

THE STAR AND NORTH CAROLINA GAZETTE.

DAVID OUTLAW, Editors.
THOS. J. LEMAY,

RALEIGH, N. C. THURSDAY, OCTOBER 20, 1836

VOL XXVII. NO. 44

THOMAS J. LEMAY,
PROPRIETOR AND PUBLISHER.

TERMS.
SUBSCRIPTIONS, three dollars per annum—one half advance. Subscribers in other States cannot be allowed to remain arrears longer than one year, & persons resident without this State, who may desire to become subscribers, will be strictly required to pay the whole amount of the year's subscription in advance.

ADVERTISEMENTS, not exceeding fifteen lines, inserted three times for one dollar, and twenty-five cents for each continuance.
Letters to the Editor must be post paid.

SPEECH OF MR. BELL.

But a word or two upon the subject of the alleged venality and corruption of this House. How dare any man who is a friend to the constitution—who is sincerely an advocate of a free representative government; with what consistency, I say, can such a man affirm and proclaim to the world, that the members of this House, elected in pursuance of the laws and constitution and the representatives of a clear majority of the American People, are more liable to be influenced by corrupt and venal considerations, than the members of such a motley assembly as that which lately sat at Baltimore? Were they more honest than the members of this House? Had they more elevation of character? Were they more clearly and decidedly the representatives of the feelings, intelligence and principles of the people of the United States? Were they less given to intrigue?—Could not offices be promised to members of that body as well as to members of Congress? Could not bribes be given and received with as much facility there as here? Were the members of that assembly less needy or more indifferent to office, than the members of this House? But, sir, why should the party of the Baltimore nominee fear an election by this House, if it is really believed to be so easily won from its duty, by the corrupting influence either of money or of office? Sir, it is all the merest pretence and imposture that was ever attempted to mislead the people. That party dreads a contest upon equal grounds, and without the aid of false pretences, both before the people and this House. The free and unbiassed choice of the people is not less dreaded, than the integrity of an American House of Representatives. Sir, if this House is to be swayed in an election by bribery and corruption, does not every one know, that in the means of corruption and bribery, there is one candidate for the Presidency, rich beyond the possibility of rivalry or competition. The gold of the United States Bank is constantly held up before the people as the dreaded source of the corruption of members of Congress. It is supposed that that institution could afford a few millions for the sake of a recharter.—Suppose, sir, that the directors of that institution were profligate enough to lend, and the members of this House were base enough to borrow its entire capital, as the wages of their corruption, the Bank would be but an humble competitor in the market of this House for votes, in a conflict with the Government, backed by a capital of thirty millions per annum! Yes, sir, even supposing that this House was composed of the vile and unprincipled wretches which it has been represented to be, and the Bank of the United States were to enter the market with its whole resources of capital and credit, it could not maintain a competition with the Government for one moment. The Government may distribute its bribes in the disguise of rewards for public services, and so avoid any wound to the consciences of the honest patriots of the House. The bribes which the Government can offer, are also solid and lasting. The Bank is generally supposed to administer its bribes in the shape of loans, upon security; which the borrower must repay with interest; but the Government can vest estates for life, and bestow its millions per annum, without interest, and never to be reimbursed. If, sir, I repeat the members of this House be the corrupt and venal representatives of the People, which thousands have been made to believe, and the next election should devolve upon them, there needs no ghost rise from the grave to tell us who will be elected! Why, sir, the forty deposits or pet banks or rather Government banks, will be more than an over-match for the United States Bank in the work of bribery and corruption, and the vast patronage of the Government will be a clear surplus of means in the hands of the Government candidate. Let it be remembered, that it is not the revenue of a single year which may be made available by the candidate who has the favor of the Executive. The revenues and patronage of the Government may be mortgaged by pledges and promises for the succeeding four or even eight years. I reaffirm that, under the circumstances supposed, there could be no doubt who would be the next President; and the party and its leaders know this full well; but, sir, they dare not risk an election by the House, with all their ample means. I call upon honorable gentlemen of this House to say, if they are not upholding the nomination of the Baltimore

more Convention, at the sacrifice of the character of the House of Representatives for honor, integrity, and independence. I call upon them to say, further, whether there has not been a labored and systematic attempt to disparage and degrade the National Legislature in order to accomplish mere party ends.

But, sir, the crowning humbug of all is to be noticed yet. As if determined to give an example of impudence and absurdity which might, under favorable auspices, prove successful in practising upon the credulity of a people said to be the most enlightened in the world, which should never be surpassed, the party which thus gets up one humbug after another, & which scarcely allows one to pass away until it has another still more absurd treading upon its heels; making the People the dupes of a series of state tricks and impositions of the grossest character, assume in their public addresses and Journals, that they are the only champions of the rights of the people; the only orthodox believers in their perfect competency for self-government; and they allege that they are warring against a party which entertains doubts upon this question! If this is not entitled to become a premium specimen of impudence and absurdity, I can conceive of nothing that would. I have done, sir, with this part of my subject.

There is one apology, or rather justification, Mr. Chairman, which I have often heard urged for all that has been done by the party, in the course of the present administration, which is so objectionable, that I feel constrained to notice it upon this occasion. It is, that the people have approved every thing that has been said or done. It is one of the most fallacious and insidious doctrines that can be started in a free government. The idea that the people can never do or sanction any wrong, I believe may be regarded as one of the dogmas of the dominant party, or rather one of their professed principles. Thus, sir, if Gen. Jackson is arraigned for the doctrines of his veto message upon the Maysville road bill, the answer is, that the people, by his re-election, have sanctioned his course upon this subject. If he is charged with the avowal of dangerous doctrines in his celebrated proclamation, the charge is answered by averring that the people have approved them. If it is alleged that he abused his powers under the constitution and laws in the removal of the public deposits, he is defended by showing that the people have applauded and sustained what he has done. If the President shall openly interfere in elections, and attempt to secure the election of a favorite for his successor, the cry will still be, that, by returning a majority of the members of this House favorable to his wishes upon this point, the people have stamped his interference with their approbation. Thus, whether the question be one of constitutional power, or of mere expediency—whether it be an abuse or a usurpation of power—it is all one, while the people applaud and sanction; the argument is, that all is right, and it is anti-republican to raise objections. This is a most flagrant error, and if sustained by general acquiescence, it must prove fatal to the constitution. Why, sir, if the people can never err, why have a constitution—why place any restrictions upon the action of Congress, or of the Executive—why not leave both to be governed by the will of the people, as expressed at their elections and through their representatives—the President and the Executive department and the members of Congress in the Legislative department? If whatever the people may, at any time, do or approve, must be right, and cannot be questioned, then I say the constitution is an idle piece of state mummery—a mockery!

Sir, it is because it was known by the framers of the constitution that the People could err; that the representatives of their feelings & wishes would often err, if left free to do as they thought proper—it is for this very reason that the People may err, that a constitution or fundamental law was invented, and is accounted of infinite value. It is for this reason, that it is considered the glory of the last century and of the American States to have reconciled the idea of a free government with perfect security to the rights both of person and property, against the capricious impulses, sudden excitements, and prejudices of the People, by the invention of that great improvement in government, a written constitution.—Those who hold the doctrine that the People cannot err, are foes to all constitutional Governments. Sir, so far is it from being true that the People cannot err, that from the foundation of the world the most enlightened People that have existed in the different ages of it, are admitted by all historians, whether republicans or monarchists to have erred—erred grievously for the liberties and happiness of themselves and of mankind. Yes, sir, from the days of Moses to the present day, the People have erred. The proofs may be found in holy writ; and it is contrary to our religious faith to

affirm, that a whole People, a prosperous and happy People, may not err.—We are bound to believe that a whole People, with the clearest light to guide them, but seduced by their passions and misled by the arts of pretended prophets and ambitious knaves, have repeatedly deserted the worship of the living God, and given themselves over to the adoration of idols. This same People, not content with the simple Government of the law under the auspices of which they passed the perils of forty years sojourn in the wilderness, and took possession of a land flowing with milk and honey, would insist upon a change of Government. They then conceived a fancy for a government of Judges; and finally they would have a King! The enlightened People of the States of ancient Greece, skilled in the knowledge of government in all its forms, and most of them, at one time, in the enjoyment of Governments as free as our own, and for a long period filling the world with the fame of their triumphs in arts and in arms, yet fell from their high estate by the errors of the People.

The people of republican Rome erred, when they deserted the standard of the republican leaders and went over in crowds to shout in the train of Cæsar.—The people of England erred, when they set aside the honest men of their party, and mistook that hypocrite and tyrant, Cromwell, for a republican patriot and statesman. The people of France, of free and regenerated France, of republican France, erred, first in voting Napoleon to be consul for life, and afterwards in voting that he should be Emperor. It is not true, then that the people cannot err; but it is true, that those who in every age have been most forward and zealous in flattering the people with the idea that they cannot err, have been the first to take advantage of their errors, and to betray their liberties.—But though the people may, and often do err—though they may and are often led astray by false friends and false pretences, yet our happiness and our security consists in the further truth, that the great body of the people, especially of an agricultural people, are honest; and as long as the forms of a free government are permitted to remain, and the power of the ballot-box is not superseded by the power of the sword, they may be recalled from their errors—the artifices of the impostors who have misled them may be unveiled. This is the true basis of the value of a free representative government. It never was founded upon the idea that the people cannot err.—The people sometimes do err, but the moment they are made sensible of their error, they do not hesitate to retrace their steps. This will be our hope in much worse times than these. I am not certain that things will not have to grow worse in this country than they are even now, before they can be better. But let us hear no more of the argument that, because the people have elected any man President and sent a majority of the members of this house to support him, all is right. Thank God, this is no certain test, either of right, of truth, or of patriotism.

There is another argument, or rather a gross error prevalent, upon this subject. It is not uncommon to hear it said that the country is unusually prosperous and flourishing, in all the departments of industry, agriculture, commerce and manufactures; that the revenues exceed the wants of government; and what is more than all, the national character abroad was never so respectable, or more respected; and it is asked, how can these circumstances, so gratifying to the pride of every American heart, exist under an administration, the principles and practices of which are alleged to be so much at war with the public welfare and liberties. Every member present has no doubt heard the prosperous condition of this country repeatedly appealed to; in order to give a color of prejudice and untruth to the charge of vicious practices in the administration. It is as surprising as it must be mortifying to the pride of those who regard the people of the United States as the most enlightened in the world, to observe with how large a proportion of them the fact of the general prosperity is a sufficient answer to all that can be said, and all that can be proved against the principles and conduct of the dominant party. Yet who is there that is really enlightened, and well informed in the nature and history of government, who does not know that great and general prosperity, in arts, in trade and in arms, so far from being inconsistent with a corrupt and unprincipled administration, that it is at such periods that dangerous principles and practices take their deepest and most fatal hold; that the seeds of future misrule, of corruption, and a vicious action of the government are most widely sown; for then it is that that jealousy and watchfulness of the people over the conduct of those in power, so necessary to preserve the purity of the public administration, are almost sure to slumber. In such a period, the malpractices of the administration incur the contempt, & escape the notice of the people. Principles are avowed and practised upon of the most dangerous tendency, with

out attracting observation. The people industriously employed in profiting by the general harvest, or steeped in the enjoyment of stores already accumulated, are deaf to the warnings of patriotism. But there is another truth connected with this subject, which ought to be noticed. There is no well informed man in the country, who does not know that a temporary condition of prosperity and general happiness among the people, may exist under a government of any form. Proofs innumerable might be drawn from history. At no period was there more general happiness among the people of Athens and of Attica, in ancient Greece, and a state of more general prosperity, both in agricultural and commercial pursuits, than under the sway of one man; nor was there ever a public administration of the affairs of a state more satisfactory to the people generally, than the administration of that man; yet cotemporary and all subsequent historians have denounced Pisistratus a tyrant—that is, a man whose will was a tyrant. The reign of the family of the Medici in Florence may be cited as an instance of the same kind, and both perfectly applicable, for in both instances all the forms of a free government were strictly observed. One of the most learned and accomplished historians of any age, (Gibbon), has said, that if he were required to point to the period in the history of the world at which the greatest degree of human happiness was enjoyed by the greatest number of the human race, he would designate the reign of three successive emperors of Rome, who happened to be equally distinguished for their talents and their virtues. When was England more prosperous as a nation—when her name and her might more respectable or actually more respected and feared all over Europe, than under the administration of Cromwell? Yet even a British House of Commons disdained to be his supple tools in the execution of all his plans and wishes, and for that reason, he finally kicked them all out of their seats, and ruled with absolute sway. All this was done in the name of liberty and of the commonwealth. Again, sir, in what period of the history of France, were the French people more generally prosperous, and when was France more terrible to her enemies, or more potent in the protection of her own interests, than under the administration of Napoleon. But it is useless to multiply examples. I have said enough to demonstrate that it is no argument to say that because there is a season of general prosperity, there is nothing rotten or dangerous in the principles and practices of the party which now governs this country.

LETTER OF MR. PEYTON.
In reply to an invitation to a public dinner at Gainesborough. Let no man omit to read it.
STATION CAMP, near Gallatin, 7
September 13th, 1826.

Gentlemen—I had the honor to receive, through your politeness, on yesterday, the proceedings of a public meeting of a portion of my fellow citizens of Jackson county, assembled at Gainesboro' on the 5th of this inst., inviting me, at such time as might suit my convenience, to partake of a public dinner at or near that place, "as an evidence of their approbation of my course since I have been their representative in Congress, and particularly the last session." This voice from Jackson is to me cheering and animating, in no ordinary degree. Amidst the shifting currents of the day, to be greeted, on my return, by my friends in Jackson county with this warm and generous welcome and "well-done," excites emotions in the heart and gives a vigor to the nerves, which the wretch who sells himself for place can never feel. To be told by honest men and "free," that "you have been true to your constituents, true to your country, true to the republican professions which you have heretofore made, true to the trust with which you have been honored," is calculated to inspire a lofty pride, and affords an incentive to patriotic actions, no where to be met with but in the spontaneous applause of freemen. How could I, how dare I, betray my sacred trust, when backed by such high souled and generous constituents? What has a public servant to fear from power, or hope from office, when he lives in the bosoms of such constituents, and is sustained by the dauntless spirits of such men? Thank God, that there still breathes in undiluted purity that spirit and love of liberty, that American spirit, which inspired a Henry and burned in the bosoms of our fathers—which won our liberties, and has sustained our arms and our honor upon every field and upon every sea. The crisis, gentlemen, calls aloud for it; the times demand it; the ballot-box is assailed; the citadel of your liberty is in danger. The question is, where lies the sovereign power? This is the issue. Is the sovereign power in the people of this country, or is it in the high officers of the government? This is the true issue? Let no man disguise the fact, that the President of the United States, at the head of one hundred thousand officers of the Federal Govern-

ment, is boldly in the field, and openly electioneering for Mr. Van Buren: that all the power and patronage of the government are brought in conflict with the freedom of elections; that in this trying summer of '36, which will appear in history so unlike our glorious summer of '76, the President, in person, every thing else having failed, has assumed the command, and at the head of his official regulars, may be seen carrying the war into the very heart of the States, and throwing himself between the people and the ballot-box. As for Tennessee, she has been considered in a state of open rebellion. Letter after letter had been written; proclamation after proclamation had been sent on without effect. What was to be done? That was no secret at Washington; the President himself was not like some of the Florida commanders to go into summer quarters, but to make a summer campaign, and reduce her to subjection. Yes, the lines were to be clearly drawn, the people of Tennessee were to be plainly told, you cannot and shall not be my friends unless you support Mr. Van Buren.

Gentlemen, I would again and again call on you and my fellow citizens generally, to look this issue, so cruelly forced upon us, full in the face.—Was any man born to think for this State, or this nation? If so, what star pointed out the place of his nativity?—What voice of inspiration announced his coming? In what clause of the constitution did our patriot sires write his unlimited right of authority? Are you the sovereigns of this land? Are you such freemen as your fathers were?—Are all officers of government from the President of the United States down to the constable in your captain's company, your agents, your public servants? Or is the sovereign power of his country transferred to the President, Directors and company at Washington city? This is the true question. Are you bound to think as they think—to vote as they direct?—This is the issue. How has it been brought about? By the subtlety of the spoils men—by the artifices of the spoils party. They have crawled around the dying couch, as it were, of this venerable and confiding old warrior, and taking advantage of his age, his open, unsuspecting nature, and those infirmities "which flesh is heir to," they have beguiled him from his friends, from his sacred principles, and from himself. They have even urged him to the public defence of their co-laborer and co-partner in the piracy which is going on upon the treasury—Reuben M. Whitney. Where was Reuben Whitney when the chivalry of Tennessee was charging, on the night of the 23d, into the British camp?—Where was he on the ever glorious 8th of January, when the best blood of Tennessee was shed in purchasing those laurels for Andrew Jackson, which will grow green in history forever?—Reuben M. Whitney was then a traitor in the British camp.—He himself acknowledges that he took an oath, yes, that he called Heaven to bear witness, upon that God who guarded the sword of Washington, and conducted our fathers through seas of blood to liberty—to bear witness, that he, Reuben M. Whitney, was a traitor to his own country, and would be true to the King of England!!! Is it not too much, that while the President is induced to make this public defence, in an address at Jonesborough, East Tennessee, in behalf of Reuben Whitney, he should be excited to denounce one of the purest men; and most incorruptible patriots of this land, as a "red hot Federalist," and the people of Tennessee who support him, as "neo-born whigs?"

Gentlemen, I will give you an instance of the impudent & reckless spirit which distinguishes the swarm of hungry expectants who surround the President, as well as the unbounded confidence he reposes in them. I say these plunderers of the Treasury, and pirates upon the hard earned fame of Andrew Jackson, feel that their days are few; they know their power and are resolved to use it. They scruple not "to sell and mart" the offices of the Government, in his name, "to undeservers," for partizan services.—They can make any impression upon his feelings, and excite him to the denunciation of any man without the slightest cause. Their word is taken against the record, against the journals of Congress, against the archives of the Government.—But as Mr. O'Connell says, "one fact is worth a ship-load of arguments." I will give you the fact. It is my own case. They have set the President on me, and caused him to denounce me from Washington to the Hermitage, for opposing, as he said the bill making an appropriation to carry into effect the Cherokee treaty, when in fact, I supported the measure with zeal and whatever of ability I possessed. I not only voted—but spoke in its behalf. One of my colleagues, who knew the course that I had pursued, on hearing the President before he left Washington bring this charge against me, suggested to him that he had been led into error on the subject. But it was of no avail. There was the journal of the House—there

was the Globe Newspaper, upon his table, which represented me correctly, not only as voting for the bill, but as following Mr. Wise in a speech of considerable length in its support.—What safety is there for a public servant, what encouragement has he to support an Administration, when the word of Amos Kendall, Reuben Whitney, or Francis P. Blair, will stand against the journals of Congress; and when the denunciations of the President, like a seventy-four pounder, can be brought to bear with point blank shot upon those who support the measures of his administration? His safety is where it should be found—in the virtue, intelligence and independence of his constituents. It is to be found in such warm hearts and strong arms as now, and I trust will ever, defend the liberties of this country.—But, gentlemen, these parasites have not only harrowed the feelings of the President, and poisoned his affections against all who cannot, who will not support Mr. Van Buren, but they have in his name, begun the work of roasting, may "expunging" his most valued doctrines—doctrines upon which he went into office, and upon which the broad foundation of his fame as a statesman must rest. In his celebrated letter to Mr. Monroe, written in the prime, freshness and vigour of his mind, the President embodies, with a master's hand, the great cardinal doctrines of Republicanism, and the equal rights of man. These immortal principles he has been induced to revoke, for they struck at the life, and soul, and very existence of "the party."—In that letter he laid bare, as with the bold strokes of his own broad sword, the monstrous idea—the barbarian doctrine, that "the victors belong the spoils." He called upon Mr. Monroe (then President elect) "to exterminate the monster party"—saying that names were nothing—that he himself had been once called a Federalist for supporting Mr. Monroe. (Just as you gentlemen, are now called "Federalists, Nullifiers, and New-born Whigs" by the President for supporting Judge White.) His doctrine then was, that in appointments to office the only enquiry should be, "is he honest, is he capable, is he faithful to the Constitution?" These gentlemen, were the lofty sentiments of Andrew Jackson in the prime of his manhood and prime of his intellect. But at the age of three score years and ten, when broken by the storms of State, when sinking under the weight of years, and the ravages of disease, they tell you in effect, and publish it too in his name, that he was then wrong, and that he now thinks that in appointments to office the "monster party" should be the sole test of merit—virtually they issue his proclamation, that the only enquiry shall hereafter be, "is he faithful to Mr. Van Buren, is he obedient to the decrees of the Baltimore Convention?" And these parasites call themselves the friends of Andrew Jackson!

Gentlemen, in this struggle between liberty and power—between patronage on the one hand and freedom of elections on the other, I have made up my mind.—I have taken my stand.—I have, with a full estimate of its perils, thrown myself in the way of this angry current of federal power and federal corruption, which, if not met and manfully resisted, will sweep away every thing in the institutions of our country worthy of the admiration of a freeman. In this war of power and corruption against public virtue and public liberty, I will be found in the ranks of the people; if they are trodden down I will go with them; I would not, if I could, survive their fate. If it shall please Providence to make that awful visitation in my day, the grave of their liberties shall be the sepulchre of my political career. When that dark hour shall come, I want no more glorious epithet, than that, "he fell covered with wounds amongst his own constituents, in defence of the liberties of his country."

Gentlemen, I accept with pride and pleasure the invitation to a public dinner, which you have been commissioned to bear, and I am constrained to name for the occasion, Saturday the 17th inst. as the only day, owing to previous engagements, which I have at my control.

I beg of you, Gentlemen, to accept for yourselves and my fellow-citizens of Jackson county, generally, the gratitude of a heart, warmed and deeply alive to the kindness which you have shown me.

I am, gentlemen, with respect and esteem, your fellow-citizen.

BALIE PEYTON.

To Messrs. Richard F. Cook, Sampson W. Cassedy, James T. Quarles, Merlin Young, David G. Shepherd, Micajah L. Armstrong and John Scanland, Committee.

GENERAL HARRISON.

We observe that the growing popularity of this virtuous and independent veteran is gall and wormwood to the Destructives. Judge White, popular as he is known to be in the South, excites not half the terror in the collar ranks.—Slander is resorted to in vain by them; for they have dealt in that