

MINERS' & FARMERS' JOURNAL.

PRINTED AND PUBLISHED EVERY THURSDAY, BY THOMAS J. HOLTON...CHARLOTTE, MECKLENBURG COUNTY, NORTH-CAROLINA.

VOL. V.

THURSDAY, MAY 6, 1835.

NO. 240.

THE Miners' & Farmers' Journal is printed and published every Thursday morning at Two Dollars per annum if paid in advance; Two Dollars and Fifty Cents if not paid in advance; Three Dollars at the end of the year.

ADVERTISEMENTS will be inserted at Fifty cents per square (not exceeding 20 lines), for the first insertion, and 25 cents for each succeeding week—or \$1 for three weeks, for one square.—A liberal discount will be made to those who advertise by the year. On all advertisements communicated for publication, the number of insertions must be noticed on the margin of the manuscript, or they will be continued until forbid, and charged accordingly.

All communications to the Editor must come free of postage, or they may not be attended to.

Mr. Benton's Speech.

In Senate U. S. Feb. 13.

Substance of Mr. Benton's reply to Mr. Calhoun's Report on Executive Patronage.

Mr. BENTON rose to speak to some parts of the report—to express his concurrence in some parts, his dissent to others.

He concurred in the general purport, and in the general object of the report, and in the great increase which had taken place, in a short time, in the expenditures of the government, and in the number of persons employed, or supported by it. The increase was great as has been depicted; and out of proportion to the increase of the population and wealth of the country for the same period, but not so inordinately as the report affirmed. It was the object of the report to reduce this too great expenditure, and to diminish the number of that vast multitude of persons now paid, or supported, out of the Federal Treasury. In all this he concurred with the report; but he regretted deeply and sincerely regretted, that it had not fallen within the scope of the chairman's view of this subject, to show the source and origin of these great increases: that the blame, if any, should fall upon the true authors, and the genius of reform should know where to apply her correcting hand. The omission of the Chairman to show this, had laid him (Mr. B.) under the necessity of endeavoring to supply the defect; and he should do so under all the disadvantages of an immediate reply to a well prepared report, which he had heard read once, in committee, before it was now read in this chamber. The report, said Mr. B. assumes for the period of comparison the year 1825, which was the first of Mr. Adams' administration, and the year 1833, which was the commencement of the second term of President Jackson's Administration. It was, in reality, a comparison between the two last administrations and that of President Monroe, which terminated in the year which is taken for the starting point of the comparison. Confining himself to these points of time, Mr. B. would look into the origin of the principle causes of the great increase of expenditure and men employed or fed by the Federal Government within this period; and would show that the implications of the report, for direct assertion was not made, but the implications of the report, which would seem to cast censure on the present administration for these large augmentations, could have no foundation in fact, and must find their application elsewhere.

The business of internal improvement was the first head of increase which Mr. B. would mention; and that business commenced, or rather assumed its expanded and incorporated form in the year 1824—the last year of Mr. Monroe's administration—and under whose auspices and recommendations no person could better tell than the distinguished author of the present report. Internal improvement was then, and at that early time, the inviting ocean, upon which many candidates for popular favor were seen to spread the entire surface of their distended canvass. Commenced upon national principles, and with the design of being confined to national objects, the whole system rapidly degenerated into local, or neighborhood contrivances, for the expenditure of money, and the acquisition of popularity. Before the end of Mr. Adams' four years, the downward course of the system and established the truth of the double prodigy which Mr. Jefferson had made shortly before his death; it had opened a gulf which the treasures of Peru and Mexico could not fill! It had produced a scramble for money, in which the nearest got most! President Jackson found the system at that pass, with the immense augmentation of money expended, and men employed, which necessarily involved; and the consequent increase of Executive patronage, which these augmentations implied. Far from enhancing, or even retaining this branch of patronage, he voluntarily stripped himself of it. At the risk of some danger to his temporary popularity, he stood forth to oppose the barrier of the Executive veto to the fatal current of local and neighborhood internal improvement. He endeavored to turn back the system, and to confine it to its original design, that of great national objects. So far, then, as this head of increased expenditure, and increased number, employed by the Federal Government, has been a source of augmented patronage to the Executive Government, President Jackson is free from blame; so far as diminution

of patronage has resulted from the arrestation of the fatal and ruinous part of this system; he alone is entitled to the exclusive honor.

Revolutionary pensions, Mr. B. said, was the next source which he would point out of those augmentations which were so conspicuously depicted in the report; and here the prolific source of an immense augmentation was revealed. Forty thousand pensioners, including the invalids of the last war, started to our view; near three millions of dollars were required to pay them; and he believed in 1833, it was near four millions. Who opened this fountain of Executive patronage? this prolific source of expenditure and of revolutionary hero resurrection, which, at the end of half a century, is exhibiting a larger army on the pension roll than ever Washington saw, at any one time, on the muster roll? which furnishes the author of this Report with upwards of one third of his one-hundred thousand men? which is now making the revolution cost more money than it cost while it was existing and raging? and which has produced a demoralization of morals, and a perpetration of crimes, as revolting to the mind as it is to the country? Who produced all this? Certainly not President Jackson! but the action of Congress under Executive recommendations, commencing at a period with which the author of this report must be most familiar, and carried on to the year 1832, when the system of pensioning received its climax in the law of that year, and in the production of consequences which astonish and afflict the country.

The removal of the Indians was the next source of increased expenditure, and increased agents, which Mr. B. adverted to; and on this head, far from disclaiming, he claimed the merit of it almost exclusively for President Jackson. It was he who had stood forth the true friend of the Indians, the true advocate and asserter of STATE RIGHTS, in relieving the Southern States of their Indian population, at the same time that he provided for these Indians themselves permanent, tranquil, unmolested, and far more desirable homes, in the rich and extended plains of the far West. In executing this policy, Congress acted under his recommendation; and to him the long neglected and injured South—the States of Georgia, Alabama, and Mississippi, and the new States of the northwest, Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, Missouri, are all, all indebted, for the advantages and blessings which they now enjoy in their freedom from the incubus of a useless and inimical population within their borders. The exodus of the Indians from the East to the West of the Mississippi—from the land of the white man to the land of the red man—under the guiding and protecting hand of President Jackson, has been to both parties, to the white race and to the red race, an auspicious and delightful consummation, on which Heaven has shed its benignant blessing, and which calls for the grateful emotions of every heart, white or red, civilized or savage, which can rejoice in the prosperity of the human race, and feel gratitude and thankfulness to its greatest and most eminent benefactor.

But above all and more than all together, should the State of Mississippi feel that gratitude. Hard was her fate until General Jackson assumed the Presidential chair. The oldest territory in the Union, a State for almost twenty year, a delicious climate, ample boundaries, lands adapted to the production of the richest staple, noble rivers—with all these advantages, her population remained a speck in the corner of her own extended map. The Chickasaws and Choctaws occupied the finest portions of her soil, and seemed destined to occupy them for ever under the abetment of a great political party, then called national republicans, now whigs, whose policy was as cruel to the Indians as it was unjust to the People, and subversive of the rights of the States. President Jackson appeared at the head of the national affairs. He was the slave of no selfish or ambitious policy, the hunter of no factitious and delusive popularity. He was the friend of the whites and of the reds; he spoke the language of truth, justice, wisdom, to both; and the long depressed and obscured State of Mississippi, finds herself, as if by magic, in the possession of all her rights, and all her soul, advancing with rapid strides to wealth and popularity, displaying a prodigious expansion of both, and ready, at the census of 1840, to present six or eight members on the floor of the House of Representatives, where until lately, she had but one member, and now has but two. More! The graduation principle, by treaty, is adopted for the sale of the newly acquired lands, descending down through successive graduations from \$1 25, to six and a quarter cents per acre! So that this State has acquired by treaty, under the auspices of President Jackson, the justice and the boon which her elder sisters have been in vain soliciting from Congress for so many years. For all this, that noble State is indebted to President Jackson; and it is as honorable to the inhabitants of that State, as it is just and right in itself, that the throb of grati-

tude beats in the hearts, and the sentiment of affectionate respect glows in the bosoms of almost the whole of her entire population. And shall the expense of these measures, the expense of freeing not only Mississippi, but the whole south, and the entire northwest, from the incumbrance of an Indian population, be now set down, without explanation, in a grave Report on Executive patronage, as one of the wasteful extravagancies of the day which portends the decline and fall of the republic, and calls for the trenchant hand of cutting reform, and the indignant verdict of public reprobation?

Closely allied to this head, that of the removal of Indians was another, which Mr. B. would mention, and which was too intimately connected with that head to require the detail of explanation. It was the great acquisition of lands, by the extinction of Indian titles, the fair and full price, now for the first time allowed for them, and that by an administration depicted as the destroying angel of the red race; the consequent increase of surveyors and land offices, and the additional expense resulting from all these wise and patriotic operations. They, too, belong to President Jackson's administration; and Mr. B. claimed the honor of them for him, instead of confounding the increased expenditure resulting from them, and the increased number of persons employed to execute them in the indiscriminate mass of extravagancies denounced.

Another subject he would mention, the great increase of the tariff in 1824, and 1825, on the eve of the Presidential elections, and the complicated nature of their provisions to prevent evasions, detect smuggling, give full benefit of their enactments to the manufacturers, and to carry out the protective principle in the living bodies of revenue officers to defend it, as well as in the ramparts of parchments, intrenching it to the teeth, which Congress was piling up around it. Here was a great source of additional expense, additional officers and agents employed, and additional patronage conferred; and which now has brought the collection of the custom-house revenue, with the diminution of the tariff, to the inordinate expense of nine per centum. But who did all this? Not the administration; and therefore the remedy does not lie in the change of the administration; but Congress—Congress did it; and therefore the evil lies in the conduct of the immediate representatives of the People, and the remedy lies in the hands of the People themselves.

Mr. B. repeated; he concurred with the general purport, and the general object of the Report, in the great and striking augmentation which it presented of money expended, and men employed, or fed, by the Federal Government; and the necessity of great and real retrenchment in both particulars, especially as many of the objects for which they were incurred were temporary in their nature, and evanescent in their existence. Yes, said Mr. B., the augmentations have been great; but so far as they are of questionable propriety, they have had their root in previous administrations, some of them in the administration of Mr. Monroe, when the author of this Report was a distinguished member of that administration; others of these questionable measures had originated under Mr. Adams' administration, or in Congress itself, and under the high pressure speeches, reports and motions of gentlemen opposed to the administration of President Jackson.—Try them, said Mr. B., examine them in detail, and you will find the great expenditures for objects of questionable propriety originated with others; while those of real expediency, of beneficial object, and clear constitutional propriety, owed their origin to the administration of President Jackson; and what should never be forgotten, it was the exercise of the veto power by President Jackson, which checked these extravagant expenditures of questionable objects, for which he received unmeasured denunciation! This same President is now blamed just as much for not stopping, as he was blamed for stopping those wild expenditures.

But, Mr. B. said, while agreeing to much that was in the Report, and in agreeing that there was not only room, but necessity for retrenchment, it would be unjust to the people, who have no means of detecting the delusive and fallacious statements which go forth with the high sanction of the Senate's approbation, to let this Report go forth among them to startle, alarm, disquiet, and amaze them with the idea that the expenses of the Government had doubled in nine years, from 1825 to 1833. Never was a wilder proposition presented to the intelligence of a rational people; not that the quantity of money paid out in the last of these two years, and that exclusive of the public debt in both instances, was not in reality double that of the former, but the fallacy and delusion lay in this: that those great additional payments were not for the expenses of the Government, not for ordinary, usual, current and progressive expenditures, but for unusual, extraordinary, individual, isolated, and anomalous objects, occurring once, and but once, finished forever, when paid one time; some of them impossible, and others improbable

to occur again; and, therefore, not fit to be held up among the current expenses, and progressive extravagance of the Government.

The report, said Mr. B. assumes the years 1825 and 1833 for the comparison and contrast, which it exhibits, the expenditure of the former being eleven millions and a half, that of the latter twenty-two millions and three-quarters, and both exclusive of payments on account of the public debt, and this, as the report affirms, "during a period of profound peace, when not an event had occurred calculated to warrant any unusual expenditure." Now, said Mr. B. let us see what extraordinary expenditure fell upon the year 1833. First, there was the Black Hawk war, on the Upper Mississippi, which, though the fighting was done in 1832, yet the payments fell chiefly upon the ensuing year. Under this head alone there were payments in that year to near \$900,000; namely, to the militia and volunteers of Illinois, \$442,000; for their subsistence, \$186,000; for the conversion of rangers into a regiment of dragoons, \$274,000. Then there was paid for duties refunded on merchandise to importing merchants, the sum of \$701,760; then there was paid to claimants under the convention with Denmark, the sum of \$633,000; and this was money not expended, nor even paid, in the sense of payment, but merely delivered to these claimants; the Government having received it from Denmark, for their use, some years ago, and now delivered it to those to whom a commission had awarded it. Then there were extraordinary Indian treaties that year for the purchase of land, for which \$735,000 were paid, and removal of Indians, and subsisting them after they got to their new homes, the sum of \$365,000. But the greatest extraordinary payment of the whole year was that of revolutionary pensions, under the fatal act of 1832. That act originated in Congress, and carried its loose and wild provisions to take effect from the 4th of March, 1831. This threw the accumulated payments under that most unfortunate act, upon the year 1833, for all the remainder of the year 1832, in which the act was passed, was taken up in establishing the claims of persons to the benefit of the act. Thus the payments in 1832 were but \$355,686, while in 1833, they were ten times that sum, amounting in fact to 3,507,484. Putting these extraordinary payments together, said Mr. B., and you have a sum of about seven millions of dollars at once to be deducted from the grand aggregate of twenty-two millions and three quarters; and he had no doubt but that a research into the whole list of extraordinaries for the same year would produce a million more. Be that as it may, here is a sum of seven millions, not belonging to the current and progressive expenses of the Government, carried forward to the gross amount of such expenditure, and made the means of exhibiting a duplication of the expenses of the Government in the short space of eight years. Here is the fallacy, here is the delusion; and hence the injustice of basing upon this duplication a cry of such enormous extravagance as to justify the revolution if we cannot get reformation. For reformation there is room; for revolution there is no pretext; and the reformation of the ballot box, Mr. B. confidently hoped, would answer the exigency, and bring down the expenses of the Government properly so called—the expenses necessarily incurred in working the machinery of the Government—to a sum much below what it would be even after deducting the seven or eight millions of extraordinaries from the gross expenditure of twenty-two millions and three quarters in 1833.

To confirm this view, and to show that those seven or eight millions of extraordinaries ought not to be added to the ordinary expenditures of the Government, much less to be charged to its extravagance and indicating a progressive expenditure which ought to arouse and alarm the country, Mr. B. would advert to the amount of the expenditures for the whole eight years comprehended in the report, premising that payments on account of the public debt are in all cases excluded. The successive annual expenditures then stand thus:

For 1825, - - -	\$11,490,459
1826, - - -	13,062,316
1827, - - -	12,653,005
1828, - - -	13,296,041
1829, - - -	12,659,440
1830, - - -	13,229,533
1831, - - -	13,864,067
1832, - - -	16,516,388
1833, - - -	22,713,755

* Precise sums are here submitted in the published speech for the general statements made in the speech when delivered. Mr. B. had heard the report read but once in the committee, and had not obtained, when he spoke, the precise detail of sums above enumerated. He obtained them afterwards, and produced, read, and commented upon them in the Senate; and therefore feels justifiable in substituting precise sums for the general statements which he could only make at this part of the spoken speech.

† As well might the five millions in the French Spoliation Bill, which has passed the Senate and now lies in the House of Representatives, be set down, if it passes that body, also among the government expenditures for the year 1835, and carried forward to swell the aggregate of the year,

From this view Mr. B. said the increase of expenditure would appear not quite so frightful as this report would represent. For the first year of the term, the increase was about a million and a half; for the next five years there was no increase of any moment, and twice there was a diminution. The years 1832 and 1833 had run up to large amounts, and that by the means which he had shown; so that if the author of the report had taken for the basis of his comparison the seven years of regular expenditure, he would have found an increase of about two millions only, instead of a duplication of eleven millions; a result which, while it would have presented something for reformation, would have presented nothing for revolution, or even for turning out the party in power, and putting in their opponents, who are the real authors of every thing which requires reform.

Having shown the fallacy of the report in its exhibit of the extravagance of the government, having shown its enormous error in stating that this great increase had taken place during a period of profound peace, when in fact there was an Indian war on the Upper Mississippi! and when not an event occurred to warrant unusual expenditure, when in fact seven millions of the expenditures were for objects, not only unusual, but never existing before or since! Mr. B. would say a word, and but a word, upon its correlative part, the increase of persons paid by the Government or fed by its bounty. In 1825, the whole number was 55,777; in 1833, 100,073. This said Mr. B. is almost double; but how did it happen; why from carrying the pensioners up from about 17,000, to about 40,000! adding multitudes for internal improvement, and the custom houses, in consequence of the two tariffs of 1824 and 1825; requiring many persons to superintend the removal of Indians; many to survey and sell the newly acquired lands; and a whole regiment of dragoons for the defence of the western frontier. In these items, and others, the source of the increased numbers will be found; some few of them necessary and indispensable, as that of the dragoons; some necessary and temporary, as those for removal of Indians, and Internal Improvement; some lawful, though the expediency of the law questionable, as those for carrying into effect the complex provisions of the new tariff laws; some amazing, and almost incredible, as the increase of pensioners, the bare statement of whose numbers announces a fraud of stupendous magnitude, and implies a demoralization of public morals, of frightful enormity.

The dismissions from office next engaged Mr. B.'s attention. The affected moderation of language under which this topic was brought forward in the report, and the violence with which it concluded, were particularly pointed out. Remarks of a party character were disclaimed, and the disclaimer was instantly followed by a series of the most violent and offensive remarks of a party character. The present administration was charged with having reduced to a system the practice of removing from office for opinion's sake. The assertion, though veiled, and slightly made to wear the form of hypothesis, was nevertheless clear and explicit in the report, that the honest and capable were dismissed to make room for the base and corrupt; that offices were the spoils of victory, the rewards of partisan service, and the means of substituting man worship for patriotism, encouraging vice and discouraging virtue, preparing for the subversion of liberty and the establishment of despotism, and converting the entire body of office holders into corrupt and supple instruments of power! It was said that the language of a report which was with a formal disclaimer of party character, and partisan remarks. In defending the administration from such flagrant charges, Mr. B. would first discriminate between terms which had been much confounded and abused, and then show that the removals made by President Jackson, like those made by President Jefferson, were the legitimate results of the previous system of appointments, and were necessary, not only to the safety and success of a democratic administration, but due as an act of justice to the great democratic party of the Union. Terms, he said, were confounded. When a man had been 5, 10, 20, 40, years in office, and failed to be re-appointed at the end of his 2d, 3d, 4th or 5th term of four years, it was called a dismission, and the cry of persecution was set up. This, Mr. B. said, might be correct phraseology with those who thought offices ought to be for life, and eventually hereditary, but it was a phraseology repudiated in the democratic school, where the doctrine of right to office was repudiated, and the right of rotation was inculcated. With respect to the fact of the dismissions, they resulted in general from appointments. The elder Mr. Adams appointed none but federalists, and Mr. Jefferson had to turn a portion of them out in order to get in a portion of the republicans; and Mr. Jefferson had told him (Mr. B.) that he had never carried changes far e-

to furnish contrasts, and excite discontent against an extravagant administration.