The North Carolina Whig.

"Be true to God, to your Country, and to your Duty."

VOLUME 9. CHARLOTTE, N. C., SEPTEMBER 4, 1860. NUMBER 24.

THOMAS J. HOLTON, EDITOR & PROPRIETOR.

TERMS:

The North Carolina Whig will be afforded to subscribers at TWO DOLLARS in advance; TWO DOLLARS AND FIFTY CENTS if payment be delayed for three months; and THREE DOLLARS at the end of the year. No paper will be discontinued until all arrearages are paid, except at the option of the Editor.

Advertisements inserted at One Dollar per square (16 lines or less, this sized type) for the first insertion, and 25 cents for each continuance. Court advertisements and Sheriff's Sales charged 25 per cent higher; and a deduction of 33⅓ per cent. will be made from the regular prices, for advertisers by the year. Advertisements inserted monthly or quarterly, at $1 per square for each time. Semi-monthly 75 cents per square for each time.

Persons when sending in their advertisements must mark the number of insertions desired or they will be inserted until forbid and charged accordingly.

☞ Postmasters are authorized to act as agent.

J. G. WILKINSON & CO.,
DEALERS IN
WATCHES, JEWELRY,
SILVER and PLATED WARE,
AND
FANCY GOODS, &c.
No. 5 Granite Range, opposite the Mansion House,
CHARLOTTE, N. C.
Attention given to Repairing Watches & Jewelry.
June 7, 1859. 13tf

R. W. BECKWITH
HAS CONSTANTLY ON HAND
WATCHES, JEWELRY,
PLATED WARE, &c.
OF THE BEST ENGLISH AND AMERICAN MANUFACTURE.
Call and examine his stock before purchasing elsewhere.

Mecklenburg Hotel.
Next to the Post Office.

THE subscriber informs the public that having purchased the building known as Mecklenburg Hotel, he has refurnished it and is now prepared to accommodate transient and regular Boarders.

He has good Stables and efficient Ostlers—Horses will be kept by the month or day, or furnished with a single feed, on moderate terms.

JOHN DORAN.
Nov. 7, 1859. 35tf

MANSION HOTEL,
IN
SALISBURY.

THE subscriber takes pleasure in announcing to his friends, and the public generally, that he has taken this long established and well known Hotel, and has made every possible preparation to accommodate the business, travelling and visiting portion of the public, in the most satisfactory manner.

Particular attention is paid to his

TABLE,

and every comfort is provided in his

ROOMS.

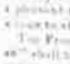
HIS STABLES are abundantly supplied and attended by careful ostlers; and to all departments the proprietor gives his personal attention.

A comfortable OMNIBUS runs regularly to the depot on the arrival of the cars.

With these efforts to please, a liberal share of the public patronage is confidently solicited.

WM ROWZER.
November 15, 1859. 36tf

"THE UNION,"
ARCH STREET ABOVE THIRD,
PHILADELPHIA.
UPTON S. NEWCOMER, *Proprietor.*



THE undersigned having purchased the interest of his former partner, Eben Evans, in the above Hotel, would call the attention of the public to its convenience for those visiting Philadelphia, either on business or pleasure.

Its situation being but a few steps from the principal avenues of trade, offers inducements to those on business; while to those in search of pleasure, the constantly passing and repassing [illegible] and those in close proximity, afford a pleasant ride for the mere nominal sum of five cents to all places of interest in or about the city.

The Proprietor gives assurance that "The Union" shall be kept with such character as will meet public approbation, and would respectfully solicit the patronage of the public.

Terms **$1 50** per day.

UPTON S. NEWCOMER.
August 16, 1859. 23-1y PROPRIETOR.

Cure for Tetter & Scald Head.

THE subscriber is manufacturing and keeps constantly on hand, Soap for Tetter, Scald Head or Ringworm, and good to wash with for any other skin disease. It will also take stains out of any kind of Clothing. If any person desires to have it to sell again, it can be had at a reduced price. The Soap has been tried by responsible persons and is said to be a certain cure. The Soap can be had at Dr. E. N. Hutchison & Co's Drug Store and from the subscriber.

CHAS. T. EBERHARD.
May 31, 1859. 11tf

J. S. PHILLIPS
MERCHANT TAILOR,

HAVING located in Charlotte, respectfully solicits a share of public patronage.

A complete assortment of Cloths, Cassimeres and Vestings always on hand, which will be made to order at the shortest notice, after the latest fashion.

Shop three doors South of the Mansion House.
September 27, 1859. 29tf

WHEAT WANTED.

THE planting community will take notice that their Wheat Crop will be purchased at the Charlotte Steam Flouring Mill, at market prices. Those having Wheat for sale may find it to their advantage to call at the Mill before closing a sale.

JOHN WILKES & CO.
July 2, 1859. 20tf

A LARGE SUPPLY OF
Constable Warrants
JUST PRINTED.

Charlotte Mutual Fire Insurance Company.

THIS COMPANY continues to take risks against loss by fire, on Houses, Goods, Produce, &c., at usual rates.

☞ Office at the Drug Store of E. Nye Hutchison & Co.

OFFICERS.
A. C. STEELE, *President.*
C. OVERMAN, *Vice President.*
E. NYE HUTCHISON, *Sec'y. & Treas'r.*
DIRECTORS.
A. C. STEELE, J. L. BROWN,
M. B. TAYLOR, S. T. WRISTON,
C. OVERMAN, F. SCARR,
WM. JOHNSTON.
JOHN L. BROWN, F. SCARR and S. T. WRISTON, *Executive Committee.*
April 26, 1859. 7tf

MRS. WINSLOW

An experienced Nurse and Female Physician presents to the attention of mothers, her

SOOTHING SYRUP,
FOR CHILDREN TEETHING,

which greatly facilitates the process of teething, by softening the gums, reducing all inflammation—will allay ALL PAIN and spasmodic action, and is

SURE TO REGULATE THE BOWELS.

Depend upon it, mothers, it will give rest to yourselves, and

Relief and Health to your Infants.

We have put up and sold this article for over ten years, and CAN SAY IN CONFIDENCE AND TRUTH of it, what we have never been able to say of any other medicine—NEVER HAS IT FAILED IN A SINGLE INSTANCE TO EFFECT A CURE, when timely used. Never did we know an instance of dissatisfaction by any one who used it. On the contrary, all are delighted with its operations, and speak in terms of commendation of its magical effects and medical virtues. We speak in this matter "WHAT WE DO KNOW," after ten years' experience, AND PLEDGE OUR REPUTATION FOR THE FULFILMENT OF WHAT WE HERE DECLARE. In almost every instance where the infant is suffering from pain and exhaustion, relief will be found in fifteen or twenty minutes after the syrup is administered.

MRS. WINSLOW'S SOOTHING SYRUP.

This valuable preparation is the prescription of one of the most EXPERIENCED and SKILFUL NURSES in New England, and has been used with NEVER FAILING SUCCESS in

THOUSANDS OF CASES.

It not only relieves the child from pain, but invigorates the stomach and bowels, corrects acidity, and gives tone and energy to the whole system. It will almost instantly relieve

Griping in the Bowels, and Wind Colic

and overcome convulsions, which, if not speedily remedied, end in death. We believe it the BEST AND SUREST REMEDY IN THE WORLD, in all cases of DYSENTERY AND DIARRHŒA IN CHILDREN, whether it arises from teething, or from any other cause. We would say to every mother who has a child suffering from any of the foregoing complaints—DO NOT LET YOUR PREJUDICES, NOR THE PREJUDICES OF OTHERS, stand between you and your suffering child, and the relief that will be SURE—yes, ABSOLUTELY SURE—to follow the use of this medicine, if timely used. Full directions for using will accompany each bottle. None genuine unless the fac-simile of CURTIS & PERKINS, N. York, is on the outside wrapper.

FOR CHILDREN TEETHING.

Sold by Druggists throughout the world.

PRINCIPAL OFFICE, 13 CEDAR STREET, N. Y.
Price only 25 cents per Bottle.
For sale in Charlotte, by E. Nye Hutchison & Co. and F. Scarr. March 13—1y

Notice.

THE Tax Lists for 1859 are now in my hands ready for inspection, and I request all persons to inform me of any Taxables which may not be listed. Come now and pay your Taxes.

E. C. GRIER, *Sheriff.*
April 3, 1860. 2tf

Dr. H. M. Pritchard

YIELDING to the solicitation of many friends, respectfully announces his determination to resume the

Practice of Medicine.

He may be consulted at his office.

☞ The poor prescribed for without charge.
August 21, 1858. 25tf

SANFORD'S
LIVER INVIGORATOR,
NEVER DEBILITATES.

IT is compounded entirely from Gums, and has become an established fact, a Standard Medicine, known and approved by all that have used it, and is now resorted to with confidence in all the diseases for which it is recommended.

It has cured thousands within the last two years who had given up all hopes of relief, as the numerous unsolicited certificates in my possession show.

The dose must be adapted to the temperament of the individual taking it, and used in such quantities as to act gently on the bowels.

Let the dictates of your judgment guide you in the use of the LIVER INVIGORATOR, and it will cure Liver Complaints, Bilious Attacks, Dyspepsia, Chronic Diarrhœa, Summer Complaints, Dysentery, Dropsy, Sour Stomach, Habitual Costiveness, Cholic, Cholera, Cholera Morbus, Cholera Infantum, Flatulence, Jaundice, Female Weaknesses, and may be used successfully as an Ordinary Family Medicine. It will cure SICK HEADACHE, (as thousands can testify,) in twenty minutes, if two or three Teaspoonfuls are taken at commencement of attack.

All who use it are giving their testimony in its favor.

LIVER INVIGORATOR.

MIX WATER IN THE MOUTH WITH THE INVIGORATOR, AND SWALLOW BOTH TOGETHER.

Price One Dollar per Bottle.

—ALSO—

SANFORD'S
FAMILY
CATHARTIC PILLS,
COMPOUNDED FROM
Pure Vegetable Extracts, and put up in GLASS CASES, Air Tight, and will keep in any climate.

The Family Cathartic PILL is a gentle but active Cathartic, which the proprietor has used in his practice more than twenty years.

The constantly increasing demand from those who have long used the PILLS, and the satisfaction which all express in regard to their use, has induced me to place them within the reach of all.

The Profession well know that different Cathartics act on different portions of the bowels.

The FAMILY CATHARTIC PILL has, with due reference to this well established fact, been compounded from a variety of the purest Vegetable Extracts, which act alike on every part of the alimentary canal, and are good and safe in all cases where a Cathartic is needed, such as Derangements of the Stomach, Sleepiness, Pains in the Back and Loins, Costiveness, Pain and Soreness over the whole body, from sudden cold, which frequently, if neglected, end in a long course of Fever, Loss of Appetite, a Creeping Sensation of Cold over the body, Restlessness, Headache, or weight in the head, all Inflammatory Diseases, Worms in Children or Adults, Rheumatism, a great Purifier of the Blood and many diseases to which flesh is heir, too numerous to mention in this advertisement. Dose, 1 to 3.

CATHARTIC PILLS.

PRICE THREE DIMES.

The Liver Invigorator and Family Cathartic Pills are retailed by Druggists generally, and sold wholesale by the Trade in all the large towns.

S. T. W. SANFORD, M. D.,
Manufacturer and Proprietor,
335 Broadway, New York.

F. SCARR & CO.,
Charlotte, N. C.

OFFICIAL VOTE FOR GOVERNOR.

	1860. Pool.	1860. Ellis.	1858. M'Rae.	1858. Ellis.
Ashe,	811	379	683	809
Alexander,	594	429	350	430
Alamance,	793	771	616	825
Alleghany,	137	373		
Anson,	890	290	774	325
Bladen,	553	669	329	683
Beaufort,	1110	637	780	585
Bertie,	570	532	321	459
Brunswick,	422	410	435	336
Burke,	584	663	527	525
Buncombe,	910	918	701	980
Chatham,	1255	1245	1113	1077
Columbus,	434	718	291	689
Cumberland,	861	1023	652	854
Cabarrus,	877	429	5-2	481
Caldwell,	540	370	500	3-1
Catawba,	415	960	181	920
Craven,	834	803	559	759
Carteret,	561	481	261	423
Chowan,	278	305	184	3-7
Caswell,	224	945	184	996
Camden,	540	96	454	112
Currituck,	219	759	142	638
Cleveland,	419	998	207	1164
Cherokee,	471	711	635	552
Davie,	690	481	5-6	408
Duplin,	197	1354	132	1257
Davidson,	1388	972	1064	971
Edgecombe,	127	1095	108	871
Franklin,	406	810	372	825
Forsyth,	1028	1015	634	882
Granville,	983	1144	7-3	1083
Guilford,	2157	457	1-19	409
Gates,	461	431	393	402
Gaston,	200	860	69	845
Greene,	345	421	151	3-8
Halifax,	595	7-8	491	7-2
Harnett,	203	6-2	201	659
Haywood,	306	577	2-5	5-7
Henderson,	829	586	672	526
Hertford,	399	353	325	309
Hyde,	458	590	412	421
Iredell,	1716	382	1256	3-4
Jackson,	164	598	99	587
Jones,	212	275	1-2	23-
Johnston,	864	1044	728	819
Lincoln,	256	530	222	6-1
Lenoir,	349	556	274	462
Macon,	486	400	357	365
Madison,	265	593	231	499
Martin,	359	746	150	646
Mecklenburg,	757	1274	455	998
Moore,	843	749	666	658
Montgomery,	832	175	581	323
McDowell,	532	457	368	425
Nash,	122	1058	321	804
New Hanover,	713	1549	407	1419
Northampton,	609	779	365	648
Onslow,	133	841	141	777
Orange,	1239	1109	1037	1012
Pasquotank,	521	360	436	324
Person,	259	620	166	636
Perquimons,	412	298	320	300
Pitt,	778	751	723	733
Polk,	175	325	144	248
Randolph,	1567	448	1230	402
Rockingham,	444	1137	332	1127
Rutherford,	804	701	689	600
Robeson,	681	844	532	759
Rowan,	1079	1160	852	1226
Richmond,	565	251	528	258
Stanly,	1065	89	821	139
Sampson,	590	1042	4-5	1-41
Surry,	579	933	404	989
Stokes,	470	813	366	788
Tyrrell,	280	213	154	217
Union,	425	931	309	824
Wayne,	380	1201	164	1236
Wake,	1573	1491	778	1659
Washington,	481	212	200	288
Warren,	134	874	100	872
Watauga,	442	259	381	246
Wilson,	133	936	108	880
Wilkes,	1419	614	1081	562
Yadkin,	859	736	757	737
Yancey.	474	774	199	863
	53,219	59,443	40,046	56,420
		53,219		40,046
Ellis' majorities,		6,224		16,3-3

MEMBERS ELECT OF THE LEGISLATURE—SESSION 1860-61.

WHIGS IN ITALICS—DEMOCRATS IN ROMAN.

SENATE.

1st District—Pasquotank and Perquimons—*J. M. Whedbee.*
2nd " Camden and Currituck—B. F. Simmons.
3rd " Gates and Chowan—*Mills L. Eure.*
4th " Hyde and Tyrrell—*Jones Spencer.*
5th " Northampton—J. M. S. Rogers.
6th " Hertford—*Joseph B. Slaughter.*
7th " Bertie—*David Outlaw.*
8th " Martin & Washington—*J. R. Stubbs.*
9th " Halifax—M. C. Whitaker.
10th " Edgecombe—H. T. Clarke.
11th " Pitt—*E. J. Blount.*
12th " Beaufort—*Frederick Grist.*
13th " Craven—N. H. Street.
14th " Carteret and Jones—*M. F. Arendell.*
15th " Greene and Lenoir—J. P. Speight.
16th " New Hanover—Eli W. Hall.
17th " Duplin—James Dickson.
18th " Onslow—L. W. Humphrey.
19th " Bladen, Brunswick and Columbus—John D. Taylor.
20th " Cumberland and Harnett—D. Shaw.
21st " Sampson—T. I. Faison.
22nd " Wayne—W. K. Lane.
23rd " Johnston—J. W. B. Watson.
24th " Wake—Moses A. Bledsoe.
25th " Nash—A. J. Taylor.
26th " Franklin—W. Harris.
27th " Warren—T. J. Pitchford.
28th " Granville—C. H. K. Taylor.
29th " Person—C. B. Winstead.
30th " Orange—*Josiah Turner, jr.*
31st " Alamance & Randolph—*J. Worth.*
32nd " Chatham—W. S. Harris.
33rd " Moore & Montgomery—*W. D. Dowd.*
34th " Richmond & Robeson—*A. Dockery.*
35th " Anson and Union—*S. H. Walkup.*
36th " Guilford—*J. M. Morehead.*
37th " Caswell—Bedford Brown.
38th " Rockingham—F. L. Simpson.
39th " Mecklenburg—John Walker.
40th " Cabarrus & Stanly—*V. C. Barringer.*
41st " Rowan and Davie—*J. G. Ramsey.*
42nd " Davidson—*J. W. Thomas.*
43rd " Stokes and Forsythe—J. A. Waugh.
44th " Ashe, Surry, Watauga and Yadkin—J. Dobson.
45th " Iredell, Wilkes and Alexander—*L. Q. Sharpe.*
46th " Burke, McDowell and Caldwell—*W. W. Avery.*
47th " Lincoln, Gaston and Catawba—Jasper Stowe.
48th " Rutherford and Cleveland—*A. W. Burton.*
49th " Buncombe, Henderson, Yancey and Madison—*Marcus Erwin.*
50th " Haywood, Macon, Cherokee & Jackson—W. H. Thomas.

Democrats 31; Whigs 19—Democratic majority 12. In last Senate 14. In preceding 16.

HOUSE OF COMMONS.

Alamance—*Giles Mebane* and John Trollinger.
Alexander—*Dr. John M. Carson.*
Anson—*L. L. Polk* and *E. R. Liles.*
Ashe—*T. N. Crumpler.*
Burke—J. H. Pearson.
Buncombe—*A. S. Merrimon.*
Bladen—C. T. Davis.
Bertie—*Dr. P. T. Henry* and John Ferguson.
Beaufort—*R. S. Donnell* and W. T. Marsh.
Brunswick—*T. D. Meares.*
Cabarrus—*Wm. S. Harris.*
Catawba—Jonas Cline.
Craven—*C. C. Clark* and *F. E. Alfred.*
Cumberland & Harnett—C. G. Wright, J. S. Harrington and J. C. Williams.
Chowan— —— Small.
Columbus—N. L. Williamson.
Camden—*D. D. Ferebee.*
Carteret—*D. W. Whitehurst.*
Cherokee—*G. W. Hayes.*
Caswell—John Kerr and S. P. Hill.
Chatham—Turner Bynum, *R. N. Green* and *W. P. Taylor.*
Caldwell—*W. W. Dickson.*
Currituck—B. M. Baxter.
Cleveland—A. G. Waters and J. R. Logan.
Davidson—*Lewis Haynes* and *E. B. Clark.*
Davie— —— *Howard.*
Duplin—J. D. Bennett and J. D. Stanford.
Edgecombe—R. R. Bridgers and J. S. Woodward.
Forsythe—*J. F. Poindexter* and P. Barrow.
Franklin—W. F. Green.
Gaston—J. H. White.
Granville—S. H. P. Jenkins, S. H. Cannady and James M. Bullock.
Guilford—*C. E. Shober, C. P. Mendenhall* and *Jesse Garrett.*
Greene—A. D. Speight.
Gates—*John Boothe.*
Haywood—D. S. L. Love.
Halifax—A. H. Davis and W. B. Pope.
Hertford—*J. J. Yeates.*
Hyde—*Tilmon Farrow.*
Henderson—*Joseph P. Jordan.*
Iredell—*A. K. Simonton* and *B. F. Gaither.*
Jackson—J. H. Love.
Jones—W. P. Ward.
Johnston—W. H. Watson and J. Mitchener.
Lenoir—J. C. Wooten.
Lincoln—J. F. Hoke.
Macon & Clay—John A. Fagg.
Martin—J. W. Ewell.
McDowell—*C. H. Burgin.*
Moore—*A. Kelly.*
Montgomery—*E. G. L. Barringer.*
Madison—*D. W. Seay.*
Mecklenburg—S. W. Davis and J. M. Potts.
Nash—H. G. Williams.
New Hanover—S. J. Person and Daniel Shaw.
Northampton—M. W. Ransom and W. W. Peebles.
Onslow—J. H. Foy.
Orange—*W. N. Patterson* and *H. B. Guthrie.*
Pasquotank—*J. T. Williams.*
Perquimons—*Nathan Newby.*
Pitt—*B. G. Albritton* and *C. Perkins.*
Person—J. D. Wilkerson.
Robeson—Alex McMillan and Elisha Wishart.
Rockingham—Rawley Galloway and Thos. Slade.
Rowan—N. F. Hall and N. N. Fleming.
Rutherford—*C. T. N. Davis* and *B. H. Padgett.*
Randolph—*J. N. Foust* and *T. L. Winslow.*
Richmond—*J. G. Blue.*
Sampson—N. C. Faison and Geo. W. Autrey.
Surry—W. Waugh.
Stokes—Horatio Kellam.
Stanly—*Lafayette Green.*
Tyrrell—*C. McCleese.*
Union—*C. Q. Lemmonds.*
Wake—*S. H. Rogers, J. P. H. Russ* and *Henry Mordecai.*
Warren—J. B. Batchelor and W. K. Clark.
Washington—*C. Latham.*
Watauga—*G. N. Folk.*
Wayne—W. T. Dortch and M. K. Crawford.
Wilkes—*A. W. Martin* and —— *Horton.*
Yadkin—*A. C. Cowles.*
Yancey—J. W. Bowman.

Democrats 66; Whigs 56; Democratic majority 8. In last House 44. In preceding 42. Democratic majority on joint ballot 20.

☞ Mr. Bell, having been interrogated by Mr. Thomas H. Watts, a citizen of the State of Alabama, with regard to his opinions on certain questions of current political interest, has addressed, in reply to his correspondent, a letter, in which he declines, for the reasons assigned, to make any new statements of definitions in regard to the principles involved in the pending canvass and points to the record of his long public life as a sufficient index to the opinions he entertains on all the leading questions which now engage the attention of the American people. But in order to facilitate a reference to the sources of information on this head, he has accompanied this response with a syllabus of his "record," as made up from a review of his public career, and from his speeches and letters, having a bearing upon the subjects now in controversy before the country. This compilation has been prepared by the Central Union Committee of Tennessee, and give all the information which can be desired. Mr. Bell tells Mr. Watts, "it in the authentic exposition of my course upon the subjects for twenty five years, you can find nothing to inspire you with confidence that, in the event of my election, I would so employ the power and influence of the Executive Department of the Government as to give no just ground of complaint to the South, or any other section of the Union, while I would regret the loss of your support, and that of your friends, I could not reasonably expect to receive it." And, he says, "the great aim of the National Union party, is to restore peace, with justice to both sections of the Union—not to perpetuate strife."

☞ Lord Brougham's explanation that he had no design to insult the American Minister by his remark before the Statistical Society at London is a lame apology for a man of his age and experience of the usages of civilized intercourse. It would not be inappropriate in the mouth of an unfledged politician who had suffered his impulses to run away with his judgment. But for an octogenarian of well-balanced mind, it leaves the alternative that if Lord Brougham is ordinarily observant of the courtesies due to official position, he has placed himself on a level with those fanatics whose negro sympathies have obliterated all other sympathies.

On the 4th of March, 1828, Mr. James Buchanan, then a member of the House of Representatives from Pennsylvania, and now President of the United States, in speaking upon the dangers of corruption in a Republican government, enunciated the following doctrine: "All office holders are but enlisted soldiers of that Administration, by which they are sustained."—*Alex. Gazette.*

Mr. John B Norris of Clarke county, Va. has taken out a patent for an invention which enables a performer, either old or young, to tune a piano.

From the Nashville National Union.

JOHN BELL'S RECORD.

Mr. Bell entered the public service, as a representative in Congress, at the age of thirty one years. It was in 1827, towards the close of the Presidential term of John Quincy Adams, and shortly preceding the election of Gen Jackson to the Presidency. During the marked and eventful administration of the latter, many great and exciting questions arose and were decided, for good or evil. All the strong passions of our nature were roused and brought into action by the greatest talent and address on both sides, and the very fabric of the government was shaken and convulsed to its centre.

Though acting, throughout this exciting period, with a party, with the principles of which he in the main agreed, and to which, so far as principle was concerned, he was *ever faithful*, yet Mr. Bell was at no time so blindly attached to the one party or opposed to the other, as to be insensible to the motives which probably actuated both—More intent upon watching and noting the peculiar tendencies of our system of government—the dangers which most beset it—the points most exposed to attack, and those to be particularly guarded—more intent upon the solution of these problems, than zealous in the success of every party movement, he, at times, incurred the censure of some of his party friends for what appeared to them indifference to the interests of "the party."

The truth is, that the qualities of Mr. Bell's mind, and the views which, at a very early period of his public life, he formed of the nature and tendencies of our government and of the duties of American statesmen, utterly disqualified him from ever becoming the blind follower of any party leader, however great and distinguished; or a successful party leader himself, if the condition of such leadership were a ready compliance on his part with all the dictates of mere party expediency.

What these characteristic qualities of Mr. Bell's mind are—what his views of the tendencies and dangers pertaining to our system of government and of the duties of American statesmen—and what the principles which have governed him throughout the whole of his long public life, can be made very clearly to appear by reference to a few passages in his political record.

MR. BELL IN 1829.

HIS OPINIONS AS TO THE EXTREME MODE OF CONSTRUING THE CONSTITUTION—THE PRINCIPLE OF COMPROMISE.

The following passage occurs in a speech delivered by Mr. Bell in the House of Representatives, on the 10th of February, 1829, on a bill for the preservation and repair of the Cumberland road:

"While I am upon the subject of this diversity of opinion which exists as to the safest mode of construing the Constitution, I hope it will not be considered improper or presumptuous in me to make a remark or two in regard to the two great parties which divide this country upon all questions of this kind. They had their origin as far back as the formation of the Federal compact.—Their foundations were laid in the difference of sentiment which prevailed at that time, as to the wisdom of the provisions of that instrument. They are, in short, the fruit of that discord of opinions and feelings, without a compromise of which at the time, we should have had no Constitution at all. One opinion was, that sufficient power was not conferred upon the Federal Government to assure the quiet, happiness and prosperity of the country; while the opinion of others was, that the power actually conceded would prove too strong for the preservation of liberty. The most zealous and active of the partizans on both sides never abandoned their creeds; both parties became sufficiently powerful to propagate their opinions; and as one or the other predominated in the administration of the Government, a tincture of the favorable notions of each was infused into its measures. Both have sought, by construction, to make the Constitution what they wished it to be in fact; the one by enlarging its powers beyond its letter and spirit, the other by narrowing them down to the standard of their wishes. Although it will be seen that I know and feel what party has had the ascendency for several years past, and where the great danger is, yet it may be said that both these great parties are in some degree hostile, not to liberty, not to their country, but to the Constitution as it is written; to that instrument which we are bound by the most sacred obligations to support; to that instrument, to which, for one, I am disposed to cling, with or without such modifications as may be effected by amendment. Both the great parties to which I have alluded seem to me to have abandoned *the principle of compromise*. I would adhere to it as the only principle by which the States were able to agree upon any compact, and without an acquiescence in which, we are not destined long to enjoy the blessings of the one adopted—*He, sir, who shall renounce the extremes of both these great parties*, as dangerous to order and union; he who, by his talents, experience and weight of character, shall succeed in placing himself *at the head of a great constitutional party*, and shall become the advocate of the administration of the Government *upon the principle of compromise*, as it was understood to have operated in the formation of the Constitution, will deserve the highest gratitude of his country." [See Congressional Debates, vol 5, page 349.]

It cannot but be regarded as a most extraordinary coincidence, that, more than thirty years after the utterance of these opinions, "a great Constitutional party" should rise up, which, "renouncing the extremes" of both the other great parties in the country, "as dangerous to order and union," should be led by its high estimate of Mr. *Bell's* "talents, experience and weight of character," to select him to lead them in a contest for "the administration of the Government upon the principle of compromise, as it was understood to have operated in the formation of the Constitution!"

MR BELL IN 1832.

HIS SPEECH ON THE TARIFF JUNE 9th 1832—AFFAIRS OF THE UNION—DUTY OF A REPRESENTATIVE.

With the dangers which threatened the Union in 1832, in consequence of the intense discontent which prevailed in the Southern States, and particularly in South Carolina, at the working of the protective tariff, many of our readers are acquainted. To this discontent and its threatened consequences, Mr. Clay adverted in his opening speech on the subject of the tariff, in the Senate, during the session of that year. In allusion to menaces of disunion which had been heard from South Carolina, he entreated "the patriotic people" of that State "to pause, solemnly pause! and contemplate the frightful precipice which lay before them." "To advance, was to rush on certain and inevitable disgrace and destruction." The danger to the Union, however, did not lie, he tho't, on the side of persistence in the American system, but in that of its abandonment!—Could it be expected that two-thirds, if not three fourths, of the people of the United States would consent to the destruction of a policy believed to be indispensably necessary to their prosperity! Let New England, the West, and the Middle States, together with the mammoth States of New York and Pennsylvania, become firmly persuaded that their industry was paralyzed and their prosperity blighted, by the enforcement of the British colonial system, under the delusive name of free trade—let them feel that they were the victim of a mistaken policy, and despair of any favorable change, and "*then*, indeed, might we tremble for a continuance of the Union."

"Here," in the language of an eminent statesman now deceased, "was an appalling picture presented: dissolution of the Union on either hand; and one or the other of the alternatives obliged to be taken. If persisted in, the opponents to the protective system at the South were to take the dissolution; if abandoned, its friends at the North were to do it!"

With this brief reference to the condition of the country at the time, we shall the better appreciate the course of Mr. Bell, as a representative in Congress, at that perilous crisis.

"This debate," said Mr. Bell, "it seems to me, was not commenced in the most fortunate spirit, nor has it been conducted altogether in the manner which the nature and intrinsic delicacy and difficulty of the subject demanded. A disposition has been manifested, and sentiments avowed by some gentlemen, equally unexpected and abhorrent to my feelings. It has been openly attempted to prejudice this question by holding it up as a contest between free labor and slave labor; between laboring States and those whose citizens, it is alleged, do not labor. It is openly and vauntingly proclaimed, by one gentleman, to the complaining sections and interests, that if they shall not be content to abide by what he is pleased to call the established policy of the country, "they may take the consequences;" Sir, I am no alarmist, but when I reflect upon all I see and hear connected with this subject, when I look to the growing distractions of the country, I feel myself justified in designating the sum of what I shall say upon this question, as *a plea for the Union!* Upon such a subject—upon an occasion so interesting—I shall not consider myself as the representative of any particular section or interest; I shall not consider myself either as a tariff or anti-tariff man. I claim to be considered and to be heard as a representative of the whole country, most anxiously concerned for its permanent prosperity, its stability and glory. I claim to be heard as the advocate of higher interests than those which are the immediate subject of consideration. It is no longer a question whether the farmer shall get seventy five cents or one dollar and twenty five cents a bushel for his wheat; whether the woolgrower shall receive forty or seventy five cents a pound for his wool; whether the planter shall get eight or twelve cents a pound for his cotton; or whether the manufacturer shall make twelve and a half or twenty per cent upon his capital. The interests of wool and of woolens, of iron, of sugar and of the whole range of domestic products, sink into insignificance in comparison with those which now force themselves upon our attention, and claim our guardian care and protection. The interests of domestic peace, of free Government, of liberty itself, are involved in this question."

STATE OF THE UNION IN 1832.

"What, then, Mr. Chairman, is the state of the Union? In a time of profound peace, * * * * in the midst of the greatest abundance of all the necessaries and even comforts of life, that God in his providence ever decreed to be the rewards of virtue and industry, "discontents, jealousies, and rancorous sectional hates have arisen and are encouraged. Fostered by these unhappy feelings, disaffection to the Government itself makes a slow but steady progress in the hearts of thousands of honest and patriotic citizens. A want of confidence in the mutual justice and forbearance of brethren of the same political family manifests itself. Confidence in our system, consequently in every quarter, has diminished and is diminishing. Men's minds are set to work in new and unwonted channels, and upon new theories of Government, for a country of such a diversity of pursuits and interests; upon theories thought to be exploded, or rendered useless, by the practical operation of the established government, until lately. The value of the Union itself, its date, and the consequences of its disruption, begin to be tolerated and canvassed in private discourse—nay, in public debate in this Hall, when, but as yesterday in the period of our existence as an independent people, to breathe such discourse would have been thought little less than downright blasphemy.

CONFLICT WITH PARTIES IN 1832—ATTEMPT TO DESTROY OF THE INFALLIBILITY OF THE SUPREME COURT AS THE MEDIUM AND SOLUTION AS A SETTLEMENT.

"It is now more than forty years," continued Mr. Bell, "since the adoption of the Constitution, and has the contest between the original elements of party, as I have described them, ceased? I answer no! The war between them, acquiring new vigor from the infusion of selfish, political and mercenary calculations, on both sides, has, at this moment, reached its highest and most critical juncture. In some sections the whole country is in a state of mental conflagration. In the intensity of the conflict between the extremes, the leaders on the side of the republican or vanquished party—for vanquished they are—cry out, and *departing from the spirit of the Constitution, proclaim their intention to accept no compromise;* while, on the other side, the victors, the majority—that majority which holds the destiny of this country in their hands—more calm, equally determined, but with less excuse or reason, announce their determination to yield nothing! Yes, sir, in the face of an imploring country, the majority proclaim that rather than one jot or tittle of the powers they exercise, or the advantage they enjoy, shall pass away, they are ready to stand the hazard of the entire overthrow of the whole fabric of our policy and of our glorious Republic. We, too, they proclaim, will make no compromise, and "let the minority take the consequences!" This is the language of those who control the issues of all that is dear to the patriot, and who are able to dictate the pages of the future history of this country. It is not surprising that in a contest which menaces the repose of the country, the leaders, on both sides, should start new and untried theories, for the purpose of effecting their respective objects. Accordingly, we find that on the side of the victors, in order to secure the benefits of their conquest forever, the doctrine of the infallibility of the Supreme Court is avowed as the only means of securing the stability of the Government. On the side of the vanquished or republican party, the doctrine of nullification has been invented, and is proclaimed as the only infallible mode of effecting the same object. These are the tests to which all questions of power under the Federal Government are proposed to be brought to final decision.—But is it not manifest that both these newly invented doctrines are equally hostile to the spirit of the Constitution? Not to the Union, for both parties, I verily believe, are friends to the Union, but to a *Union upon their own terms!* Is it not manifest that this is a contest between two extremes, equally distant from the true medium point of the Constitution?"

IMPORTANCE TO THE COUNTRY OF A MIDDLE OR MODERATE PARTY—A DEBATE AND COMPROMISE THE ONLY SALVATION OF THE COUNTRY.

"Mr. Chairman, in the almost interminable waste of hope which lies before us, there is one bright spot to which the patriot may direct his eye, in some confidence that relief may come. In all the past civil strifes and revolutions which have agitated this country, and sometimes threatened its institutions, there has always been a moderate party of sufficient strength and influence to turn the balance between the extremes, and to impress upon the action of the Government some portion of the spirit of *moderation and compromise which are characteristic of the constitution itself.* This middle or moderate party is not in much esteem with the extremes on either side. It is said to be composed of men who are more disposed to submit to oppression, than to preserve unimpaired the rights of freemen.—Still, to this party I choose to cling; and we shall see who will prove the stoutest defenders of the liberties of the country. This party has always found its support in the good sense and moderation of the great body of the people. It has, in fact, owed its existence to the sound practical judgment and good feeling which, I trust, notwithstanding the vices of the times, still constitute the leading traits in the American population. It has been the sound, uncorrupted sentiment of the great body of the American people, which has always, heretofore, stepped in between the combatant leaders, and brought them to terms of compromise. It is this public sentiment which has still caused the republican party, when in power, to become less rigid in their constructions of the Constitution, than when in opposition. It is the same public sentiment which, when the federal party, being in power, have indulged their enlarging propensities too far, either displaced them, or restrained their action within reasonable limits. I trust there yet remains a portion of that pure and unaffected public sentiment to preserve the country from the confusion and discord which now menace it. The contest may become even more violent. What to day is only a breeze of popular discontent, may to morrow swell into a very tornado, threatening to overthrow and prostrate in the dust all the sacred edifice dedicated to freedom on this side of the Atlantic! But still my trust is in the solidity of their foundations."

THE DUTIES OF AMERICAN STATESMEN.

"To calm," said Mr. Bell, "the rising elements of discontent, to assuage the feverish symptoms of the body politic, is the business of every American statesman. An American statesman! Who and what are the duties and attributes of an American statesman at this day? They are, or they ought not to account themselves, the high priests of liberty, administering her rights for the benefit of her disciples in every country; for this favorite people first, and then for all nations. Such is the high and noble calling of an American statesman. What is the first great care of an American statesman? *To preserve our free institutions.* I will not go into argument now to show that *the only effective means to be employed is the Union.* This is an axiom in American politics, I trust, too deeply established to be overthrown by the theories of any new professors in the science, however distinguished for genius and talents. What is the next great duty of American statesmen? So to administer their affairs as to secure happiness to the greatest possible number of the citizens of this free country. These are the whole law and the prophets for the guidance of our statesmen. These are the sum of all the commandments in the book of our political faith."

WAS SATISFIED WITH HIS RESPECTIVE DUTY—IN ... [illegible]

"I maintain that each representative is, by the theory of the Government, a representative of the whole people of the United States; that the principle of a representation by States or districts was adopted for convenience in making the selection of representatives by the people, and for the pur-