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TERMS.—The MILTON SPECTATOR is published weekly on Wednesday morning at the price of Three Dollars a year, which may be discharged by the payment of \$2 50 in advance. No subscription received for a less term than 6 months. Subscribers who do not express notice to the contrary, will be considered as wishing to continue their subscriptions, and the papers will be sent to them accordingly. No paper discontinued until all arrears are paid up, except at the discretion of the Editor.

Any person procuring six responsible subscribers will be entitled to receive the Spectator for one year gratis; this most of the Post Masters and others interested in the publication can easily do.

Advertisements, making fourteen lines or less, will be inserted in the Spectator three times for one Dollar, and Twenty-five Cents for every subsequent insertion; those exceeding fourteen lines, charged in proportion.

The usual allowance will be made to those who advertise by the year.

N. B. All those who possess the leisure, &c. are especially invited to favor the Spectator with their communications; all of which shall receive the attention due them.

AN ADDRESS

To the Friends of GENERAL JACKSON in North Carolina and to the Supporters of his Administration in the Affairs of the General Government.

FELLOW-CITIZENS: The Jackson Central Committee take pleasure in announcing the names of those who have been nominated by the people in our several Districts, as Electors for North Carolina. This ticket is pledged to the support of General ANDREW JACKSON for President, and MARTIN VAN BUREN for Vice President of the United States—and we confidently believe that its success is certain if the occasion shall call forth that activity and energy among its friends, which its importance to our country would seem to require. An early active opposition to it had cast about our prospects some shades of doubt, but these have begun to yield to the light of truth, and we are not without hope that most of our opponents will yet sacrifice their prejudices to the common cause of our party and our country. However this may be it is our right, and has become in some measure our duty, to address you on this subject.

GENERAL JACKSON.

General Jackson, fellow-citizens, has now become the object of President, nearly four years, and is once more a candidate for re-election. His pure patriotism, his uncorrupted integrity, his firm adherence to what he believes right, his distinguished ability, and disinterested devotion to the good of the whole country, have not indeed silenced opposition, but they have secured a successful administration of our affairs in times of perilous excitement, and given to him fresh claims upon the gratitude and affections of the people. He may yet be riveled, insulted, and traduced by those, who choose to gratify a corrupt taste for personal and political scandal, or he may be as ungenerously vilified by others, who without any relish for defaming character, have yielded easy victory to the detestable mode of perverting all the acts of a public agent to purposes of a reckless opposition.

Still we do not doubt that North Carolina will be true to herself and to our venerable President in the coming contest, if his friends will be united. He has won a place in the affections of our people, that we have no fears of seeing yielded to the clamours of party, or lowered by the maledictions of disappointed ambition. Before his elevation, the opponents of General Jackson sought to alarm the fears of his friends by warning them, that he was a military chieftain; and would set at defiance the restraints of the constitution, and that by the indulgence of an ungoverned temper, he would embroil our country in disputes with foreign nations. But now the notes of complaint are changed, and he is abused because he is too scrupulous of his constitutional obligations, and his opposers are most clamorous, because he refuses to exercise powers, which they say are vested in the Federal head of the nation, but which he doubts, and therefore declines to assume. To the confusion of all their predictions, these soothsayers in politics are presented with a military chieftain, who can govern without violence, and render himself most obnoxious to his opposers, by a fearless resistance of the encroachments of power upon the liberties of the people and the rights of the States. He was dangerous they said, because he would exceed the authority we gave him. He is dangerous they now say, because he will not exercise the powers we have conferred. The unbridled temper too which we were told, was to involve us in fearful disputes, the opponents of the Chief Magistrate with a convenient dexterity, chose to forget; and the Hero of New Orleans! the proud patriot! the President of the United States! Andrew Jackson! is now charged with having bowed in mean humiliation at the footstool of a foreign throne, and sacrificed the honour of his country! We recur, in vain, to our foreign negotiations for the proof of our disgrace. We find there nothing but a successful termination of protracted disputes. The results have been highly satisfactory. We may defy all the efforts of ingenuity to find in them the grounds of com-

plaint; but a determined jealousy has fixed itself about the manner of the operation, and searched after something, that was not altogether suited to the refined modern system of diplomacy. Our venerable President, unpractised in the rules of deceitful pretences, untaught in any other school, but that which inculcates the propriety of "asking nothing but what is clearly right, and yielding to nothing that is wrong"—has illustrated by his practice, that with nations, as with individuals, "honesty is the best policy."

But it was attempted to obscure the fame of the Hero of New Orleans by casting over its brightness a cloud of reproach for the necessary means which were used to secure victory, and save the country. The success of the same patriot in the administration of our foreign affairs, would be too dazzling in the view of a zealous opposition, if no intervening shade were formed to throw about its splendour. Hence, for the first time, in our history, the venerable sages of this land, have been stimulated to exert all their faculties, in the noble enterprise of degrading their country, that they might disgrace her rulers. Our president is a tried and faithful officer. He would be more than man, if he did not sometimes err, yet his administration of the affairs of the Union has been honourable to himself, and prosperous to the nation. The times of trial, to which he has been exposed, he has met with an unflinching independence of character, and conduct; that most extort even from those, who did not approve his acts, the reluctant homage of their admiration for the virtue, that enabled him to perform them. We know, that these just encomia on the conduct of a public servant will be perverted by some into the simulations of a party zeal; but they are no more than sheer justice, when applied to the great and leading acts of Gen. Jackson's administration. We then Fellow-Citizens, ought not to vote for him only as a "choice of evils," but give to him a free and generous support, because he has been proved to be "faithful, capable, and honest."

THE VICE PRESIDENT.

The supporters of the present administration, before last May, and recommended in different States, as candidates for Vice President on the Jackson ticket, Mr. Dickerson of New Jersey, Mr. Wilkins of Pennsylvania, Judge Smith of South Carolina, Col. Johnson of Kentucky, Judge Barbour of Virginia, and Mr. Van Buren of New York. It became obvious that the public will, could not be united upon either one of these, while all of them were held up as candidates—our divisions would prevent any election by the people, and transfer the choice of Vice President to the Senate, where Mr. Seargent might be appointed—that where Gen. Jackson's majority was not large, it would endanger his re-election by having more than one ticket of Jackson electors—and therefore it was proposed by the Republican members of the New Hampshire Assembly to all the friends of General Jackson, that a Convention of Delegates from each State should be assembled at Baltimore for the purpose of uniting the party by a nomination of some one Candidate, for Vice President. This was the true origin of the Baltimore Convention, about which you have read and heard so much. The proposal met with approbation in all parts of the country, and the convention was accordingly held in May 1832. It became an occasion of sufficient interest in the Union, to convoke three hundred and fifty Delegates, representing all the States, excepting one. In that convention Martin Van Buren was nominated as the Republican candidate for Vice President. The vote for him was more than two thirds of the whole convention—and the sentiment in his favour with our party, as developed by our friends in that body, was so manifest that the minority who had voted for Judge Barbour and for Col. Johnson acquiesced in the nomination, and it was made unanimously. We do not know it, if the convention was a measure that incurred in North Carolina any avowed hostility, before the result of its deliberations had been published—or at least before it had been anticipated from the current of public opinion—but though the friends of Judge Barbour, in that convention, fairly yielded their own preference to the sentiments of a majority, and for the sake of uniting the Jackson party;—though he and his friends there and here and elsewhere availed themselves of this chance to unite on him, the whole vote—no sooner has their disappointment been announced, than it is met with efforts to divide our strength by a nomination of Judge Barbour in North Carolina and an opposition to Mr. Van Buren. We state to you facts; with the motives of our opposers we have nothing to do.

The warmest advocates of Judge Barbour's nomination are bound to concede that he has now no chance of being elected by the people. They do not, they cannot, pretend, that his prospects are better, than a possibility on account of multiplied divisions to be returned before the Senate of United States, as one of the two, between whom they must choose. Even this, we are persuaded, is illusive. And will you lend your aid in dividing the votes of our party; for the pur-

pose of taking from the people the election of their own officers? Shall the lessons of experience be lost sight of and forgotten? Have you discarded all remembrances of the memorable crisis in our political history, when, (in 1801) the election of President was cast on the House of Representatives and of the trial which our liberties encountered in the strife it created? Have you so soon cast into oblivion the events of a similar election (in 1825) when the voice of the people was unheeded and their "wills were paralyzed in the election of Mr. Adams over Gen. Jackson"? Shall the angry contest which ensued this event, in the election of 1828, and by which the rights of the people were vindicated and re-established be once more invited, and its effects on the temper of freemen dared? And shall all this be done before the expiration of his term of office, in whose person, the wishes of the people were vindicated?

But if a choice of Vice President by the people shall be defeated, no fair doubt remains but that Mr. Seargent the opponent of General Jackson, will be one of the two candidates, between whom the Senate must choose and it is extremely probable, that he will be elected. Are you prepared to risk it? His whole system of politics is opposed to yours. The Vice President is *ex officio* the presiding officer of the Senate, where the friends and opposers of the present administration are so nearly divided, that the casting vote may frequently enable him to thwart or promote the most interesting measures which come before that body. It might be too, in the providence of God, that the President will not live to the close of his next term and his friends would find their country, and themselves seriously embarrassed, if such a calamity, (may heaven avert it) should reduce them to the necessity of giving the reins of our government into the hands of one, whose political opinions they believe to be dangerous to its preservation and purity, whose rule over us, to be consistent, must aim at the advancement of a party, whom we are professing to oppose.

It seems to us, Fellow Citizens, that there are other considerations that must deter you from deliberately engaging in our country the misfortune of having the Vice President elected by the Senate of the United States. We say misfortune, for surely there can be none greater than to poison the public confidence with jealousy towards this essential branch of our political institutions, unless it may be to introduce just cause for this distrust. The Senate uncontaminated by the touch of party fury, will long preserve the affections of the public, will ever prove a barrier against the encroachments of power upon the just rights of the STATES and of the People. Yet suspicion and distrust will inevitably attach to their course in the present agitations of the public mind, if an uncautious people transfer to them the choice of their chief officers. Do we betray a weak timidity in this warning? Are there no beginnings of evils, that may justly call into action the vigilance of patriotism? We confidently appeal to your own experience in these times of fresh trial on our union and our government. Discarding all party preferences, and looking beyond the particular individual, whom the Senate might elect, still these, between whom they must choose, will come from different States, will represent different political parties, and the contest will gather about it the excitements which prevail in the country. Who does not know, that these will distract the harmony of their counsels? Who does not apprehend that the blaze, they will kindle, may help to destroy the best government in the world? If the evil were unavoidable, then its consequences must be met; but now we have time to take warning, and if we incur the risk, its effects are deliberately invited? The vote of North Carolina for Mr. Van Buren will, we believe, make his election, by the people secure. It will not elect Judge Barbour. This we may assert with confidence, for were he to get the votes of all the States, where a Barbour ticket is nominated, he could not be elected. What then can be the design of those, who yet support Judge Babour's election? The sure effect of such a course will be, to divide the Jackson party and throw away the vote of the State: it may be to cast the election on the Senate, to embarrass Gen. Jackson, a second term, with a Vice President, who opposes him, and to endanger the peace and permanency of our government. The motives of those, who started this division, we judge not, still must be allowed to say, that the bitterest enemy of General Jackson could not have devised a scheme, that is better calculated to weaken his popularity, and to defeat even his re-election. Its effects are more dangerous to his cause than open hostility.

But are there no other objections to Judge Barbour's being a candidate.

We indulge no motives to undervalue his claims upon your admiration. We will not deny, that he possesses public and private virtues; yet in these, he is not superior to Mr. Van Buren, and in other respects, he does not equal him. The station, which he fills as a judge of the United States Court, is

one, towards which we should cherish, in the public mind, sentiments of high respect and habitual submission. The great nerve of the Judiciary is in that unsuspected purity of its officers, which will secure a confidence among the people, that its deliberations are not mingled with political prejudice, or personal ambition. Admit within its sacred halls, the stripes of party politics, and that purity may be stained, that confidence will be destroyed. Shall Judges be invited to descend from their high places into the arena of politics, and he, who is to day, the dispenser of public justice, become to morrow, the table orator of a party? Shall he who is placed as a salutary check upon all encroachments by the branches of the government, be converted into a candidate for wielding the power he is charged to control, and thereby, tempted to enlarge a possession, that he hopes to enjoy? May not jealous patriotism, without descending into vulgar prejudice, remember, that Judges are men? We are not to be understood, as predicting those evils to be a necessary consequence from the present state of things: but the example is new, and against the practice of the government it will be dangerous: its ultimate consequences may be disastrous.

It is objected to Mr. Van Buren, 1st. that the Baltimore Convention was got up with the design of securing his nomination and dictating to the people in the choice of their officers. 2nd. That the State Meeting, which sent Delegates from North Carolina, was a Van Buren Caucus. 3rd. That Mr. Van Buren is an intriguer. 4th. That he opposed the South, in the memorable Missouri Question. 5th. That he is in favor of the Tariff and Internal Improvements by the General Government. 6th. That he was nominated at the dictation of General Jackson.

It is due to you, and to the cause we espouse, that we should meet those objections with candor, and we are greatly deceived, if a very brief exposition of their injustice do not place Mr. Van Buren before you, as one of those rare men, whose character has defied the assaults of his enemies.

1. The design of the Baltimore Convention, 'tis said, was to nominate Mr. Van Buren and dictate to the people!

Fellow citizens, we have fairly stated to you in this address, the causes, which led to that convention—the purpose was honorable, was openly avowed, and the invitation was held forth to all the friends of General Jackson, as well those who favored one, as another, for the Vice President. Many friends of Judge Barbour attended and voted; the gentlemen who composed it were, many of them, distinguished citizens of our country; all of them are believed to be honorable; those who preferred Judge Barbour, were as active in its favor, as those who did not; at the time the convention was recommended, Mr. Van Buren had received the appointment of minister to England—had retired for a season from the turmoils of party, and did not desire, or intend to be a candidate for Vice President. The Senate of the United States refused to confirm his nomination after he had arrived in England, and began the duties of his mission, long after most of the delegates had been appointed. With those facts before you, what candid man will entertain without proof, a charge which reflects severely on the conduct and motives of our friends. Where were these exclusively honest patriots, up to May 1832, that they did not sooner warn the people against this deep design on their rights? Or it may be, that they were willing, the people should be dictated to, if the Hon. Judge Barbour could be the choice of your dictators.

Whether their disappointment shall now be visited on us by a division, remains to be determined by a people, who can have no interest beyond the public good. Dictate to the people! How has it been attempted! Is that the more exceptionable method of uniting public sentiment, in favor of candidate; where all are invited to come, and test the strength of each candidate, or that, in which the partisans of a single one are convoked? The former was the Baltimore Convention; the latter was the North Carolina Barbour Convention! Whatever else may be said by interested opponents, against the Baltimore Convention, it was undoubtedly composed of men who are sincere advocates of the present administration—of men, who give General Jackson's re-election no cold and questionable support. And when such men win reproach, it will be expected of their friends to search, with vigilance, into the probable motives of those who have volunteered the duty of abusing them. At least, it may be counted a most singular office, for the friends of General Jackson! That Mr. Van Buren received in the Convention, so large a majority, and could ultimately unite the whole vote in his favor, will furnish to unprejudiced minds, the clearest evidence of his greater popularity—and it requires the influence of a most determined jealousy to pervert this into a proof of intrigue among those who made the nomination.

THE STATE MEETING.

2. It has been more than once insinuated since the commencement of this contest, that the State Meeting, which nominated our Delegates to the Baltimore Convention, was a Van Buren Caucus. This charge is not less gratuitous than the former. If North Carolina had sent no delegates to that Convention, we do not perceive that the omission would excuse the real friends of the administration from the duty of uniting. But we were invited to send delegates, and by a meeting, held at Raleigh during the Assembly, a respectable individual, in each electoral district, was nominated, subject to his being displaced, if at any meeting of the people of the district, another should be named. Of these, only five attended; four of them were elected by the people, and the other voted for Judge Barbour! An intelligent people want nothing but these facts to dissipate the prejudice, which it was hoped to enlist by such a charge. Justice to those respectable individuals, who are held up to execration for this pretended usurpation, compels us to put before you, other facts, that may well shame our accusers. Would not a Van Buren Caucus have taken care to nominate a Central Committee of Van Buren men? Yet of the seven who were designated, two are now ranked upon the Barbour Central Committee—a third was one of the delegates to the Barbour Convention, and was placed on their ticket as an elector, but has lately abandoned Jackson's cause entirely—and the four, whose names are attached to this address, did not all then prefer Mr. Van Buren as Vice President; did not then believe, that he would be a candidate, but fairly intended to unite in the nomination of the Baltimore Convention. Would not a "Van Buren Caucus" have been careful to nominate delegates, who were known to be his partisans? Yet some of these are opposed to him, we believe, a majority of them did not then prefer him, and we confidently state, that, if their preferences were enquired into at that meeting, we, who were present, did not know it, and did not suspect it. Would the friends of Judge Barbour, and the foes of Mr. Van Buren have countenanced by their presence, and aided by their co-operation, a Van Buren caucus? Yet, it is most true, that gentlemen, who were partisans of Judge Barbour, attended that meeting, voted for the resolutions which were adopted, and the nomination of delegates. May more; the meeting was earnestly recommended, and the mode of its proceedings substantially suggested and approved by some, who are now associated with its revilers.

INTRIGUE.

3. Ambitious rivals, whose vanity has taught them to believe, that who ever excels them, in the race to honorable distinction, is ousting them by unfair means, have denounced Mr. Van Buren as an intriguer. This is like an act of the accomplished partizan, who seldom scorns to practice the fault, he may yet profess to despise.

If success crown not the labors of a public servant, he is too often denounced by his opponents, as incompetent for his station; while if he be prosperous in promoting the good of his country, he is frequently charged with intrigue, that the alarm of prejudice may awaken into vigilance the jealousy of the people, and stop up the avenue to their affections and confidence. We shall remember, that such is the lot of human greatness, and that, while we condemn the vice, justice forbids us to confound it with the accused, by assuming the charge, as proof of its truth. The friends of Mr. Van Buren confidently repel it, as alike unsupported by evidence, and unfounded in fact. No man, who was able to know, and speak of the just, from personal knowledge, has ever ventured to give to such an accusation the sanction of his name. Suspicions have been put forth for facts, and the utmost ingenuity has been set at work to torture his conduct into some shape of dishonour. Proof there is none.—How many other instances can be found, in which a distinguished man, for more than thirty years engaged in political life, has been violently assailed by his rivals, by the press, and by his opponents, yet not one act of dishonorable cunning shall be proved against him. This imputation against Mr. Van Buren, is not only without proof to support it, but many great men have honoured his name, by bearing testimony to his magnanimity and candour. The page of history records more than one instance in which he proudly rejected the opportunity which his public stations gave him, for visiting his rivals with the mean triumph of personal revenge. His public life has furnished us evidence of his having made open resistance to a dominant faction against that party, which he knew to be in power, and not scrupulous in its exercise on himself. He has thus refused to sacrifice his principles for the sake of office. Indeed the reward of intrigue is contempt, that of greatness is jealousy. Let the contest, that is now going on, determine, which has fallen to the lot of Mr. Van Buren, and you may then learn whether his is great or only cunning.