

## COMMUNICATIONS.

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### CANDIDATES FOR THE PRESIDENCY.

"Amicus Plato sed magis amica veritas."

(Continued from our last.)

Gen. JACKSON may have some uncultivated notions of military tactics, but that he knows any thing of the theory of war, that he can train, and fight a large army in an open field, is not pretended by any of his military friends. He possesses patriotism, courage, and invincible fortitude. The nation owes him a large debt of gratitude, which it is willing to pay and has been paying by conferring every honor consistent with its welfare: but he is not qualified for the Presidency—and the people would be committing political suicide, to place any man in that office who has not capacity to discharge its vast duties. Gen. Jackson acquired a smattering knowledge of law under the tuition of two gentlemen of North-Carolina, who possessed so small a share themselves, that they could communicate but sparingly to their pupil. After obtaining his license, he fixed his residence at Nashville, where he never ranked high as a lawyer. He has always been considered as a man possessing pleasing and popular manners; and, in consequence of his affable deportment, was elected, in the year 1796, a Member of the House of Representatives of the U. S. and shortly after, a Senator; which latter office he in a short time resigned; because his abilities did not enable him to render his country any service in those stormy times. He was subsequently appointed a Judge of the Supreme Court of his native state; which office also he soon resigned, because his legal attainments were insufficient for the performance of his duties, to his own satisfaction, and to the welfare of his state. He is now a Senator for the second time, and I will refer to every member of Congress, no matter what may be his politics, if he is not far inferior as a legislator, as a man having a knowledge of civil business, to two thirds of that body: It is a fact, and must be known to all who have paid any attention to the transactions of the last session of Congress.

Gen. Jackson has violated the most sacred principles in our Constitution. That the military should always be kept under strict subordination to the civil power, that the writ of right, the habeas corpus, which the law compels every Judge at his peril to grant, when requested by any citizen who shall be detained, that the Judge may have the prisoner before him, and inquire into the cause of his detention, and remand, discharge, or bail him, as the case may be. No people can be free where a provision for this writ is not amongst the first principles of their Constitution. Another principle, as important as either of the two I have mentioned, is the sacred trial by jury. How has Gen. Jackson treated, I will say sported, with these principles! He imprisoned a Judge because he did that which he durst not refuse, because he granted the writ of habeas corpus, to bring before him a citizen detained by military violence. Jackson would not trust the man whom the President and Senate, yes the Constitution

and nation had proclaimed was the only person who should in such case be trusted to judge and decide on the legality of the detention. This writ he disobeyed. The mighty admirals who command the British navy, Lord Wellington and the Duke of York, Generalissimo of England's army, dare not refuse obedience to this writ: if they did, dismissal from office and punishment for contempt would be the immediate consequence. Jackson, without any evidence of corruption on behalf of the organ of the law, but because he suspected he would do his duty and discharge the citizen who had been imprisoned barely upon his surmises, committed this wanton act of despotism. We live in a country where the laws are sovereign, and he who will wantonly trample them under his feet and imprison those appointed to administer them, by military force, is a violator of our most sacred rights, and should not be trusted with the Presidency.

His threat to the Governor of Georgia, shows him to be ignorant or despotic. The law authorises the general government to call on the states for militia aid, in three cases: 1st. to repel invasion by a foreign enemy. 2d. To suppress insurrection. 3d. To aid in the execution of the laws. The detachments for this purpose are placed under the control of the President, as commander in chief. He places them under the orders of his high military officers: the large mass of the militia that are not so detached, remain as they did before, under the command of the Governors, as Captains-General of the militia of the states. It is as much the duty of the Governors of the different states to defend their territory from threatened invasion, as it is the President's. Woful would be the consequences if they were restrained from acting in such emergencies during war. Governor Raibun, acting on these principles, called out some of the militia to repel the Indians who threatened to invade the frontiers of Georgia. A miserable wretch, by the name of Wright, through ignorance or corruption, killed some friendly Indians; then it was Jackson addressed the Governor of a sovereign state in this language, "How dare you to give a military order, when I am in the field." If Raibun could not have given the order it is very evident that the great mass of militia in Georgia must have remained non-combatants; because Jackson or no other man under the sun had a right to call them into action.

Gen. Jackson, in his correspondence with Mr. Monroe, informs the President that if he had commanded in the northern department, he would have punished the leaders of the Hartford Convention; not by a jury trial and the rules of law, but by a court martial and file of grenadiers; in other words, he would have placed the military above the civil authority. He would have tried men by the law-martial, who did not belong to the army, and were not spies about the camp, and therefore not within the provisions of the laws of war. If they had committed crimes, they were amenable to the tribunals that decide according to the common and statute law, and where twenty-four jurors must pronounce them guilty before the judge could pass on them a sentence of condemnation. This process was too dilatory for his violent disposition; he would prefer a

Court-martial, and if their decree did not suit him, he could do as he has done in another case, blot out the decree, and write below these energetic words, "let them be hang'd."

Gen. Jackson voted for the law which increases the duties on importations, generally called the Tariff. This law will be the cause of the increased price of all articles which we have to purchase, and the diminution of the price of all such things as we have to sell. The object is to make us purchase exclusively of American manufacturers. They will ask what they please for their fabrics, and give what they please for our raw materials. Foreign nations cannot take our cotton, tobacco, naval stores, and other articles, if we do not barter and take in payment, what they have to pay with, their manufactures and their productions. England and France will turn their attention to India, Egypt, and Brazil, for cotton, and to Russia and Sweden for naval stores, lumber, &c.

Gen. Jackson's treatment of the Senate of the State of Tennessee, on the passage of the Bank bill, is some evidence of the manner in which he will treat Congress, if the members should dare oppose his views, in case he should be President. The plan was a miserable one, but they did not merit the epithet which he applied to them for voting for it.

Gen. Jackson, in his correspondence with Mr. Monroe relative to the formation of his cabinet, where he recommends to him the appointment of federalists and republicans, says if he was the President, he would put down that "monster—party spirit." His knowledge of history, and his observations on government, must be extremely limited, if he did not know that party spirit rages more or less in every government possessing any semblance of liberty. Party spirit, like a brisk breeze, purifies the political sea, and the annihilation of it would leave nothing but the calm of despotism.

I have warned my fellow-citizens in time, not to place at the head of this nation, a man who has no other claim to their suffrages but his military achievements. The President is, by the Constitution, the commander in chief of the army and navy. Instructions to our ambassadors emanate from him; treaties with foreign powers are to receive his sanction; no act of Congress can pass without his consent, unless coerced by two thirds of both houses; no man can be appointed to office in the civil departments of the federal government without his nomination; he has to lay before Congress, from time to time, his views of the state of the nation. These are some of the many duties imposed upon the President. Reflect, my countrymen, before you give your vote in this important election, and do not give it to a man who is recommended by nothing save his military *eclat*.

Athens lost her liberty in the life time of her great law giver, by the intrigues of Pisistratus. The constitution of Rome received its mortal wounds when Caius Marius was elected to the consulate. He was a military man, and his victory over the Cimbric and Teutonic, was as far before the battle at New-Orleans, as the splendor of the meridian sun before a twinkling star. Marius' ambition and revenge prompted him to punish those Romans who were opposed to his elevation. All who

have read, have some recollection of the miseries brought upon the country by his and Sulla's faction. The military having destroyed the civil authority, Rome suffered an illiad of woes. Julius Cæsar completed what Marius had begun; by intrigue and corruption, he procured himself to be elected to the first office within the gift of his countrymen, placed himself at the head of many legions, passed the Rubicon, and Rome bid farewell to liberty forever. Philip, like Saturn, hovering on the confines of Greece, then the Eden of liberty, by bribes and corruptions, so weakened her institutions, that his son Alexander entirely enslaved those nations.

In modern times, France dethroned her king and established a republican government. After several changes, she formed a constitution upon the correct principle of checks and balances. Her executive was composed of five persons elected for a short period, called "the Directory;" her senate was known as the Council of Ancients; her representative body, elected by the people, was known by the name of the Council of Five Hundred. Napoleon became popular as a military man. This free government dared occasionally to oppose his acts of despotism. He resolved to get rid of it, marched 20,000 troops to Paris, sends a detachment with fixed bayonets into the legislative chambers, dissolves the government, and annihilates the freedom of his country. On its ruins he reared a military despotism of colossal magnitude. France glittered and groaned for twenty-five years. She could bear it no longer, and fell back into the miserable arms of the Bourbons. Who can prevent a popular military character, placed in the office of the Presidency, from realizing the visions of Aaron Burr? Who can prevent him from marching his regiments to Washington, tumbling Congress into the Potomac, and proclaiming, like Napoleon, a new government more congenial to his views? It does not require much political sagacity to foresee, that the Presidential election is the rock on which ultimately the vessel of state is to be wrecked. We are a free people, and can continue to be so for a long time yet to come, if we will act with prudence, and refrain from bestowing our suffrages on a man who can by any possibility endanger our liberty.

Mr. CRAWFORD is a man who possesses integrity and ability; he is capable of the most laborious investigation; possesses a nice discriminating mind, and the most profound judgment. His elocution and argumentative powers are such as to have successfully contended with Bayard, Lloyd, Hunter and Adams. He is a man whose mind is capable of grasping and elucidating the most difficult and intricate subjects with intuitive facility. He knows men practically; he has acted with them in various stations, from the lowest to the highest offices. As a lawyer he ranked among the first characters in his profession; he was several years a member of the legislature of Georgia, where his talent for business and sterling integrity placed him among the foremost of her legislators. In this capacity he was chiefly instrumental in detecting and suppressing the Yazoo fraud. In 1807 he was elected a Senator in Congress, where he soon shone forth the champion

of the Republican party; and while he firmly and independently supported his principles, he was courteous to his adversaries, and his manners and deportment were always those of a polite gentleman. He was appointed by the President minister resident at the Court of France, which mission he discharged to the satisfaction of his government. On his return to the United States, he was appointed Secretary at War, where he corrected many abuses and introduced considerable improvement in its administration. From this office he was transferred to the head of the Treasury Department, where he has remained until the present time, discharging its duties with ability and integrity. It has been asked by some of Mr. Crawford's opponents, "what has he done to entitle him to the Presidency?" I answer, that he who has faithfully performed the duties incident to the highest civil offices and places of trust known to his government, has higher claims to the Presidency than a man whose pretensions rest solely on his military achievements. England chooses her prime ministers not from her military or naval heroes, but from that class of her subjects that display the most learning, integrity, and ability in her civil affairs. Nelson and Wellington with naval and military honors heaped upon them, have always been compelled to give way to such men as Pitt, Fox, Castlereagh, and Canning. The complicated and intricate administration of a nation's affairs requires different attainments from those possessed by military characters.

A miserable plot to destroy the reputation of Mr. Crawford, got up by the chief jugglers behind the curtain, and put forth by Edwards the Punch of the puppet-show, has exploded, and, like a piece of artillery too heavily charged, has fatally recoiled upon its movers. The veil with which it has been attempted to screen the projectors of the A. B. conspiracy from the public eye has proved too flimsy for its object. The hands of three of them appeared on the fourth day of July, as plain as the hand that appeared on the wall. Crawford, like the prophet Daniel, has been delivered from the den of lions; and, like him, for his virtue and integrity deserves the highest office in the gift of the nation.

It is believed that Mr. Crawford, if elected President, will govern upon the principles of honor, justice, and economy. No person will be appointed to office unless he is honest, qualified, and a friend to the Constitution. He will not consent to any laws which may burden the people in time of peace with direct taxes and excise systems. He has no visionary schemes to carry into execution which may sap the Constitution. His plan would be honorable peace with all foreign nations, while he would preserve strict economy and rigid accountability at home. He is opposed to that system of government which will foster one interest at the expense of another. The navy and the army will receive due protection without any effort to swell either beyond the interest or ability of the nation. Finally, should he be elected the Constitution will be preserved inviolate, and we shall continue to be what we are now—a free and happy people.

*Maxim.*—Merit should be the only passport to office.