

**"ECONOMY—MR. CALHOUN."**

"GREAT SAVINGS IN THE WAR DEPARTMENT."

Since the Secretary of War yielded to the earnest solicitations of a Caucus, composed of a small but select number of his friends, in the Legislature of S. Carolina, to be considered as a candidate for the next Presidency, he has made more noise than all the other presidential candidates together. This he has been enabled to do, chiefly by the aid of the officers of our standing army, who have also obtained his consent to be considered as their Candidate. An efficient corps of Newspaper Editors has been recruited, organized, and equipped, for the service of the War Department, and well drilled and disciplined under a proper head, established at the seat of Government.—These Editors have sounded his praises throughout the Union, with undaunted courage and unremitting exertion. If we are to believe one half they say in favor of their youthful Candidate, his talents greatly transcend the limits we have hitherto ascribed to the human intellect. Compared with him, even Washington and Jefferson must be considered as secondary characters.

He is represented as a STAR "in our political firmament, whose rising effulgence has attracted the eyes of the American people."—"exciting new hopes and anticipations."

That this young gentleman has suddenly become a star of the first magnitude, is partly explained by the Editors of the Franklin Gazette, who very gravely inform their readers, that Calhoun burst upon the world. Of course, this luminary has not shed his light upon us by degrees, like the rising sun, but has struck us with all his meridian splendors at once, and thus he dazzled and confounded no small portion of our young politicians.

This is a new and bold experiment on the part of the Secretary, and if it shall prove successful, we shall have young gentlemen bursting upon us from all quarters.

Our Presidents thus far, have gradually risen to their elevated stations, by a long series of faithful and important services performed for their country; and it is not believed, that the confidence of the people can be suddenly gained by any splendid innovations upon the course hitherto pursued and consecrated by the patriots who have presided over the councils of the nation.

The lofty pretensions of the Army Candidate, have as yet received but little notice, from those who think he has no claim to the high character he assumes, because they have never believed that he could possibly succeed in his ambitious views. They have never believed that a whole host of Editors could write a gentleman of Mr. Calhoun's age and merits into the Presidency, even with the aid of all the officers of the standing army. There are circumstances, however, which render it important to examine, with some attention, his assumed superiority of character and intellect, and his pretended merits on the score of service.

Although it has been evident for several months past, to the blindest of his flatterers, and even to himself, the most blind of all, that he can have no prospect of receiving more than the vote of his own State; yet his agents, civil and military, are pressing their operations with as much industry and zeal, as if he was seriously to be held up as a Candidate to the last. The objects of these apparently desperate measures, are not misunderstood.—One, perhaps the nearest to the Secretary's heart, is to crush what remains of the old Democratic party in Congress, under the pretence of extirpating radicalism. Another is to gain as large a stock of popularity as possible, to be passed over, for a valuable consideration, to the northern Candidate for the Presidency. As to the first, much has already been done under the late system of amalgamating parties. As to the other, it remains yet to be seen, how far the popularity thus to be created, may be of a negotiable or transferrable nature.

When Mr. Calhoun received the appointment of Secretary of War, after it had been offered to Governor Shelby, Mr. Lowndes, and Mr. Clay, and refused by them all, it did not occur to him, that he could by any possible process ripen himself into a presidential candidate before he should reach the age of forty; although he had fully made up his mind, to rule over this people in due season. His immediate aim was to provide a suitable successor to Mr. Monroe, who might hold on a few years, until his own character and pretensions should become more fully matured.

Some Presidents have been accused of selecting their successors; but this President, that is to be, is endeavoring to select his predecessor; and thus make provision, that the good people of this country, shall not be in want of presidents or presidential candidates, for at least sixteen or eighteen years to come.

It will be recollected that in 1818, Mr. Calhoun and his immediate friends,

were very solicitous to select a northern candidate for the presidency. They openly declared that the people of the north had a fair claim to this high office; that the gentlemen of the south were on this occasion governed by the most liberal principles and feelings, and were disposed to do justice to every part of the Union. These professions of liberality however, deceived no body.

Although no President had ever been elected from a state south of Virginia, which, in fact, is now one of the middle states; yet all the Presidents from this state have been charged to the south, as much so as if they had been elected from the Carolinas or from Georgia. Mr. Calhoun saw clearly, that if the next President should be elected from the South, the claims of the North and West eight years hence, would be such, as not to be resisted; and of course that his turn to be elected, would not probably arrive under sixteen or eighteen years, for which he had not patience to wait. And hence arose his great liberality towards the gentlemen of the North.

In two or three years after he was placed at the head of the War Department, his extreme indulgence to the officers of the army was such, as to gain their entire confidence. They rewarded him with unbounded applause, and conferred on him the endearing title of Father of the Army. This gave new energy to his ambition.—He began to conclude, that although nothing could be more opposite in their natures, than the Father of the Army, and the Father of the Country, he could reconcile contradictions, and become the latter without ceasing to be the former. Forthwith, he resolved to be the immediate successor of Mr. Monroe. His liberality towards the gentlemen of the north began to subside. It appeared to him very clearly, that the claims of the South, were not at this time to be overlooked. Mississippi, Alabama and Louisiana, were to be taken into the account. The Southern States, properly speaking, had never given a President to the Union, although they had been always willing to do so. While this was the case, it seemed preposterous to select a President from the North, and not only from the same State, but from the same family, that had already given us one. A coolness took place between Mr. Calhoun and Mr. Adams, followed by jealousy and rivalry. Mr. Calhoun had calculated upon receiving the votes of Pennsylvania, because his father was born there as he alleges; which most flattering circumstance, had intoxicated some of the sober citizens of that great State. But the caucus at Harrisburg last spring put a stop to his dreams of immediate power; and then his liberality towards the gentlemen of the north, began again to rise. Confidence between these rivals was restored; and it is said a coalition has been formed between them, mutually beneficial, and satisfactory to the parties and their immediate friends. On the other hand, however, it is alleged, that Mr. Calhoun denies this coalition, and that speaking of the several candidates, he declared positively, that each man sailed his own ship; which, probably gave rise to this vastly pretty paragraph respecting him, which lately appeared in the Franklin Gazette.—"Like a gallant vessel on a troubled ocean, he proudly stems the opposing current; and with calm and steady dignity, glides towards the destined harbour, his course only accelerated by the agitation of the element on which he moves." Notwithstanding all this, it is believed that Mr. Calhoun does not sail upon his own bottom, but that he expects to be towed into harbour by the Adams.

What is Mr. Calhoun, or what has he done, that entitles him to the unbounded praises bestowed upon him by the officers of the army and his corps of Editors?

Mr. Calhoun was a distinguished orator in the House of Representatives, for five or six years. But among those who were in the House with him, there were several of his superiors. Mr. Lowndes and Mr. Cheves from his own state were decidedly so, as were also, Mr. Clay, Mr. Pinckney, Mr. Stockton and Mr. Webster. Mr. Grundy, Mr. Oakley, Mr. Forsyth, Mr. Grosvenor, and Mr. Gaston, were generally considered as his equals. To be ranked however, with these gentlemen, implies a high degree of excellence in the art of oratory, which Mr. Calhoun certainly possesses. He has also the merit of having joined a very large majority in both houses of Congress, in asserting the honor of our country, and in supporting the administration in all the measures necessary for bringing the late war to a fortunate conclusion.

Thus far we are bound to applaud his character and conduct; and had he remained in Congress, his appropriate theatre, it is probable he would have continued to render important services to his country, which as Secretary of War, it is believed, he never has done.

Mr. Calhoun was distinguished as an orator, but never as a writer. In his communications to Congress, although some of them are much laboured, there is no approach to elegance or even neat-

ness of style. He frequently aims at brevity, but in this, he crowds without condensing his materials; for which reason his sentences are sometimes obscure and perplexed. It is indeed remarkable, that a gentleman of his acknowledged talents, and classical education, should not, in his long and continued practice of writing, have acquired a better style.

As to his ideas of business, they are altogether too magnificent for the affairs of this country, during the present age. His aim has been to surround himself with subordinate heads of departments, who are to perform the duties formerly appertaining to his office, by which he is to escape the responsibility, and the care and labour of the details of business. In fact, to assimilate his department to many important establishments in Great-Britain, where the Head enjoys the emoluments and patronage of office, while the duties and responsibilities rest upon subordinate agents.

Of his expanded views of business as well as economy, we may form a tolerable estimate, by examining his plan of reducing the army from ten to six thousand men, made in obedience to a resolution of the House of Representatives of the 11th of May, 1820. In this he proposes to retain a general staff, sufficient in many respects, for an army of twenty thousand men—viz:

- "2 Major-Generals,
- 4 Aids de Camp—subalterns of the line.
- 4 Brigadier Generals.
- 4 Aids de Camp—subalterns of the line.
- 1 Judge Advocate.
- 6 Topographical Engineers.
- 1 Adjutant and Inspector General.
- 2 Adjutants General, } These, to
- 2 Assistants Adjutants General, } be officers
- 2 Inspectors General, } of the line
- 4 Assistants Inspectors General, } as vacan-
- cies occur.
- 1 Quarter Master General.
- 2 Deputies Quarter Master General.
- 16 Assistants Deputy Quarter Masters General.
- 19 Pay Masters.
- 1 Commissary General for the Purchasing Department.
- 1 Assistant Commissary General.
- 2 Storekeepers.
- 1 Commissary General for the Subsistence Department, and with as many Assistant Commissaries as the service may require, all subalterns of the line.
- 1 Surgeon General.
- 2 Assistant Surgeons General.
- 1 Apothecary General.
- 2 Assistant Apothecaries.
- 25 Surgeons.
- 44 Assistant Surgeons.

It is truly surprising that a Republican Secretary should submit such a plan to a Republican Congress. It smacks of the army as strongly as if General Brown himself had drawn it up. The friends of the Secretary shrunk from the exhibition. Had such a plan been proposed by a Secretary of War, in the time of Mr. Adams, what a rout would have been made about it, by the Radicals of that day, then called democrats and disorganizers! All the terrors of the sedition law could not have kept them quiet.

This, however, was nearly the General Staff, in 1818, for an army of ten thousand men, with which the Secretary then appeared to be satisfied.

On the 11th of December of that year, he made a report, in obedience to a resolution of the House of Representatives, asking information, whether any reduction could be made in the peace establishment of the U. States, with safety to the public service, and whether any alteration ought to be made in the ration established by law, &c. In this report, he says, "It is believed that the organization of the War Department, as well as the general staff of the army, is not susceptible of much improvement." "Every department of the army, charged with disbursements, has now a proper head, who under the laws and regulations, is responsible for its administration.—The Head of the Department is thus freed from the detail, and has leisure to inspect and control the whole of the disbursements."

The Head of the Department thus freed from detail, has also leisure to attend to the business of the Cabinet—consider treaties—regulate appointments, and a variety of other matters, for which his talents are more peculiarly suited, than for the laborious detail of the proper business of the War Department.

As a further support of the Department, the Major General is now stationed at the seat of government, where the services properly appertaining to his office cannot be wanted, (where there is no army, and where, it is hoped, there will be none, while our country remains at peace,) for the avowed purpose of aiding the Secretary of War, in the performance of those duties, which require a knowledge of the minutiae and details of the army."

Mr. Calhoun is freed from details, which imposed upon former Secreta-

\* NOTE.—On the 15th April, 1822, Mr. Sterling of New-York, the confidential friend of Mr. Calhoun, in a speech in favor of retaining a Major General in our Peace establishment, declared that "it was impossible for the Secretary of War to be familiar with the minutiae and details of the army. By this officer he can be aided in the most effectual and useful manner, and freed from an intolerable burthen, which is inconvenient, if not incompatible with the discharge of his other numerous and pressing duties." See National Intelligencer of 23d April, 1822.

ries much labor and responsibility; the consequence is, that he pays but little attention to these details, and probably knows less of them, than any former Secretary, and trusts more than any of them have done, to clerks and other subordinate agents. And Congress have to trust them too, instead of relying upon the responsibility of the Secretary, of which the above report affords a notable instance.

The part of the resolution respecting the ration, was referred to the Surgeon General, who writes to the Secretary, a long letter of nine octavo pages, informing him, among other important matters, "that man was not originally carnivorous,"—And that "the horse may be taught to live upon meat," & this, the Secretary communicates to the House of Representatives for the information of the members, most of whom were eminently carnivorous, and not one of whom ever thought of dining upon corn-blades, nor ever heard of any such thing, before this report, unless we except the case of the man "who in pure kindness to his horse, buttered his hay."

Mr. Calhoun controls general results, without attending to the details of business. The pernicious consequences of this system are severely felt by the public. He wishes to divide the duties as well as responsibility of his office. Business is perplexed by too much division, and we have abundant experience to teach us, that as we divide, we weaken responsibility.

Mr. Calhoun, in his congressional career, was not remarkable for investigating his subjects with close application or regular system. One of his great eulogists, [author of Sketches of some of the prominent characters of the United States] admits that "Mr. Calhoun wants consistency and perseverance of mind, and seems incapable of long, continued, and patient investigation," and after speaking in the most exalted terms of his eloquence, he adds—"Mr. Calhoun is one of those whom you can only trace like the comet, by the light he casts upon his path, or the blaze he leaves in his train.—But the situation to which he has been recently elevated, has, I fear, abridged his sphere of usefulness, and as Secretary of War, Mr. Calhoun, who occupied every tongue during the session of the national legislature, may dwindle into obscurity, but will never be forgotten."

Without a capacity for long, continued, and patient investigations, no one can be a man of business; and Mr. Calhoun although a brilliant orator, was not considered a man of business in the proper sense of the word. An orator and a man of business are frequently very distinct things. It is easily shewn that Mr. Calhoun took an active and decided part in most of the important subjects debated in the House of Representatives; and we have members enough who speak eloquently and ably upon every question, but who really have but little capacity for business.

This eulogist presumed, that because Mr. Calhoun was wanting in the essential requisites of an able and useful Secretary of War, he must consequently dwindle into obscurity. No conclusion could be more erroneous. Mr. Calhoun, so far from dwindling into obscurity, has endeavored to dazzle the nation with the novelty and splendor of his achievements, and his success has cost the country some millions of dollars. He will not dwindle into obscurity, while his magnificent and visionary schemes continue to drain our treasury. He will not be forgotten, while the Yellow Stone expedition, or Rip Rap contracts shall be remembered.

Whatever has been said to place this aspiring Secretary in the intellectual scale, above the first men of our country—of his acquiring by intuition, what other men can only acquire by application and study—Whatever has been said of the lightning glance of his mind, his splendor, his effulgence, his bursting upon the world, and a thousand such fooleries, deserves only to be treated with ridicule. But what has been said of his economy, and the great savings he has made for the nation; as it is calculated to impose upon the public, deserves, and shall receive a more serious notice.

From the 106th number of the New-York Patriot, edited by Col. Gardner, we take the following quotation: "Is there an individual among the promising Candidates, the structure of whose moral feelings and sentiments, the elementary principles of whose character, form a striking resemblance to those of Washington? We most confidently answer in the affirmative. If, since the days of Washington, a STAR has appeared in our political firmament, whose rising effulgence has attracted the eyes of the American People, and inspired the real friends of the country with new and peculiar hopes and anticipations; if an individual has risen among us, who has checked in the bosom of patriotism, the unavailing regret, while it has mourned over the memory of Washington, that individual is Mr. Calhoun."

"We take the position with confidence, that there is not a prominent man in our country, whose private and

political character bears so strong a resemblance to Washington, as that of Mr. Calhoun, and if a resemblance to Washington is a proper test in selecting the next President, Mr. Calhoun will be elected."

As this is the first time the officers of the Army have undertaken to make a President, something new was expected of them. As that they would bestow their Candidate with a profusion of tinsel and gold lace, display something of the "pride, pomp, and circumstance of glorious war," and so forth; for all which the public was prepared to make due allowance. But to exhibit him as a new Star rising in our political firmament, whose effulgence has attracted the eyes of the American People, is a dashing evolution, an intrepid plunge into the regions of folly, that has astonished the nation. These officers have sent up their young Candidate like a sky-rocket, enveloped in a blaze and smoke, to the wonder and admiration of beholders, but in this, decency has been out-raged, and common sense dismissed the service.

We have never had any thing like this before, and it is hoped, we may never have any thing like it hereafter. The other Candidates for the Presidency, make no pretensions to the lustre and effulgence of Stars, they are decent, modest, opaque bodies, reflecting only borrowed light, and moving aloft upon the surface of the earth, much after the manner and fashion of other mortals.

In the Columbia Telescope, of South Carolina, of the 9th of April, 1822, we have the following extract of a letter from a gentleman at Washington,—"Calhoun will be the next President. For the benefit of the country, God grant he may. South Carolina has given to the nation, the ablest man who ever filled the War Department, and unless public opinion be most fallible, will soon present our Country, with as great a Statesman as ever presided over this People. I cannot, in reflecting on this subject, avoid recurring to the declaration of the lamented Dr. Dwight concerning Calhoun, that he had at one and twenty, talents enough for a President of the United States. There was something of Prophecy in it."!!!

Soon shall be as great a statesman, &c. Soon here, means the 4th of March, 1825. If by that time, Mr. Calhoun, with such opportunities of acquiring knowledge as these times afford, shall be as great a statesman as Washington, Adams, Jefferson, Madison or Monroe, with all their experience, acquired during a long series of arduous and important services, performed for our country in times of our greatest adversity as well as prosperity, he must indeed, be the most extraordinary young man, that ever attracted the eyes of the American People.—And at all events he has very extraordinary friends.

In the same paper we have a communication headed "Economy—Mr. Calhoun."—"There is no virtue so necessary in a republican government as economy," &c.

In the same paper of the 16th of April, 1822, we again have "Economy—Mr. Calhoun."—"Great savings in the War Department."—"The splendor of his own merits he [meaning Mr. Calhoun] achieved his course to power and influence by the force of his own ability, and the strength of his own integrity, he has maintained his situation, daily enlarging the circle of his own reputation, and transmitting the solid and permanent benefits of his administration into every section of the Union." Trash like this, enough to fill a volume, might easily be collected from the public papers of the last two years.

Economy and Calhoun are kept together, probably in stereotype, in these newspapers, as if there was really some connexion between them; as if they were convertible terms; as if they meant the same thing, or as if Calhoun was economy personified. But this is an unnatural association, only to be found in the newspapers. A little examination will shew that Mr. Calhoun is a total stranger to economy.

How did he consult economy in his efforts to perpetuate the abuse of brevet pay to the officers of the army, which abuse, Congress were under the necessity of correcting by law?

How did he consult economy in his efforts to prevent every proper reduction of the army?

How did he consult economy in his wild and visionary scheme of sending an army to the Yellow Stone river fifteen hundred miles up the Missouri, or in the expensive and wretched manner, in which a part of that expedition was conducted?

How did he consult economy when he loaned, or advanced without authority to Daniel Buzzaró, ten thousand dollars, of the public money, to build a powder mill for the said Buzzaró, which loan was to remain three years without interest, and then to be returned, not in money, but in powder which was not wanted, and at a price much above its value?

How did he consult economy in the Rip Rap contracts?

These and many other cases of a similar character, present interesting