

REASONS

WHY

The Hon. Elisha R. Potter

SHOULD NOT BE

A SENATOR IN CONGRESS:

BY ONE OF THE PEOPLE.

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REASONS.

THE State of Rhode-Island is now called upon to exercise one of its most important national rights. A Senator for Congress must be elected. His term of service will begin on the 3d of March 1835, and will end on the 3d of March 1841. During this term of six years, the greatest questions, involving the most important interests of the people, must be re-examined, and permanently settled. Among these, are the defence of the country, by fortifications already began, and to be completed; the public money of the country to be recovered and secured in the control of Congress; the currency of the country to be restored and sustained, by a recharter of a United States Bank; the improvement of the country in facility of travel and transportation to be advanced by clearing out the great rivers, and uniting them by roads and canals; and the progress of the wealth of the country to be cherished, by encouraging and protecting the labours of the people of all parts of it; and all these will in one or another of these years, come under the consideration of Congress, and must be *finally settled and established, or finally rejected and abandoned*. If the *first* be done, we shall continue to be a nation united, and as we were, prosperous and happy; but if the *last* shall be our political course, God only knows what *untried calamities* may be in store for us, and fall to the allotment of the American people. For, in the impressive language of the Hon. Mr. Tipton, Senator from Indiana, in his late address to the people of that State; "*if we give up internal improvement, a protective tariff, and the regulation of the currency, what is left us worth contending for?*"

The House of Representatives, which shall be elected by the people of Rhode-Island, on the last Wednesday of this present month of August, must choose for this State, a Senator, who, with the other members of that distinguished body of men, must *deliberate, debate, explain, and finally decide all these great questions*. Consider, then, fellow citizens, what manner of man; of what mind; of what talents; acquisitions; integrity; political principles, experience and course of life, you will *instruct* those Representatives to select and entrust with the preservation of so much of your own, and so much of the great and enduring interests of your children, in all times to come. It may be useless, but it is nevertheless the duty of every patriot, to advise, and exhort you, to *lay aside all party animosity, all party prejudice*; and choose your State Representatives with a single and unclouded eye to their duty in selecting, for your Senator in Congress, that man, who is not only able to do you the *most* service; but who, when he shall enter the great council of the nation, will, from *habits, principles, and inclination*, be disposed and willing, to do that service. What I exhort you to do, I will endeavor to do myself; and, in what I shall say of *any candidate*, I will lay aside, so far as human infirmity will permit me to lay aside, all party prejudice, all party animosity.

The Hon. E. R. Potter is, by his political friends and adversaries, regarded as a candidate, for this high trust. I may allude to other gentlemen, as candidates; but it is my principle purpose, to examine *with seriousness, and candor*, the political merits of Mr. Potter, in reference to the office of Senator in Congress. Some questions of *locality*, may very properly be considered, before any attention is given to a consideration of Mr. Potter's *personal* qualifications.

Mr. Potter resides in *Kingstown*. This pleasant village is situated in the *south* part of the State; but the Hon. Mr. Robbins of Newport, is *now* a Senator in Congress; and can it be the purpose of Mr. Potter's friends, to contend that the *south part* of the State, is entitled to both, and the *north part* to neither of the Senators? The whole population of the State is 97,210 souls. Of these, 47,020 are inhabitants of the county of Providence. This number is but a fraction less than one half of our whole population. If a line be drawn from east to west, through the centre of the State, it would leave all Warwick, excepting Pawtewoomet, together with Coventry, Warren and Barrington, on the north side. These four towns contain a population of 10,780 souls. This number, added to the population of the county of Providence, after deducting 780 persons for that part of Warwick *south* of Greenwich, will leave in the northern half of the State, upwards of 57,000 souls. Are all these people to have no representative, in the Senate of the U. States? or are they, and their great interests, to be represented by Mr. Potter, a gentleman who cannot be supposed to know better, or more highly to regard those interests, than some one of their own neighbors, located among themselves, and thus sharing, in their prosperous or adverse fortunes?

These interests are agricultural, commercial, and manufacturing. These are all of them so united, and in a manner, knit together, that the great prosperity of agriculture, depends on our commerce and manufactures. The farmers of this *northern* part of the State, would be without a market, were it not for the people, of Providence, and in all the numerous villages, planted on the banks of the rivers, at every waterfall. It cannot be stated *how much* the value of the lands has been increased in the *neighborhood* of these young, and rising towns; for some of them are *already* towns, in their number of buildings, and in their population. Mr. Potter's lands have no connexion with these establishments; and do not depend on them, either for a market, or for their great value. The produce of his farms, his crops of corn, barley and oats, and his beaves and swine, lambs, muttons, and wool, find a market by water, either at Newport or New York. Ought these people, then, to have no representative in the Senate, or to have one whose interests have no connexion, or dependence on their interests?

The navigation of Providence district was, in 1832, 19,136 tons; that of Newport, 8,591 tons; that of Bristol district 12,870 tons. Warren, being part of the northern half of the State, but comprehended in Bristol District, owns not less than 6,000 tons of the navigation of that District. This, added to the tonnage of Providence District, will shew that the navigating interest of the north, is equal and somewhat greater than that of the south.

The nett revenue, paid by R. Island through the Custom House, on goods imported from foreign countries by this navigation, and consumed by the people of this State, amounted, in the ten years begining at 1801, and ending at 1810, to \$2,820,386,36. If we add to this sum, the amount of the ten preceding years, when somewhat less was paid, and the twenty-three succeeding years, during most of which, much more was paid; it will be found, that R. Island has paid into the General Treasury of the U. States, for duties on imports, since she joined the union, not less than \$10,000,000. Of this, more than three fifth parts, or not less than \$6,000,000, have been paid by the people of the north part of the State. Do not this amount of tonnage, and this weight of revenue paid into the treasury of the nation, by the people of the north-

ern section of the State, give to those people something like a fair claim, to have from among their own number, a Senator, selected and sent to Congress, to attend to a navigating and commercial interest, which has contributed *so largely* towards supporting the government, paying the national debt, providing for the common defence, and promoting the general welfare?

This same north part holds a large share of the banking interest. The whole capital of the State is \$7,961,848. Of this \$6,584,788 belongs to citizens north of the line abovementioned. The manufacturing capital of the State is located almost all of it, north of that line. The whole capital is estimated at \$6,262,340. Are not people owning and operating all this capital; and thereby calling into industrious activity so many people; consuming so much of the products of the lands of this and other States, entitled to be represented in the Senate, by a person, belonging among them, and knowing and cherishing all their interests? Must they depend on Mr. Potter for this service; or will the people of the South part of the State, award to us what we awarded to them, a Senator from among their own number, the Hon. Mr. Robbins, who can intimately know, and will faithfully represent and sustain all their peculiar and local interests, before the great council of the nation?

The taxes of the State are not paid by the lands, but exclusively by personal property; and fall principally on banking capital, and that part of commercial and manufacturing capital, which is transferred, by sales at auction. In the same proportion that those kinds of capital, abound in the north, but do not abound in the South, will the taxes of the South, be less than the North. The South has the more enduring, and substantial wealth, the abundant fertility of its most excellent lands. This will endure, and be productive of subsistence, and wealth, to the people of that section of the State; when the ruinous measures of the General Government, *may have crumbled down to dust*, our manufacturing establishments; sweep our ships and vessels from the seas and oceans; render our banking capital unproductive or useless; and finally brought us back to what we were 40 years ago, a poor and spare population, relying, for subsistence, on our sandy and rocky lands, in a comparatively cold and barren region of country. Shall we then, who pay so much of the State taxes, and pay them so cheerfully; and whose prosperity depends so entirely on the *measures of the United States Government*, have no Senator in Congress from among ourselves, whose *own* prosperity must *live or die* with ours? Shall we be compelled to rely on Mr. Potter? His farms will continue to be fertile, his mortgages will remain secure; when our Ships, Banks, and Factories shall have been consumed, by the movements of a pernicious Presidential policy?

Once more; the people of the north pay *one other* tax, from which, those of the South are *wholly* exempted. A toll gate is established, *on the great road*, leading from Providence to Pawtucket, and thence up the valley of the Blackstone river, into the very heart of our manufacturing establishments. It is alleged in public papers, friendly to Mr. Potter, and therefore *must be true*, that the annual tolls paid at this gate, amount to \$3000. This goes into the general Treasury. No complaint is heard, by the labor and capital moved on this road, and paying this toll. Will not the people of the South, be satisfied, when we pay this tax, from which they are exempted? Will they also insist on choosing Mr. Potter for our Senator in Congress; the very Gentleman, who as his friends have told us, *bound and laid this burden on our shoulders*; and who

does not now, and never will touch it, with so much as one of his fingers? It is recommended to the north, and to the South; to all candid men of all parties, to take these local and deeply interesting facts, *seriously into their deliberate considerations*; and thereupon, to judge and determine, and do in relation to us, as we have and as they will always *hereafter desire us to judge and determine and act*, in relation to them.

It may now be proper to consider Mr. Potter's personal qualifications, for this high trust. It is true, he is advanced in life; but the vigor of his mind is not diminished by age. "His eyes are not dim, nor his natural strength abated." He is now, in mental powers, natural and acquired, very much what he was 40 years ago. Those who have intimately known him, during all that time, must admit all this. If his mind has not become less fertile, it has not been enriched, and rendered more productive. Mr. Potter came to the Bar and practised as a lawyer, at a time when legal acquirements were not so important and indispensable to a successful practice, as they are now. He has often been heard to say, that he never read more law than Blackstone's Commentaries. Embarking early in his course, in the quite extensive labors of the bar, not less than in those of State politics, he then did not find, nor has he since, ever found, any time for that mental culture, which can not be realized without extensive reading, and a laborious and continued course of study. Occupied in local politics, in plans of contriving, and carrying elections, he has ever been studying the genealogy of families; the interest of individuals in different neighborhoods, and thereby bringing them *so to bear on his own* purposes, as to advance his own individual interest and ambition. He is accordingly in this kind of learning, a most apt, and very ripe scholar. On the contrary, he has had neither time, or inclination to give attention to science or literature. He has never attempted to unlock those stores of wisdom, found in the writings of the great Scholars and Statesmen of ancient and modern times.— He probably never looked into; he certainly never thoroughly examined any book, on history, geography, civil government, the nature and causes of the wealth of nations, or those valuable publications which give to us statistical accounts of the productions, resources and powers of our own, or other countries. Mr. Potter having found no use, and having had no taste, for these things, has utterly neglected to acquire any knowledge of them. His remarks in conversation, and in our General Assembly, show this most conclusively. Those who heard him in debate, with George Champ- lin, Governor Bradford and Welcome Arnold, will remember, that his speeches *then* were precisely what they are *now*, in debate, with Benjamin Hazzard, James D'Wolfe, and Joseph L. Tilling- hast. While his pecuniary wealth has been cultivated, and abundantly increased, his intellectual resources have been left in their natural condition; and without any of that culture, so much the delight of the scholar, and now so essential to the great, able and successful Statesman.

Compare the mind of Mr. Potter with the mind of Mr. Robbins. Originally the one was fully equal to the other; but Mr. Robbins has diligently cultivated, while Mr. Potter has totally neglected his mind. The one has been constantly reading, and studying all the great masters of ancient and modern times; the other has cautiously avoided all books, all conversation, all thought concerning these great sources of intellectual wealth. The mind of the one is a garden, filled with all things *for use or delight*; that of the

other, is as it was, when it came into his possession, uncultivated, and with nothing flourishing there but its own wild native growth.

Has the South a title to such a Senator as Mr. Robbins; and must the north be satisfied with a Senator, who has done no more by cultivating his mind to qualify himself for the high and distinguished office, than Mr. Potter has done? Admit that Mr. Potter be a man of strong mind, has he done any thing to fill that mind with a knowledge of all those things, necessary to be known by a Senator in the Congress of the U. States? At no other time has that House been filled with men equally distinguished; Great men, long experienced in national affairs, with minds enriched with science, literature and every description of useful, and ornamental knowledge. These men are ready and prepared on all great national questions; and able at all times to guard, defend and secure the rights of their several States. Have we not men in Rhode Island, whose native strength of mind, whose intellectual cultivation, extent of knowledge, and experience in national affairs, if they do not altogether equal those qualities in other Senators, may be justly said to surpass those of Mr. Potter?

If, however, it be admitted that Mr. Potter is a man not only of strong but of cultivated mind; yet are there other great and over powering reasons, why he should not be our Senator in Congress. Mr. Potter is wedded to that, and totally enslaved by, the new policy and system of administration of national affairs, introduced into our Government during the last five years. During all former administrations, the public lands have been regarded as a great national fund, owned equally, by the people of all the States. On this principle alone, could R. Island ever hope to receive any benefit from those lands. Every other State in New England, has a resource from these wild lands. Connecticut sold all her western lands, and has realized an immense fund, now amounting to nearly \$2,000,000, from that sale. Massachusetts, Maine and Vermont, have each a mine of wealth, in their wild land. Rhode Island, surrounded by the ocean and by other States, is cut off from all this resource. Unless the sales of the great national domain, shall be divided among all the States; Rhode Island will never realize a single cent from those lands; while Georgia has already received, more than \$25,000,000, from the U. States, in money and in lands, purchased for that State, from the Indian nations.

At the session of Congress next before the last, a Bill passed through both Houses, providing that the proceeds of the sales of the public lands, should be divided among the States in proportion to the federal numbers of the people in each State respectively. By this Bill, if it had been approved by the President, the State of Rhode Island would have received, annually, not less than twenty two thousand dollars. What a perpetual fund here would have been, for the education of children, both rich and poor, high and low! How did it happen that Rhode Island was deprived of this benefit, this rich source of future blessings? The President kept, and finally placed his veto on this bill, and then sent it back to Congress, with his reason for giving all this land to the States, where it is located.

Mr. Potter is devoted to the policy, and administration of Gen. Jackson; and justifies these measures of that man so flagrantly unwise and unjust. If sent to the Senate, he will oppose any law, to distribute the amount of sales of these lands, and at the direc-

tion of Gen. Jackson, vote to give them all to the new States.— Will the people of Rhode Island, will the sons of those fathers, who fought the battles of the Revolution, and won these lands from the British Crown, will they elect Mr. Potter to the Senate; and thereby do all in their power to cut off themselves and their children, from all hope of any benefit from this rich mine of wealth earned for them, by so much blood and treasure? Will those children, if this be done, rise up and call them blessed? Will they, not lament in bitter anguish at the folly, and execrate that destroying spirit of party madness, which shall have done this?

Another great portion of American policy, ever cherished, and held sacred, from the opening of the first Congress, until after Gen. Jackson was elected to his second Presidential term, is the encouragement and protection of Domestic Industry. Until then, all his messages to Congress, and all the declarations of his friends throughout all the Eastern, Middle and Western States, gave full demonstration of his high regard, for that policy; and of his determination to persevere in that respect, the course of all his predecessors. In his message of December 1831, he came out against that policy.— It is true, that some of the friends of the system did believe he intended to denounce it, in his Bank Veto Message, and that he regarded as one of those schemes, adopted by the wisdom of Washington and Madison, "to make the rich, richer, and the poor, poorer," as he openly declared the Bank to be. His friends stoutly denied this, and persisted in the denial, until he was re-elected. At the commencement of that session, a bill was reported by the Committee of Ways and Means, ostensibly to reduce the revenue to the wants of the government, but in reality, to destroy the whole system, so long established for the encouragement and protection of Domestic Industry. To prevent, as was said, the sudden overthrow of that system, and the immediate destruction of the manufacturers of the country, a gradual reduction of the rate of imports, was adopted in the place of that Bill; and the death or resuscitation and improvement of the whole system postponed until after the year 1840. When that time arrives, unless by successful legislation, the system can have been so restored, as to give protection to the laborers of our country, the whole Manufacturing interest, in this and other states of the Union, will be at the mercy of the English importers, and must be overthrown and destroyed by them. They will be then secured by a shield of 20 per cent only; instead of 70 or 80, which now protects them. What their condition will then be, it is not needful now to state; for all people will remember what were their apprehensions last winter, when the Comptroller of the Treasury, either by orders, or by mistake, directed collectors of the Customs, to reduce the duty, then about 7 cents on the square yard of cottons, to something less than one cent and a half. It is believed, that this order was countermanded, not because it was given by mistake; but because the political movements of Virginia, became so very early, so very decidedly hostile to the administration, on the important question of removing the public money. Should the great congressional elections, now in progress in so many of the states, result favorably to that administration, the law which now protects domestic Manufacturers, will be in the hands of the President; as the law depositing the public money was in his hands; and he can direct his Secretary of the Treasury to reissue the order of last winter to the Collectors. Should that officer, or any one of the collectors, disobey, the President can, and will remove, and appoint, as he has already done, in relation to the deposit of public money; until he shall effect his purpose. Nothing short of a vote of two thirds of both Houses of Congress, in that case, can secure the manufacturing interests of our country, while Gen. Jackson is President. Should he be re-elected, or should Mr. Van Buren, the favorite candidate of Mr. Potter, be his suc-

cessor; nothing short of such a vote, will be able to reenact that system, when the protective part of the present law shall expire.

It is useless here to explain to you, my fellow citizens, how, or by what means, the protection system of the U. States, was changed in its efficiency, and limited in its duration. Rumor, which, though she tells a thousand falsehoods; yet does sometimes tell truths, attributed this measure to the advisement of certain manufacturers of New-England, who, when the Bill of the committee of ways and means, was under debate in Congress, visited Washington. It is said, by men who were there at that time, and who know better than I do, that the south would have given much better terms; and that her anti-tariff men would have been satisfied with a measure, much less ruinous, to the north. The protection of coarse cottons, like that of cut nails, they declared was not in the number of southern grievances. Indeed, their war was made against encouragement; not against protection. Among the advisers of those great agents of the manufacturers and the planters, who made the arrangement, it has since been said, there were those who seemed less anxious to preserve the system, than to postpone the day of its final overthrow. Ten years of certain prosperity, they said, would either indemnify them against ultimate destruction, or enable them "to sell out," to exchange their spindles, and looms, and gearing, for property less under the influence of Congressional legislation. If there were men, who, under this hope, advised this arrangement; the late measures of the administration, so much approved and applauded by Mr. Potter and his friends, will have disappointed those hopes; and left them to eat the bitter fruits of their own ruinous and unadvised councils.

Be all this as it may, unless the system shall have been revised, and restored to some degree of efficiency, during the Senatorial term of six years, for which Mr. Potter is a candidate; it will expire, and with it the manufacturing interest of the U. States. The millions, now vested in those establishments, in this northern part of R. Island, will then be nearly as useless, as our ships and vessels were, in the long embargo of 1809. A twenty percent tariff, which will then go into operation, will be a perpetual embargo on the looms and spindles of R. Island; and unless northern men can then, and before then, speak to southern men, as efficiently as did northern men to obtain the repeal of that ruinous measure; the voice of manufacturing labor, will, before 1845, be as silent in our northern villages, as the voice of commercial labor was, in 1808, on our wharves.

This must be effected, by the most wise, prudent, and persevering councils. By men, not likely to be influenced, by temporary and cunning expedients; but by large, and detailed views of great national policy; by disclosing, comparing, and adjusting the true interests of all parts of the whole country; and in fine, by such efforts of mind, as, while the system was in its vigor, explained, and illustrated its great principles, and powerful effects, on the general policy. It must be done by those, who understand, and support the system, because they do understand it. Those who regard labor, not only as the source of wealth; but also as the great mine of intelligence, in the nation; who consider working men to be something more than mere machines, to operate capital; and cherish them, as well because they are the mind, and intellect, as because they are the bone, and muscle, of the body politic. Finally, by those men who know, and can demonstrate efficiently, that unless those men, who do the labor of the country can be encouraged, and protected in that labor, so as to earn, by their industry, a condition of independence and information, the laws, the national policy, the public measures of the whole community, which depend primarily on their voice, will, instead of being wise, salutary and worthy of a great republic, become the mere dictations of artful demagogues; and the people, and their rulers, and all their institutions will be corrupt, degraded, and debased; and they, at last, be reduced to the condition of willing, and submissive slaves.

All these evils are to be averted; the ancient primary laws and policy of the nation restored; reasonable and satisfactory security to domestic industry finally and permanently secured; the union, the constitution preserved and cemented. These things must be so effected, as to secure the great interests of the plantation, the farming, the commercial, the manufacturing interest of all the States; and among them the vital interests of R. Island, and of this, the northern portion of R. Island.

For all this, we must look to the wisdom, intelligence, firmness, and patriotism of that Congress, of which the Senate is, and must continue to be that House, so eminently distinguished. Is Mr. Potter the man, to be selected, as one of that House, to aid in the achievement of all these high and indispensable objects? Who ever knew him, as the friend of the manufacturing interest? What has he ever done for that interest; or indeed for any other, in the northern, or any other part of the State? He has ever been hostile to that interest; and though, for a few years past, when every man seemed to cherish it, he has concealed that hostility; yet all who remember his conversations, on the subject, know that he regards, and has denounced manufacturing men, as *upstarts, and intruders* into that mystery of acquiring wealth, station, and influence in society, which he considers as peculiarly belonging to him, and to men of his ancient, and long established rank in community. Accordingly we find him, and all his political friends, rejoicing in what he, and they declare to be a permanent arrangement of the protecting system; and which he, and they believe, and hope will, in a few years, bring that system to an end; and thereby secure the utter overthrow, and destruction of all the manufacturing establishments, as well in other States, as in this once prosperous northern part of Rhode-Island.

Will the people of this State select representatives to the General Assembly, who will, by electing Mr. Potter to the Senate, commit all this, and with this, all other interests of R. Island, into his hands, and disposal? Will they give up the infant to the care of the step mother; the lamb to, to be cherished and preserved by the wolf; and thus say, at once, to the whole nation, that they no longer hope, or even wish, to preserve what has been so deservedly dear, and even now, with all the pressure of the times, indispensable, and cannot be lost without utter ruin to them, and to all associate with, and dependent upon them?

Yes; the pressure of the times. What and whence is that? By the order and direction of Gen. Jackson, given on the 22d day of last September, a few weeks only after he had visited R. Island and been received by the people, with all the honors of a lavish and noble hospitality; the public money was without law, or constitutional right, and by a flagrant usurpation of power, removed from the national Bank, a place of safety, a legal depository, the treasury place of the nation; and was placed by his order and direction, in the custody of State Banks, not under the control of Congress, but by contract, subjected to the will and pleasure of the President, and his Secretary of the Treasury, or their Fiscal agents.

This public money had, by law and by contract, been placed in the U. States Bank; for the double purpose of safe keeping, and that when not immediately wanted, the Bank might loan it out to men of industry, in all parts of the country, in aid of their labor and enterprise. The Bank had advanced and paid to the nation, nearly four per cent per annum for the use of this money; and this payment of the consideration, sealed the contract and received the pledged public faith, that so long as that Bank kept that money safely, and kept its charter unviolated, that money should be deposited in its vaults, and might be loaned out to the people. By the removal of it, by such gross violation of public faith, a universal shock was given to the confidence of the nation; and the forfeited public faith, brought into doubt and suspicion, all private promises. Universal distrust prevailed: and the circulating

medium was diminished in its channels; when credit, the great source of that medium, was struck by this baneful influence, and dried up in its very fountains.

What have the people of this country, and especially of this northern part of R. Island, suffered, or rather what have they not suffered, by these measures of the President; his removal of the deposits, his war on the national Bank; his denunciation of all credit, all Banks, but especially of all banks of the U. States, both now, and forever, throughout all time? If ever the deposits be restored; if ever the United States bank be rechartered, or if ever another bank of the U. States, be established in this country, while he, or the man whom he destines for his successor, should be President; it must be done by the vote of two thirds of both Houses of Congress. Will the people of R. Island, will the people of the northern half of R. Island, choose Representatives to the General Assembly, who would send Mr. Potter, the devoted partizan of the President, and all these pernicious measures, to the Senate, to aid him in the overthrow of all credit all currency, and above all, the destruction of a U. States Bank, by which alone, a sound and uniform currency can be restored and sustained in our country?

The ultimate and ruinous object of the late measures of the administration, is to place the public money, at the control, not of Congress, where the people placed it by the Constitution; but of the Executive, where the President has, by his removal, placed it. For this purpose, the House of Representatives, at their last session, passed a law, directing that money to be deposited in State Banks. This law was rejected by the Senate; and, for the present, the nation was thereby saved. The President only waits for a Senate, equally disposed with the other House, to aid his purposes; and then this law will be passed; then the public money will be at his control; then every department, like the Post-Office establishment, will be used, to corrupt, and to control, and enslave the people. The President and his Partizans, are waiting for the election of Mr. Potter, and a few more like him, in political principles; but the Whigs, the patriots, in all parts of the Union, are waiting for you to elect a man, *who dares to resist and denounce him and all his usurpations.* Go on; elect such a man, and secure to yourselves your own, and the approbation of your country. If you dare not attempt to do this, give up the controversy. Leave the field to your adversaries, urged as they are, by the partizans of the administration, in all parts of the Union, to elect Mr. Potter. Let them do it, and seal the destruction of all your interests, and the subversion of all your liberties.

One other consideration, and I have done with the personal qualifications, and political principles of Mr. Potter. He is a disciple of that great Master of political deception, Martin Van Buren. The first maxim of his creed is "all things are fair in politics." Political falsehood, with him, is no lie; political fraud, no deception; political promises violated, no forfeiture of good faith. Is Mr. Potter *learned, and sound* in the faith, and philosophy of this school? Let those answer, who have relied on his good offices and fidelity. Enquire of them, who once associated with him in politics, laboured, and traveled, for his advancement. They can tell, if they choose to tell, how, when they needed and were promised his aid, this long tried Veteran reciprocated their service. Is it true, or is it not true, that when the question was concerning Mr. Robbins' last election, Mr. Potter offered to two gentlemen, then both members, and distinguished members of the General Assembly, to give up Gen. Jackson, and all his measures, and to execute a bond, for his good behaviour and to secure his promises; if he could but be elected in the place of that gentleman? Altho' those two gentlemen were satisfied with this proposed arrangement, and seemed to have full faith in the promise, and in the bond of Mr. Potter; yet, was there one of all the eminent

whigs, and patriots, in that Assembly who was so satisfied, or had such faith? Let the event of that election answer these questions.

Mr. Potter will, at next October session, ask the Gen. Assembly to do for him, what he has often asked that Assembly to do for him, in former years. He was a candidate against the Hon. Mr. Knight, in 1823. He was not elected. In 1825, he was a candidate against the Hon. Mr. Robbins. He was not elected. Again, in 1826, he was a candidate against Mr. Robbins. Mr. Robbins was elected, Mr. Potter was not. In 1833, he again called on the Gen. Assembly against the same gentleman, but even then, Mr. Potter was rejected, and Mr. Robbins chosen. There has been but one vacancy in the Senate, for the last twelve years, when Mr. Potter has not been a candidate; but, at no time, when there was a vacancy, has he been elected. What number of trials will satisfy this gentleman? His case has been tried, and retried. Verdict after verdict, has been rendered against him. He has lost his case, and appealed, and lost it again; untill, moved by his anxious importunity, *for one trial more*, his indulgent friends elected him at a time, *when there was no vacancy*; and sent him to the Senate of the U. States, at Washington, to have his case reviewed, and as they all hoped, finally settled. It was settled, and settled against him.

Some thing peculiar, in this Election of Mr. Potter, should be stated a little in detail. After Governor Francis, and a Senate of this State then in unison with him, in political opinions, were elected; the General Assembly contended that they were the only legitimate Legislature of the State, which had been elected during the then last two years; and that they only could elect a Senator to Congress, and therefore that the election of Mr. Robbins in January 1833, was null and void. On the contrary the members of the legislature which had, as they believed, rightfully elected Mr. Robbins, and organized the State Government, contended that the former General Assembly were the legitimate legislature. It was very desirable to have the question settled, it could by no other power, be so easily settled, as by the U. States Senate, nor in any other way so expediously, as by electing a Senator in the place of Mr. Robbins; and sending him to Washington last winter, that the Senate might decide, under their constitutional power, which of the two was entitled to the seat, and thereby settle the great question and determine whether the State of R. Island had, for the last two years been a government or a mere anarchy. The State had an undoubted right to try this question; and to try it at the national expense. It was so much a question, involving the general welfare, that the cost of the trial ought to come out of the General Treasury. Mr. Potter was willing and solicitous to be the agent and instrument of the State; and his election would secure the double purpose, if not of satisfying, at least of ending his importunities, and relieving his political friends from the burden of his eternal solicitations; while at the same time, it would in the result, lead to a decision of the question, whether one only, or both of the late Governors and General assemblies, were legally elected and entitled to exercise the rights and powers of the government. It came before the Senate in the form of a complaint, in the name of Mr. Potter, but in behalf of Governor Francis his Senate and House of Representatives as the plaintiffs; and the answer was made by Mr. Robbins, as the agent and in behalf of Governor Arnold and the Senate and House of Representatives which had been associated and acted with him, as the Defendants. The Defendants won the cause, and were entitled to their cost for the use of the State. These were assessed at about \$2000, and paid, not by the plaintiffs, but by the U. States. Mr. Potter received this money, and when he shall pay it over to Governor Arnold and the Defendants, they will place in the Treasury of the State. Mr. Potter has no good title to this money, or certainly to no more of it than his personal expenses as a witness in the case; and he, surely will not any more than any other witness who should receive the costs in any other case,

would undertake to retain such costs, from the party legally entitled to receive the money.

Should Mr. Potter keep this money in his own pocket as it is said he intends to do; claiming it for his travel to and from Washington, and his daily pay while there as a Senator in Congress; the Defendants will be much less disappointed, by not receiving it for the State, than his political friend must be, when they come to find him, as they already have found him, *on their backs again*, to be carried up "*another last time*," to the General Assembly for election to the Senate of the U. States.

What can this candidate of such long standing now say to his friends? What he has said and repeated for the last twelve years. Like the sailor in a storm on Nantucket shoals who prayed, "*Captain of the all day and all night watch, aloft there ahoy, this once set me ashore on the back of Cape Cod, and may I be d——d if I ever ask another favor.*" This gentleman has exclaimed to his friends, in the storms of party, *this once, this last time*, give me your votes, and never again will I call for your assistance. He has, it is said, lately adopted a new phrase of importunity. He has long, he says, been in the political house, and finding that, at his time of life, he must soon leave it, he begs of his friends "*to aid him in walking out at the front door.*"

Ambition vain! thou cheat of youthful days,
Thou thirst and hunger after human praise;
And must thy vot'ry sad, and grey, and old,
Live on thy tale a thousand times retold?
The patriot only earns a deathless name,
Who for his country lives, and not for fame.

Look then my fellow citizens, on the long political life of Mr. Potter? We live in an *onward* age of the world. The people in every State in the Union, are advancing, in improvement. Science, arts, literature, are cultivated, and carry forward mankind, in the great career of acquisition. How has this State advanced in the system of labor, the system of education, the system of jurisprudence and distributive justice! Look back, those of you who can look back thirty years, see what R. Island then was, and what she now is, among the States of this Union. Tell me, you who have looked at the outgoings and incomings, of this man of many political labors; what has he done, by all these, for the advancement of R. Island, in wealth, in knowledge, or in fame?

Has he done any thing worthy of reward; worthy of Senatorial honors! If he has, by skill in the management of money, increased his own wealth, reward him with a bank, *wide and deep* as the Atlantic; but do not *sink your farms, your fortunes, your ships, and the credit and honor of your State, in the mighty deep of Mr. POTTER'S cupidity and ambition.*

Will you send Mr. Potter a Senator from the south, to take care of the interests of the north? Can no man be brought up, for the Senate, but he must encounter Mr. Potter, as a candidate? Will the State send this gentleman *now*, whom it has *so often* refused to send, when in earlier life; and more active powers of manhood? Will they place him in the Senate, to aid the ruinous measures of Gen. Jackson, in removing the public money; in destroying the national Bank, and national currency; in ruining all the manufacturing, commercial and agricultural interests of the country; and in giving the public lands to the new States, and forever depriving R. Island of her share, in this rich inheritance of wealth, earned by the valor and blood of her revolutionary worthies? Not now; not now.

When the tide shall cease to ebb and flow in the Narragansett Bay; when the waters of our rivers shall run back, and ascend the falls; then may we fear that wisdom will so desert the councils of our little State; that our General Assembly may elect the Hon. Elisha R. Potter, a Senator in Congress.

ONE OF THE PEOPLE.

— Reasons Why the Hon. Elisha R. Potter should not be a Senator in Congress. By One of the People (Tristram Burges). Tall 8vo, polished calf gilt, by PRATT. n. p., n. d. (1834)