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POLITICAL.

From the National Intelligencer.

REASONS AGAINST A CAUCUS.

To the Editors.—I now proceed, according to my promise, to give some of the reasons which appear to my mind to prove conclusively, that a Congressional Caucus is ("under existing circumstances") not only inexpedient, but wholly unjustifiable, and contrary to the established principles of the Republican party.

1st. It is a notorious fact, that a considerable proportion of Mr. Crawford's friends in Congress represent parts of the country known to be opposed to him.

The precise number of members so situated, I will not venture to state, though the number can be ascertained. One thing is, however, certain, that the number of Mr. Crawford's friends in Congress, who differ from their constituents, in relation to his claims to the Presidency, is sufficiently great to affect materially the proceedings of any general Caucus which could be held, and perhaps to influence the result. If we look at the names of the gentlemen attached to the Caucus notice, we find that a decided majority of them are in opposition, not only to their colleagues, but to the states they represent. Whatever may be said of the members from Virginia and Georgia, or even from N. Carolina, will any one pretend that Maine, New Jersey, Illinois, Maryland, or Pennsylvania, are in favor of Mr. Crawford at this time, and yet members from each of these states support Mr. Crawford, and unite in the call of a Caucus. What is true of the committee is true of the party, though not to the same extent. Now, a Congressional Caucus could only be justified on the presumption that the Members speak the wishes of their constituents, but in this instance, the fact being known to be otherwise, a Caucus becomes unjustifiable. A Caucus is intended as an Index to point out the state of public sentiment; but when it is known that it can afford no such Index, it ought not to be resorted to, as it may mislead, and can do no possible good.

2d. The second objection to a Caucus, at this time, arises from the fact that a majority of the Republican Members are restrained by public opinion, and by their sense of duty, from attending one, and therefore that it can afford no test even of the opinion of the Members of Congress as to the merits of the candidates for the Presidency. Ever since the Caucus of 1816, when Mr. Crawford was very near being nominated, in opposition to Mr. Monroe, (at a time when he was not even thought of by the people at large, as President of the United States,) public opinion has undergone a great change, on the subject of a Congressional Caucus. The people were taught, by that transaction, that a man might be nominated in Washington, without having any popularity with the nation; they found that gentleman, who represented them faithfully in matters of legislation, differed from them very widely as to who should be President; and they began to see and to apprehend that the time might come, when management and intrigue, at Washington, would barter away the rights of the people. From these causes, public opinion has become, in almost every part of the Union, hostile to a Caucus at Washington; and, in the Western States, especially, there exists almost a unanimous sentiment against such a meeting. In several of the States, as in Tennessee, Maryland, and South Carolina, positive resolutions have been passed, by their Legislatures, which the members from those States (with scarcely an exception) justly regard as prohibitions against the uniting in any Caucus. The members from the Western Country feel themselves equally restrained by the state of public opinion there, on that subject. Indeed, members, from every part of the United States, are restrained, in like manner, by the feelings and known wishes of their constituents. From these causes, such a number of members consider themselves bound to abstain from a Caucus, that it has been ascertained that the Caucus could not possibly be a general, but only a partial one. Now, a Caucus is founded on the presumption that it affords a test of the opinions of the Members of Congress,

(who are supposed to express the opinions of the people,) but, in this case, the fact is, that such a Caucus could not be made to express even the opinions of a majority of the Republican Members, and it is, therefore, wholly unjustifiable.

3d. Another reason against a Congressional Caucus is, that not one of the candidates, except Mr. Crawford, could (under existing circumstances) carry in to such a meeting more than half of his strength, while Mr. Crawford would not only carry the whole, but would be able to include among his supporters many who differ from their constituents. The Tennessee members, for instance, could not attend, even to vote for Gen. Jackson, nor the South Carolina members, for Mr. Calhoun. But, while it has always been the good or the bad fortune of Mr. Crawford to be much more popular in Congress than he is any where else, it has always been his fortune to be supported by Caucus men. Mr. Crawford's friends (says one of his advocates) are Caucus-men. Not so with the friends of General Jackson, of Mr. Clay, of Mr. Calhoun, or of Mr. Adams.—A large portion of their friends are not Caucus-men. In this fact is found a conclusive reason why a Caucus is inexpedient and unjustifiable. It would afford one candidate the means of creating an exaggerated impression of his strength, while every other candidate would be deprived of the means of exhibiting even their actual strength. As a Caucus could, therefore, only be a partial, and not a general one, as it could not possibly afford any test of the strength of the Candidates with the Members of Congress, or with the People, it seems to follow, that a Caucus, at this time, is wholly inexpedient and indefensible.

4th. There are many Republicans who believe that a Caucus can only be justified when there is a contest between two great political parties, and that its object is to enable one party to meet their opponents with undivided strength. Thus, during the great struggle for power between the Federalists and the Democrats, it was often found necessary for each party to meet in caucus, and to select the candidate of the party. But, where all the candidates are of the same party, there can be no such caucus, and should one be held in such a case, it must be for the single purpose of aiding an individual, and of influencing the votes of the people, which ought always to be unbiassed. Such a proceeding must be founded on the idea that the people are incapable of choosing for themselves, and must be guided and directed even where all the candidates belong to the same party. Now, all the candidates for the Presidency are of the Republican party. The Federalists have, as a party, no candidate. If this be questioned, who (let me ask) is the Federal candidate? Mr. Adams is the only one of the candidates who ever was accused of being a Federalist. But he has been received into the Republican family since 1807, has ever since filled the highest offices under Republican administrations, and is now a distinguished member of the Cabinet. He is not brought forward by the Federal party. Indeed, as a party, they have taken no concern in the election; and, if he is to be considered as the Federal candidate who has the strongest Federal support, I feel confident that Mr. Crawford is, at least, as justly entitled to the character of the Federal Candidate as Mr. Adams. Indeed, do not the friends of Mr. Crawford claim for him the state of Delaware, because they deem Delaware a Federal state? And, should the Federal party triumph in Rhode Island, will not the vote of that state be, in that event, given to the Secretary of the Treasury.

There is one fact, however, which settles the question, that Mr. Crawford's friends can no longer speak of Mr. Adams as a Federalist. It seems now to be admitted, that an offer has been made to support Mr. Adams as Mr. Crawford's Vice President; and, I presume, for some equivalent. I repeat, then, there is no excuse for a caucus at this time. But the friends of that measure now take a new ground, that the Caucus is necessary to influence the public mind—to obtain an increase of votes for Mr. Crawford, and thus to prevent the election from going into the House of Representatives. Now, here is a new view of a caucus; it is to alter the constitution, or to prevent its operation. The constitution has pointed out the mode by which it shall be altered; but it is deliberately proposed to produce the same effect by a caucus. Against this we must solemnly protest. The people are capable of electing their Presidents, and should any incoherence result in practice from the constitution as it now stands, Congress can propose to the several states an alteration in that instrument, or the states may of themselves adopt the proper amendments.

But it is obvious that a partial caucus cannot have the effect its advocates anticipate. It may distract, but cannot unite the republican party. It can have no tendency to prevent the election from going into the House of Representatives. On the contrary, it must increase the chances of its going there. Mr. Crawford might have been withdrawn from the contest when New-York and North-Carolina shall be stricken (as they probably will be) from the list of his supporters, and his votes would then have been given to one of the other candidates. But when he shall become the caucus candidate, he cannot be withdrawn, and it is equally certain that the anti-caucus candidates never can yield to him, and thus the partial caucus will secure, not the election of Mr. Crawford, but distraction in the republican ranks, and will probably force the election into the House of Representatives.

Lastly.—The facts I have above stated are perfectly well known, here, to exist, and if some gentlemen, blinded by their wishes, or their zeal, may be disposed to doubt them, I am content with asserting, that a decided majority of the republican party firmly believe them to exist, and, therefore, are justly influenced by that belief in refusing to unite in a Congressional caucus, at this time. The question at last comes to this, there can be no general caucus. Can a partial one be justified? Ought the friends of one of the candidates, acting by themselves, to meet together and nominate him to the American people? We leave the answer to these questions to the American people, in full confidence of the result.

A DEMOCRAT.

From the Washington Republican.

We publish, this day, the proceedings in the Town-Meeting at Philadelphia, with the observations made by Mr. Dallas on the occasion; from which it may be inferred, that it is no longer doubtful that the whole political and moral influence of Pennsylvania will be concentrated on General Jackson. The movement, we believe, was wholly unpremeditated and spontaneous. Information had just been received of the proceedings of the partial caucus; and a caucus was to force Mr. Crawford upon Pennsylvania; immediate concentration on Mr. Calhoun or General Jackson, who alone divided the State, became necessary, in order to defeat the success of the caucus scheme.—It was found that this concentration could be most readily made upon General Jackson, and the friends of Mr. Calhoun, with that disinterestedness which has characterized them through every stage of the canvass of the Presidential question, determined to sacrifice personal predilection to the good of the cause. The concentration of the Republican forces accordingly took place on General Jackson, which places him out of the reach of competition in that great state, and leaves not a shadow of hope that the caucus nomination here, can have the slightest influence in Pennsylvania. This movement destroys the last hope of the caucusers. Their scheme, undoubtedly, was to obtain, without delay, the confirmation of the caucus nomination, by the Legislatures of Virginia and New-York, which had previously pledged themselves to support the movement at Washington; and taking advantage of the distraction in Pennsylvania, between the friends of Mr. Calhoun and General Jackson, they calculated to operate on the Convention at Harrisburg, in favour of Mr. Crawford, by means of the nomination thus confirmed at Richmond and Albany. The scheme was ingenious, and might, by possibility, have succeeded, had not the friends of Mr. Calhoun made the noble and disinterested sacrifice which they have made. At this result we heartily rejoice, as every well wisher of the country must; while it is impossible not to feel a deep regret that it has been found thus necessary, for the common good, to diminish the prospects of that candidate (whose prospects were otherwise so fair) with whose elevation we have ever considered the best interests of the country to be connected.

This great point (we mean, the security of Pennsylvania against radical encroachment) being fixed, we have not the slightest fear remaining, as to the possibility of the success of the faction. We consider it as perfectly settled, that Mr. Crawford can neither be elected by the people, should the election be made by them, nor by the House of Representatives, should the election come into that body. Pennsylvania was indispensable to his hopes. Concentrated as she now is upon one of the candidates, the influence of the caucus, aided by the influence of a citizen of the state, selected for the Vice Presidency, will be as nothing. This being certain, it now remains that the people select

from the four republican candidates. We have an entire confidence in all of them; and, although decidedly preferring Mr. Calhoun, we have, through the whole of the canvass, treated with unqualified respect, General Jackson, Mr. Adams, and Mr. Clay (we name them in the order of their ages.) They have all appealed to the good sense and virtue of the people, in the discussion of the Presidential question; they are all opposed to the radical party, and ready to support that system of policy, to the maintenance and improvement of which the present administration has been devoted. The country would be safe in the hands of either; and the triumph of either would prostrate and crush the radical faction; and should it become necessary for that purpose, the disinterested example set by the friends of Mr. Calhoun, in Pennsylvania, of consolidating the republican strength, will be followed, by the several states, by a concentration upon that candidate, in each state, who will be most likely to defeat the caucus combination, until the whole power of the republican party will be perfectly united and consolidated. In the mean time, we sincerely hope that, regarding principles, and sacrificing personal predilections, the possibility of a jar among the friends of the republican candidates will be prevented. Let their pretensions be fairly brought forward; but, at the same time, let the friends of each carefully avoid disparaging the claims of either. Such a course will be followed by union, concert, and strength; and must inevitably end in the triumph of sound principle, and the prostration of the most dangerous faction that has ever appeared in this country.

As to ourselves, we have the satisfaction to know that our labors have not been in vain; that the great cause in which we have embarked, is safe, beyond the power of any human efforts to defeat it. Guided by the same devotion to principle which has hitherto guided our conduct, we promise not to relax in our exertions to maintain and promote the policy we have so zealously defended, to whatever hands the people of this great nation may think proper to commit their high destinies.

TOWN MEETING.

At an unusually large and respectable meeting of the democratic citizens of the city of Philadelphia, convened at the county court house on Monday the 18th of February, 1824, pursuant to public notice, Thomas Leiper, Esq. was appointed chairman, and William Duncan and Robert Patterson secretaries.

The call having been read, and the object of the meeting fully explained from the chair, it was, on motion,

Resolved, That the question on the names of the delegates returned by the General Ward Committee be taken separately.

Whereupon the meeting approved of the eight delegates to the Harrisburg convention returned by the democratic General Ward Committee, as follows: Thomas Leiper, General William Duncan, Samuel Biddle, Henry Horn, Joseph Worrell, John T. Sullivan, Lewis Rush, and F. Stoeber.

The following preamble and resolutions were offered by George M. Dallas, Esq. read, and on motion unanimously adopted.

Whereas the attitude assumed by the government of this nation, friendly to the general liberty and independence of mankind, conforms with the best feelings and wisest policy of the American people, and deserves their most cordial co-operation and support; And whereas, to maintain the principles of our republic against the insidious machinations and violent efforts of kingly combinations, we should, individually and collectively, sacrifice every personal predilection, and strive to place the chief magistracy of the country in the hands of our most enlightened, virtuous, and faithful citizens; And whereas, in the attainment of this object, an harmonious and simultaneous movement of the great democratic party of the United States, to which, under providence, the happiness and glory of this nation must be ascribed, would be alike the safest and most effectual measure; And whereas the united voice of the democracy of Pennsylvania, so long and so justly esteemed for its energy and disinterestedness, may reasonably be expected to produce, upon the other states of this union, a salutary and decisive effect; And whereas it best becomes the democratic party of Pennsylvania, under whose auspices especially the pure principles of popular rights have been established and enforced, to be foremost in vindicating them from outrage and usurpation; And whereas a small minority of the republican members of congress, in open contempt of the ascertained will of a large majority, have assembled in Caucus, and there, prostituting the forms of party proceeding, have nominated a candidate for the office of President; And whereas it is expedient, in order signally to defeat a project so subversive of fundamental principles, to concentrate the energy of all sound democrats in favor of a single illustrious individual; Therefore,

Resolved, That this meeting earnestly recommend that their republican fellow citizens throughout the nation, actively and cordially join in electing ANDREW JACKSON to the office of President of the United States.

Resolved, That we earnestly recommend to the delegates about to meet in convention at Harrisburg, on the fourth of March next, unanimously to nominate ANDREW JACKSON as the presidential candidate of the democracy of Pennsylvania.

Mr. Leiper offered the following resolutions, which, on motion, and after considerable discussion, were adopted.

Resolved, That our delegates be requested to use their best exertions for having a fair convention at Harrisburg, and to solemnly protest against the admission of members of the legislature without express appointment by the people, as well as against the admission of delegates chosen under calls embracing only a section of the democratic party.

Resolved, That we approve of the resolutions and address adopted by the general ward committee.

Resolved, That the proceedings of this meeting be published in all the democratic newspapers of the state.

On motion, adjourned.

THOMAS LEIPER, Chairman.
WILLIAM DUNCAN,
ROBERT PATTERSON, Secretaries.

In offering to the democratic Town Meeting held yesterday, the preamble and two resolutions favorable to the nomination of ANDREW JACKSON, Mr. Dallas said that the subject of deliberation was one of too general importance and of too much national interest to justify any indulgence of personal partiality or dislike. It was the duty of every citizen to act upon it with calmness and decision; and he hoped that the few introductory remarks he had to make would be listened to with attention and candour. He was about tendering to what he believed was the good of the country, and the preservation of the republican party, a sacrifice of individual predilection, the magnitude of which his own particular friends, and perhaps his fellow citizens at large, could easily appreciate. A crisis had, however, arrived, which appealed forcibly to the patriotic feelings of every man attached to the institutions of the country; to their safety from foreign aggression, and from domestic usurpation.

The attitude taken by the United States, in their relation with European powers, though generous and noble, was necessarily accompanied by difficulties proportionate to the strength and perseverance of the holy alliance. There was, as the basis of that alliance, a principle of antipathy to this and every other republic; a principle with which the people of America had successfully contended in 1776, and it would be again known not now soon it would be again their duty to contend. It was essentially a principle of slavery; a principle which exacted from the many an implicit obedience to the few. These ideas were calculated to impress upon the minds of all present the necessity of placing at the head of this nation an executive magistrate who would command respect from abroad, and enjoyed an unlimited confidence from the people at home; one whom experiment had proved resolute in asserting the immutable principles of free government, and devoted to the maintenance of our own civil institutions.

But in addition to this consideration, arising from a hasty though no inaccurate view of our foreign relations, it could not but be obvious that we were endangered by certain unprecedented proceedings among ourselves. He adverted to the caucus lately held at Washington, and of which information had reached us but yesterday. It was the caucus of a miserable and infatuated minority, striving to bend the practices and usages of the republican party to their own purposes, in defiance of the sense of that party, and of an overwhelming majority, ascertained in the most unquestionable manner, and proclaimed by a body of men whose veracity and integrity could not be doubted. Look at it! but fourteen out of the twenty-four states enjoyed even the semblance of a representation; five states, of immense population, and known to be averse to the proceeding, were represented by five persons, one gentleman from from each state; ten states gave but eighteen votes; and the other four, New-York, Virginia, North-Carolina, and Georgia, gave fifty! Georgia alone voted as strongly as Pennsylvania, South-Carolina, Ohio, and Maryland put together; and one entire half of the vote given to the nominated candidate—could it be credited! came from two states only, New-York and Virginia. Such a farce upon the representative principle never was exhibited before. The gentlemen who played it cannot but be conscious that they have gone too far. Call it, if you will, a meeting of the friends of a particular candidate; but to describe it as fairly representing the democracy of the union, as obligatory upon the great republican party, was a perversion of principles and an abuse of forms too monstrous for acquiescence.

This caucus, however, was the political engine against which it was necessary to direct, unceasingly, the efforts of all men who value their rights, and who will not blindly, by a numbing, be cheated into their surrender. It was formidable from the impression left upon the people by the past. The very name of a congressional caucus has