

CAROLINA WATCHMAN.

BY HAMILTON C. JONES.

SALISBURY, N. C. SATURDAY, OCTOBER 8, 1836.

VOL. V—NO. 12—WHOLE NO. 320.

TERMS.

The Watchman may hereafter be had for Dollars and Fifty Cents per year.

A Class of four new subscribers who will in advance the whole sum at one payment, all have the paper for one year at Two Dollars each, and as long as the same class shall continue to pay in advance the sum of Eight Dollars the same terms shall continue, otherwise they will be charged as other subscribers.

Subscribers who do not pay during the year will be charged three Dollars in all cases.

No subscription will be received for less than one year.

No paper will be discontinued but at the option of the Editor, unless all arrearages are paid.

All letters to the Editor must be post paid; otherwise they will certainly not be attended to.

TERMS OF ADVERTISING—Fifty Cents a square for the first insertion, and Twenty-Five cents per square for each insertion afterwards. No advertisement will be inserted for less than ONE DOLLAR.

Advertisements will be continued until orders are received to stop them, where no directions are previously given.

Advertisements by the year or six months will be made at a Dollar per month for each square with the privilege of changing the form every quarter.

PROPOSALS

For publishing a weekly Journal in the town of MACON, Noxubee County Mississippi.

TO BE ENTITLED

THE MISSISSIPPI STAR.

THE Rapid and increasing growth of this & the surrounding beautiful country has induced the subscriber to establish a weekly Journal at this place. It is well known that whilst other parts of the State are amply supplied with sources of political information, and means of its dissemination, that this rich and fertile, though sparsely populated section is without a single organ; consequently the success of a Journal, published under such circumstances, will in a great degree, depend upon the merit of its conductor and the untiring efforts of his friends.

Usage has rendered it obligatory on the conductors of public Journals, before entering upon their duties, to give an exposition of their political views, and as we feel no hesitancy in avowing our sentiments, either before the public or before the untrusting eyes of our friends, we deem it our duty to state our views on the subject of the present crisis in our country, and to state our views on the subject of the present crisis in our country, and to state our views on the subject of the present crisis in our country.

Usage has rendered it obligatory on the conductors of public Journals, before entering upon their duties, to give an exposition of their political views, and as we feel no hesitancy in avowing our sentiments, either before the public or before the untrusting eyes of our friends, we deem it our duty to state our views on the subject of the present crisis in our country, and to state our views on the subject of the present crisis in our country.

Usage has rendered it obligatory on the conductors of public Journals, before entering upon their duties, to give an exposition of their political views, and as we feel no hesitancy in avowing our sentiments, either before the public or before the untrusting eyes of our friends, we deem it our duty to state our views on the subject of the present crisis in our country, and to state our views on the subject of the present crisis in our country.

Usage has rendered it obligatory on the conductors of public Journals, before entering upon their duties, to give an exposition of their political views, and as we feel no hesitancy in avowing our sentiments, either before the public or before the untrusting eyes of our friends, we deem it our duty to state our views on the subject of the present crisis in our country, and to state our views on the subject of the present crisis in our country.

The STAR will be published once a week at Macon, Noxubee County, Miss., on a neat imperial sheet, at \$5 in advance, or \$6 at the end of the year.

Newspapers friendly to the cause, are requested to publish the above Proposals, and receive subscriptions for the same. The first Number will be issued early in December, if the materials can be procured by that time.

JO. GALES JOHNSON.

Stop the Runaway.

Runaway from the subscriber living near Liberty Hill, in Iredell county, N. C. a negro man named

PETER,

formerly owned by James Cunningham. He is between forty and fifty years old; of a yellowish complexion—round face and small eyes. He is marked with a scar in one of his ears, which has not grown together; also with a scar on the underside of his head, which has not filled up; he has a small scar on one of his cheeks, and is about five feet, five or six inches in height. Any one taking up this negro and lodging him in jail or delivering him to me, shall be reasonably compensated.

HUGH CUNNINGHAM.

Liberty Hill, Iredell Co. N. C. June 11th, 1836—447

SPEECH OF MR. BELL,

OF TENNESSEE.

ON THE NEW HARBOR BILL.

(Continued.)

But, sir, the times have greatly changed since General Jackson came into power. The spirit of the age, not content with the wonderful advance in the intermediate period in all the arts, has infused itself into politics. The inventive genius of the times has been busy in this department also. New and improved plans of party organization and discipline have been started, and new conceptions formed of the uses to which the spirit of party may be applied. The idea of the existence of a party in the country of undefined and undefeatable danger and designs upon the constitution is made at once the raw head and bloody bones to alarm the credulous and ignorant, and the pretext for a vigilant, rigid, and exclusive party association. This dangerous but viable party may be, not inaptly, called the Devil of this new political system. As this new party is associated upon the alleged principle of preserving the country and the liberties of the People from that destruction which awaits both, if they should fall into the hands of the arch-enemy, it is plausible and conclusively argued that all offices, emoluments, jobs, contracts, and agencies—in short the whole revenue of the Government, should be distributed among its members. This party may change or shift its principles of policy or administration with the changing seasons themselves, but it may still maintain its original ground of being the only defenders of the liberties of the People! It may adopt and practise upon principles of ultra-federal policy today; it may practise upon the most latitudinarian doctrines to-morrow; it may follow in the narrow path of the straight sect of the State rights party; it may re-enact the alien and sedition laws; it may commit every abuse known in the administration of the most corrupt Government; but still it will claim to be exclusive champion of the constitution and the liberties of the People against the unknown and unknowable designs of a dangerous party, and this is sufficient to rally thousands to its standard. Who does not see that all that could justify party divisions in the country is wholly disregarded; that a new party is forming, composed of members of every political hue and complexion, and which must, from its very nature and composition, end in a mere association for sharing the spoils; and that the profession of any particular set of principles is only a device to delude? Sir, it is not General Jackson, then, that has changed, so much as the guiding spirits of that party which now claims to be his exclusive supporters; it is the influence and power of this new principle of party association, which begins to operate at the close of this administration, and which is expected to introduce and govern the course of the next.

But does there not exist at this time, or is there not undergoing the process of organization, a party, one of the fundamental maxims of which is, that all the offices, honors, and emoluments attached to political power belong of right to, and ought in property to be awarded to, the victors in all party conflicts; a party which does not hesitate to avow that to be one of the principles upon which they associate as a party; a party which not only avows this principle as one of the landmarks of their future action, should they conquer in the present contest for the control of the Federal Government, but which, whenever in any State they have hitherto possessed themselves of the reins of power, has actually practised upon this principle. Is this not true of the party now in power in the State of New York, and is not the party now in power in that State the germ and nucleus around which it is proposed to form a great national party? I affirm that it is. And is there any form of military discipline, Russian, Prussian, or Austrian, more degrading and inexorable, and at the same time better calculated to subject the mass—the rank and file of the people—to the absolute control and guidance of a chief or chiefs, than the code of party tactics and discipline enforced by the dominant party in New York? The spirit of freedom and free deliberation, among the members of the party, is suppressed, not indeed by the bayonet, but by a system scarcely less effective and terrible. While it holds out the lure of office to the obedient and faithful, it ordains extermination to the actual or alleged and arbitrarily proscribed offender. A man who shall have the independence to set the decrees of the party, however obtained, whether by the fiat of a single head or the resolves of a secret junta, at defiance, or shall refuse to support them in the primary assemblies of the people—assemblies called not to be primary in deliberation, but notoriously as I understand it, called last to conceal in order to ratify what has been already decided, a man I say, who dares to oppose the action of this system, no matter to what unjust or mischievous extremes it may lead, is not only stripped of all his privileges, and of whatever portion of the spoils which may have fallen to his lot in former triumphs, but he is to be tattooed—to have a black line drawn around him—in fine, to be shot as a deserter! I know of no parallel or any analogous practice in the history of the Five Nations of Indians, who once, from their castles and fastnesses in the country which now forms the State of New York, dictated the conduct of the subject tribes around them, extending, at one time, nearly a thousand miles to the south and to the west. These conquerors

of the forest ordained what they called the law of the hunt, and we and extermination were the lot of the unhappy tribe that unwittingly or otherwise happened or dared to violate it. The successors of these savages have, it seems, in a spirit of equal address and comprehension of design, established their law of the hunt, but not the hunt of the buffalo, of the bear, and of the beaver, but of the spoils! Those who have driven these savage visitors from their haunts have profited by their policy, and the subtlety and enterprise of the Mohawks reinitiated and surpassed by their white invaders. But let them beware, and let those who regard the success of this system of party discipline with the same apprehension that I do, take courage from the historical fact that the Five Nations, terrible and powerful as they were, had bounds set to their ambition and their dominion. The Catawbas of South Carolina, staid the torrent of desolation in its progress along the Atlantic border, though they were well nigh exterminated in the conflict; but when they were reduced to a very small number they still resisted—made rich reprisals of blood upon their numerous and haughty foes, and still triumphantly held their country! But these conquerors of the North were successively met, beaten, and driven back with slaughter, in frequent encounters in another quarter. Along that whole line of the country running east and west, and constituting what is now the State of Tennessee, the Indian proprietors maintained their ground in a contest of half a century, and still bid defiance to the hunters of all the country to the north and the north west; ay, sir, and they were ready to submit to extermination rather than political slavery. The analogy might be traced further. In this war for national independence, waged by the natives of this noble tract of country, they had to encounter, not the Five Nations and their allies of the North and West only, but often a combination of some of the tribes of the South—their own natural allies; but still they stood and fought undismayed, and were finally victorious!

Sir, I believe I have not misrepresented the policy and discipline of the party now in power in the State of New York—I mean, in affirming that all the offices of the State, are regarded as the property, as of course, of the victors in a party contest. If I am not mistaken, it is not secret that such is the established policy—nay, that scarcely any man of any party (so well and permanently to this system engraved upon the people of that State) ever thinks of questioning or opposing it. It is regarded as a thing not only settled, but admissible and justifiable, by the politicians on both sides. But it is not in the State of New York alone that this system of party tactics has found favor. It prevails to a considerable extent in Pennsylvania, in New Jersey, in Maine, and it has a subtle control in New Hampshire. In how many other States it has made a successful lodgment, I know not. I am aware that it may be asked, what danger there is in all this; that to the present party or the liberties of the country? This is precisely the point to which I have the serious attention of those who are here. I wish I could extend far enough to the frontiers of the country in this respect, and this point.

Without intending to create unnecessary doubts to all its members, I mention that such a party must necessarily and inevitably become invidious, and unreligiously regard all consistency and moral principle. In whatever State this system becomes established, practice of the dominant or of the antagonist parties; that you will find of the most flagrant instances of sudden changes, not only in the course of individuals, but of entire parties, whenever party interests are concerned—the most corrupt practices in the public administration, the greatest excesses and abuses in the courts, and the most degraded state of public morals. These attributes of a corrupt and vicious party association are more visible and striking in every State where it exists, in proportion to the amount of Executive patronage. In some States, in which the judges are appointed for short terms, they are compelled to share the fate of every other official incumbent. But how can any other motive or interest form the success of the party become the law of a governing one, when every officer of the State and of the United States, from the highest to the lowest, in the United States, from the head of a Department down to a petty postmaster, of a gauger to the customs, and in the States, from the judge of a court down to the clerk of an inferior court, or lock-keeper upon a canal, must be removed to give place to the hungry partisans of a new and triumphant party? No length of service, no degree of fidelity in the discharge of official duties, no state of dependence upon the receipts of an office, however small, can save the wretched incumbent from the general law of the hunt, the fate of the conquered. Besides the general severity and hypocrisy which such a practice cannot fail to introduce, a following train of evils besides is obliged to follow from the success of a political combination of this nature. Incompetent and unfaithful officers and agents are thrust into the most important public stations, the public service and interests suffer accordingly. Subordinate officers, instead of relying upon their diligence, skill and fidelity in the discharge of their official duties, for their continuance in office, compromise with their consciences for a neglect of duty by contributing largely to the success of the party in the management of caucuses, public meetings, and elections; they look to the chiefs of the party to connive at their delinquencies, and to sustain them in office in consideration of their zeal and activity in

the general cause. It follows, (as the same reasons, that the first officers in the State & General Governments are liable to be filled by men equally incompetent and unfaithful. It matters not who is Governor of a State or President of the United States, what may be his principles, his personal or political character, provided he possesses what is called party fidelity, and has tact enough to wield the patronage and influence of his office according to party law and usage, and so as to advance, not the cause of the country, but of the party!

If it be true that any party avows the doctrine that to the victors belongs the spoils of office; if it be true that it is the practice of that party to put none into office but those of their own party, and suffer none to remain in office but such as are already, or may be willing to become, partisans of those in power, can a President elected by such a party choose to do otherwise than to use the patronage of the Government, intrusted to him by laws and constitution, according to the same rule? Must he not, in the first place, so distribute it as to secure his election for a second term; and afterwards, is he not bound by the laws and usages of the party of which he is the official head; to use his whole influence, and the entire means in his hands, the election of that man for his successor who shall be chosen according to the same party usage, to wit, a national caucus, which brought him into power? I repeat the question, can he do otherwise than interfere in elections, and employ the whole patronage of the Government in controlling them. If I am not mistaken in this, a President elected by means of this system is by the act of his in-litigation into power, by the very terms of his engagement with his political associates, bound to prostitute those great powers and that immense patronage intrusted to him by the constitution, to be administered exclusively for the good of the whole country, to objects of aggrandisement and ambition. The needs, then, of this mischief of Executive interference are soon much deeper than one would suppose upon a superficial view of the subject. They lie deeply imbedded in this new system of party tactics and discipline which the steps to fasten its deadly and corrupting fangs upon every State of this Union. Whatever blame, therefore, may attach, in the mind of any, to the course of the President upon this subject, let the responsibility be attached to the sources of the evil—let it be traced to its proper head. Having shown that this practice of Executive interference is a necessary result of a principle of party association, let any one attempt to strain his eyes to conceive all the consequences of the success of this system—the degradation of the national character, the mean grade of ambition which most distinguish the leading men of the country—the general corruption.

Will any man here after affirm that the one hundred thousand office holders, agents, contractors, and dependants upon the Government in some form or other, are any longer to be safely trusted with the right of suffrage in the election of a free people? Sir, the friends of the party and freedom of the elective franchise in this country should take a lesson upon this subject from the practice of a Government to whom less freedom than our own—I mean Great Britain; and I beg leave to refer to her statistics, not only for depriving the office dependants upon the Government from voting, but prohibiting, under severe penalties, the slightest interference of public officers in election. The statutes referred to are the following:

“And be it further enacted by the authority aforesaid, That from and after the nineteenth day of September, one thousand seven hundred and one, no commissioner, collector, comptroller, searcher, or other officer or person whatsoever, concerned or employed in the charging, collecting, levying, or managing the customs, or any branch or part thereof, shall by word, message, or writing, or in any other manner whatsoever, endeavor to persuade any elector to give, or dissuade any elector from giving, his vote for the choice of any person to be a knight of the shire, citizen, burgess, or baron, of any county, city, borough, or cinque port, to serve in Parliament; and every officer or other person offending therein, shall forfeit the sum of one hundred pounds, one moiety thereof to the informer, the other moiety to the poor of the parish where such offence shall be committed; to be recovered by any person that shall sue for the same by action of debt, bill, plaint, or information, in any of his Majesty's courts of record at Westminster, in which no assize, protection, or wager of law, of more than one importance, shall be allowed; and every person convicted on any such suit shall thereby become disabled and incapable of ever bearing or executing any office or place concerning or relating to the customs, or any other office or place of trust whatsoever under his Majesty, his heirs or successors.”—12 and 13 William III. C. 16.

“And be it further enacted by the authority aforesaid, That no commissioner, officer, or other person, concerned or employed in the charging, collecting, receiving, or managing any of the duties granted by this act, shall by word, message, or writing, or in any other manner endeavor to persuade any elector to give, or dissuade any elector from giving, his vote for his choice of any person to be knight of the shire, commissioner, citizen, burgess, or baron, for any county, city, borough, or cinque port; and every officer or other person offending therein, shall forfeit the sum of one hundred pounds, one moiety thereof to the informer, the other moiety thereof to the use of the parish or place where such offence shall be committed; to be recovered

by any person that shall sue for the same, by action of debt, bill, plaint, or information in any of her Majesty's courts of record at Westminster, or the court of Exchequer in that part of Great Britain called Scotland, in which no assize, protection, privilege or wager of law, of more than one importance, shall be allowed; and every person convicted of any such suit shall thereby become disabled and incapable of ever bearing or executing any office or place of trust whatsoever under her Majesty, her heirs and successors.”—10 Anne, C. 19.

“For the better securing the freedom of elections of members to serve in Parliament, be it enacted by the King's most excellent Majesty, by and with the advice and consent of the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, and Commons, in this present Parliament assembled, and by authority of the same, that from and after the first day of August, one thousand seven hundred and eighty-two no commissioner, collector, supervisor, gauger or other officer or person whatsoever, concerned or employed in the charging, collecting, levying, or managing the duties of excise, or any branch or part thereof; nor any commissioner, collector, comptroller, searcher, or other officer or person whatsoever, concerned or employed in the charging, collecting, levying, or managing the duties, or any branch or part thereof, nor any commissioner, officer or other person employed in collecting, receiving or managing any of the duties on stamped vellum, parchment, and paper; nor any person appointed by the commissioners for distributing of stamps; nor any commissioner, officer or other person employed in collecting, levying or managing any of the duties on salt; nor any surveyor, collector, comptroller, inspector, officer, or other person employed in collecting, managing or receiving the duties on windows or houses; nor any postmaster, or postmaster general, or his or their deputy or deputies, or any person employed by or under him or them in receiving; nor any captain, master, or mate, of any ship, packet or other vessel employed by or under the postmaster or postmaster general, in conveying the mail to and from foreign ports, shall be capable of giving his vote for the election of any knight of the shire, commissioner, citizen, burgess, or baron, to serve in Parliament for any county, city, borough, or cinque port; or for choosing any delegate in whom the right of electing members to serve in Parliament, for that part of Great Britain called Scotland, is vested. And if any person hereby made incapable of voting as aforesaid, shall nevertheless presume to give his vote, during the time he shall hold, or within twelve calendar months after he shall cease to hold or execute any of the offices aforesaid, contrary to the true intent and meaning of this act, such vote so given shall be held null and void to all intents and purposes whatsoever; and every person so offending shall forfeit the sum of one hundred pounds.”—22 George III. C. 41.

But the obligation of party service which attaches to all office holders under this new system extends far beyond a mere espousal of the interests of party in power. Each one is bound to show himself worthy of his station, and to render a full equivalent for his office by his zeal and success in controlling the sentiments and politics of his particular district or community. But this is not the full extent of the danger which threatens, from this source, the freedom of elections. Besides the corps of actual incumbents and dependants of all sorts upon the Government, there are in the United States, probably, one hundred thousand men who are either actual office-seekers; or who may be induced to give their influence and their votes in favor of the dominant party, by the promise of office, however deceitful that may be, in thousands of instances.

Let any one attempt to calculate the force and influence of a band of two hundred thousand partisans of any man or of any party in power in this country, united and goaded on by the hope of reward, or a feeling of dependence for their places, and in many instances for the very subsistence of their families, upon the success of their efforts in a common cause. Who will undertake to estimate the efforts to be produced, not only upon the spirit but upon the very forms of Government, by the introduction into the service of a successful party, and for its protection and support, of a guard of one hundred thousand men, who hold their employment by the tenure of party service, and those distributed over the whole Union; diffused among the whole people—all acting by one impulse, and with a view to a common end? Sir, these are, hereafter, to constitute the Praetorian guards of America, to ratify the Revolution when there was danger of its annihilation; and that at no very distant period, as the countenance which is now given by a large proportion of the People to the doctrines and practices of this new party. In one view of the subject, it would be just to denounce every supporter of this new system of party tactics as a monarchist; for it is not the intention, but the tendency—the result of measures and practices which constitute their supporters monarchists or otherwise. That each successive President will appoint his successor, if this system shall once be firmly established in practice, and fairly ingrafted upon all the States, is as certain as that the sun shines this day in the heavens; and this will continue, until by some terrible shock, by some outrage, most commonly

the result of the long continuance of power, in the same hands, the people shall be roused to resistance. Even now, sir, even now, when this Hydra has shot forth less than half its monstrous progeny, does not every member of this House know and feel—does not every sharp-sighted office-holder and office seeker throughout the Union know and feel, that the only real Executive patronage and favor lies in actual or well affected devotion to the interests of a particular candidate for the Presidency? And this has been the state of things for more than a year, and yet there has been no effectual rising of the people! But eight years ago, if such a state of things had been understood to exist, such a burning heat would have been suddenly kindled in this land—such a consuming fire would have raged in this Hall, as to have left no vestige of a party which would then have dared to practice upon such a principle. I entreat the House—I conjure the country to look to the future results of this state of things. Nay, sir, I conjure them to look to present results. Have not the power and influence of the Executive been felt in the election of members of this House? How long will it be before the practice of appointing the presiding officer of this House by the President shall be ripened into usage? How long before the Presidency shall be but an appendage of Executive patronage, to be disposed of like every other office or station, for the benefit of the party? When these things shall come to pass, where then will be those divisions of the powers of sovereignty into separate departments, which have ever been regarded as the greatest safeguard of our liberties? Where will be your separate and independent Legislative Department—where your Judiciary, for that too must soon yield under the present pressure. Sir, with the power and influence of the Executive, as at present exercised, this Government is an elective monarchy. It is well that we no longer deceive ourselves with names. It is in this day an elective monarchy. The sum of Executive patronage justifies this application. The consideration and circumstances of state conceded to the President justify this new cognomen. I beg leave to refer to several passages of the report made by a leading member of the party in 1828, (Mr. Benton,) in the Senate of the United States, upon the subject of Executive power and patronage, as strongly corroborative of these views.

“Although the impression is generally entertained that a Government of more energetic character had become indispensably necessary, yet under the influence of this party, such was the dread of power and patronage, that the states with extreme reluctance yielded their assent to the establishment of the Federal Government. Not was this the effect of this and visionary fears on the part of an ignorant and without knowledge of the nature and tendency of power. On the contrary, it resulted from the most extensive and profound political knowledge, from the heads of statesmen, unambitious in any age, in sagacity and patriotism. Nothing could rescue the great men of that day from the constitution of a such power, but the guards which were put upon it against the abuse of power, dread and jealousy of this abuse displayed itself throughout the instrument. To this spirit we are indebted for the freedom of the press, trial by jury, liberty of conscience, freedom of debate, responsibility in constituents, power of impeachment, the control of the Senate in appointments to office.”

“The action of such a body of men, supposing them to be animated by one spirit, must be tremendous in an election; and that they will be so animated, is a proposition too plain to need demonstration. Power over a man's support has always been held and admitted to be power over his will. The President has ‘power over the support’ of all those who are; and they again have a support of dollar merchants to the amount of ten millions of dollars per annum, and over the daily support of an immense number of individuals, professional, mechanical, and day laboring to whom they can and will extend or deny a valuable private as well as public patronage, according to the party which they shall set in State as well as in Federal elections. Still this is only a branch, a mere prong, of Federal patronage in the city of New York.”

“Every where, to the extreme frontier of the frontier State or territory, Federal patronage will be found, in degrees and force, proportionate to the population of the place, and sooner augmented with the increasing power of government. Diminution of patronage is not thought of; the state of the custom house in Norfolk is already pregnant proof of this. This power of patronage, unless checked by the vigorous interposition of Congress, must go on increasing until Federal influence, in many parts of this Confederation, will predominate in elections as completely as British influence predominates in the elections of Scotland and Ireland, in every borough town, and in the great naval stations of Portsmouth and Plymouth. In no part of the practical operation of the Federal Government have the predictions of its ablest advocates been more completely fulfilled than on this subject of patronage.”

“The whole of this great power will centre in the President. The King of England is the fountain of honors; the President of the United States is the source of patronage. He presides over the entire system of Federal appointments, jobs, and contracts. He has power over the support of the individuals who administer the system. He makes and unmake them. He does from the cradle of his friends and supporters, and may disannul them, and upon all the principles of human action, will disannul them as often as they disappoint his expectations. His spirit animates their actions in all the elections to State and Federal offices. There may be exceptions, but the truth of a general rule is proved by the exception. The intended check in control of the State, without new constitutional or statutory provisions will come to operate. Patronage will pervade this body, and its capacity of resistance, chain it to the car of power, and enable the President to rule as he may, and move more securely with than without the moral check of the Senate.”

“We must then look forward to the time when the public revenue will be doubled; when the civil and military officers of the Federal Government, will be quadrupled; when the influence