STAR, AND NORTH CAROLINA STATE GAZETTE.

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...ess of the Central Jackson Committee to the Freemen of North Carolina.

...LLOW-CITIZENS,—The fourth of March will be the commencement of ...her Presidential term, and an earlier day will call upon the people of ... United States to decide whether the present Chief Magistrate ... be continued in office, or succeeded by another, and, we ..., a better man. To whom the vote of North-Carolina should be ... on that occasion, is a question, important to our honor and ... welfare, yet involving in its decision no intrinsic difficulty. ...e the friends of the Administration, in this as well as in other ... have been active and persevering in their efforts to attract to ... Adams the favor and confidence of the people, and where they ... no hopes of this, they have been content to seek for him votes ...e ground, not of his merit, but the alleged unfitness of his ad...ary. Again, distrusting their ability to accomplish either of these ...cts, they insist on the propriety of supporting the man who is ...ver, unless he has been guilty of some glaring impropriety, and ...tain that it is indiscreet and ungenerous, if not unjust, to remove ...cumbent from office, in order to introduce in his stead another, ...ough originally and still the object of your preference.

...t all that has been urged by them, will, upon inquiry, be found to ...ist of false assertions, mistaken reasoning and unfair statements ...e question presented for your decision. By this remark we mean ...to involve in the charge of intentional falsehood or unfairness all the ...ds of Mr. Adams, or even all those who have written in his cause. ... do not entertain, nor do we wish to express an opinion so harsh ... uncharitable. It is well known that the spirit of party is, in re...n to its own side, the spirit of credulity; and hence honest men ... found under its influence the disseminators of falsehood, and intel...nt men the publishers of weak and inconclusive reasonings.

...ut as false assertions and false reasoning, whether the offspring of ...gn or mistake, are of a tendency equally injurious, it is necessary ...xamine and refute them. Of the delicacy of this task, which it has ...made our duty to perform, we are not insensible; but while we ...nowledge the respect due to those who are high in office, we cannot ...et that the highest are but the servants of the people, to whom a... the rights of sovereignty belong, and whose welfare ought to be ... end of all government. While, therefore, we abstain from ex...erated invective and undeserved reproach, we shall speak freely ... boldly, as becomes those who address the people respecting the ...duct of their public servants. As we are ambitious mainly to be ...erstood, we shall make no attempts at that rhetorical embelishment ...h obscures the truth that it adorns; but express ourselves with that ...iness of speech in which facts and argument are most easily ap...ended by those plain men who constitute the large majority of our ...ow-citizens.

...e ask, then, is the question submitted to you, as the supporters of ... Adams endeavor to represent it, the merely ordinary inquiry ...l we turn out a man in office to make way for one who is out? In ...er to ascertain this, transfer your recollections to the last Presiden... election. General Jackson, Mr. Adams and two others were can...tes. The number of electoral votes was 261; of these Jackson ...eived ninety-nine and Mr. Adams only eighty-four. According to ... provisions of the Constitution, it became the duty of the House of ...presentatives to choose a President out of the three highest on the ..., and they chose Mr. Adams. The election had been cast upon the ...use in consequence of there being more than two candidates, and ... Constitution requiring the greater part of all the votes to produce ...election. Had Jackson been then in nomination against any one of ... opposing candidates, he would probably, and against Mr. Adams ...tainly, have been elected by the people. How then stands the case? ... the last election Jackson had a plurality of electoral votes, inclu...g the entire vote of North Carolina, and the people of the United ...tes preferred him to Mr. Adams; but, by the House of Representa...s, the wishes of the people were disappointed, and Mr. Adams was ...ted. Now it is said, that under these circumstances you ought to ...e up Jackson and vote for Adams If this be true, what signifies ... provision in the Constitution which gives the Election of President ...he people and limits the term of office to four years? According to ... position, he who is elected, no matter how, for four years, is in ef... elected for eight, for twelve, for sixteen years, or for life. They ...s indeed that General Washington, Mr. Jefferson and Mr. Madi... were chosen for two successive terms. True: but they were vo...for by a large majority of the people—they were the favorites of the ...ion; and did not, like Mr. Adams, owe their first election to the ope...ion of causes which defeated the wishes of the people.

...But in order to understand this matter the better, let us refer to a ...iliar illustration—let us advert to a case of similar nature and of ...inary occurrence. How is it in the election of Members of Assem...? If a man has been elected by the voice of the people, fairly ex...ssed, and has served them faithfully, it is a just reason to continue ...ir support to him. But suppose there are four candidates for the ...use of Commons in one of our counties, and the friends of three of ...m throw away votes upon a fourth, who is in his own standing the ...kest of all; by which he is unexpectedly elected and a man really ...ular is thrown out. When the next election comes round, will the ...porters of this disappointed candidate be under an obligation to de...t their friend and support the man whose election was the result of ...ident? The question admits but one answer; for nothing can be ...e absurd than to maintain that he who gets into office against the ...es of the people, is, for that reason, entitled to their support at a se...d election.

...o far, fellow citizens, we have made no inquiry into the causes ...ch produced the selection of Mr. Adams in preference to Jackson, ...ported by a large plurality of the people's votes. Such an inquiry ... give two-fold force to the argument we are urging. Mr. Clay, of ...ntucky, was one of the four candidates for President; but having ... lowest number of electoral votes, was excluded from the House. ...e State from which he came had instructed her members, in the e...t which had then happened, to support General Jackson; but under ... influence of Mr. Clay, a man of intrigue, and of eloquence, of un...nded ambition, and of talents above mediocrity, these members, ...h those of other Western States, voted for Mr. Adams, and his elec...n was the result. Immediately after his elevation Mr. Adams ap...nted Mr. Clay Secretary of State, in power and influence the second ...tion in our government, and generally thought to be an introduction ...he first. Between these two gentlemen there had been previously ...ther confidence nor affection, and Mr. Clay had publicly expressed, ...language not to be misunderstood, a disbelief of Mr. Adams's politi... integrity and patriotism. How then are you to account for Mr. ...ay's support of Mr. Adams in opposition to the declared wishes of ...ntucky? Mr. Clay indeed and his friends have endeavored to put ... choice on the ground of love of country—on his belief of Jackson's ...dire unfitness for the office. But though Mr. Clay had disapproved in ...ngress of General Jackson's conduct in the Seminole War; yet in ... very speech in which his disapprobation was expressed he declared ...t General Jackson had shed much glory on our country, and that to...rds him he "never had and never could have any other feelings than ...se of the most profound RESPECT and the utmost KINDNESS." Why ...n did he desert the man who was the favorite of the nation, the choice, ...t to himself, of Kentucky, the man for whom he cherished the "ut...st kindness" and "most profound respect," in order to give his sup...rt to one for whom he felt neither respect nor kindness, of whose pat...tism he entertained, *to say the least, strong suspicions*, and against ...om the voice of the nation, and especially of the State from which ...r. Clay came, had been distinctly expressed.

Take the facts and answer for yourselves—whether it be harsh or ...charitable to conclude that he voted for Mr. Adams in the expectation of being Secretary of State—and that this expectation decided his vote. Let the friends of Mr. Clay protest against the conclusion with whatever of earnestness they can press into the service, and the common sense of mankind will still find in his conduct the ground of serious suspicion. They may contend that there is not proof to convict him in a court of justice and subject him to an ignominious punishment. If this were allowed, it will avail them nothing, for the inquiry is not about inflicting punishment on Messrs. Adams and Clay—it is about the propriety of continuing them in public stations of power and influence—and, with due submission, the difference is vastly important. We pity the miserable wretch dragged to the bar for whom the scaffold or the whipping post is in waiting, and the humanity of the law coincides with our own compassion in pronouncing that doubt shall be followed by acquittal; but to him who claims our confidence, probable suspicion is just ground of refusal, and many are the men dismissed by an acquittal from a Court of Justice, who, upon grounds which the law cannot notice, stand condemned before the Tribunal of public opinion. Aaron Burr was acquitted, and rightly acquitted too, for want of evidence; but think you he is a fit subject to attract confidence—is he entitled to support for public office?

Thus, then, as we conceive, it sufficiently appears that Jackson, the man of the people, was, at the last election, defeated, not upon any considerations of comparative merit between Mr. Adams and himself, but in order that Mr. Clay might be Secretary of State, and heir apparent to the presidency. And can it be seriously contended that you ought, or that you properly can give your sanction to this apostacy from principle—your support to this ambitious project? Because Mr. Clay once forgot his duty and imposed upon the nation a President whom the nation did not desire, ought you to forget your interests and your rights, offer a reward to treachery, and thus set an example fatal to the fair and equal operation of our Constitution? To assert that you ought, seems little short of an insult to common sense. North-Carolina having voted for Jackson four years ago, and his election having been defeated by the means we have mentioned, unless some good reason be offered why that vote should be changed, she owes it to herself, to consistency, to the nation, to support him now. The friends of the Administration have attempted to produce such reasons, and it is our purpose to examine them. It is alleged that Mr. Adams has superior merits. In what do they consist? In distinguished services? If so, why have not his friends informed us when and where they were performed? They have long since been called upon for this information; but the call has been answered only by confident assertions in his favor, and low abuse of Jackson. In truth, fellow citizens, they cannot lay a finger upon one single act of self devotion or disinterested public spirit in the whole political life of Mr. Adams. He has indeed filled several public offices; but he has barely performed their ordinary duties in an ordinary manner. But, it is said, Mr. Adams is skilled in negotiation—has been ambassador, and spent great part of his life in foreign courts; while Jackson has been living in his own country, surrounded by his fellow-citizens, administering American laws and filling American offices. And is it meant by this, that no man shall be considered a suitable person to govern America, unless he has learned his politics in Europe? Shall we be told that years spent in bowing to kings and associating with aristocrats, will form a man to administer a republican government? Washington never set his foot upon a foreign soil—never laid his eyes upon a king. Kings knew him but by the defeat of royal armies; and it is the glory of his country that the greatest and best of men was altogether American—American in his birth, in his education, in his residence, in his habits. Where did James Madison learn the science of government? Was he inferior to John Q. Adams, because his political education was completed at home? But it is further said that Mr. Adams has been long in the cabinet, and, as Secretary of State, has conducted our negotiations; and hence his superior fitness for President is inferred. Fellow-citizens, this is an insidious and a dangerous doctrine. We pray you to consider to what it amounts. The President nominates the heads of departments as well as foreign ministers, and if no man is qualified to succeed him without having filled these offices, the consequence is, that the President has, in effect, the appointment of his own successor, and all that is left to the people is, to ratify the nomination made by him, or, at most, to select one out of four of his friends and supporters. Thus, because the late President appointed Mr. Adams Secretary of State, Mr. Adams is entitled to be President; and, for a similar reason, Mr. Clay must succeed Mr. Adams. Admit this, and your right of suffrage exists only in form; your Chief Magistrate ceases to be elective, and you cease to be freemen.

But it must be confessed that, in the high stations which Mr. Adams filled before his advancement to his present office, abundant opportunity was given him to serve his country. If, then, he possesses the great abilities which his advocates challenge for him, we should be able to trace their operation in the benefits they have conferred. Yet his diplomacy has gained no advantages to his country from foreign powers; for, though we have much boasting of his skill, no instance is produced of commercial advantages having been procured, enlarged or perpetuated by his many negotiations. If, then, he has been able to serve us, he has not been solicitous to do so; or if his willingness be admitted, his ability must be denied.

No result more favorable to Mr. Adams will be obtained from an examination of his career as President. He has, in his official papers, promulgated principles equally false and dangerous. By fixing the source of political power in "the moral, political and intellectual improvement assigned to man by the author of his existence"—"in the moral purposes of the Creator," and by assigning to its extent only the indefinite limitation of "bettering the condition of man," he has, in effect, displaced the Constitution from its rightful supremacy. It is true that society, that is, the people at large, derive the supreme power from the moral Governor of the Universe, and are only limited in its exercise by his benevolent purposes for their moral and intellectual improvement; but their servants derive such portions only of this supreme power as the people choose to give, and are bound to exert it for such ends and to confine it within such bounds as are prescribed by the people themselves. It has been attempted to conceal this political heresy of Mr. Adams under the dextrous assumption that he meant only to assert with piety the superior obligations of his oath of office. Now the obligation of his oath cannot come in question at all. That is confessed on all hands to be supreme; but the inquiry is, *to what* did it bind him? We say it bound him to exert constitutional powers for the purposes specified, and under the restrictions imposed by the Constitution. Mr. Adams says it bound him to do what should be calculated to improve the condition of man according to the moral purposes of his Creator; and, as he is to judge of this, it follows that the will of the people expressed in the Constitution is superceded by Mr. Adams's exposition of the will of the Creator. How does this differ from the divine right claimed by Kings? Mr. Adams receives his office from the Constitution; but, by a curious political logic, found, we suppose, in his foreign diplomacy, he derives his official power from the Creator. His right to act he claims from the nation; but allows no limitation to his sphere of action, save the divine will interpreted by himself.

Having arrogated to himself a freedom from constitutional restraints, he next exhorts Congress to renounce their dependence on the will of the people. But this too the admirers of Mr. Adams consider the proper object of applause, rather than censure; and as they have thrown around his ambitious pretensions to power the mantle of piety, they seek to dignify this recommendation to Congress with the name of a "manly and honest doctrine," and represent it as unjust to denounce him for "an aristocrat" and a "contemner of the will of the people." Whatever views may be entertained respecting it, the fact cannot be denied that Mr. Adams has recommended to the representatives of the nation "not to be palsied by the will of their constituents." The avowal of this doctrine, where it is entertained, is admitted to be honest; but the proper inquiry is, whether the doctrine itself is republican? That a Member of Congress may be justified in deviating from the instructions of his immediate constituents on a question concerning the general welfare, where he is well satisfied such instructions are founded on mistake, is a doctrine which has had its advocates among the most distinguished of our statesmen; but Mr. Adams was the first to announce that the will of the whole nation should be set at naught by its representatives. But this, it is said, is not aristocratic, and does not shew Mr. Adams to be a "contemner" of the will of the people. Now, we ask, what greater proof can an agent give of contempt for his employers, than to disobey his directions? and if a government, where the will of a few controls the will of the many, be not aristocratical, to what form of government may the word "aristocracy" apply?

But some of the friends of Mr. Adams endeavor to enlist your support for him by the negative merit, that he will do no harm, and seem confident of safety under his administration, though they give no assurance of prosperity. The results in practice of Mr. Adams's anti-republican and aristocratic theory of government cannot be expected to be yet developed. He is now a candidate for public favor, and has been under the controul of a majority of Congress opposed to his administration. It cannot be supposed that objectionable measures will be ventured, but with the greatest caution, by a man admonished by the complaints of both Houses of Congress that he does not possess the confidence of the people, and anxiously seeking to conciliate popular favor and ensure a re-election. But let his reappointment be once secured, and let a Congress be placed around him of his own partisans, prepared to support his recommendations, and from the principles he adopts, and has had the temerity in an unguarded hour to avow, what measures are to be expected? Will aristocracy put forth republican fruit? "Fellow Citizens, we claim not to be prophets;" but if John Quincy Adams be re-elected, supported by a legislative body who scorn to be "palsied by the will of their constituents," acknowledging no limitation of power save his own interpretation of the benevolent purposes of the Deity, and no longer awed into concealment or moderation by a pending contest for the favor of the people, say, we ask you, what evils may "not be realised?" That our government is too firmly established, and too carefully guarded to admit of any direct overthrow of its fundamental principles, no man is more confident than we are; but principles may be undermined which cannot be directly subverted. The latter part of the administration of the elder Adams, according to the judgment of the nation upon his measures, has shewn that such a result is possible, and to those who seriously consider the political character of his son, it may not appear improbable.

But, supposing no dangerous consequences should follow Mr. Adams's reappointment, have we any just reason to indulge the moderate hope, that if nothing is gained under his administration, nothing will be lost? Have we not already been loosers by his mismanagement? The trade to the British West Indies, beneficial to the whole Union, but important in the highest degree to this State, has been lost to us. When? Under the present Administration. And how? By the fault of Mr. Adams. His friends affect to trace this loss to the obstinacy of British negotiators, while they conceal, or slight the fact that we might have had it without negotiation. Great Britain had passed a law offering the trade on fair terms to all nations, who should, by corresponding laws, accept the terms. Congress were about to pass a law to meet this offer, when, at the instance of Mr. Adams, the matter was suspended while he was endeavouring to obtain by treaty more than was offered; in the mean time the period expired in which we could avail ourselves of the act of Parliament, and Mr. Adams's experiment failed of success. He chose to commit this important interest to the uncertain issue of a negotiation, and was weak enough to prefer two birds in the bush to one in the hand; but the birds in the bush flew away, and Mr. Adams and his friends content themselves with saying, it was not his fault, for if they would have stayed, he would have caught them. We beg pardon, fellow-citizens, for such a homely illustration; but such folly provokes ridicule, while the evils it has brought upon the State enforce complaint.

You will naturally suppose that this negotiation having failed, the President would take care to place our commercial interests with Great Britain in the charge of some man of great ability, in order to have some hope of protecting what remains, if not of recovering what had been lost; and there was a time when such a course was expected. A distinguished citizen of North Carolina was spoken of as minister to England—a gentleman of high natural endowments, improved by study and reflection, and adorned by literature and taste—one in every respect qualified to represent his country abroad with honor and usefulness. But this expectation was soon disappointed; for Mr. Adams wished to purchase favor. In New York he had hopes; in this State he had none, and Mr. Barbour was sent to England, in order to vacate the Department of War for General Porter. Now Mr. Barbour is an honorable gentleman, of amiable manners, and in private life of correct deportment; but certainly we hazard nothing in saying that he possesses the qualifications necessary for a negotiator at the first Court in Europe in as small a degree as any man whom the spirit of party ever forced into undeserved elevation.

Under the influence of the same selfish considerations, departments and offices have been disposed of, and all the energies of the Administration have been directed to secure the re-election of Mr. Adams. For this end, nothing has been left unessayed. You have seen the Secretary of State challenging to mortal combat a member of Congress, for daring, in his place on the floor of the Senate, to examine with freedom, and expose with boldness, the conduct of the Secretary. You have seen the same officer, forgetful of what belongs to his high station, assume the character of a travelling speech maker, and harangue public gatherings in Pennsylvania, Virginia and Kentucky, boasting of his intrepidity and his virtue, and discharging his malignity towards Jackson, sometimes in gross abuse, and sometimes in impious appeals to Heaven. And during the past summer the heads of other departments, though receiving large salaries from the people for the transaction of the public business, have deserted the seat of Government, and travelling into different sections of the Union, are no doubt earnestly engaged in promoting the views of Mr. Adams by such efforts as the desperation of his cause may require and their abilities may enable them to make. While Mr. Adams and his chief ministers have been thus employed, the inferior agents of the Administration have not been idle. Pamphlets and essays filled with falsehood and calumny have for months past given to the administration presses full employment. For the circulation of these, the usual means of transmission have not been thought sufficient, but members of Congress have condescended to abuse their privilege of franking until the stage waggons have groaned under the overloaded mails, and the horses have been jaded by the unaccustomed weight. The life of Jackson has been scanned from youth to manhood, from manhood to old age, every infirmity of temper "that flesh is heir to" has been sought for with busy malice, and set before the public with every aggravation which ingenuity could devise—every part of his life, both public and private, which was liable to misrepresentation, has been perverted; and lest these modes of attack should prove insufficient to destroy his hard earned fame, calumnious stories have been directly invented, and with unblushing impudence asserted to be real transactions. During this long continued system of vilification it has been to no purpose to rectify perversion and refute falsehood. The same stories have been reiterated with increased assurance, or their place supplied by new inventions of yet greater atrocity.

It is not intended to apply these remarks to all the friends of Mr. Adams. We know that amongst them are to be found honorable exceptions to what is, in the main, a just censure. Not only are there writers who support the administration with firmness and ability, and state fully and freely their objections to General Jackson, yet without scurrility; but we admit that amongst our fellow citizens at large there are many intelligent and worthy men who, from the best motives, are disposed to favor the same cause. These men are entitled all to our regard, and though we regret that they do not join with us in supporting what we deem the cause of our country, yet we respect their motives, would be tender of their feelings, and readily acknowledge that we have no right to think hardly of them, because in the pursuit of the same end, they differ from us in the choice of the means. To them as men and citizens the hand of fellowship is due, and we should be sorry for an instant to appear to confound them with the slanderous herd to which our remarks are applicable and are intended to apply.

To notice in detail all the charges which have been arrayed against Jackson would require a volume, and we must therefore pass over in silence many, the violence and improbability of which are their best refutation, while we offer a few considerations upon those which have been most loudly urged or most plausibly presented. It is said that Jackson has trampled on the Constitution and laws of his country;