into the argument, I will say that, in look ing to the powers of this Government to collect, safely keep, and disburse the public revenue, and incidentally to regu-late the commerce and exchanges, I have not been able to satisfy myself that the establishment, of a bank of discount, in the ordinary acceptation of that term, wa-a necessary means, or one demanded by

propriety, to execute those powers.

What can the local discounts of the bank have to do with the collecting, safe keeping, and disbursing of the revenue? So far as the mere discounting of paper is concerned, it is quite immaterial to this question whether the discount is obtained at a State Bank or the United States Bank. They are both equally local—both beginning and both ending in a local accommodation. What influence have local discounting the state of the state o

where in payment of public dues. It had, up to that period, dealt to but a very small extent in exchanges, either foreign or domestic; and as late as 1823, its operations mestic; and as late as 1823, its operations point that line amounted to a little more est than \$7,000,000 per annum; a very rapid are augmentation soon after occurred, and in the 1833 its dealings in exchanges amounted is

creased to more than \$22,000,000, and the notes of the Bank were regarded as equal to specie all over the country; thus showing, almost conclusively, that it was the capacity to deal in exchanges, and not in local discounts, which furnished these facilities and advantages. It may be re-marked, too, that notwitstanding the im-mense transactions of the Bank in the purchase of exchange, the losses sustain ed were merely nominal; while in the line of discounts, the suspended debt was enormous, and proved most disastrous to the Bank and to the country. Its power of local discount has, in fact, proved to be a fruitful source of favoritism and corrup tion, alike destructive to the public mor als and the general weal.

The capital invested in banks of dis

count in the United States, created by the States, at this time exceeds \$350,000,000 States, at this time exceeds \$350,000,000; and if the discounting of local paper could have produced any beneficial effects, the United States ought to possess the sound est currency in the world but the reverse is lamentably the fact.

Is the measure now under consideration, of the objectionable character to which I have alluded? It is clearly so unless the 16th fundamental article of the

unless the 16th fundamental article of th 11th section is made otherwise. That ar ticle is in the following words.

"The directors of the said corporation shall establish one competent office of dis-

count and deposit in any State in which two thousand shall have been subscribed or may be held, whenever, upon applica-tion of the Legislature of such State, or

Congress may by law require the same.

And the said directors may also establish one or more competent offices of discount or deposit in any Territory or District of the United States, and when establish of the United States, and when established the United States are the United States, and when established the United States are the United States and United States are the United States are the United States and United States are the United States are t lished, the said office or offices shall be only withdrawn or removed by the said directors prior to the expiration of this charter, with the previous assent of Con-

Provided, in respect to any State which shall not, at the first session of the Legislature thereof, held after the passage of this act, by resolution, or other usual legis lative proceeding, unconditionally assent or dissent to the establishment of such office or offices within it, such assent of the said State shall be thereafter presum ed. And provided nevertheless. That whenever it shall become necessary and proper for carrying into execution any of the powers granted by the Constitution, to establish an office or offices in any of the States whatever, and the establishment the states whatever, and the establishment thereof shall be directed by law, it shall be the duty of the said directors to estab-lish such office or offices accordingly." It will be seen that by this clause the directors are invested with the fullest pow-

er to establish a branch in any State which has yielded its assent; and having once established such branch, it shall not afterwards be withdrawn except by order of Congress. Such assent is to be implied and to have the force and sanction of an actually expressed assent, "provided in respect to any State which shall not, at the first assion of the Legislature there of held after the passage of this act, by resolution or other unusual legislative proceeding, unconditionally assent or dissen to the establishment of such office or offices within it, such assent of said Stateshall be thereafter prosumed." The assent or dissent is to be expressed unconditionally at the first session of the Legislature by some formal legislative act; and if not so expressed, its assent is to be imwards be withdrawn except by orde if not so expressed, its assent is to be im-

ning and both enting in a local distance have local discounts, granted by any form of bank, in the regulating of currency and the exchanges? Let the history of the late United States Bank aid us in answering this inquiry.

The Representatives may desire a submission of the question to their constitutions the proparatory to final action upon it, but this high privilege is denied; whatever may be the motives and views entertained by the Representatives of the people to For several years after the establishment of that institution it dealt almost exclusively in local discounts, and during that period, the country was, for the most part, disappointed in the consequences anticipated from its incorporation.

A uniform currency was not provided, exchanges were not regulated, and little or nothing was added to the general circulation; and in 1820, its embarrassments were so great that the directors petitioned Congress to repeal that article of the charter the contrary, their assent is to be implied. Cases innustration of assent or dissent to be undecided and postponed, and yet, in opposition to their express declaration to the contrary, their assent is to be implied. Cases innustration.

1833 its dealings in exchanges amounted to upwards of \$100,000,000, including the sales of its own drafts; and all these immense transactions were effected with out the employment of extraordinary means.

The currency of the country became sound, and the negociations in the exchanges were carried on at the lowest possible rates. The circulation was increased to more than \$22,000,000, and the whenever they may find it conducive to

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