hero not only conquers his enemies, but conquers his friends.

He had understood that 40,000 copies of the President's protest had been printed and distributed. Was it not as

important for the people to know of these great abuses in the Post Office Department, as it was to know that the President had been insulted by the Senate for placing his hands on the public treasury? Was it to be expected, as contended by the gentleman from Georgia, that all these documents will be read in the public newspapers? They would not publish the documents. They would publish only the reports, and those in detached parts. He, for his part, did not wish this important information to be given to the people in broken doses. He wished it to be given to them in volumes, for the purposes of reference. They will then be able to estimate the amount of the abuses practised under a corrupt administration; they will then be able to estimate the gigantic influences which have been at work for electioneering purposes. He was willing to send all the documents to the people—to send the bane with the antidote—to send the document of the able chairman of the committee, [Mr. Grundy,] with the report of the majority.

Mr. M. said he knew not how the censure of the public was to be distributed among the different officers of the department, or whether the President, who claims all responsibility for himself, is to take the whole blame. He knew not whether, if his popularity was as unbroken as it was when the proclamation overshadowed the land, it would bear him out in sanctioning these abuses. Perhaps his popularity was not as great now as it was then. Perhaps the head of the Post Office Department is less censurable than the President, and yet may be made the scapegoat. But let the documents go out to the people—they are intelligent—have been accustomed to serve on juries, and will render a true verdict according to the evidence. The honorable gentleman from Georgia had been voting all the winter for extra printing; and the question with him now is, not as to the propriety of the printing, but as to the number of copies. He, Mr. M., should vote for the printing of the largest number, because he was convinced of the importance of disseminating the information as widely as possible. Let the people be informed that the whole force of the administration was employed in electioneering. His State (North Carolina) was considered debatable ground, and the administration had set the whole of their engines at work to gain it. He did not know what would be the result of the contest, but he believed the safest plan would be to let the information go abroad, and to let the people decide for themselves.

The question being taken, was decided in the affirmative: Yeas 26, nays 14; and 30,000 copies of the reports and documents were ordered to be printed accordingly.

JUNE 27, 1834.

The Senate having taking up the Report of the Committee on the condition of the Post Office, and the resolutions with which the report concludes:

Mr. KNIGHT said: Mr. President, my intention in rising is to correct one or two statements in a memorial of F. P. Blair. I did not know that such a memorial had ever been presented to the Senate until I saw a copy of it in the Globe. Sir, it is stated in the report of the Committee, that the papers containing the accounts of Mr. Blair were not sent to them until it was too late to examine them in time for the report. I was not present when these accounts were sent for by the Committee, and, therefore know nothing except from the statements of the other members; but the Chairman was present, and can give full information on that point, and no doubt his statement will be fully accredited by the memorialist,* if the other members' are not.

* Mr. Grundy read a statement confirming the report of the Committee.

Sir, in the course of the examination I called at the Department to see the items contained in the account of incidental expenses; it was a very cursory examination, and I did not even take the amount of Mr. Blair's account, nor is his name noted on the paper among my minutes. I was not seeking particular accounts to compare with the statements in the Blue Book. My examination was not with that view; it related to another part of the business. I recollect stating to the Committee that those accounts were in the Department: they sent for them, as I was informed, and they were not sent to the Committee with the other papers, nor were they sent until it was too late for the Committee to examine them. And this is all I know of that matter.

Sir, I will notice some other erroneous statements contained in this memorial.

Mr. Blair, in his memorial says: "The routes advertised in 1832, which are the ones to which the Committee allude, were those in the New England States and the State of New York, and the new routes in all the States and Territories of the U. States, making together 2044. The letting of the routes in New York, amounting to 835, was postponed on account of the Cholera raging here at that time, and they were re-advertised for six weeks longer: making the number advertised and re-advertised, amount together to 2879—more than five times the number advertised by Mr. Green. The statement X, to which Messrs. Ewing, Clayton, and Knight refer, shows all this, and they could not, therefore, be ignorant of the true state of the facts."

Now, sir, let us examine the facts stated in this place. I yesterday went to the Post Office Department, and asked for a copy of the routes advertised in the Globe by Mr. Blair at the time referred to: they were given to me, and I now hold them in my hand, ready to be examined by any person who desires to do so. They are certified by Mr. Hobbie, the Assistant Postmaster General. I have enumerated them, and they amount to 1039, and not 2044, as stated by Mr. Blair. The 835 he states that were to be found in New York has dwindled, on counting, to the number of 335, making a difference of 500. And the whole number of Routes advertised and re-advertised, amount to 2879, as stated by the memorialist: but the Post Office documents show the total amount advertised and re-advertised was 1374, and no more: not one-half the number stated by Mr. Blair. And this man accuses the Committee of wilful misrepresentations.

The Committee on the Post Office and Post Roads appointed three printers in the city of Washington to examine the account of Mr. Blair's charge of printing, and they reported the amount paid the Globe \$ 8386 50
Actual charge for the same advertisements in
the National Intelligencer - - 2763 37½

\$ 5623 12½

more than Gales & Seaton charge for advertising the same.

I have not examined all the facts stated in the report of the Committee: it was not possible for me to do it. The labor was partially divided: while I was pursuing one branch of the business other members were pursuing other parts of it. But nothing is wilfully wrong; and I believe the facts stated will prove substantially correct. The other accusations in the memorial I leave with the other members of the Committee.

I will say something as to the difference in the statements of the report of the Chairman from that of the Committee, in regard to the amount of the debts against the Post Office Department.

The Committee state the Department owes, after a final settlement of all accounts, except old balances prior to October, 1833, the sum of - - - \$ 802,444
Whatever is available prior to October, 1833,

is to be deducted. I believe it to be a small sum, in comparison with the sum stated. The report of the Chairman states the deficit to be

	292,109
Making a difference in the report of the Chairman from that of the Committee, of	510,335
A little examination of the statements will explain the whole matter, and show who is right and who wrong.	
It is stated by the Treasurer of the Department that, on the 1st of April, 1834, there was due to the Department from Postmasters, prior to the 1st of January - - -	
	\$ 300,000
From January 1 to April 1, 1834, that is, of the amount of postages accruing in the first quarter of the present year - - -	
	500,000

Making the sum of 800,000

Here lies the mistake. The sum of 500,000 dollars was not due to the Department from postmasters for postages in the first quarter of 1834, because 314,704 dollars had been credited to the Department in the Banks where the postmasters were directed to make their deposits. These credits were footed by Mr. McCormick and myself, and I believe we did it correctly; therefore that amount cannot be due.

The whole amount estimated to have accrued to the Department for the first quarter of 1834, was - - - - \$520,000

Deduct the amount paid by Postmasters 314,704

Leaves 205,296

outstanding and due to the Department for the quarter ending April 1, 1834. The 314,704 dollars should have been cash on hand. Was it cash on hand? If so, the books will show it. The books show in cash only 37,000 dollars; therefore it could not be on hand. The Department had received the money and paid it away, but the Chairman omitted to deduct it from the sum due to the Department. Notwithstanding it had received the 314,000 dollars toward the 500,000 dollars, still the whole 500,000 dollars was stated to be due. It was deducted from the demands against the Department, but not from the sum due to it.

On the first of December, 1833, the Department owed for money overdrawn at various Banks, as appears by the books of the office, the sum of - - - \$370,022 85

On the 11th of April, 1834, the overdrafts amounted to - - - 126,599 48

Being less than the overdrafts in December 1833, by - - - 243,423 37

To which add cash on hand - - - 37,000 00

And interest paid to Banks - - - 14,570 00

And it amounts to \$294,995 37

Nearly the sum received of the postmasters by the Department in the first quarter of 1834.

It is plain, to my mind, that the Chairman was incorrect when he deducted the amount paid from the sums owing by the Department, and omitted to make the deduction from the sums due to it, when the Department had received the money. He still estimated 500,000 dollars due to the Department, notwithstanding upwards of 300,000 dollars had been paid. Had he deducted the amount received from the sums due to the Department, there would have been but little variation in the two reports, except the sums due prior to December, 1833.

The only material variance would have been found in the sums stated to be due previous to the first day of October, 1833, which were not examined, and therefore, it is only conjecture as to the amount. But who can believe

that the Postmaster General had been so remiss in duty as to permit three hundred thousand dollars to remain for months in the hands of postmasters for their benefit alone; at a time, too, when the Department was pressed for money on all sides, borrowing money, paying interest, and drawing on banks for large sums beyond the deposits of the Department. I cannot believe him to have been thus negligent.

Sir, it is in the power of the Postmaster General to collect every dollar that is available in a very short time—in a very few weeks. Let him issue his circular, directing each Postmaster to pay over all balances in his hands on a given day, and it will be done; if not, he can apply the corrective. He is absolute. He has it in his power, and if they do not pay over the money in their hands, he should use this power, and dismiss those unfaithful servants, and seek out others who will do their duty.

After Mr. KNIGHT concluded—

The PRESIDENT of the Senate said: The question is upon the resolutions; the discussion will therefore be confined to them.

Mr. EWING. The resolutions, Mr. President, are grounded upon the facts set forth in the report, and upon the evidence which accompanies the report. In discussing the resolutions, with a view to their adoption by the Senate, it will be necessary, therefore, to examine the report in many of its features, and refer to the evidence which sustains it. And if any subsequent facts have been elicited, no matter in what form they may appear, which weaken the argument or destroy the conclusions of the report, they also should be entitled to their full weight, and must receive, in this discussion, a due share of consideration. With this explanation of what I understand of the limits prescribed by the Chair, I shall confine myself within those limits in this discussion.

This report, sir, has been the subject of attacks, signal for their violence and abuse in this day of abuse and violence. In this I have not at all been disappointed, for I knew the host, and I knew the characteristics of the host with which the committee, on whom was cast the labor and responsibility of this investigation, had to contend; and the deeper and darker the frauds which the investigation has disclosed, the more copious and the more bitter would be the streams of calumny and abuse which they will pour upon those who make the disclosures. Those who now hold the patronage of this Department, and who are likely to hold it until the strong arm of the nation shall unloose their grasp, have dealt for years with its treasures as their own; something belonging to them of right; and for which they are not accountable to any power. They have continued so to deal with it, until they seem to have settled down in the opinion that it really is theirs, and that when the representatives of the States or the people inquire into their stewardship, they deem it an irregular assumption of power, which can be induced only by party malevolence.

Again, sir, individuals whose conduct is called in question, generally adopt one of two modes of defence; for no one, however corrupt the act, or clear the exposure, will yield without a struggle. If rashly or unjustly accused, they respond with calmness and dignity, and answer accusation by argument or proof; but, if guilty, if argument and proof are against them, the common, the universal resort, is to violence and calumny against the accuser or the judge. Conscious of this, as a universal principle of human action, the moment I saw into the depth and darkness of the abyss which we were sent forth to explore, I felt and knew what we had to meet. I knew the extent of the power and influence of this Department; its immense horde, its standing army of adherents united to it in interest, and doubly bound to its fortunes by participation in its crimes: and I knew, the moment this report should appear, that every thing un-

der its control that could hiss or sting would be let loose upon us. But I had made up my mind to this, and do not now complain of it; but, sir, charged as we have been with an unthankful duty by this body, and still charged with the continuance of that duty, unable, consistently with the dignity of that body, whose representatives we are, to notice or repel the calumnies with which we are assailed any where, except upon this floor, this must be my apology, even at so late a period in the session, for dwelling somewhat in detail on those parts of the report which have, since its presentation here, been drawn into discussion.

The first resolution is in the following words:

"1. *Resolved*, That it is proved and admitted that large sums of money have been borrowed at different banks by the Postmaster General, in order to make up the deficiency in the means of carrying on the business of the Post Office Department, without authority given by any law of Congress; and that, as Congress alone possesses the power to borrow money on the credit of the United States, all such contracts for loans by the Postmaster General, are illegal and void."

Of this, and so much of the report as sustains it, but little needs to be said. That the Postmaster General has borrowed money on the credit of the Department is an admitted fact, and the amount borrowed, although differently stated in the report of the Committee, and the paper read by the minority, is yet no subject of controversy. The minority of the Committee has stated the amount *too low*, because they have deducted, from the sums borrowed and overdrawn, all the money that the Department has any where deposited in any bank, though it be not the bank of which they have borrowed. For example, there is deposited to the credit of the Department in the Bank of the Metropolis at Washington \$4,582 07, and other small sums in other banks, and this, together with all their other deposits, is deducted by the minority from the amount borrowed of and overdrawn on the Manhattan Bank and other banks, in order to make out the aggregate of the loans. The committee did not think this the correct mode of adjusting the account, and therefore did not make the deduction. The precise amount borrowed from and due to banks, on the 10th of April, 1834, as given to us by the officers of the Department, was \$488,600 44. The circumstances attending this borrowing need hardly be noticed here, for they are also no subject of controversy on this floor, and can be none. The loans commenced, as is stated, in December, 1832, during the session of Congress, and no intimation was given to that body that there was any deficiency in the funds of the Department, or that any advance, temporary or permanent, was necessary to sustain it. So at the commencement of the present session, when those loans had swelled to an enormous sum, and when public money to a large amount was deposited, without interest, in the banks of which those principal loans were made, with interest, we still had no intimation of the fact, either in the President's Message or of the Report of the Postmaster General, that one dollar in money had been borrowed or overdrawn. It is then admitted that this large sum of money was borrowed without legal warrant, and that the act was concealed until the investigation of the Committee drew forth its disclosure; and we think the further examination has shewn something of the uses to which this money has been applied. But I intend, if time will allow, to ask that the question be taken separately on each of these resolutions, that we may see whether the minds of gentlemen are drawn to the same conclusion from the array of facts applicable to each, to which the minds of a majority of the Committee have been irresistibly drawn.

The second resolution declares—

"2. *Resolved*, That several reports of the Postmaster General contain statements which, in subsequent papers, he admits to

be erroneous; that others, especially those of the 18th of April, 1832, and the 3d of March, 1834, are inconsistent with each other; and that reliance cannot be placed on the truth and accuracy of the communications made by the Department."

This resolution contains two allegations of fact, and draws from them conjointly a conclusion against the accuracy and verity of the reports which issue from the General Post Office. The first allegation of fact is, "that several reports of the Postmaster General contain statements, which, in subsequent papers, he admits to be erroneous." This allegation is proved by the facts set forth in page 7 of the Report of the Committee, to which I invite the attention of the Senate. The report of the 30th November, 1833, as is there shown, states the annual expense of transporting the mail, with all improvements, at \$2,033,289 42, while the Blue Book of September, 1833, gives the aggregate of all mail contracts and extra allowances at \$1,992,920 14. These sums should be precisely equal, for they profess to give precisely the same thing. Nor has the Postmaster General been taken by surprise, or left without notice on this subject. A member of this Committee, early in March last, caused the amount of transportation stated in the Blue Book to be carefully added up that its aggregate might be seen, and, on comparing it with the alleged cost of transportation, the difference, to the amount of \$40,369 28, was discovered. And, on the 11th day of March, a resolution was offered in the Senate, calling for a statement of the sums paid for transportation and extra allowances, if any, omitted in the Blue Book. This call has never been answered, and this discrepancy remains unexplained.

There was a report made by the Postmaster General to the Senate, on the 3d of March, 1834, in answer to a call by resolution of December last, which purports to give the whole amount of extra allowances made by the present Postmaster General since he came into office. The aggregate of those subsisting since the first of June, 1833 is stated at

\$351,573 30

Their aggregate by the Blue Book, is

377,947 66

Making a difference of

\$26,374 36

Thus the Blue Book gives an aggregate less than the Annual Report of Nov. 30th, 1833, by

\$40,369 28

And the Report of March 3d, 1834, less than the Blue Book

26,374 36

So that the error between the Report of November 30th, 1833, and the 3d of March 1834, is

\$66,743 34

And in his Report, accompanying the President's Message, of Dec. 1832, the Postmaster General states a surplus of available funds, after defraying all expenses of the Department, down to the 1st of July, 1832, of

\$202,811 40

While in his Report of Nov. 30th, 1833, he says that, instead of having on hand that amount of available funds, the Department was really indebted beyond all its available means, including its credits,

\$2,844 40

He avers this to be a general error, which has run through all his accounts, from the commencement of his stewardship down to the date of his last Annual Report; and he says that it was recently discovered and "promptly corrected." It is a matter of small importance, whether the excuse is true in point of fact, or not. Whether the misrepresentation was by mistake or design is unimportant, so far as respects this resolution; for the statements which he has made us are not *accurate* and *true*, and he admits they are not; and not being so, we cannot place reliance on their truth and accuracy. There would, it is true, be a vast difference in the degree of moral turpitude in the one case and in the other. But as to the credit which is to be placed in his papers, it is

not material whether their errors arise from wilful misrepresentation or ignorance of the true condition of the Department. As respects the Postmaster General himself, I suppose the latter hypothesis is the one which justly applies to him; that he was really, as he says, ignorant of the actual condition of the Department over which he presides. It is straining credulity pretty far in his favor to admit it; but I am well disposed to give him the full benefit of his defence. Still it results in this: the Department was not in the situation in which he represented it, and the public was deceived by confiding in his representations.

I need say little of the discrepancy between the Report of the 18th of April, 1832, and that of the 3d of March, 1834; it were, perhaps, sufficient to refer to the Report of the Committee, pages 8 and 9, where that subject is touched upon, accompanied with references to the original documents, which, when examined and compared, must put all doubt at rest. I care not how strong the personal feelings of any gentleman may be, or how inveterate his party prejudices, he cannot read that part of the Report, and compare the documents to which it refers, without strong conviction forcing itself upon his judgment. Sir, it is made by law the duty of the Postmaster General to make out an annual statement of all the contracts which he shall have made for the transportation of the mail within the preceding year; and this Report of the 18th of April, 1832, purports to have been made in pursuance of this legal provision. The object of the law, in requiring this Report, is to inform the public, not to deceive them; to convey to them information of the fact as it does exist, not to induce a false impression upon the public mind. And it was intended, that, when the publication was made, it should state all and every matter, which it professed to state, truly. Now it is not pretended by the Postmaster General, or in his behalf, that he has done so. On the contrary, the wide and gross departure from the true state of things is admitted; and an attempt is made to excuse the abuse, by an alleged practice of the Department under its former heads. Mr. President, I do not believe that any such practice has heretofore existed. I want to see the cases, and trace them in the Reports, and find them in the books of the Department; and then, if they appear to coincide with these, and appear in sufficient numbers, and regularly, to justify the belief that misrepresentation has been the standing order of the day—that it has been the custom to publish, not the truth, but falsehood, to the public—then I will consent to allow the Postmaster General the full advantage of his apology, such as it is; but then it would avail him little, for it is one of those abuses which precedent cannot support, nor usage sanctify. But the cases referred to by the minority of the Committee, and which they speak of as cases resting on the same, or on similar principles, will not do to show usage or serve as a precedent. Just seven cases, varying from \$150 to \$1618 each, and giving in the aggregate \$4903, of error in the Report of a former Postmaster General, are adduced as proof of the practice of the Department, on which that mass of misrepresentation (the Report of the 18th of April, 1832) is to be justified and sustained. Touching that Report, I must say, that I have examined not less than one hundred of the cases there stated, and of those that I examined, and compared with subsequent reports, *not one* was stated truly. The difference in some cases is astonishing—the *actual contract* is generally larger by one-third or one-half, than the *contract as there reported*, and in some cases it is as ten or fifteen to one. It is worth while to refer to a few cases, for the purpose of calling the attention of the Senate and of the public to the subject.

A contract of Stockton & Neil, which is noticed in page 8 of the Report of the Committee, is stated in the

Report of the Postmaster General of the 18th of April, 1832, at \$7000, but the contract really allows them \$15,950, besides extras, making a difference of more than one-half. Now all the cases which the diligence of the Hon. Chairman, with the aid of the officers of the Department, has enabled him to collect, of like errors in former years, amounts to but a trifle more than one-half of the amount in this single case. But this is really of small importance, and hardly worthy of note in the group to which it belongs. Another contract, of these same individuals, but which they, in a publication which recently appeared in the *Globe*, aver is a part of the same contract, is stated, in the Report of the 18th of April, 1832, at \$30,000, when in truth it was executed for \$50,410. I have no doubt that those gentlemen state truly, that it was all one contract; and see what a character this gives the transaction. There are thrown together some 30 or 40 mail routes, and struck off at a single bid to these individuals at \$37,000 a year. But instead of carrying the mail in good faith for that sum, they receive, by way of improved bids and extra allowances, an amount which brings it up to the yearly sum of \$107,468! And lo! the power and might of precedent! Some seven cases, during the time Mr. McLean presided over this Department, in which there was an aggregate allowance for improvements, ordered before signing the contract, of a little more than 4000 dollars, is made to justify this case, and a host of such cases as this.

But is it not obvious that when bids of this kind are made and accepted; when bids for forty or fifty routes, great and small, are thrown in together, and so received, and when the bid upon the advertised route does not present the true or intended contract, is it not obvious that none but a great contractor—a man who does business on a large and extended scale, and more especially who has favor with the chief officers of the Department, can have any the slightest hope of obtaining a contract? A common, plain man, who knows nothing better than to make a bargain in a straight forward way, and having made, to perform it, need not trouble himself to bid on any route under such circumstances; for he cannot, in truth, come into actual competition with one of these universal bidders: and where so many routes are included in one offer or acceptance, it would require the labor of many days to ascertain whether a class of rejected bids was or was not better than that which was accepted. But those which are represented as two contracts in the reports of the Department, and which are so represented as to seem to be given on different bids, are, in fact, one and the same—a single bid, a single contract. Then, I ask, in the name of truth, why is it not so represented in the reports of the Postmaster General? Why is it that a contract which is in fact one, is severed and divided, so as to make it appear as two? Was it not in every respect as easy to represent the thing at once exactly as it was, as to sever and change it, and make it present a false appearance? I do not pretend to say which is correct, the reports of the Department or the statement of the contractors: but I am inclined to give credit to the latter, although certainly made in no spirit of kindness towards me—made, in truth, with a belief that they were discrediting a part of the report of the Committee, without being aware that the report, in that very particular, was founded upon documents issuing from the department.

It is said by these same individuals, Stockton & Neil, in the publication above referred to, that I signed a paper requesting the Postmaster General to give increased expedition between Baltimore and Cincinnati, and they add that the Committee now say, in their report, that this increased expedition was unnecessary. Now the latter branch of the proposition is incorrect. The Committee do not say that any increased expedition is unnecessary or improper. I for one am not now, and have not been,

of that opinion; on the contrary, I think the transportation of the mail is no where more rapid than the public convenience requires, and the funds of the Department, if judiciously administered, would justify. But what I do object to, is the enormous waste of funds in despatching two and sometimes three mails a day, in four horse post coaches, on the same line, and each at an enormous cost. It is this, and not the expedition, which is condemned as useless and improper. I know that it is pretended that the expedition cannot be kept up without a line of stages to carry the way-mails. A singular pretence truly. For admitting that the way-mail must be carried by a different conveyance from the rapid stage, what economist would have thought of employing four horse post coaches, at an enormous expense, for that purpose? The rapid stage always stops at the large towns to exchange, and the small way-mails could be carried as well in sulkies and in two-horse post coaches as in any other manner. Let there be proposals for carrying the way-mails with reasonable expedition, without designating the manner, and I venture to say that it will be carried as safely and as well as it is now carried, at one-twentieth part of the sum for which that additional stage line is made the pretext.

As to the letter, paper, or solicitation, which it is said I signed, I would like to see it. I will not say that I did or did not sign it. I can only say that it is not my custom to give my name lightly for any purpose; nevertheless I may have done so, and when the paper appears, it may prove to be one which asks only for a just extension of facilities, and one which, under the circumstances, was altogether proper and right. For, let it be remembered, that the Department was, for years past, reported to be in a very flourishing condition—facilities said to be constantly increased and increasing, and money saved. I, perhaps, together with the other western members, may have been gulled by tales of this kind, and so have given my name, to be laid by with theirs in the Department, for use when occasion should require it. I recollect well that I was applied to last winter by the same gentlemen, for the same purpose, and I refused my signature, although, at the time, I suspected no sinister purpose on their part in asking it, and I had, personally, every wish to oblige them. But I can say, by way of apology for the array of gentlemen whose names appear on that paper, (sixty-nine I think it was said,) that they did not know, and could not know, from the published reports and documents, what sum those individuals actually received for their services. The only reports from the Department then extant, stated their compensation at \$37,000, when its true amount was more than 107,000. This, in truth, makes it a very different case from what they had a right to suppose it. And, Mr. President, I appeal to you, if this constantly soliciting the names of members of Congress; this filing away, and now appealing to those names to support extravagance which no one who signed those papers could ever have suspected or anticipated, does not look a little like throwing an anchor ahead to prepare against a coming gale? Why was it that, at the commencement of this session especially, that every western member was solicited to sign the paper of Stockton & Neil, asking for a continuance of their extra allowance, when no one knew what that allowance was? And why, especially, was I, a member of the Committee on the Post Office, beset for my signature to the same paper; appealed to on the ground of local attachment and personal good will, to sign a paper which, had I signed it, would have been used, and was intended to be used, to my annoyance and confusion. I found, indeed, that more note was taken of the matter than I at the time supposed. A day or two after I was thus solicited, I was told by the honorable Chairman that he heard at the Department of my refusal to sign the petition. One other thing should be considered touching this very matter. No one can for

a moment suppose that it was the purpose of the Postmaster General, broken and ruined as were the affairs of his Department, to keep up the allowance of Stockton & Neil, as it had stood, *seventy thousand dollars* above the sum at which it was struck off under the advertisement. This would have been madness, and those contractors, from their intimacy in the General Post Office, must have known that it was not intended. What then was the object of circulating and obtaining signatures to this paper? Why simply and singly to obtain the sanction of members of Congress to past acts before they could, by any possibility, know what those acts were; to commit us *personally* beforehand, and thus prevent or destroy the efficiency of our legislative action, or to compel us to legislate conformably to the paper containing our private signatures. This is the whole of the matter, and I am glad these things are developed. It will have a salutary influence hereafter.

The fourth resolution is in these words:

"4. *Resolved*, That it appears that an individual, who made a contract for the transportation of the mail, was required to give it up for no other reason than that it might be given to another desirous of having it; and that the act of the Department in requiring such surrender, and in effecting the transfer, was illegal and unjust."

And it is supported by two cases referred to in pages 9 and 10 of the report, in which George House, of Ohio, is the favored individual. John Black was the contractor to carry the mail from Colesmouth to Gallipolis, and, for aught that appears, he performed his contract to the satisfaction of the public and of the Department; but he was ordered to discontinue on the 1st of April, 1831, just one quarter after he commenced it, and his route was given to House. This was under the pretence that a steamboat line was to be established; but it was pretence merely—for there is no trace of any contract with House to carry in a steamboat, or indeed in any other manner; and in August next following, House professes to be building the boat which is to perform the duty. If it had been bona fide the purpose of the parties, that the mail should be carried in a steamboat, the officers of the Department would have seen that a contract should have been entered into, and security given for its performance, before a fair and legal contract was taken out of the hands of Black and transferred to another. The mail is still carried on that line on horseback, and, after the route was transferred to House, it was so badly carried that the country was filled with complaints and dissatisfaction. An official letter from Lyle Millan, Postmaster at Walnut Grove, on the route, states no less than twelve failures in the short month of February. It seems to me that this single case fully sustains the resolution. But there is another branch of this same concern which I ought not to pass by without some notice. In the October after the establishment of this *steamboat line*, Ross & Co. bid off the route from Chillicothe to Gallipolis, and their bid was accepted. The acceptance was a few days afterwards "*suspended in consequence of the necessity of connecting this route with the steamboat route from Gallipolis to Charleston, Virginia.*" I read from a letter from O. B. Brown to Ross, dated the 7th of October—and he adds, "Be pleased to state whether it is desirable to you to have the route at your bid"—an intimation which Ross perfectly understood, for he had several other contracts, and he well knew that it *must not be desirable* to him to have any thing which O. B. Brown did not *desire* him to have. His answer shows that he understood all about it, and that it was the interest of House, and not the public service, which required his surrender of a contract to which he was entitled. After noticing the receipt of Mr. Brown's letter, and naming the route, he says, "I considered it a very safe route, though, as the acceptance of my bid might seriously injure or interfere

with the steamboat proprietors, I now agree to let Col. House have it." So Col. House got it, and received for it \$1106 a year more than it was bid off by Ross. Sir, this kind of double dealing, this species of management, this entertaining of one purpose and professing another, would disgrace the meanest jockey in the land. How must all honorable men feel, when they see the high and responsible offices of our country, and the patronage of the Government, in the hands of men who are capable of such tortuous conduct, and are actuated by the motives apparent on the face of these transactions?

The next resolution has reference to but a single transaction, and though the sum given, under pretence of the contract, to a favorite, was small, yet it is one of the most monstrous in its character, and contains perhaps as great a variety of fiction, fraud, and falsehood, in its composition, as any among the numerous cases which have passed under our notice. The resolution is as follows:

"5. *Resolved*, That it appears that proposals for carrying the mail on the route from Chicago to Green Bay, were withheld from advertisement; that the contract therefor was given in another's name, but really to one of the Clerks in the Department; that the compensation proposed in the bid was raised without any increase of service, and that the transaction is a direct breach of law."

This was a contract given to a Doctor Temple, Clerk in the Department, contrary to the express provisions of law. It is true it was under cover of another name, but it was with the knowledge of the Postmaster General himself, as I shall by and by show you, and the very artifice and concealment show that he knew, and all knew, that the act was wrong. But mark the circumstances which attended it.

By the act of the 15th day of June, 1832, the route from Chicago to Green Bay was established. The new routes generally established by the same law were advertised on the 26th day of July following, but this route was omitted and never advertised by order of the Department. On an inquiry being made as to the cause of the omission, O. B. Brown, who made out the advertisement, stated on oath thus—(I read from page 59 of the Report :) "When I made out the advertisements for the contracts on the new route in the summer of 1832, I could not obtain the law as it finally passed, the law not having been published in time for making out the advertisements. I had a copy of the printed bill, as reported in the two Houses, but it had undergone many alterations before it became a law. I got the best information I could of those alterations, but still my information proved to be very incorrect. My impression, as well as my memory serves me, is, that this want of information caused me to make the advertisement from Detroit to Green Bay instead of from Chicago to Green Bay."

Now, sir, one word of comment on this very plausible statement: How is it possible this officer could fail to get correct information as to the provisions of this law one month or more after its passage, if he desired to get it—a law respecting the Post Office Department, and a copy of which properly belonged to that office, *published or not*? How is it possible that he should get *very incorrect* information as to the contents of this law, enrolled and preserved as it was in the archives of the country? It is not true, sir. No man who has any knowledge of things, and common reason and intelligence, can credit this story upon its very face. But I have taken pains to examine the bills as reported in the two Houses of Congress, copies of which he says he had, and copies of which now lie on the table before me, open to the inspection of any gentleman who will take the trouble to inspect them, from which it will be seen that the route from Chicago to Green Bay is designated in those bills precisely as it is in the law which finally passed the two Houses—and, in the whole progress of the bills—there it

was, in plain characters—never, in any stage of the proceeding stricken, out or omitted.

Next in its order is the proposal of Asahel Savery, of Michigan. And how did Mr. Savery, in Michigan, know that this route *which was not advertised*, was open to his bid? The deposition of Wm. H. Dundas, a Clerk, examined by the Committee, explains it. I read a part of his deposition.

"Wm. H. Dundas says, in explanation of the paper marked 'proposal, Asahel Savery,' that he wrote the paper at the instance of John T. Temple, who said he had been authorized to make any proposals for him, Savery, he might think proper, and, as he had been long desirous to go to the West, he would like to have the contract or be concerned in it"—and he adds, "the paper written *in red ink*, with the Postmaster General's allowance for \$1000 endorsed on it, is in the handwriting of John T. Temple." This, then, explains that part of the matter. The route was not advertised, and a feigned excuse is given by Obadiah B. Brown for not advertising. The bid was made by a Clerk, and he was allowed the contract. He represented "*in red ink*" that the contract was too low, and he was allowed by the Postmaster General \$1000 additional—and the whole sum of \$4500 was for carrying the mail 250 miles once a week on horseback. Now did the Postmaster General know of all this abomination, and knowing, did he sanction it? The above matters must, in some shape or other, have passed before him. He saw, at least, the paper in red ink, in the handwriting of Temple, which he signed, granting the extra \$1000. This contract was assigned by Savery to Temple, and the assignment approved by the Postmaster General on the 28th of February: and it appears by the report of the minority, and it is a fact, I presume, taken from the books, that Temple resigned his situation as clerk *about the first of March, to take effect the last of that month*. He resigned after the assignment—and that very act, the assignment, must have let Mr. Barry into a full knowledge of all thelegerdemain which had been for a long time practising, even if he did not know it before. Temple resigned *about* the 1st, to take effect the *last*, of March. On the 3d of April he writes a letter, dated at Chicago; so he went out under pay as a Clerk in the Department, and was fairly set down and installed in his *office of contractor*, as soon as he ceased to be a Clerk.

I trust the Senate will hear with me while I present yet another of the phases of this transaction. In the summer and fall of 1832, about the time that this route *was not advertised*, and O. B. Brown was seeking in vain at Washington for the true contents of a recent act of Congress, he was also negotiating with John T. Temple for the purchase of a valuable house and lot in the city; and the negotiation was going on while Temple was presenting and modifying his bids in the name of Savery. This is proved by the testimony of Samuel R. Slaymaker. I read from his deposition, in page 301 of the exhibits accompanying the report—He says, "I was in the house of Mr. Brown one morning, when Doctor Temple called and offered his property for sale, and said he was going to move from the city. Mr. Brown inquired the price. I think the Doctor asked \$3000. Mr. Brown asked me, if he made the purchase, if I could loan him that amount at the usual rate of interest? I told him I believed I could. Some time after, he informed me that he would want the money," &c. He goes on to state that he had not the money, but that he and Reeside raised it, as he says, about three months after, on Bills of Exchange, in order to lend it to Mr. Brown at "*the usual rate of interest*." These bills, it appears by the testimony of Dyson, bear date the 10th of January, 1833. It seems, by the testimony of Reeside, page 299, that the property was offered by Temple to Brown at a very reduced price. So much for Doctor Temple. If, indeed, he did sell his

house and lot at a reduced price, he got a very good contract, and without the trouble and annoyance of competition, except just so much as he and his friends chose to get up for him. And Reeside and Slaymaker did not suffer by their kindness. In May, 1833, they received an extra allowance of \$10,000 a year, on their route from Philadelphia to Pittsburg, Washington, Pa. and Wheeling, of which their partners on that line were not informed, and of which they received no share. Jesse Tomlinson, in his deposition, page 307, says, that he is one of the partners on that line—that he was informed by Slaymaker, in the Spring of 1832, that there was to be an extra allowance on that line, and that “he (Slaymaker) was to let Mr. Brown have, or to give Mr. Brown, \$1000 of it.”

He further says, “In February or March, 1833, I asked Mr. Slaymaker, and he told me he understood it was not allowed,” and Tomlinson says he was told of its actual allowance, for the first time, after he came to this City to testify as a witness. The pretended service, for which this 10,000 dollars was allowed, was really nothing—all fictitious. I read the statement of it, as made in the letter of the Postmaster General, of the 3d of March, 1834, to show the ridiculous pretext on which the allowance was made. “No. 1031, 1170. Reeside and Slaymaker are the contractors for carrying the mail from Philadelphia to Pittsburg, Pennsylvania, three hundred and two miles, twice a day; and from Pittsburg, by Washington, Pennsylvania, to Wheeling, Virginia, fifty-seven miles, daily, in 4 horse post coaches, from 1st of January, 1832, to 31st December, 1835, at a compensation of \$27,000 per annum.

“In consequence of the increased rapidity of this mail, the newspapers which were formerly sent from the east by the other routes were now sent upon this, and the general cry of the public, for the more rapid conveyance of newspapers, required them to be sent in the more rapid instead of the slower line, as was contemplated in their proposals; which so loaded it as to almost entirely exclude passengers. They were, therefore, allowed, from the first of April, 1832, for transporting all the papers by their most rapid line, at the annual rate of \$10,000 additional.” This contract had already grown up from 8,250 dollars to 27,000 dollars a year; and what is the pretence for adding this additional 10,000 dollars? That the newspapers had to be carried on the rapid instead of the slower line, as was contemplated by the contract. Now with all the care in research, and industry of the Committee, there could be no evidence found that any such thing was ever contemplated. It is not to be found in the contract, and if there is to be a private understanding between contractors and the Postmaster General, we may as well do away at once with all written obligations, and leave all to arrangement and favor. This is a mere invention—an apology for the gift of 10,000 dollars a year to these men, and its true moving cause is yet to be discovered, or drawn from the evidence above detailed. And another thing deserves mention: if these contractors were really entitled to this 10,000 dollars a year for extra service, why was it not given to them at once, when they showed their right, and why is not the date of the allowance, as in other cases, set down in the Postmaster General's report, just read? Why, simply because it was convenient to keep the matter pending for some time, for some purpose of some of the parties, and the actual time of its allowance does not appear in the report, because it would make rather an awkward figure there. An allowance of 10,000 dollars yearly, from the first of April, 1832, for carrying all the newspapers in their most rapid line, made at the Department on the 3d of March, 1833, certainly has not a business-like appearance. During this time the contractors seem to have been kept in suspense about it: at one time Slaymaker tells Tomlinson that it is to be allowed, and Mr.

Brown is to have 1,000 dollars of it; and at another time he tells him it is not to be allowed; and when at last it is allowed, it is kept secret from all except the two individuals who receive it; and who borrow a large sum of money to lend to Mr. Brown to enable him to buy the property of Doctor Temple.

Time will not allow me to dwell particularly on each of these resolutions, and I have partly anticipated the proof on the 6th, in my observations on the contract of Reeside and Slaymaker, from Philadelphia to Pittsburg, &c. That is one case in which, in the language of this resolution, extra allowances have been granted to contractors without any increase of duty on their part. I might enumerate many more similar cases. That of Temple, already referred to. That of Avery, Tompkins & Co. stated in page 23, of the report, where the pretence for giving the extra of 2,500 dollars, is, that the mail shall be carried in a four horse wagon, so as to ensure its regular arrival. Those contractors had already undertaken to carry the mail, and to carry it punctually, and daily, in four horse post coaches; and they had undertaken to carry it in such manner that it should arrive regularly, and this additional sum is paid them out of the public Treasury by way of inducing them to perform their contract. The only additional security obtained by the Department is this: the contractors had before agreed to carry the mail, but now they agree that they will be sure to carry it—and, to put the matter past all doubt, they will carry it in a wagon. I suppose it would have been taken as a full performance of this part of the contract, if the contractors had taken off their coach body, and run the wheels without it. It will be seen, that, in some cases, heavy allowances are made for carrying the mail in four horse post coaches: in this case a heavy additional allowance is made for carrying it in any thing but a coach. All is allowance—extra allowance—it is the very life and soul of the system of reform, on which this department of the Government has been conducted.

In support of the other branch of the 6th resolution, viz: “that in other cases extra allowances have been made which are unreasonable, extravagant, and out of all proportion with the increase of service,” I will refer to but a few contracts. Those of James Reeside and others, stated in pages 11, 12, and 13, of the report; and I refer to them the more especially, as that individual has, in a publication, (which appeared in the Globe) denied that the amount of his extra compensation equalled the sum stated in the report. I have re-examined it with care, intending, if there were any error in the estimate, to correct it here. I have found a small error, it is true, but, as far as it goes, it lessens, rather than increases the enormity of the transaction—the error is in their favor, not against them. Five cases, out of an immense number in which the name of James Reeside appears, are selected and set out in the report, which in conclusion says, page 13: “the above are but a few out of the many contracts held by James Reeside and others, his partners—the allowances, in the above cases, beyond the amount of their open bids, and fair and legal contracts, is \$62,316 78 a year, amounting, during the continuance of their contracts, to the enormous sum of \$249,267 12, which is given by the Department to these contractors without advertising and without competition. The amount of these allowances was somewhat reduced in consequence of the insolvency of the Department.”

This is one of the statements of the report which has been contradicted. I ask the attention of the Senate to the proof; for it is all before us, and attested by the signature of the Postmaster General. I hold in my hand a tabular statement, shewing the sums at which these five contracts were bid off, as they appear in the Postmaster General's report, of the 18th of April, 1832; the amount

to which they were raised by subsequent additions and modifications, and the difference between those amounts to which the paragraph, of the report of the Committee, just read, has reference.

	Contract as reported Ap'l 18, '32.	Actual amt paid as per rep. Mar. 3d, 1834.	Difference.
From Hagerstown to McConnellsville	\$40	\$1,400 09	\$1,360 00
From Baltimore to Chambersburg	1,900	3,495 00	1,595 00
From Philadelphia to New York	6,000	28,775 00	22,775 00
From Bedford to Blair's gap, & from Bedford to Cum- berland	275	7,411 72	7,136 72
From Philadelphia to Pittsburg, & from Pitt's to Wheeling	8,250	40,150 00	31,900 00
	\$16,465	81,231 72	64,766 72

Thus the compensation for carrying the mail on those five contracts, is raised from \$16,465 to \$81,231 72, and the amount of money paid, over and above the open bids, and fair and legal contracts, is \$64,766 78 a year, instead of \$62,316 78, as stated in the report. It is a small error in the estimate, which I take this the earliest opportunity to correct. The amount which this arrangement would have given to Reeside and his associates, on these five contracts, in four years, was \$259,167 12, had not this wanton waste of the funds of the Department been in some measure arrested by its hopeless insolvency.

Sir, the investigation and the report of the Committee, have exposed this plunder of the public treasure, if it have not, in fact, driven the spoilers from their prey. How was it to be expected, then, that those who performed this unthankful and unpleasant task, should escape denunciation and abuse? Look at the power, the numbers, and the wealth which must, of necessity, be arrayed against each and all of us who have shared in their exposure—the thousands and tens of thousands variously engaged, connected and combined, as they are, from the Head himself of the Department down to the very lowest depth—down to the printer of the vile sheet, who is paid for publishing slander and billingsgate, under the cover of proposals for mail contracts. It was expected that all would open with one cry upon us—and so it is. One after another, these extra allowance-men come out, in the extra advertisement newspapers, with every species of misrepresentation and abuse, against the Committee, and especially against me, for daring the exposure. But they are mistaken, if they believe that this, or any other thing which they may do or dare, will slacken our exertions, or swerve us one hair's breadth from the straight forward path of official duty. It cannot impel me to greater exertions, for my whole energies have been, and in any event, should have been, devoted to the performance of the duty assigned us. But it shall not abate it—it shall not shake my purpose—it shall not disturb my temper, or destroy the just balance of my judgment, by exciting any private feeling, or personal animosity. Nothing of this, for I will not, while in the execution of this official duty, turn aside one inch to regard any attack, however violent or abusive, come from what source it may, but I am and will be devoted to the duty which the Senate has assigned us, until it shall be performed, or we be discharged from its obligation.

The 7th resolution is in these words:

"7. *Resolved*, That the Postmaster General has established steamboat lines for the transportation of the mail by private contract at an enormous expense, and without authority of law."

The facts on which this resolution is founded, cannot

be denied. The contract for the transportation of the mail by steamboat, from the mouth of Guyandotte to Cincinnati, from Cincinnati to Louisville, and from New Orleans to Mobile, were all private contracts, without advertisement or competition. An examination of these cases, and the principles on which they rest, is to be found in the 18th and 19th pages of the report. One provision of law, however, was overlooked by the Committee. It is the last section of an act of 1823, which made rivers, &c., on which steamboats regularly plied, mail routes. I have since examined this matter with some care, and compared this clause with the provisions of the law of 1825, regulating the Post Office Department, and am of opinion, that the repealing clause in the latter law extends to that clause in the former. The time of the Senate will not, perhaps, be profitably employed by entering here into that investigation, especially as it is wholly immaterial in deciding on the legality of these contracts; for they are, none of them, made pursuant to the provisions of this clause, in the act of 1823, nor with regard to the restrictions in the act of 1825. They are all illegal as declared by the resolution.

The 8th resolution declares:

"8. *Resolved*, That the public credit has been pledged for the benefit of individual contractors; and that contractors have been solicited and induced to aid with their personal credit the business of the Department; and that all such transactions are unjustifiable and improper."

We have the testimony of Edwin Porter, who swears, that, on the route from New Orleans to Mobile, on which he receives, by private contract with the Department, \$40,000, he lost 150 trips in a single year. No part of his pay is kept back in consequence of this loss, but, on the contrary, the Postmaster General accepted his draft for \$20,000, in advance of his pay, which draft is still outstanding; thus pledging the credit of the Department to sustain a contractor.

Reeside testified that he had, on one occasion, arranged \$6,000 for the Department; that is to say, he enabled them, by his credit, to raise \$6,000, in anticipation of their own funds; and on another recent occasion, he assisted them to raise 10,000 dollars, which is erroneously set down as 1,000 dollars, among the exhibits. I presume no one will deny that such transactions, in a public officer controlling the public treasure, are unjustifiable and improper.

The 9th resolution condemns the act of the Postmaster General in establishing a second and third daily mail, on the same route, at a very heavy expense. This matter is fully considered in the report, and I need add nothing to what is there urged on that point. Pains have been taken to inculcate the idea, that it is the great increase of speed that has ruined the Department. I, for one, deny that it is so; the speed is very little, if any, greater on the principal routes, than it was under a former administration. The difficulty is not in too much speed, for the business of the country requires, and the resources of the Department justify, all the speed that is given it: it is the waste of money—its payment without a just equivalent in service of any kind—or its payment for these additional stages at twice and thrice a day, which avail little or nothing to the public interest.

The 10th resolution declares, "that pecuniary transactions of a very irregular nature are proved to have taken place between the contractors and some of the chief officers of the Post Office Department."

In support of this, I refer to what I have already said of the transactions between O. B. Brown and Slaymaker, Reeside, and Temple. Can any man, who has looked at the evidence with regard to those transactions, doubt as to their actual character? But even the face which the actors attempt to give them, is but one degree less deep in the descending scale of official turpitude.

There are other transactions which demand a passing notice. I read from page 15 of the Report of the Committee:

"It also appears that in the Spring or Summer of 1831, Mr. Barry applied to Reeside in Philadelphia to assist him in negotiating an acceptance for \$1000, to raise some money for his (Mr. Barry's) individual use. Instead of doing this, Reeside advanced him the \$1000; and he stated before the committee, that Mr. Barry paid it by his acceptance at a short date, which he (Reeside) negotiated in the Schuylkill Bank. On inquiry of the Cashier of the Schuylkill Bank, we were informed that no such acceptance was negotiated there. Your committee having collated the evidence touching these transactions, leave them without comment."

The evidence on this point, and on which the committee founded their statement, is in pages 237, 238, and 239, of the documents and evidence accompanying the report. I will read a portion of that evidence, and ask for it the attention of the Senate. James Reeside, in his deposition, says—

"Another instance in which I lent money, was when Major Barry was in Philadelphia, about three years ago, and was about to bring away his family, and his sick son, who had been under Dr. Physic, at an earlier period than he had intended. He applied to me to know if I could not get him an acceptance for \$1000 negotiated, to enable him to bring his family home. I told him I could loan him \$1000, which I did, and he gave me his acceptance for that amount at a short date, probably at thirty days. It was negotiated in the Schuylkill Bank of Philadelphia, and paid at maturity."

I will next refer to the correspondence of the committee with the Cashier of the Schuylkill Bank on that subject, which shows that nothing was presumed by them hastily, and that every effort was used to arrive at the exact truth. The first letter, which is signed by the Chairman, was written by myself, and presented to him for his signature. I read from page 239 of the Documents accompanying the Report:

"WASHINGTON CITY, May 21, 1834.

SIR: You will please inform the Committee on the Post Office and Post Roads of the Senate, whether there was at any time a bill for 1000 dollars, drawn by W. T. Barry, in favor of James Reeside, negotiated in the Schuylkill Bank, (it is supposed about May, 1831,) and passed to the credit of Mr. Reeside. If any such were, you will please send the description of the bill, and designate to whom it was sent for collection.

FELIX GRUNDY, Chairman.

H. J. LEVIS, Cashier Schuylkill Bank, Philadelphia.

SCHUYLKILL BANK, May 22, 1834.

DEAR SIR: Your favor of the 21st instant is received. I cannot find on the books of this institution any draft drawn by W. T. Barry in favor of James Reeside for one thousand dollars, and passed to the credit of the latter, during the year 1831.

With great respect, your obedient servant,

H. J. LEVIS, Cashier.

FELIX GRUNDY, E. q.

WASHINGTON CITY, May 26, 1834.

DEAR SIR: A few days ago a letter was written by me, and signed by the Chairman of the Committee on the Post Office and Post Roads, &c., making some inquiries whether a draft drawn by Major Barry in favor of James Reeside for one thousand dollars, was negotiated in your bank. You state that there was no such draft. Please advise me if any note, acceptance, or any other undertaking of Mr. Barry, for one thousand dollars, or any

other sum, was, about three years ago, more or less, negotiated by Mr. Reeside in your bank.

Yours, respectfully,
T. EWING.
H. J. LEVIS, Cashier Schuylkill Bank, Philadelphia.

SCHUYLKILL BANK, May 30, 1834.

DEAR SIR: Your favor of the 26th is received. I find on the books of this institution, for the year 1831, Major Barry's two notes, each for 228 dollars and seventy-two cents, discounted for J. Reeside, August 29th.

With great respect, your obedient servant,

H. J. LEVIS, Cashier.

THOMAS EWING, Esq."

The second letter was written under the supposition that the inquiry in the first was not extensive enough, and that the paper might be of some other description than Mr. Reeside supposed, or that there might have been a mistake in point of time. On receiving the last answer, the committee came to the only conclusion possible. The words of the report, which contain that conclusion, is "on inquiry of the Cashier of the Schuylkill Bank, we were informed that no such acceptance had been negotiated there." I say this much in justification of the report, which has been furiously assailed on account of this paragraph. I leave it to the judgment of any candid man, whether, with this evidence before us, it would have been right to pass this matter over in silence; or, speaking of it at all, less could have been said, or said less strongly on the subject. Subsequent inquiries, on the part of Reeside or Major Barry, have shown that a draft for 1000 dollars, drawn by Jas. Reeside (in November, 1830) and accepted by Major Barry, at 90 days (instead of 30 days) was negotiated in the Schuylkill Bank; and now I ask of those who are able to give the answer, why was not the actual state of the fact, if this be its actual state, sooner disclosed and made known to the committee? Reeside was discharged on the 21st of May, when we closed his examination, but he attended afterwards until the 9th of June, by order of the Chairman, without the authority of the committee; and when the letters of H. J. Levis, of the 22d and 30th May were received, were not their contents communicated? And if so, why was not the matter investigated and explained? I of course could not communicate it. I held, after his examination, no conversation with Reeside, except to request him to leave the committee room when we were about to examine witnesses, whom he severally attended to the spot, and watched over till he was required to retire. But why did not the honorable chairman, at whose request he remained, and who was often in conference with him, suggest this difficulty, that it might be explained?

MR. GRUNDY. I was not authorized to disclose to any one what took place in Committee.

MR. EWING. The Honorable Chairman did not, at all times, feel the force of the obligation of secrecy. On at least one occasion I know he did disclose what took place in Committee, and endeavored to parry its effect; and I know of no special obligation resting on him in this case.

Whether this be or be not the transaction referred to in the letter from Richard Smith to Major Barry, I know not, probably it is; but if it be, this is a transaction that ought not to exist between persons standing in the relation of Postmaster General and contractor. It is the furnishing of pecuniary aid by the contractor to this high officer. It is entitling himself to his personal gratitude and especial good will and favor, by pecuniary accommodation. And it has been seen that the public money has gone, in flood tides, just where it would have gone, had this debt of private gratitude and good will been paid out of the public purse.

Another transaction, not commented upon in the re-

port, but which is to be found in the evidence, requires notice. Isaac Tompkins, in his testimony, page 295, states that in the fall of 1830 he had a conversation with Mr. E. Porter, touching the embarrassments of the Postmaster General. He proposed that a loan of about \$5000 should be made to Mr. Barry, and that Mr. Barry's salary would enable him to refund it before many months, and Mr. Porter expressly stated he acted without the knowledge of Mr. Barry. "His plan was, that a few of the principal contractors should make out this amount, and put it into some person's hands to loan to Mr. Barry, who should always remain ignorant of the source whence it came." Mr. Tompkins, on his second day's examination, and when a draft drawn by him on Storm & Co. was named to him by one of the committee, stated that, at the time of the conversation, he told Porter that, it would give him pleasure to contribute, but he had not the money on hand, but would have it in about ninety days, and that then he could furnish 500 dollars, the amount desired of him. A day or two subsequent to that conversation Mr. Porter called on him, and he drew a draft on Storm & Co. at ninety days. Porter acknowledged himself indebted to witness for the amount, and has since sent him word by his partner, Avery, that he was not unmindful of the obligation, and that it should be paid before long. The witness adds—"The only entry I have of the transaction, is in the following words: 'Made draft on Storm, E. Porter, due 1st of April, 500 dollars.'" Thus far Tompkins, whose name will be familiar to all who have read the report. He is one of a company who has received extra allowances, the amount of which is calculated, by its bare mention, to startle and astonish us.

Next follows the testimony of Edwin Porter; and, that the course of examination, and the consistency of the witnesses, may be the more readily noted, I read a part of his deposition, from pages 242 and 243 of the Report:

"Question 1st. Did you at any time assist in raising a sum of money for the relief of Major Barry? if you did, state the amount, and the time, and the circumstances, and the persons who contributed.

Answer. Col. Richard M. Johnson called on me, I should think, about two years ago, in this city, and stated that Mr. Barry was under some pecuniary embarrassments in consequence of some debts from Kentucky, which had come against him, for which he (Johnson) was bound as security. Mr. Johnson asked me if I could assist him, by lending him some money to meet those claims? I lent him 1,500 dollars, five hundred of which was lent to me by Mr. Tompkins. I considered that I lent the money to Mr. Johnson for the relief of Mr. Barry, and I held Mr. Johnson responsible for it.

Question 2d. Did you take any note, obligation, or memorandum from Mr. Johnson? or did you make any memorandum in your own books upon the subject?

Answer. Not to my knowledge.

Question 3d. Was any person present at the time when you lent the money to Mr. Johnson?

Answer. I should think not.

Question 4th. State, as nearly as you can, the time and circumstances of the repayment of that money?

Answer. I cannot state any thing concerning it.

Question 5th. Do you now recollect the fact of the repayment of the money?

Answer. I do recollect the fact that the money was repaid.

Question 6th. State where that money was repaid?

Answer. In Washington City.

Question 7th. In what house or room was it repaid?

Answer. I cannot say.

Question 8th. By whom was it repaid?

Answer. I cannot say whether it was repaid by Mr. Johnson, or some friend of his.

Question 9th. What friend of Mr. Johnson do you sup-

pose might have repaid it? have you any person in your mind whom you suppose might have done it?

Answer. I have not any person in particular at present.

Question 10th. To whom was that money repaid?

Answer. To me in person.

Question 11th. In what kind of funds was it paid?

Answer. My impression is, in bank notes.

Question 12th. Was any interest on the money paid?

Answer. No.

Question 13th. Have you repaid Tompkins his five hundred dollars?

Answer. I have not, but I wrote to him immediately on receiving the money, that it was ready for him: he has not applied for it. The dates of the letter I do not recollect."

Col. Richard M. Johnson testifies that he was security for Major Barry for a sum of money, some two years ago or more. That he was unable to raise the money, and Major Barry was unable. He wanted \$1500, and he applied to Mr. Porter to assist him; that Mr. Porter advanced the money, which was repaid by him in about three months, as he thinks, though it may have been six or nine months. Much curious comment might arise from a critical examination of all this evidence. The single fact is clear and certain, that a contribution was got up, among some of the contractors, for the benefit of Major Barry; but the time, the amount, and the time and manner of repayment, are variously stated. But I cannot now dwell upon the subject. There are some other things, also, not unworthy of note. I allude to the presents made by the contractors to Mr. O. B. Brown and the Postmaster General; indelicate, to say the least, in the givers and those who received, considering the relation of official duty in which they stood toward each other. Mr. Slaymaker sends a box of choice wine to Major Barry, and two boxes to Mr. O. B. Brown. Tompkins sends a cask of wine to O. B. Brown. But it is all done privately, and neither of those gentlemen knows any thing of the giver. These are small matters, but they are the same, in kind and character, for which an English Chancellor, Lord Bacon, was impeached and disgraced.

On the 11th, 12th, and 13th resolutions, I will not dwell. They are sustained by the most indubitable evidence, nor have they been at all called in question. As to the 14th, the facts upon which it rests are partly taken from the records and books of the Department, and partly from information not verified by oath. All that is stated of Wm. Smith, Horatio Hill, and Hay & Bennett, in the report, page 25, except the part that each of those persons, or some member of the firm of each, was the owner or editor of a newspaper, is proved by decisive evidence, such as would be satisfactory in a court of justice. Of those facts the committee expected to procure such evidence, before the question should be taken on this resolution; and as time has not yet been allowed us to do so, I ask that it be so amended as to submit the matter for further inquiry.

Common rumor says, that Wm. Smith is the proprietor of a partizan newspaper. It has been so stated by the honorable Senator from Virginia near me, (Mr. LEIGH,) on the floor of the Senate; and, in a publication in one of the city papers to which the name of Smith was appended, the fact was admitted. But we have not the evidence in such a form that it can be placed on our journals, or filed among our archives. So with Horatio Hill. We have been informed, by an honorable Senator from New Hampshire, that he is the editor of a violent and most vile party paper; and another Senator from that State, who stands in such relation to the individual as would imply full knowledge of the fact, does not deny it. Still we have it not in the proper form, and I do not wish the Senate to act upon it. The information as to Bennett, one of the partners in the contract of Hay & Bennett, is the same in

character. It was so stated to a member of the Committee, by J. B. Wallace, Esq. of Meadville, who also stated that the press, or Bennett's interest in it, had been sold by the administrator since the death of Bennett, and a respectable member of the other House, from Pennsylvania, assured us of the high standing and unquestionable veracity of Mr. Wallace. But, because the evidence is not on our files in such form as to stand in perpetual memory of the thing, I do not ask that it be received as fact, but that the Committee be permitted to follow up and extend the inquiry.

I have detained the Senate, perhaps, too long; but the relation in which the committee now stands to the public must be my apology. Their Report, in part, which is now before the Senate, exhibits scenes of black iniquity in one of the Departments of the Government, which can hardly find its parallel in any age or country; and that too in men of wealth, and power, and influence. A host of retainers are at the beck of those who rule this Department, prompt for any species of action which may be assigned to them. They, and the venal press which they command, have attacked us with unsparing fury; each man or company, who has received a large share of the booty, and whose participation in the plunder is noticed in the Report, has joined, or is ready to join, in the attack. A universal cry will be raised against us, and they will endeavor to drown the voice of truth in the general clamor. In the mean time the responsibility of our situation permits to us no defence any where except upon this floor. Here, and here only, can we speak or be heard upon these questions—and here must we this day be heard for the last time, until the Senate shall re-assemble, and permit us to lay before them the result of our further investigation. I thank the Senate for their patient attention at this late day, when I know it is hard to yield it—and I have now done.

Mr. CLAYTON then addressed the Senate. I am as well aware of the importance of time at this late period of the session as the honorable gentleman from New York, or any other man here. But as a member of that Committee, which, by special resolution of the Senate, was ordered to investigate the condition of the Post Office, and which, in obedience to that resolution, has made a report, I demand an examination of that report. As a matter of justice to myself personally, and to my colleagues who have thus proclaimed to the world the corruption of this Department, I require at the hands of every honorable man here a scrutiny into every statement and every argument which the report contains. In behalf of the majority of the Committee, I insist upon it that there shall be no evasion of the inquiry—no laying on the table—no skulking from the vote or avoiding the discussion. We have been placed by the vote of the Senate in the most unpleasant situation. We have been compelled to become public accusers, by a resolution which directed us to expose the frauds of this Department. We have faithfully and fearlessly stated the condition of this Augean stable, which we were sent to explore; and as we have been grossly assailed by the pensioned presses, and all the host of the Post Office stipendiaries, whose frauds and corruptions are exposed in the report, we now demand a trial of the truth of every accusation we have made in this presence, before the only tribunal to which we are amenable, and before which as honorable men we can defend ourselves. If it be true, as the gentleman from New York has declared, that it is too late in the session to take a vote on every resolution reported by the Committee, let us at least hear from him, or from the gentleman from Tennessee, or from any other man here who shall attempt a vindication of this Department, wherein we have erred; in what single instance, if it be possible for them to shew any, we have done wrong to any human being; and let us at least take the vote on so much of the report as can

be reached by the Senate in the few brief hours allotted to us for the transaction of such business.

Mr. President, this Committee has acted on a principle, the preservation of which is of the highest importance to the people of this country—that of discharging a public duty fearlessly, of exposing, firmly and fairly, public abuses within their cognizance, heedless of all consequences. We knew when we undertook this task that many thousands of dependents hung on this branch of the public revenue for subsistence, and that, for the exposure of such of them as had acted corruptly, obloquy and reproach from them was to be our reward. We did not shun "the fate of place"—we did not, and will not now "stint our necessary action in the fear to cope malicious censurers." It remains to be seen whether the Senate will take their share of this responsibility, and whether, with equal firmness of purpose, the principle upon which we have acted in this business shall be sustained by others.

That resolution to which I do most anxiously invite the attention of honorable members, is the first. It proclaims the deep indebtedness of the Department, and the fact that the Postmaster General has, upon his own responsibility, without deigning to ask the consent of Congress, borrowed money in defiance of the restrictions of those laws of which the Constitution is supreme, to supply deficiencies occasioned by the waste of the public money. It is in the following words:

"1. *Resolved*, That, is proved and admitted that large sums of money have been borrowed at different banks by the Postmaster General, in order to make up the deficiency in the means of carrying on the business of the Post Office Department, without authority given by any law of Congress; and that, as Congress alone possesses the power to borrow money on the credit of the United States, all such contracts for loans by the Postmaster General are illegal and void."

Upon this resolution let the Senate now express its opinion, even if, from the want of time, it be unable to proceed with the remainder. The Chairman, in his remarks, cautiously avoided its discussion. Will he now either deny the facts stated in this resolution or the conclusion it draws from them? On a former occasion I thought he ventured to excuse the conduct of the Department, or to exonerate it from censure.

[Mr. GRUNDY. The gentleman from Delaware misunderstands me, if he supposes I do either justify or excuse the Postmaster General in this business. I have not defended it and I shall not. I shall vote with the gentleman for the resolution.]

Mr. CLAYTON. I am happy to hear it. Others of the same party will, I trust, follow the example. The resolution contains a censure on this Postmaster General so strong that we may hope for some reformation in his Department, provided gentlemen do not evade the vote, or lay it on the table. Those who cannot deny, nor justify, nor excuse, this outrage on the Constitution and laws—this usurpation of the legislative power by a mere Chief of Department, will now show their sense of what is due on this subject to the nation, by joining in the vote, and thus disabusing the public mind, which has been grossly misled and deceived in relation to the whole matter, by the party press in the pay of the Post Office.

Sir, scarce two days have elapsed since we passed the general appropriation bill, giving to this Department a sum of no less than \$96,305 out of the Treasury to sustain it. I regard this as a gift from the Treasury of an amount unparalleled in the history of our legislation. Of this sum more than \$31,000 was for "extra clerk hire during the last year!" So that I suppose this officer is not only in the practice of borrowing money without law, but of making (not casually but regularly) new officers, and paying them without regard to it. This appro-

priation was suffered to pass by the Committee without opposition; yet the defenders and dependents of this Department have accused us of persecution, and, after they have obtained the money, they will continue to rail without cessation, because forsooth "they are persecuted!"

The whole annual revenue of this Department, according to information furnished by itself, amounts to nearly three millions of dollars. Such an engine of corruption, wielded entirely according to the will of one incompetent individual devoted to his political leader, however free from wilful corruption himself, as I have before in charity hoped him to be, backed too by annual appropriations from the Treasury of nearly \$100,000 per annum, is enough to startle every friend of civil liberty, no matter under what party banner he may have arrayed himself.

I would gladly, sir, avail myself of the opportunity to notice some remarks of the Chairman, as well as some of the misrepresentations of the Report, which are daily made in the party press, supported by the revenues of the Post Office, did I not fear that, by doing so, I was intruding too long on the patience of the Senate. (Cries of No, no! go on, go on!) Then, Mr. President, availing myself of the kind indulgence of the Senate, as thus expressed, and determined not to abuse it, I invite your attention to that boast which we have so often heard expressed in this chamber, and which has been reiterated throughout the country, that the doors of the Post Office were not closed against this inquiry. Look, now, I ask you at the numerous resolutions calling on the Postmaster General for information, passed months ago, to not one of which, during the whole session, has there been any answer whatever. One of these called for information of the number of removals from office he has made. Is there any answer to that? Another relates to the subject of the circular directing the ten thousand Postmasters to return quarterly statements of the number and names of subscribers to newspapers taken at the different Post Offices, thus establishing a system of espionage over the political reading of the people. Is there any answer to that? Instead of an official answer to this resolution, the Post Office press teems with abuse of the Senate and the Committee. The abuse of the franking privilege is the song of the very men, who, by means of this system of espial, know how and where to frank tens of thousands of extra Globes, in the midst of a political campaign throughout the country, break down the stages with their political newspapers and pamphlets, and then remunerate the favorite engaged in their transportation with an "extra allowance" for this "increased service." How many months have elapsed since the call was made upon the Postmaster General, by the Senate, for information of the amount of postages due in 1829, which have been since collected, to which he has refused to return any answer? Sir, such neglect ought to cause him to be removed from an office which it is evident he is unfit to fill.

To one of these resolutions, calling for his account of the manner in which he has disbursed the "incidental expenses" and secret service fund of this Department, he made no answer until the Committee demanded it; and now, if the statements of his newspaper organ, Mr. Francis P. Blair, and of other agents employed by him, are true, his own report is false in almost every important particular. As an example of this, I ask the Senate to look at his report, on the 228th page of the documents annexed to the report of the Committee, where this Postmaster General says that on the 31st of Dec. 1832, he paid "Francis P. Blair compensation for advertising (in the Globe, daily, weekly, and semi-weekly) the proposals for carrying the United States mails, for the whole Union, and the supplement thereto, from 20th July to 11th October, 1832, \$8386 50." Such, sir, is

Mr. Barry's official report. Our report states this fact in his own words. Then comes Mr. Blair with a memorial, which is introduced and ordered to be printed in a moment of inattention on the part of the Senators, *charging the Committee with misrepresentation and falsehood for stating this very fact.* Blair says, in this memorial, that he was engaged in the printing much longer than two months and twenty-one days, though his employer has expressly stated the time to have been "from the 20th of July to the 11th of October." To this memorial of Blair's, which evidently forms a part of a general system intended to be pursued by every creature of this Department, who can be prevailed upon to attack the Committee's report, I would invite the attention of the Senate, as a specimen of the decorum observed by the Government official, which is daily engaged in denouncing the majority of this Senate, as acting in the pay of the Bank of the United States. This memorial, which is a tissue of abuse, has been, as all present know, smuggled into the Senate, at a moment when we were about to go into Executive session, and when most of us were out of our seats. The member from Missouri, (Mr. BEXTON,) who presented it, must have been ignorant of its contents, or of the rules of this body, for he could not have presented it as a paper having either the semblance of truth or decency stamped upon it. It was presented in a moment of hurry and confusion; and, if time for the motion were now allowed, it would be expunged from the journal. My colleague from Rhode Island (Mr. KNIGHT) has already exposed many of its misrepresentations. He has shown, in one instance, that Blair has represented himself in it as having printed twice as much as he did print. But since the Committee discovered that such a paper was on the files of the Senate, they ordered three printers, Mr. Force, Mr. Donoho, and Mr. Rives, (Blair's own Foreman,) to ascertain the rates at which he printed this advertisement, and to say whether the prices paid were enormous. They have reported to us, under oath, that "the actual charge for the same advertisements in the National Intelligencer, is \$2,763 37½, for which Blair received \$8,838 50; making a difference of \$5,623 12½ beyond the former price, for this single job! Yet the subject of his complaint is, that the rates at which he has been employed are stated in the report to be enormous.

There is yet another misrepresentation in this memorial, based, as it would seem, on the information of some officer of this Department. The report of the Committee states, that, as the Department, on the application of the Committee, sent us only a part of the vouchers for Blair's account, and deferred sending the rest until it was too late to examine them in time for the report, we could not say how far the official statement in the Blue Book, in regard to them, was correct or incorrect. When we observed that this memorial had denied the fact stated by us, that only a part of Blair's vouchers was sent to the Committee on their application for them, we applied to the Chairman of the Committee to certify the fact as we had stated it. He has accordingly so stated the fact, in a letter to us, which I now hold in my hand. The fact that "a portion of the vouchers showing payments to Mr. Blair, according to his accounts, were not found among the papers" sent to us when we examined the printers' accounts, to ascertain how they agreed with the Register, certified as that fact now is, and here proved by the Chairman, may perhaps be accounted for by those who would boast that this Department has promptly submitted every thing to our investigation.

It will be observed that reference is made in the report to exhibits marked X, of which Blair's accounts form a part. Copies of these accounts were made out for the Committee, after the report was drawn up, and were afterwards annexed to it. The difference between them

and the report, is precisely the difference between them and Mr. Barry's own official returns of the incidental expenses on which, he it remembered, the report is founded. Mr. Barry's Official report of these expenses, will be found among the printed documents attached to the report, from page 222 to 232. Every man who shall be put in possession of a copy of the report, will see by referring to it that the statements of the Committee are fully sustained by it; and, whenever in the play of the game now practising, (by which every understrapper and hang-on of this department, who can be prevailed on to publish a denial of any part of the report, is to be found with a counter statement in the newspapers) any printer or "travelling agent," whether "general agent" or "special agent" referred to by the Committee, contradicts any thing alleged in their report, a reference to the Postmaster General's return of the incidental expenses, will immediately, either show the falsehood of the contradiction, or that reliance is not to be placed on a document emanating from this Department. This exhibit, commencing on the 222d page of the report, which for the first time exposes to public view the *secret service fund* of this corrupt and corrupting engine of Government, ought to be perused by every man in the Nation.

My honorable colleague from Ohio (Mr. EWING) has so fully vindicated the report of the Committee, against the aspersions of certain pet mail contractors, that it has become unnecessary for me to take notice of them. No one stands so conspicuous among them as Mr. James Reese, the foundation of whose complaints has just been so ably exposed. His \$40 contract, so adroitly turned into one for \$1,400, by "pencil marks" and his ingenuity in converting ninety-nine dollars into nineteen hundred and ninety-nine dollars, as will be seen by reference to the 11th page of the report, and the extra allowance or gift of \$10,000 to him and Slaymaker, referred to on the 14th and 15th pages of the report, whereof Parson Brown, the Chief Clerk, "was to have \$1,000," as Jesse Tomlinson has proved in his deposition on the 245th page. These, sir, I say, in connexion with the other facts disclosed regarding him, place him in a point of light before the public, which will prevent him from making many more very valuable "increased services" of this kind, at least for his employers.

Mr. CLAYTON then replied at length to Mr. GRUNDY, on the subject of the "minority report," criticising some of its statements, and denying the validity of its inferences. [The extreme heat of the weather, and the crowded state of the Senate Chamber during this part of the discussion, prevented our Reporter from noting these remarks.] He concluded by observing, in regard to the publications made to misrepresent the report of the committee, that he could not descend, as a political gladiator, into the arena with every hireling, who might choose the Post Office press as the medium of attack on the committee. But in this chamber he was ready to defend their statements, and defied contradiction of them. The Report had been made by his friend from Ohio (Mr. EWING) who had taken upon himself nearly all the labor of the investigation, his own time having been, during its progress, occupied by the duties of three other committees, so that he had not been able to visit the Department once during the session. His judgment on the facts had been formed from the documents and proofs laid before him, and every Senator here had now the same means of judging. He invited examination and discussion of these facts, among other reasons, because if there were any error in the Report, if amidst such a multiplicity of matter it could be found that, in any single instance, injustice had been done to any human being,

it would give him pleasure, he was anxious, to acknowledge it, and to correct the error. He trusted that he was incapable of being governed by that false pride which dictated perseverance in error, when fairly convinced of it; and he was equally incapable of being restrained by the fear of a Post Office persecution, from exposing these frauds on the public revenues. He hoped, nay, he knew, that his former colleagues, who still remained on the committee, and who had leisure for the purpose, would continue faithfully and fearlessly to investigate the corruptions of this Department. They would doubtless be assailed by its whole vengeance—by a host of stipendiaries, exercising more influence, when aided by its money, than all the other Departments combined. Menaces would be employed when other measures failed to deter them from their duty, but those menaces would, he knew, be treated with unutterable scorn and contempt. The whole power of the Post Office, and its newspapers combined, would be exerted in vain against men who gave themselves up to a service of such importance to the country; and the falsehoods which would be circulated to injure them, would only recoil on the heads of those whose frauds would continue to be dragged to light by the investigation.

Mr. CLAY addressed the Senate. Precious as were the few remaining hours of this arduous session of Congress, I feel it to be my duty (said he) to say a few words on the extraordinary condition of the Post Office Department. Indeed, I do not know that our time could be better spent than it would be in exposing and remedying the acknowledged abuses in its administration. But I shall avoid details, and speak only of leading, undeniable, and striking facts. And, first, allow me to say, that the Senate, the country, and all honorable men, owe a great obligation to the committee for the able and satisfactory manner in which they have discharged their duty. With their full share of other duties, incident to this protracted and memorable session, they have displayed ability, diligence, and untiring labor, which have been seldom equalled. They have especially manifested, in an eminent degree, the possession of moral courage, that admirable virtue, without which the character of a public man, whatever other excellencies may be blended in it, is greatly defective. The committee have only broken the crust of abuse and corruption, but it has brought them into contact with favorites and mercenaries, who have already commenced a warfare of calumny and abuse, and who will continue to assail the committee, in every village print, from Maine to Louisiana. Go on, gentlemen of the committee, regardless of these assaults, and fear not. Open to the gaze of an insulted and outraged People, the venal enormities, the surface only of which you have touched, and confidently rely upon the support and the justice of a generous and enlightened community. The memorial from the Editor of the Globe, reflecting upon your conduct, has been received, and ordered to be printed by the Senate, without, I am persuaded, any knowledge of its contents, by the Senate, generally, certainly none by me. If we had time, I would submit a motion to expunge its reception from the journals of the Senate.

The first incontestable fact which the committee has brought forth, is, that a little more than five years ago, the late Postmaster General transferred the Department to his successor, the present incumbent, with an acknowledged surplus in its Treasury of about a quarter of a million of dollars; and with an official assurance, founded on long experience, of its competency to yield to the public treasury, a clear annual revenue of half a million of dollars. This fact cannot be denied, and is not denied.

The next fact, equally well established, is, that the Department is now bankrupt, and that it has been insolvent since the month of December, 1832. In less than a term of four years after the present Postmaster General entered upon the duties of his office, the Department became insolvent.

A third fact is, that the actual condition of the Department was not only concealed from Congress and from the Public, but, at the very moment when its flourishing and successful operations were vauntingly proclaimed in official documents it was actually insolvent and unworthy of credit.

A fourth fact is, that, without the color of legal authority, and in direct and positive violation of an express provision of the Constitution, a series of loans, beginning in December 1832, and continued down into the present session of Congress, has been negotiated, upon the credit of the United States, to sustain the Department. These loans have been negotiated by a Head of one of the five Departments of Government, established in Washington, under the eye and immediate direction of the President—a Head almost in daily intercourse with him, and forming a part of his Cabinet. It is said that the President was not informed of the fact of these loans being negotiated. If it be true, (which is scarcely credible,) that the Chief Magistrate was ignorant of them, then the Postmaster General, by concealing that fact both from Congress and from the Executive, has been guilty of a double violation of his official duty. But, since January last, now about six months, when an official report to the Senate communicated the existence of these loans, the President has known of them, by the admission of the Postmaster General himself. These loans are a plain, palpable, indefensible, and undefended, violation of the Constitution. And, notwithstanding, the President continues the Postmaster General in office, and he continues in office every subordinate under him, without the least known animadversion upon his conduct.

Sir, I have already expressed my feelings to the Senate in respect to the Postmaster General. He was, for a long time, my neighbour; and, once, both my personal and political friend. I am grieved, pained, mortified, in contemplating his present situation; and I would not utter one word, beyond what is demanded of me by an imperative sense of public duty, to reflect a wound upon his feelings. But I am constrained to believe that he has been guilty of gross, inexcusable, and culpable neglect of his official duty, to say the least.

And now, sir, let us pause and estimate the value of that responsibility, which the President, in his celebrated Protest, asserts he lies under for all the Executive officers of the Government. Of what avail is it? It is not a case of distant, remote, or doubtful malversation. It is present, at the threshold of the Executive Mansion, and perpetrated by one of his Cabinet Counsellors. Where was the President himself that he did not look into the general state of this department? If really ignorant of the existing abuses, and the unconstitutional contraction of large loans, why, after he has obtained full knowledge of the fact, does he forbear to apply any corrective within his power? Why does he not exercise the boasted power of dismissal? Does he not make himself at least accessory after the fact, to the acknowledged delinquency?

And what, too, are we to think of the President's professions of hatred to abuse and corruption, of his avowed solicitude for the preservation of the public morals, and of his anxious desire to promote the purity and fidelity of all our institutions?

The facts, to which I have adverted, stand out in bold and prominent relief. They are not denied. They are not justified or defended. They cannot be excused or palliated. They are admitted by both branches of the Committee, charged with the investigation into the affairs of the Department. And they alone furnish ample means

of forming a correct judgment. They supersede all necessity of looking further, or looking into other details, in determining upon the conduct of the chiefs of this Department. I cannot, however, forbear to make a few more observations.

The practice of making enormous extra allowances is so general, and is so capable of being employed as means of rewarding and stimulating the zeal of favorites and partisans, that it should command the attention and provoke the decided condemnation of the public. Proposals for contracts, clearly defined, are advertised, and instead of making them according to the proposals, different contracts, under the pretext of improvement, a slight acceleration in the rapidity, or an inconsiderable deviation in the route, of the mail, are entered into. Or, if the contracts are made in conformity with the proposals, upon some one of these pretexts, the extra allowance is subsequently made, and the contract varied. The effect is to destroy all competition. One set of contracts is thus advertised, and another is actually made. Why perform the farce of a public advertisement if this practice is to be tolerated? Why pay to the Editor of the Globe for publishing the Post Office proposals the extravagant sum of upwards of eight thousand dollars (more than 5,000 dollars beyond what, under another Administration, was paid to Gales & Seaton for similar services) if the advertisement is to be disregarded? It would be a measure of economy to publish proposals for printing the proposals, provided always, that there was no extra allowance made.

These extra allowances, sometimes exceeding the original contract three or four times, are not only made without adequate consideration, but, in some instances, are downright gratuities, as in the instance of the 10,000 dollars to Reeside and Slaymaker. No one can impartially read the account of that allowance without being convinced that it was a most scandalous transaction. The pretext for it was that, in consequence of the rapidity of their coaches, the burthens belonging to other lines were shifted upon them from other contractors. Well; ought they not to have anticipated from their long and great experience that state of things, if it existed? And if they were to be compensated by an additional allowance for what was within the fair scope of their original contract, should not the other contractors have been subjected to a proportionate abatement, from the amount stipulated to them, in consequence of the reduction of their burthens? But the extra allowance is made to them, without any corresponding deduction from the others. And what demonstrates that these extra allowances were not justly due is, that when the necessities of the Department at last forced upon it some measure of retrenchment, the extra allowances have been, in some cases, (that amongst others,) given up, or reduced quietly, without a murmur.

The indignation of the public must increase when it learns that these very objects of the extraordinary favors of the Department, are, in their turn, dispensing favors to those high in the Department. Thus, the Postmaster General himself places himself under pecuniary obligation to Mr. Reeside. And O. B. Brown, about the period of this extravagant allowance to Reeside and Slaymaker, is obtaining a large sum from them under color of a loan, but which, I am compelled to say, is unexplained, and wears a much more suspicious aspect. We see him, too, borrowing from one company of contractors and lending to another company.

Mr. President, these matters cannot fail to make a deep and serious impression. Considering the delicate relations between the Department and contractors, its high officers should have no pecuniary transactions with them; should be the objects of no presents of quarter casks or boxes of wine, (as in the case of Mr. Brown,) or of any thing else, from those who are so directly interested in conciliating their favor.

I remember an example which I recommend as worthy of their imitation. During my youth, I acted as the amanuensis of that pure, upright, and excellent man, the late Chancellor Wythe of Virginia. An opulent West Indian (or one supposed to be opulent) removed to Richmond, and fixed his residence in the neighborhood of the Chancellor. He had an important suit in Chancery; and one morning, when I was present, he sent by a servant to the Chancellor a demijohn of old Arrack; and a little Orange tree for his niece. With that ineffable politeness, which characterized his demeanor, as strongly as that of any gentleman whom I ever knew, he begged the servant to take back the articles to his master, with his compliments and his thanks, and to say to him that he had passed the season of life for enjoying the old Arrack, and that he feared the Orange tree might be neglected and die, if it were accepted, as his niece was frequently absent, and he could not bind himself to attend to it.

Mr. President, I feel it my duty, unpleasant as it is, to notice one or two other facts. Of the two members of the minority of the Committee, one (the Senator from Illinois) has a brother, who is a member of a company that has received an extra allowance on a contract three times the amount of the original sum stipulated. I know that brother well: he is a gentleman of high character and respectability, and opposed to this Administration. But he is associated with others, who are its supporters, and who are members of a family that has received larger sums from the public treasury than any two, or, perhaps, ten, other families in the United States. And, sir, there is reason to apprehend that these extra allowances are sometimes made to opponents of the Administration, that, under cover of them, its supporters may be allowed safely to plunge their hands deeper into the public treasury. I am far from saying or insinuating that the fact, to which I have alluded, has biased the judgment of the honorable Senator. But the fact ought to be known to the public.

Again; the only Senator, out of the Committee, who has risen to make a formal defence of the Post Office Department, is the honorable Senator from New Hampshire, (Mr. HILL.) That Senator read from his place, as a speech, a prepared, deliberate, and elaborate essay and his brother has fifteen contracts within the limits of that single State! I make no comments upon the fact. I know not that it has had any influence upon the mind of the honorable Senator; and I do not, therefore, assert that it has; but it is right that the public should know the fact.

Mr. President, the principal object of my rising was to express the acknowledgments due to the Committee. I hope they will fearlessly proceed in the discharge of their important and arduous duties, unawed and undismayed. I trust that they will despise and disregard the attacks already made, or which may be made, upon their motives and upon their probity and character. They may expect many more. They may even anticipate doleful complaints from the Reverend O. B. Brown, of their prying curiosity, as to his private transactions! Private transactions! It is to be feared that there are some so *private* that they can never be fairly exhibited to the public eye. Bribery and corruption are generally extremely secret transactions. Go on, I say again, gentlemen; penetrate all the labyrinths of the Augean Stable; drag forth the public culprits, and fear not that you will finally triumph over all the calumny and malignity of the whole tribe of venal favorites and mercenaries, and win for yourselves the thanks and gratitude of a just and generous, but highly abused public!

Mr. WEBSTER said that he thought great credit was due to the Committee for the labor, diligence, and ability, which its members had bestowed on

the subject referred to them. They have now made a report of a very serious character, containing explicit charges of mal-administration, and accompanied by the evidence on which those charges are founded. Two members of the committee have made a report, or presented a paper, of their own, in which they undertake in some instances to defend, and in others to excuse, the conduct of the Postmaster General, and other persons employed in the Department. Now, sir, (said Mr. W.) in an affair so complicated, where there are so many charges, and so much evidence, the first question to be asked, is, are any of these charges admitted to be true, by the friends of the Administration, and, if any, which? And, as to the rest of the charges, are they all denied or contradicted, or are some of them, and, if any, which, left without denial or contradiction? The honorable Chairman of the Committee, (Mr. GUNN,) who does not agree in the report of the committee, but who is one of the two members who signed the other paper called the report of the minority, has addressed the Senate repeatedly, on the subject of these charges. Some of them he has objected to, others he has not attempted to rebut, and of others he has said nothing. The honorable gentleman is friendly to the Administration, and to the Head of the Post Office Department; and, therefore, perhaps, it was hardly to be expected that he should show great zeal in the prosecution of this inquiry. Yet I think, sir, we had a right to expect from him not only his opinion on all the charges, but also some degree of patriotic indignation, against lawless acts, which he admits to be lawless. Take, for example, the first resolution of the committee, which declares that the Postmaster General has borrowed money on the credit of the United States, without any authority of law. The honorable Chairman says, he admits the truth of this charge. Admits it? But why does he content himself with admitting it? Does he not regard it as a gross violation of duty? Does he not think it an alarming thing, that the Postmaster General should borrow half a million of dollars, in order to cover up the deficiencies of the Department, and that he should keep this loan concealed, for years, from the knowledge of Congress? As the head of a committee charged to inquire into abuses, and this enormous abuse having been discovered, can the honorable member justify himself by simply saying he admits its existence? Has he no reproof, no word of censure for such a flagrant violation of law? Has he no disapprobation to express, no complaint to enter, in such tones as that the Administration shall hear them? No man denies the fact, and none undertakes to defend it. What then? Is the Department still to go on in its career, and nothing done, any more than if nothing had been discovered? If there were nothing else in the whole report, if that charge stood alone, I cannot conceive how any man can doubt that the Department ought to be immediately and thoroughly reformed. The country, if I mistake not, will call for such reformation. As to upholding the administration of the Department, with such charges against it proved and admitted, it is more even than the spirit of party devotion can accomplish.

Again, sir, the third resolution distinctly declares that a practice prevails, in the Post Office, of granting contracts on bids which vary from the advertisements, and of altering contracts, after they are made and accepted; a practice which destroys all competition, and enables the Department to give all contracts to favorites. Is this charge denied, or admitted? I have not heard the honorable member, the Chairman, deny it. Does he acknowledge it to be true? If he does, why does he not tell us, in a plain and direct manner, that this, too, is an enormous abuse, and ought to be reformed? Is such a practice to pass without reprobation? While its exist-

ence is detected, discovered, and acknowledged, is there to be no rebuke of it?

There is then the sixth resolution, which declares, that extra allowances have been made to contractors, which are unreasonable and extravagant, and out of all proportion with the increase of service. Is this true?

The 11th resolution alleges, in general terms, that the Department is deeply in debt, and its affairs in disorder. I have heard no man deny this. None can deny it. The Department is deeply in debt; its affairs are disordered, greatly disordered. These extra allowances appear to have lost their original character. Instead of being extraordinary, they have become ordinary. Contractors calculate upon them. The probability of an extra enters into their motives, when they make bids. Indeed it seems of very little importance what bids they make. They are in fact paid just what sums the Postmaster General sees fit to pay; and they are generally very well satisfied. From the frequency and the amount of these extras, the constant changing of contractors, it is quite evident that all fair competition among contractors is done away.

Mr. President, the country is awakened to these abuses in the Post Office, and it will not be, and ought not to be, satisfied without a thorough examination, and an honest and real reform. I give my hearty thanks to the Committee for their zeal and industry. They have had a laborious winter, and are likely to have a laborious summer. Let them go on, fearlessly, and the country will appreciate their services.

Let them explore all the sources of corrupt patronage; let them bring all abuses into the broad light of day. Let them inquire into the number of removals of Postmasters, with the alleged causes of such removals. Let them inquire at whose bidding honest and faithful men have been removed, to make way for partisans. Let them ascertain whether it be true that persons here may go into the Post Office, and require the removal of Postmasters by dozens; and whether the Postmaster General, as matter of course, complies with such requisitions.

Mr. President, it is due to the Committee, it is due to the Senate itself, it is due to this highly important subject, that we should express an opinion on some of the leading resolutions reported by the Committee. If some are more doubtful than the rest, or require further examination, let them remain for further consideration. But on the plain, acknowledged, notorious cases, let us come

to a vote. Let us show the country that we are in earnest. Let us begin with the first, with that which respects the borrowing of the money from Banks, without authority of law, or even the knowledge of Congress; and let us see whether any one individual member of the Senate is prepared to withhold from that proceeding his vote of censure.

Mr. BENTON thought the Senate ought to defer, for the present, taking a vote on the resolutions. He said, he had had no opportunity of carefully examining the reports, and therefore knew but little of their contents. However, he must say, that he had found things in them at which he had felt much mortified.

Mr. WEBSTER thought the best course, which was called for by the importance of the subject, and what was due as well to the Committee as the Senate, was this, to take a vote on the first resolution. He would then move to lay the others upon the table, until such time as gentlemen had an opportunity of examining them, when he would move that they be taken up.

The question was then taken on agreeing to the first resolution reported by the Post Office Committee, in the following words:

Resolved, That it is proved and admitted that large sums of money have been borrowed at different Banks by the Postmaster General, in order to make up the deficiency in the means of carrying on the business of the Post Office Department, without authority given by any law of Congress; and that, as Congress alone possesses the power to borrow money on the credit of the United States, all such contracts for loans by the Postmaster General are illegal and void."

And the question on agreeing to this resolution was decided as follows:

YEAS—Messrs. Benton, Bibb, Black, Brown, Calhoun, Chambers, Clay, Clayton, Ewing, Forsyth, Frelinghuysen, Grundy, Hendricks, Hill, Kane, Kent, King, of Ala., King, of Georgia, Knight, Lynn, Mangum, Moore, Nau-dain, Poindexter, Porter, Prentiss, Preston, Robbins, Robinson, Shepley, Silsbee, Smith, Southard, Sprague, Swift, Tomlinson, Tyler, Waggaman, Webster, White, Wright—41.

NAYS—None.

So the Resolve was unanimously adopted.

On motion of Mr. WEBSTER, who congratulated the Senate on the unanimity of this vote, the residue of the resolutions were then ordered to lie on the table.