Democratic Journal, Devoted to the South and Southern Rights, Politics, Catest News, Citerature, Morality, Temperance, Agriculture, &c.

"We will cling to the Pillars of the Temple of our Liberties, and if it must fall, we will Perish amidst the Ruins."

W. F. DURISOE & SON, Proprietors.

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SPEECH OF MR. TILLMAN.

On several Bills to give the Election to the people, delivered in the House of Representatives, December 7 1855.

There seems to be an honest difference opinion. Mr. Chairman, between the members upon this floor, as to the parties in whom the Constitution of the United States vests the right of electing Presidential Electors. A portion of this House maintain that the right is vested in the Legislature and another portion insist that it was intended by the framers of the Federal Constitution to vest it in the people. For my own part, I believe it is equally constitutional for the legislature to choose Presidenthe same time, I am one of those, who incline to the opinion, that expediency and sound policy require that the power should be vested in the

Presidential Electors ought to be given to the people to prevent the corruption of the State Legislatures. If it is right and expedient for Charleston, one Assessor and one beauty or parties who effected the reform in all a passion raised a strong party in this country for head of the Legislature. It is equally so, that the Legislature is equally so, that is equally so, that the Legislature is equally so, that is the Legislature is equally so, that is equally so, that is the limit the Legislat All the thirty-one States of the Legislatures in the state of the State of the Union is but 4,316. It would only be recessary to have a majority in each State Legislature to control the vote of the State in the Electoral College; and the return it we were to divide the whole state of the members of all the Legislatures in this

Union by two it would give only 2,158 members and then add two, or even three hundred mem bers more, to secure large and ample majorities in each Legislature, and we would have-say 2.500 men to control the whole vote of the whole Electoral College, in the election of Pres-

Now who is the President? You may talk about the power of the Czar of Russia-about the departed glory and magnificence of the Emperor of Rome, but sir, neither of them ever had the power of the President of these United States. I admit, that his powers are restrained. I admit, that he is controlled by constitutional checks, but he, and he alone, regulates the mighty machinery of both our Federal and State governments in all their important actions. No less than 300,000 men hold their commissions as officers, at the will of the President. No less than \$85,000,000 are expended and disburmed every year at his dictation, or at least for the two first years of his term, because the very ballot which secures the election of a President, likewise secures the election of a majority in Congress, whom he can control, and whose political sympathies are entirely with him. When backed by these countless offices, with their high honors and fat salaries, together with the numerous other instruments of power, always at the command of a judicious President, there is no doubting the fact, that he can prescribe the legislation of Congress, in a great measure, during his whole term of office, because in addition to these elements of power, he also has that of the seto.

the election of all the officers who constitute the federal government, and it likewise controls the disbursement of nearly \$400,000,000. Such being the case with all these splendid offices, and all this vast amount of money at his almost absolute command, what would be the effect, if this combined and all powerful influence, were brought to bear, by the skilful hand of such a man as Martin Van Buren, upon 2500 members of the State Legislatures, previously elected and allowed to vote for Presidential electors by secret ballot, as is now done in South Carolina. The State elections for both branches of the several legislatures in the Union, occur at numerous and irregular periods of the year, and the tenure of office in both branches is likewise greatly diversified. For instance, the members of the House of Representatives in thirteen States hold office for only one year while in the other eighteen States, they hold it for two years. Again, Senators in the six New England States, ld their commissions for but one year. In eight of the States, they hold two years. In two of the States, New Jersey and Pennsylvania, they hold three years, and in all the other fifteen States, they hold for the long period of four years. Let it be borne in mind that the time, for holding State elections is generally fixed by the State constitutions, not by statute. Let it also be remembered, that Congress can and does prescribe the time for choosing Presidential electors, while the States are left to regulate the manner only of that election. Let it further be kept in view, that all the members of both branches of the legislature, and particularly the Benators in most of the States, are elected to their offices, generally for weeks, sometimes for months, and occasionally for years, before a Presidential election takes place. Lastly, let it be supposed, that all of the States, were to elect their Presidential electors by their legislatures and by the secret ballot system as we do, and what could be the result but inevitable corruption, so foul, so rank, that it would stink in the

nostrils of every honest man.

The gentlemen from St. Johns, Colleton, (Mr. Bryan) declaims loudy against corruption in the other States, where this election has been given to the people, and says that \$85,000,000 are a burden for the flesh to carry gracefully. Sir, I concede that it is a burden too heavy for this legislature or for all the legislatures of the American Union to carry honestly, but the three million of American freemen and voters can both carry and disburse it safely. I charge no legislature, either of this, or any other State, if that of any other State had the election of Presidential electors, with corruption, but it is a ding to the highest contemporaneous authority. sound maxim of political philosophy, that alsound maxim of pointed parts and the public gaze that the though no man or set of men may be corrupt, that yet representatives are chosen by the legislature in the l electors were chosen by the legislature in the

authority, he would decline the appointment and only to control majorities in eight of the State bord of the people. The indignation of the people cried aloud for vengrange and most powerful office that any and ever filled. Take for example New York, Pennsylvania and Ohio, large States which have a joint vote of eighty-five in the electoral college. How many members constitute the legislatures of these States, and would be 215. Take five of the other States, say Virginia, Kentucky, Tennessee, Indian and Illinois, which have a joint vote of sixty-three for President, and add the vote of these States to the tree, I have already and the sixty-three for President, and add the vote of these States to the tree, I have already and the sixty-three for President, and add the vote of these States to the tree, I have already and the vote of these States to the tree, I have already and the vote of sixty-three for President, and add the vote of these States to the tree, I have already and the vote of sixty-three for President, and add the vote of these States to the tree, I have already and the latter over the first of the correct the startline send the election back to the people. The interport the French revolution and college the french revolution to everything (laughter.) Now I think the French revolution to everything (laughter.) Now whom dow elect and who are we? I too am no demagoging (laughter.) I know that I am great God-send to college boys at least, for become the french revolution to everything (laughter.) Now I think the French revolution to everything (laughter.) Now whom dow elect and who are we? I too am no demagoging (laughter.) I know that I am great God-send to college to the startline send the startling event; it was fashionable to regred as an outsite by the parishes, or if you free everything (laughter.) and the regred as an outsite by the parishes, or if you free everything (laughter.) I know that I am great God-send to college that the startling event; it was fashionable to regred as an outsite by th 567 and no more, so that, this small number of man than George McDuffie introduced the bill men could elect a President, if the legislatures for that purpose, and it was not only advocated given this election to the people, while we have proposed amendment was defeated in Congress, forborne to do it; for if they had kept it in the but it has been virtually adopted by all the hands of their legislatures, as we have, I verily reform, as the newspapers of the time, and able speeches yet extant will show. This is especially true of New York, and I challenge denial from any gentleman upon this floor, that the ple under the lead of Senator Tallmadge, in consequence of the intrigues of Martin Van Buren with the legislature, to secure the nominathrough the New York Legislature. I know that it has been frequently alleged in this State, that the election of electors was given to the people in the other States, by the struggles of

other States, a masterly intriguer would need authority, he would decline the appointment and refer everything to the French revolution and district Boards of commissioners, all the magis- that if open taxation were levied rightly and so turbulent, so hard to manage, so full of any

States in the Union, except ours. They forced, State Legislatures, and 2d. That the election of that we are accustomed to cite and follow in people to vote for but one of two candidates for epithet I fully concur. But did not my friend as much as any gentleman upon the floor.

sidential electors, as is the case in South Carolina. a number of others—great and powerful men, popular elections exist. Or how much freedom out degenerating into mobs. Of course I mean this well for us, that the other States have both in and out of Congress. Mr. McDuffie's there was in Rome when her Senate, which had no disrespect, when I say that we as a body are the chief appointing power to office could be but very little, if any above an average specimen bought and sold? or if he prefers, how much of the middle classes in our districts. But not-

hands of their legislatures, as we have, I verily believe in all sincerity, that the Union would have dissolved long ere this. It must have broken into pieces, from the corruption of the thirty-one eating cancers, which this same thing of elections are resident by the State legislatures would have engendered. It is notorious that the election of President. Some may object to all this extra constitutional machinery, but the people, or at the election of President, this was ruption in their legislatures, or at least, this was one of the many arguments used bythe friends of the Presidential election shall no larger corrupt race that we have arrive here, how is the three was in Venice when "The Council of Ten" did all the voting, made all the laws and attended to their decition. The gentlement of Ten" did all the voting, made all the laws and attended to their decition. The gentlement of Ten" did all the voting, made all the laws and attended to their decition. The gentlement of Ten" did all the voting, made all the laws and attended to their decition. The gentlement of Ten" did all the voting, made all the laws and attended to their decition. The gentlement of Ten" did all the voting, made all the laws and attended to their decition. The gentlement of Ten" did all the voting, made all the laws and attended to their decition. The gentlement of Ten" did all the voting, made all the laws and attended to their decition. The gentlement of the Celtic race for for our hands attended to their decition. The gentlement of the Celtic race for facts in history to sustain his when we arrive here, how is that we hold on to so much of Ten" did all the voting, made all the laws and attended to their decition. The gentlement of the Celtic race for facts in history to sustain his when we arrive here, how is the two hold on to so much of the celtic race for facts in history to sustain his selves. How is that we have accurate of Ten" did all the voting, made all the laws and attended to their decition of Ten" did all the voting, made signed to make elections. I assert emphatically President shall, if it can possibly be averted, ne. political science. The gentleman did cite the that we are an assembly of electors rather than the five items of land, live stock, implements than Pendleton. Hence the persistant refusal ver again be thrown into the House of Repre- evils of popular elections in some of the "hire- of Legislators, and I say this without meaning sentatives. It is now the settled policy of our ling States" as he called them and in which any offence, as I have the esprit de corps at heart

the Presidency—they bury all minor differences of interest, passion or principle to keep the election odf of the House; and although some of the States, as Massachusetts, Tennessee, the people. He did not do it, and I defy him now the more interest as much as any gentleman upon the more.

Let me enumerate a list of the officers whom we elect. I have written them down hurridly, because I could not name them all readily from the people. He did not do it, and I defy him now the more, and now I fear that I have omitted the Kentucky and South Carolina have occasionally to do it. On the contrast, wherever the elections thrown away their vote, or rather refused to vote for either of the regular nominees, yet, the ed and inquiry provokes discussion, discussion, discussion, Secretary of State, two Treasurers; great controlling vote has invariably been cast | sion stimulates thought thought produces speech, | Comptroller General, Surveyor General, Adjufor one or the other of the two general nomi-nees since 1828. I will cite four remarkable not the least of the arguments which may be five Solicitors, ten Judges, twenty-eight Comnstances to prove this.

advanced in favor of giving this election to the missioners in Equity, one Master and one Register people, that it would instruct them. As things in Equity for Charleston, one Assessor and one

of the judicial districts, Benufort, Colleton,

of tax paying territory, more than the parties and the thirty years strongly to divide Parinhabitants, above 61,000 more slaves and above notwithstanding the justice of her slave. \$53,000,000 more of property according to the the greater difficulty of now last federal census, and the last annual report of and Barnwell, although they can urge eve the comptroller general, and with reference to reasons for both a findicial the latter at \$500, per head and counting the plate, jewelry, ready cash, bank and railway gress, and continues to submit the can ulation, slaves and property in the districts is

for no man, of the two previous national nominations 80

I will next undertake to show that our votes or in their individual election districts and swap tinet; their centres of action so remote; their as the people non periodical and regular election that the interests of the whole interests so conflicting; their principles so anta- tions for delegates to their conventions, although ber of Congress at a heel in Washington City, in legislation are biased; yea, often controlled, it off in the Legislature. No aspirant for State State, and make as much ado as any man can." without any authority of law, we must reasonably conclude, that they take as much interest in dency recled by, and never felt the blash of receive in elections for our friends, or ourselves ple outside of his own election district. The called leading men in each district hitch teams tlemen. Yes, sir the parishes throttle us with the hands of our own leading men, who fire into either for themselves or their tools, and sell

> formed, so as always to have a majority ready to alone the landmarks which our fathers have left office in South Carolina are partitioned regular. Carolina professes to hate that of "compromise" ly in this way, and yet we rail against the cor- the most. But it is right I suppose in the State ruption and intrigue, which secures federal offioccasions. He cannot even act as a true man ces by taking a part in Presidential elections. Strange inconsistency! The other States have remarks, I thought he arrived at the conclusion, that he was opposed to this change on no other Willie P. Mangum, or sy one clse? Could the be in vain to appeal from the legislature to the people, as the ballot system here mocks the tolling each other. They interchange civilties people and prevents them from bestowing a so- through the newspapers, for our sheets, with a has been injured by it; but to change, after, licitor's commission, a judge's gown, or a governor's cap upon their favorite, however worthy he may be.
>
> few honorable exceptions, are dumb on State politics, and are ever filled with fulsome adulation and the parishes say, would bring devolution and disgusting toadyism. Every little distruin upon us. "No parties," is their cry, and trict junta has its organ, edited by some one who holds an office in the gift of the Legislature, or it is controlled by a magnate who has a berth, or wants one. Delegates from each disjoint them. When was England without two or trict meet annually in Columbia during the sitting of the Appeal court in May, or during the session of the Legislature. They concoct new schemes, divorce old alliances, form new ones, and so the State offices have been filled for the last fifty years. Sometimes friends are sold and enemies are reconciled. As ambition gen- what I raise my voice against. In this connecterally knows no law but success, the ballot enables it to play traitor to a friend, or friend to a traitor without detection. Thus, deceit, hypo- me very much, and of which I desire the country cracy, intrigue and diplomacy, rule the State. An ambitious plebeian who has not yet been well, or at least I do. On the first ballot for initiated into the mysteries of the oligarchal clubs, watches with the cunning of a fox to as- were chosen. On the second ballot for twelfth certain who is the most prominent candidate for every vacancy, and as soon as he has gathered the information, he forthwith unites his fortunes to those of the general favorite, or in different ers that be, not for those that ought to be. Many a man has risen to high offices in the gift of the Legislature in this way. Merit with us is generelly ignored, while intrigue when the most skilful is the most rewarded, and yet we are ever protesting against giving the election of Electors to the people, because forsooth it is said cunning and wire pulling would then control the offices and the people too. But in this great game for place, the parishes have still the

wealth of the City of Charleston as so much of the legislature can cast the vote of the State parish property. The five items of property to and the parishes, as I have shown, can always which I have referred are the only legitimate control the legislature. And hence also the indices of the relative wealth of the two sec- refusal of the State to take, any parties Presitions. I have purposely excluded any account: dential elections, although she remains in the of household and kitchen furniture [laughter] Union and participates in the legislating of Constock, merchandize and the like, of which the citizens to the adjudication of the federal courts districts undoubtedly have more than the par- By refusing to give the election to the people ishes. Now this excess of territory, white pop- she refuses to go into the national convention virtually without representation in the Senate. matter, as they can have no ultimate control And just as much senatorial representation as

> power vol-tained, the no President except perising. Mr. Polk and a line parishes are a unit. They always act in the parishes concert. I have watched their members here and they have watched me; (laughter) I have listened to their conversation, and Lasuppose they have listened to mine. I have attended the sessions of this legislature for four or five years, and I am satisfied from what I have seen and heard, that there never was in the history of the world, in ancient or modern times, any set of keep their seats, as champions from the districts will maintain their cause of conservatism in clare war against the parishes sub modo, but tism-will represent the interests of the whole the camp of their friends like Arnold, as they go

> > government, although wrong in the federal .has done it frequently, and I do not think sh three great national parties? They watch, detect and expose each other's overdoings or short

been paid down, it is the occupation of their lives

I do not object so much to the number of officers elected by this Legislature as the mode of that election. The ballat! the ballot! is ion I remember an incident which occurred at the last session of this Legislature which pained to be informed. We al! remember it but too Directors of the Bank of the State, only eleven Director there was still no election, because of three candidates being rur, and on the third ballot, two more votes were cast than the number of members who had voted. Yes, a poor but prived of his election, and I want it to go abroad to the people, that two members of this incor-ruptible body, two members who had sworn to preserve, protect and defend the constitution of this State and of the United States, who had been elected perhaps by a high minded, intelligent and virtuous constituency, went up to the battot box and deposited two votes each in an election for a Director of the Bank of the State. I repeat it again, and every member knows the fact, although it does not appear upon the print

ed journals of the House.

Nearly all the States have given all elections to the people except that of Judges and U.S. Senators, and some of them have given the election of even Judges to the people, which I cannot approve. In addition to this, icvery, State constitution in the Union (or nearly all of them) has a provision of this sort : " That in all plections by the people, the vote shall be by ballet, ty they had obtained unjustly as give up their but in all elections by the Legislature, the refe

electors ought to be given to the people to prevent the election of President from devoland I maintain that the other States have given the election to the people in part to prevent the recurrence of such an appalling event. This Union consists of thirty-one States, as sovereign communities, which are so distant from each other; their organizations so separate and disgonistic, that there rarely could ever be, at this stage of the Republic, sufficient concert of counsel and action among the legislatures to rally a majority of the electoral college upon any one nan. The result therefore in most contests for the Presidency would be, that the election could only be decided by the Federal House of Representatives. As long as Washington lived, he headed a party of his countrymen, to whom his will was law, and hence there never was any formidable opposition to him, or his successor, whom he named. But at the very first election after his death, what a spectacle did the country behold. The election of Presidential electors was then in the hands of the legislatures, which voted for President on different days in nearly every State. The aspirants for Presidential honors intrigued with the leading members of each Legislature, who had previously been elected, and the election was thrown into the House. Several days were spent in fruitless ballots, and at last two States, Delaware and South Carolina, appalled at the approach of anarchy, voted blank, and Mr. Jefferson was elected. He immediately bestowed high rewards upon those who voted for him in the House, as well as upon those who had controlled the State legislatures. But at the same time, he recommended reform, and the constitution was amended, as to the mode of electing President, and for the last

Subsequent to 1801, two candidates for th Presidency were generally put forward by Congressional caucuses, so as to co-operate and unite public opinion upon one man by the party in power, and upon another by the party in opposition. This was done evidently to avert the catastrophe of the election being again thrown into the House. Under this system, the election of President glided on smoothly, until the age of peace, as it was called, came on, when four competitors for the Presidency were in the field-Mr. Adams, General Jackson, Mr. Clay and Mr. Crawford. In consequence of Congressional caucuses having fallen into disuse, and the present national convention system heing unknown, there was no general concert to elect a President. Wire-pullers were left full scope to intrigue with the Legislatures in such of the States as had not yet given the election of electors to the people, and by voting for four candidates the election was again thrown into the House, which became a second time an assembly of electors, instead of legislators. What indescribable scenes were witnessed in the Representative hall, pending this election. Members who were aspirants for office and whose votes might have an important bearing upon their prospects for Executive appointments, met at the hour of midnight, log rolled, urged tempting bids for the votes of influential members, and in their bachanal orgies over the wine-bottle, the successful and more corrupt party chanted the sentiment, that "those who fell with the first Adams shall rise with the second. by a corrupt coalition between himself and Mr. Clay, "either express or implied," and the will of the American people was thus defeated accor-

by the people, to reflect the real public will in his excessive devotion to his potations?

I have other propositions to submit, but the two upon which I have already enlarged carry conviction to my mind, and as other gentlemen the popular will of Seth Carolina, or if it is will desire to address the committee both for and said, let it not go uncotradicted. against the bil, I shall now proceed to answer some of the objections which have been urged ther point. How doe he know? How can against giving this election to the people. One any man know that the legislature has always objection came from the gentleman from Laurens reflected the will of to people in voting for (Mr. Simpson :) I understood him, in the outset | Presidential electors ! Do we not vote here by of his remarks, to say that he was not opposed secret ballot ?- Can the people know how any to giving this election to the people, nor opposed of us vote? Suppose hat my district should to giving up our present system of elections and want its vote east forDonglass at the next antiquity in the polity of the State. But I must sentatives to give that ite, could not those reconfess that after following him closely in his presentatives come her and east their suffrages ground than the antiquity of the present system people of Edgefield ev know whether their of electing Presidential electors in South Carolina. In reply to him, I have only to say, that at than folly then to say, hat this legislature rethe time our act of 1792 was ratified this Union flects the popular willn the appointment of comprised but thirteen or fourteen States, with Presidential electors, oin any other of the nusome 15,000, or 20,000 unimportant offices, with | merous elections that ke place here. 'I'here a sparse population of but little over 3,000,000 is no way of ascertaint the fact, and it is but and a federal revenue of only about \$5,000,000. assertion when the rems is made. Even if the Since that time, the mammoth corporation, so to popular will could be certained, there is no speak, of the federal government, has grown to | way of carrying it outere, as our State govsuch huge proportions—the number of States ernment is at present ganized. Indeed, added to this confederacy has been so great, its population has increased so rapidly, its wealth has accumulated so fast, and the facilities of cept to feel its oppreons, either in making corruption could now operate so fearfully, that laws, or in saying who all expound and enforce if the other States were to elect Presidential them. It is a painful my, but I assume the electors as we do, I honestly believe before my responsibility of makingood what I have said. God, that this Union could not stand the shock | And now, Mr. Chainn, I feel that I am goof three Presidential elections, because of the ing to tread upon veryensitive ground, but corruption that would exist in the state legisla- shall endeavor to keepy own temper and will tures, or be engendered in Congress, by throw- not wound the feelings any one farther than ing the election into the House. I therefore ap- may be necessary to tehe truth. I am justifipeal to him to hunt up a better argument than ed in doing so, since ouf the strongest objections urged by gentlen from the up, as well what they did in 1792, and we also, should now tion of electors to theople is, that it would act wisely in full view of all the circumstances disturb what are callege compromises of our which surround us and guided by the light of constitution, and the rions between the two experience in our government, which its foun- sections of the State. s this is the issue made ders had not. They established the government by the enemies of the lupon your table I must and set it in motion and therefore could not be permitted to informe House why I think make all its parts perfect at once. We should this election will not us be given to the people regulate the machinery and alter it, whenever -why it was not donong ago and why full the harmonious action of our complex system and complete justice hot been rendered to demands it. I speak with reverence but in truth, the people generally an those of the up-counwhen I express the deliberate conviction that try in particular. our forefathers themselves would make the change proposed by this bill if they could act to office. They are and to amuse themas the legislature of South Carolina in 1855, as selves, with the semble of sovereignty in they did in 1792:

Next let me answer briefly the gentleman from St. John's Colleton. I confess that I en- ishes here that they as a body disposed to deavored to gather at least a skeleton of his keep up our present atnable militia system Mr. Adams therefore was accordingly elected objections to the Bill but that I was entirely una- for nothing more, thaulatter the people with ble to do so. He dealt in such grandiloquent the appearance of exing power where no phrases, such bold images, such fiery Demos- right, no liberty, but are bauble is at stake thenic expressions, that I could not for the life What other officers do people elect? Their of me catch his thoughts as they passed from humble district police their very honorable Such was the nude mockery of the elective his lips. He told us a great deal about the French members of the legisle and of Congress. franchise exhibited to the public gaze that the revolution, but I should like to know what that. They are not permitto elect all their local

tion of Presidential Electors in the other States famous only for his consolidation whiggery and argument to sustain the allegation. Every ex-ercise of franchise is merely a roluntary act. No vote the reflected will of our gallant people? man can be forced to vote in any election, and No. sir, I think not. I remember well once lation. tinet; their centres of action so remote; their as the people hold periodical and regular elec- standing in company with a distinguished memvoting for a President in other States, as in shame rise so high on my cheek, as when my (for members of this legislature, are often, very easting their ballot for a constable, or county distinguished companie pointed and said to me, often too often condidates here themselves, and with a bland smile, "Id not your State once | candidates or at least aspirants for years at that.) vote for Mangum for Pesident?" Then let it

Let me take the gentinan to task upon ano ndividually or collectily for Buchanan, Cass, wishes had been obey or not? It is worse

Our ancestors perhaps acted wisely in as from the low countrigainst giving the elec-

Whom do the peoplf South Carolina elect holding, or voting for riads of petty Militia offices, and I charge u members of the par-

office, and it is perhaps right that no one man should fill that all controlling office for so long a period as eight years. Previous to giving the a period as eight years. Previous to giving the strong as the districts have nearly four the strong as the might have seen than three, and the State and as the districts have nearly four election to the people in most of the States, the general rule was to re-elect the President, be-fiere as has been their warfare upon us, neither been. South Carolina boasts of being a free we have to elect on the average, about one it is evident, upon a general principle that they general rule was to re-elect the President, begeneral rule was to re-elect the President the P My second proposition in support of the bill and is the anxiety of every patriotic American to under consideration, is that the election of President from being left the popular will in the appeal the popular will be present the choice of President from being left the popular will in the appeal the popular will be present the choice of President from being left the popular will in the appeal the popular will be present the choice of President from being left the popular will be present the choice of President from being left the popular will be present the choice of President from being left the popular will be present the choice of President from being left the popular will be present the choice of President from being left the popular will be present the choice of President from being left the popular will be present the choice of President from being left the popular will be present the choice of President from being left the popular will be present the choice of President from being left the popular will be present the choice of President from being left the popular will be present the choice of President from being left the popular will be present the choice of President from being left the popular will be present the choice of President from being left the popular will be present the choice of President from being left the popular will be present the choice of President from being left the popular will be present the choice of President from being left the popular will be present the choice of President from being left the popular will be present the choice of President from being left the popular will be present the choice of President from being left the present from the present fr prevent the choice of President from being left the popular with in the appointment of the House of Representatives. I am aware that clectors, and instricting them for whom to body always has a friend who is either a declared candidate or an aspirant for some office, now or champion of the up country, and it is the iron ever, for leading men of the up-country, to deprevent the election of President from devolring upon the Federal House of Representatives:

| All a ware the people to the people to the House of Representatives. I am aware vote, why was the vote of the State once given to the House of Representatives. I am aware vote, why was the vote of the State once given candidate or an aspirant for some office, now or champion of the up country, and it is the iron to Willie P. Mangum, I man who has long been to William which whic electioneerers, with each other, and the candi- the real men of the State, to 58,651 saints of they only do it to get their price, to get votes, dates and aspirants must electioneer with us. the parishes-it is the anchor which has kept to get office. They go to the parish members choosing a President. But I have yet heard no yet our legislature, in cisting that vote, is said to We must consequently treat and be treated, feast our ship of State in one position ever since and say, "elect me to a high office, which will and be feasted-all of this consumes at least half 1808. Now for the oligarchy. What is the give me commanding influence in the up-country, of our time, which should be devoted to legis- policy always pursued by ambitious men in and I will use that influence in your behalf among

> Every sound minded man must clearly perceive, not be said this legislature has always reflected that a candidate or aspirant is at all times previ- their district's vote in the Legislature, either in over to the foe. While they are receiving the ions to the election, anxious to increase his popularity with those who are to pass upon his predent and timid. These great excitements constantly occur in every legislative body, and in sectional direction. Hence, no candidate, no aslegislation generally, merely on account of its Presidential election, sould instruct its reprecan give an honest and independent vote on such And there are still other agencies, which op-

erate with almost dictatorial force upon the votes of representatives here in many matters of legislation. The bank of the State, the private banks, the railroads, the college, the mi academies, and the lunatic asylum, although but corporations, are yet what might be called a third, and the most powerful branch of our leg-islature. The bank of the State has four millions of the people's money, and we manage it. We elect the officers who have influence here. Many members of this body get accommodations there, and they must reciprocate the favor by voting as the bank directs in many matters of legislation, as well as in numerous elections here. If not, actions at law and persecution under cover of the ballot is their portion here, as well as indirect opposition in the primary elections before the people. Many of the othe States have a constitutional provision excluding officers of rail roads and banks from sitting in the legislature, but our private banks have large stockholders and directors without limit, who are also members of this body. Under cover of the ballot and other parliamentary tactics in vogue here, these institutions frequently take a hand both in legislation and in elections. The rail roads stand in the same category. South Carolina college in a different way, likewise plays an important part in the action of academies, as well as of the lunatic asylum; yes sir, even the asylum is married to the Legislature [laughter.]

But now for the overwhelming evidence that this legislature is an Assembly of electors and

not of legislators, and that by its peculiar organization an oligarchy of five hundred men are permitted to rule the State with an iron will. shall at present say nothing more of the organization of this House, than that it consists white population. Upon this joint basis fifty

tentions; hence, that in any great excitement, extending either to the whole, or, a part of the one district will join its forces to a coterie in nothing of the wrongs of the districts. extending either to the whole, or, a part of the checkers, such office-secker or aspirant must and will be politic, or, in convertable terms, prudent and timid. These great excitements conthroughout the State, until a regular phalaux is "the compromises of the constitution. Let ours, they for the most part, always assume a fill any vacancy that may occur. The spoils of us!" I have thought that of all words South

this assembly. The same is true of the military

of one hundred and twenty-four members, half no matter who represents a parish, he knows of whom represent taxation and the other half that his people would as soon part with properrepresentatives, I believe, come from the parish- political power which rightly belongs to the up- shall be viva voce." Four of the States, how-

South Carolina? It is to gain power at home, my people. I will take up the cry of conservaresult is, that about half a dozen of what are stowed by this legislature upon up-country gen-

matters of election or legislation, to promote reward of their treason, and after the price has themselves to the high offices.

They are united in solid column against the districts, because animated by a common feeling to preserve the power which they obtained by fraud and hold by diplomacy. The parish representatives having but small constituencies, can easily be returned again and again, like the members for the boroughs in parliament. And

phrase, an interloper always goes for the pow- worthy young man of Charleston was thus de

named and you get a majority of the electoral college which at present is but 295. Now what would be a majority of the legislatures in these of Adams in 1826, to amend the Constitution as generally, to elect efficient police officers and blies of men. I believe it was Mr. Madison who eight States, as they are organized at this time! to the mode of electing President. No less a good representatives to make their laws? If went so far in one of his state papers as to obfree institutions cannot long survive popular serve, that no body of men, even of the wisest elections, I would like exceedingly to have him and most virtuous in the world, could get of the States refered to had the election of Pre- by him, but by Col. Drayton of this State, and tell me how much freedom there is where no together and engage in exciting discussions with-