

THE AMERICAN.

WASHINGTON, MARCH 13, 1858.

"THE UNION OF THE UNIONISTS, FOR THE SAKE OF THE UNION!"

Brother Editors, will you do us the favor to let your readers know that there is an American paper published at the Federal City.

Thanks for your kind and truthful notice of the "American," Messieurs Maupin, of the Hardy, Virginia, Whig.

Editors of the Weekly, Missouri, Telegraph, thank!

Mr. Speaker Orr declines being a candidate for re-election to Congress.

It is said that E. F. Pratt, son-in-law of Hon. Rufus Choate, will be appointed Assistant Treasurer at Boston.

Choate supported Buchanan for President. The laborer is worthy of his hire.

We have devoted much more space of late to the subject of Kansas and Leocompton than suits our own taste; but it is the all-all subject here—the rod of Aaron, which swallows up everything else; and it is difficult, almost impossible, and perhaps not advisable, to avoid what is in every one's mouth and thought.

Upon this subject, Americans are by no means united; some going for, and some against Leocompton. It is not a party measure with them, and therefore each one takes what course he thinks proper and right, without reference to his Americanism, and without disturbing his party relations. For ourselves, we strenuously oppose the Leocompton Constitution, because we think it fraught with evil, and will prolong agitation; but other Americans take a different view, and so we differ amicably. If we use strong language, so do they; but no exception is taken by either. The American papers of Kentucky, without exception, we believe, oppose the admission of Kansas under the Leocompton Constitution, and so do many other Southern papers; while nearly all in Virginia, Alabama and Georgia take the other side.

MR. SEWARD ON THE AMERICAN PARTY.

At this juncture the new Federal Administration came in, under a President who had obtained success by the intervention at the polls of a third party—an ephemeral organization, built upon a foreign and frivolous issue, which had just strength enough and life enough to give to a pro-slavery party the aid required to produce that untoward result.

The above is an extract from Mr. Seward's speech in the Senate last week. It is the latest sneer and kick at that party we have seen.

LEFT IN THE NEXT TRAIN.

The news of the triumph of the Republican party last night drove away from our city in the next train, a large number of our most conspicuous gamblers, prostitutes and other offenders. If they wish to escape merited punishment, the balance had better leave to-night.—Chicago Democrat.

The balance had better leave to-night.—BALANCE, *bi-lans*—two dishes; equivoque, equilibrium. The two dishes, the equivoque, or equilibrium, had better leave to-night!

We wish our editors and members of Congress would use and speak the English language, and not corrupt it so villainously.

SLAVE TRADE.

Many Southern papers, and among them the Baltimore Clipper, energetically oppose the reopening of the slave-trade, considering it an "advance backwards" of just half a century. We have learned to be surprised at nothing in these days, and should not be at a proposition to establish *serfage*, or the *Feudal system* in this country. We have no doubt there are thousands in the United States who would advocate the latter form of society, provided they knew they would be Lords, and their neighbors their vassals, and that they would be put in possession of baronial castles and estates.

A SIDE BLOW.

Mr. Senator Hunter, in his oration at the inauguration of the status of Washington, took occasion to give Mr. Buchanan a very severe side-blow. Speaking of Washington, he said:

"The very constitution of his Cabinet gave evidence of his peculiar genius and his own consciousness of power. He sought no swift Cabinet, according to the set phrase of succeeding times. He asked no suppression of sentiment, no concealment of opinion; he exhibited no mean jealousy of high talents in others, seeking for inferior instruments because such only he could expect to command. But he gathered around him the greatest public men of his day, and some of them to rank with the greatest men of any day."

"Look on this picture, and on this." Who could fail to see the contrast here presented between Washington and Buchanan.

HOW WILL THE SOUTH LIKE IT?

At the late office-holders Leocompton meeting lately held in New York, where the late Senator John A. Dix, a noted Free-Soiler, presided, he said:

"That the Constitution of Kansas, framed by the Leocompton Convention, will be amended, no one doubts. It is true, it contains a provision that it shall be unalterable until 1864. But I regard all such attempted limitations of sovereign power as entirely nugatory. It is the right of every people to amend or abolish at will the form of government under which they live. No power on earth can prevent them from exercising the right whenever they please. It lies at the foundation of all popular sovereignty."

If this doctrine prevails, what will prevent the people of the United States altering their constitution at any moment? And as the people of the free States greatly outnumber those of the slave States, what will prevent the former from altering it just to suit themselves? We hold to no such doctrine; a constitution is a shield, buckler and rampart to protect minorities against the arbitrary will of majorities.

Verily.—By the Constitution of the State the sessions of the Legislature are biennial, and limited to ninety days. The late session was to have terminated on Saturday. A resolution had passed the Senate to extend the session to the 15th of March, but it was lost in the House of Delegates for want of the constitutional majority of two-thirds, (79,) the vote being 78 to 46. It requires two-thirds to pass an appropriation bill, and all the important internal improvement bills are yet to be considered. Both Houses adjourned on Saturday, but a sufficient number of members having signed a request for Governor Wise for an extra session, he has acceded to the request by convening an extra session.

AN ARRIVAL from Caracas reports rumors of a revolution in favor of Bores. Dates from St. Domingo to the 16th ult. state that Bores had been crowned Santa Anna. He had an abundance of provisions from Caracas, and had purchased a number of schooners and converted them into men-of-war.

IMPROPER EXECUTIVE INFLUENCE.

In the course of a discussion in the House, on this subject on the 4th instant, the following remarks were made by Mr. Nichols, of Ohio, and Mr. Giddings:

Mr. NICHOLS. We know that when political parties have the control of this Government, and when they marshal themselves in favor of a political measure, the Executive of the nation, the representative of the great controlling party, seeks to accomplish a national purpose. We know, without investigation, that the power and patronage of this Government are brought to bear to effect that object, not, perhaps, in a direct and of fensive manner, but the recognized doctrine that the victors belong the spoils is carried out in practice, and an Administration professes some but its friends. Who does not understand this? Was it ever otherwise in the history of political parties since the days of Jefferson?

Mr. GIDDINGS. With the permission of my colleague, I will tell him of one instance. I once heard my old friend, John Quincy Adams charged with having perverted his patronage to the support of his party. He rose here, in the presence of this body, and declared that he had never advised the appointment of any man in any Department of the Government save one, and that was when his honor, Judge McLan, was Postmaster General of the United States. An old friend of Mr. Adams, and a friend of his father, called on him, and wrote a note to Mr. Adams, asking that he should be very much gratified to have this friend appointed a deputy postmaster. Mr. McLan returned, for answer, that the man was unfit for the position, and refused to appoint him; and that was the end of it.

Mr. NICHOLS. Mr. Speaker, I know there are solitary exceptions. My colleague's recollection goes further back than mine, but I can give him a further instance than the one he has referred to—an instance where a dominant majority of this House retained office a political opponent. But such instances are like springs of water in the desert, to which the traveler resorts when thirst impels him to seek relief; the general rule is the contrary.

Mr. GIDDINGS. So much the worse. Mr. NICHOLS. Who expects otherwise? I do not, for one, certainly. When my colleague says so much the worse, I respond heartily to it. I say, Mr. Speaker, so much the worse. It is this principle, this disposition to reward the victors with the spoils, which is doing more to corrupt this Government than anything else which affects its interests. I have no quarrel with my friend about that. But the point I make in this case is this: is there sufficient in the charge itself to warrant this House, a grave, deliberative body, in ordering an investigation based upon a newspaper paragraph, even though my colleague [Mr. Burns] desires it? I say, for one, that I will act upon nothing of the kind.

Mr. Nichols seems to think that because the doctrine that "to the victors belong the spoils of office," has been acted on as far back as his memory can go, it was always the practice, at least since the days of Jefferson; and he asks in a tone that implies that he expected a negative answer, "was it ever otherwise in the history of political parties since the days of Jefferson?"

We can answer this question; and we do answer, YES; it was *always* otherwise until Jackson came in in 1829. Neither Mr. Madison, Mr. Monroe, nor Mr. Adams ever made a single removal from office on political grounds, or to enable them to reward, or appoint a political friend. They would have scorned to do it; and they would have scorned the man who should have asked them to do it. Neither did Mr. Jefferson do it; he made very few removals from office, though he did not re-appoint some of his political opponents when their term of office expired, and some he did re-appoint.

In those days our Presidents supposed that they were elected by the people to take charge of and conduct the public business of the nation, and not to "reward" or "punish" any one for exercising the right of an American citizen to vote according to the dictates of his best judgment. The question with them was, "is he honest, is he capable, and is he faithful to the Constitution?" not, "is he a Democrat?" did he advocate my nomination? did he vote for me? is he a true party man? and will his appointment strengthen the Democratic party?"

The latter is the present Democratic test. In modern times party has been substituted for country; the good of the party, not the good of the country, is now the great object; and instead of the interests of the country, we hear members in the two halls of Congress constantly speak of the interests of the Democratic party. What is the consequence of this placing party above the country? One of consequences is, that Democratic "Platforms"—a thing which our fathers were profoundly ignorant—now override, and are looked upon as more binding upon individuals than the Constitution; and further, whatever measures the Administration think proper to adopt must be sustained, right or wrong, by every member of the party, or he is anathematized and excommunicated, and if an office-holder, he is deposed *sans ceremony*. No man holding an office under the General Government, must now dare to have an opinion of public measures, or in regard to what is right or conducive to the public interests, different from that entertained by the President.

Such a state of things the framers of the Constitution never dreamed could exist under that instrument. It was proposed in the convention which formed it, to restrict the President from making removals from office, on the ground that he might abuse the power, just as it now is abused; but Mr. Madison opposed the proposition, and said that if a President should remove men from office without good and sufficient cause, such as incompetency, bad character, &c., he would be liable to be impeached; and that this would effectually prevent such removals. But we have seen that the misjudged Congress and the people. Whoever should talk now of impeaching the President for making removals from office for political causes only, without regard to the public interests, would be laughed at. Mr. Nichols seems to think that even if the charge were true, that a member of Congress's vote were influenced by the Executive by promising such member an appointment if he would vote as the President desired, he, Mr. N., would not consider it sufficient to warrant an investigation! So, at least, we understand him.—The least suspicion of an attempt on the part of the President to tamper with members, or influence their votes upon any question by a promise of an office, or anything of the kind, would once have been sufficient to cause him to be impeached; now, however, it excites no "special wonder," nor calls forth any severe remark. Such is our progress downward.

Mr. Buchanan is at this moment acting upon the same principle as Louis Napoleon. The safety of the latter, and even his life, depended upon the fidelity and loyalty of those whom he appoints or permits to hold office under his government. In like manner, Mr. Buchanan requires all who hold office under the Federal Government to be true, faithful and loyal to him, and if any are

found not to be so, they are unceremoniously decapitated.

That it was not always so, the following circumstance will show. While Mr. J. Q. Adams was President, certain prominent gentlemen came to this city for the purpose of procuring the removal of the Collector of the Port of Charleston, South Carolina, and the appointment of another person in his place. They first called upon a known friend of Mr. Adams and told him what their errand here was, and remarking that if this were done, South Carolina might be carried for Mr. A., if not, he would not obtain her vote. The gentleman upon whom they called, inquired of them whether there was any complaint made against the Collector as a public officer? to which they replied in the negative. He then told them that if that were the case, Mr. Adams would not remove him. But they determined to try, and did.

Upon stating the case to the President, he asked them what sort of a public officer Mr. Adams was? To which they replied, very good; there was no fault to be found with him in his official capacity. Then, said Mr. A., I shall not remove him. I have no right to interfere with him except as a public officer, and if he discharges his duties as such, ably and faithfully, that is all I have to see to. As to his private opinions about men, whether he prefers another to me or me to another, I have nothing to do with them; he is a freeman, and has a right to think for himself. The gentleman said that if he were not removed, Mr. A. would lose the vote of that State; and if he were, they thought he would get it. Mr. A. replied that he could not and would not remove any man from office for political reasons, even if his re-election or defeat depended upon it; and he did not.

HOW CAN SUCH THINGS BE?

It is a mystery to us, past finding out, how men of character, standing, and high position, who are respected by their neighbors, and who respect themselves; men who would scorn, as individuals, to be guilty of, or be in any way mixed up with fraud or falsehood, or to do injustice to others, can, as Senators and Members of Congress, consent to become the apologists and supporters of such foul and disgraceful frauds as have been practised and are now attempted to be practised upon the people of Kansas! Can such men suppose that their Senatorial or Congressional robes will protect them from contamination, when they take fast hold of this Kansas carcass, the odor of which fills the whole Union, to bear it through the two halls of Congress? If they flatter themselves with any such idea, we think they will greatly deceive themselves; no man can handle tar without some of it sticking to his fingers; and no public man can take part in perpetrating a great wrong, without losing that high character for stern integrity and lofty statesmanship, which is to enable him to reward, or appoint a political friend. They would have scorned to do it; and they would have scorned the man who should have asked them to do it. Neither did Mr. Jefferson do it; he made very few removals from office, though he did not re-appoint some of his political opponents when their term of office expired, and some he did re-appoint.

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THE SPIRIT OF THE DEMOCRACY.

The Democratic party lately held a convention at Harrisburg, Pennsylvania, to give in their adhesion to KING JAMES I., and assure him of their support in his Leocompton swindle. The remarks of some of the members are rather striking, and of a character that would please the ear of the most despotic monarch in the world; they would delight even the "Brother of the sun and father of the moon," his Celestial Majesty, Emperor of China. We select two specimens:

Mr. Hopkins, of Washington, addressed the Convention in regard to his position. The resolution which nominated him passed resolutely against the Kansas policy of the President, and with this nomination he was elected. He declared in the Convention that he would never cast a vote in support of Mr. Buchanan, either in relation to the Kansas question or any other measure. He spoke at some length in laudation of his country, and then he spoke of the Leocompton Constitution had not been submitted to the people; but he would sustain Mr. Buchanan in his position.

Mr. Cassidy, of Philadelphia, gave in his adhesion to the report of the committee. The Philadelphia delegation, he said, would stand by Mr. Buchanan and his policy. Mr. Buchanan had no stronger friends than the Philadelphia delegation. He said, by authority, that William A. Porter would stand on any platform the Convention might adopt.

N. B.—Mr. William A. Porter, son of the late Governor David R. Porter, was a candidate for the nomination of Judge of the Supreme Court, and was nominated as such. He was willing, it seems, in order to secure a nomination, to "stand on any platform the Convention might adopt." That is to say, he was willing to swear that white is black, and black is white, if the convention says so; that Leocompton is right or wrong, just as the convention determines! A very independent, upright Judge he would make, very! But he will not be elected.

By the liberal use of threats and promises, the guillotine and Executive patronage, the President has done much to keep the polluting Democracy of the North in the traces on the Kansas fraud, and the Leocompton meetings held lately in the city of New York, at Harrisburg and elsewhere, pretty clearly show that much the largest portion of the Democracy are ready to stick to their leader and THE PARTY in the perpetration of any iniquity however flagrant or abominable. Mr. Dawson, upon taking the chair as President of the Harrisburg Convention of subscribers, reminded the members that in 1854, upon the passage of the Kansas-Nebraska act, the State Convention which met at Harrisburg to nominate a Governor, failed to endorse that act, and "adjourned prematurely, and with a hurried step, to escape the imaginary danger;" and the inference is, that as they were then afraid of the people, they must be more bold now, and fear nothing. But the Democratic party were defeated that year—defeated by the Kansas-Nebraska act; and Mr. Dawson may rest assured that defeat awaits them now.

The Administration are trying to impress the public mind with the belief that the moment Kansas is admitted as a State under the Leocompton Constitution, the Kansas agitation will cease. But they know better; they know that so far from ceasing, it will rage with tenfold more fury. That constitution can never be crammed down the throats of the people of Kansas; never.

Since Edward Everett commenced the delivery of his great oration on Washington, he has been greatly abused by certain journalists at the North because he did not see fit to use language of a secular character. Their condemnation has been unmeasured; and now, after reading their tirades, must wonder what he has been guilty of to receive such treatment. But the abuse of Mr. E., as we have already said, is not confined to the North. The Richmond South too long since assailed him in the most contemptible manner; but all such attacks, either from the North or the South, fall of their own weight, as he is not to be injured in the least by such triflers. The Ohio State Journal relates the following episode to this assault upon him by the Richmond South:

"When General Harrison, in 1840, nominated Mr. Everett as Minister to England, the slave power in the Senate sought to defeat him on the ground

POSTMASTER AT CHICAGO.

The appointment by the President of Isaac Cook, Esq., to be postmaster at Chicago, was confirmed by the Senate on Tuesday. The Union says Mr. Cook is an active, intelligent, and reliable Democrat; and we are glad to know that he has passed the Senate's ordeal, where his merits were severely questioned.

And who is Mr. Cook? We have been informed that he formerly kept a low "dogger" in Chicago, where he manufactured, or accommodated drunkards. He then built and kept the spacious drinking and gambling establishment called "the Young America." He thereby became a prominent and important man in the Democratic party, and was made Postmaster under Pierce's administration, and is charged with having been a defaulter to the tune of \$1,500. How this, we do not know, but it seems he has got through the Senate, and may have been assisted to pay up.

Cook attended an anti-Leocompton meeting some time ago; but finding the Administration ready to pay well for Leocompton men, seized the first opportunity to bargain for the post office. Here's a patriot for you! Hurrah for patriots! Who will now say that Republics are ungrateful?

HOW A PATRIOT GETS REWARDED.

The Washington correspondent of the New York Tribune, gives us the following bit of history:

"The reward which that venerable patriot, Sam Medary, received for his adhesion to Leocompton ought to be embalmed, after the fashion of Cæsar's victory—*Veni, vidi, vici*. He came to Washington, he saw the chance, and he conquered. He was the first to engineer Minnesota through Congress, having been the territorial Governor, who, after Democratic fashion, had certified the minority to be the legitimate Convention. Just then the breach widened between Douglas and the Leocompton, which, though it has lasted many a night, and returned to assure the President that the really political men—mind, the men who went spoils from far off—were against him, the people were with him. Such eloquence was overheard as Mr. Cox, the member from Columbus, had followed in the wake of Douglas, and the axe was applied to the head of his postmaster, and Medary went back rejoicing, signing passes to Leocompton, which, though it has lasted many a night, and returned to assure the President that the really political men—mind, the men who went spoils from far off—were against him, the people were with him. Such eloquence was overheard as Mr. Cox, the member from Columbus, had followed in the wake of Douglas, and the axe was applied to the head of his postmaster, and Medary went back rejoicing, signing passes to Leocompton, which, though it has lasted many a night, and returned to assure the President that the really political men—mind, the men who went spoils from far off—were against him, the people were with him. 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