

# Western Carolinian.

It is as wise to abstain from laws, which however good and good in themselves, have the semblance of inequality which find no response in the heart of the citizen, and which will be evaded with little remorse. The wisdom of legislation is especially seen in grafting laws on conscience.

Dr. Channing.

(BY BURTON CRAIG.)

SALISBURY, ROWAN COUNTY, N. C., MONDAY APRIL 16, 1852.

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## Speech of Mr. GOODE, of Mecklenburg, in the Virginia Caucus.

(CONCLUDED.)

**SECOND NIGHT.**—The Chairman having proposed the question, Mr. Brown withdrew his preamble, and left for adjournment, as a substitute for the resolution of the gentleman from Powhatan, this broad resolution—"That it is not expedient, at this time, to make a nomination for the Vice Presidency."

Mr. GOODE rose and addressed the meeting to this effect:

Mr. Chairman—The step taken by the gentleman from Petersburg leaves the meeting in the condition which it before occupied. The same question occurs for decision, and the same course of remark is admissible. I could have wished, for my own sake, and not less for the sake of the meeting, that I had been allowed to conclude my remarks last night. I had but little to add, and should have concluded in a short time but for the adjournment. I do not mention this in the spirit of dissatisfaction, because I am well assured that the gentleman who moved the adjournment was actuated by the kindest motives towards myself, although he is opposed to me in the pending struggle. The occurrence, however, imposes on me the necessity of referring to propositions for which I have contended—with how much force, others must determine. I have maintained that the terms of the resolution of the gentleman from Powhatan provide against the contingency apprehended by others, and sweep away the foundation of their argument. I have maintained that it is proper to make a nomination of a candidate for the Vice Presidency, as an act of justice to the People, as well as to the College of Electors. I have frankly stated, that to reflect my feelings, and to sustain my principles, I was ready to confide in Philip P. Barbour. In the course of the proceedings of last night, the pretensions of Mr. Van Buren had been brought under examination, and I have freely followed the example of others. Indeed, I regard it peculiarly proper that those pretensions should be freely canvassed. It cannot be concealed that the object of this movement is to promote his interests. Sir, if we make no nomination—if we fail to insist on the adoption of our principles—if we do not hold forth our candidate to challenge the attention of the American people, we cannot hope that he will be sustained by others. What will be the necessary consequence? When our College of Electors shall assemble, they will learn, or know, that the prospects of Mr. Barbour, and of all others who profess his principles, will, in truth, be utterly hopeless: because they will not have been urged. In the mean time, every effort will be made to prepare the People of this Commonwealth for the reception of Mr. Van Buren. His zealous friends will not be idle—his press here will not fail to execute its purpose; and should the College of Electors actually assemble, unprepared to bestow their suffrages upon him, they will be here exposed to the powerful influence of the managers of his party. Those who are acquainted with the state of things here, may very readily predict the result. Sir, with these prospects before us, we have a right, it is our duty, to examine his claims; and his friends have appeared before us, prepared with documentary evidence to sustain him. I believe him to be a latitudinarian. I have made some effort to establish that truth. I have adverted to his vote on the Cumberland road—I have referred to his opinions, and his votes on the Tariff; and indeed it has been acknowledged by his friends, that he is obnoxious to the charge of sustaining the Tariff. I have regarded him as favouring the Exchequer Bank, and the proposition for the distribution of the Surplus Revenue. Sir, I have no recollection that it was ever before denied that he was the champion of both these propositions—but the shield of the President's name is now interposed—the responsibility is thrown on him.

Do we have not the same evidence to establish his support of this Exchequer Bank, which we have of his opposition to the Bank of the United States? His identity of feeling with the Chief Magistrate of the Union, is the evidence of his opposition to the existing Bank and that same identity of feeling, must enlist him in behalf of the Exchequer Bank. This project was recommended by the President, when he stood on terms of the greatest intimacy with Mr. Van Buren—when he held him as his constitutional, and confidential adviser. We have never heard of their differing in opinion upon this subject, although Mr. Van Buren has been coupled, and identified with the project, ever since its first promulgation. Had he been unfavorable to the project, is it not reasonable to presume, that he could have given some unequivocal evidence of that hostility? If then, Mr. Van Buren is to receive our approbation, for his opposition to the Bank of the U. States, let him, whether for weal, or for woe, take his share of the responsibility of this odious monster of an Exchequer, or Government Bank.

These remarks are alike applicable to the project for the distribution of the Surplus Revenue. The same train of reflection would lead us to the conclusion, that

Mr. Van Buren is favorable—to that project—and sir, in the estimation of the Public, that project is inseparably associated with his name. But the correctness of this impression is denied or questioned. A living witness has given his evidence—on whose credit may be trusted, so far as his information extends. But we are not advised as to the extent of that information. We know not the grounds on which our Secretary has framed his opinions; and we must examine circumstances within our reach. And first, I invite the attention of the meeting to the declaration of the Member from Montgomery, (Mr. Preston.) That gentleman stated, that he had learned from unquestionable authority—from men high in public esteem—that this project was contained in President Jackson's first Message; and that it was taken out, on the earnest entreaty of those Members of his Cabinet, who have since fallen under his displeasure. When these gentlemen had lost the confidence of the President, the proposition was introduced into his Messages, and recommended to the consideration of the American People. Sir, it has been continued in his Messages, as long as Mr. Van Buren remained in the Cabinet. Since he has been separated from it, and sent across the Ocean, the recommendation has not been renewed. And sir, I may be allowed to ask, was not the first notice of this project, given to the world by the Albany Argus? which is supposed to bear to Mr. Van Buren, the most intimate relation. And was not the first proposition for its adoption, submitted by Mr. Dickerson of New Jersey? the intimate friend of Mr. Van Buren. Sir, his friends upon this floor, deny that he will sustain the Government of the U. S. in the exercise of power over Internal Improvements. If he rejects this power, and also a distribution of the Surplus Revenue—what is to be done with the redundant Treasury? procured through the operation of the Tariff—which he is admitted to support.—He must go for one, or for both.

But notwithstanding these strong objections to Van Buren—it is urged that we should withhold a nomination, and waive the pretensions of Mr. Barbour, to preserve the integrity of the Republican Party. Sir, I may be allowed to repeat, that such a suggestion, in behalf of Martin Van Buren, is preferred with but little grace. At the most critical period of our history, that gentleman refused to extend such magnanimity to the Republican Party. But exerted himself to distress and harass it, by running Dewitt Clinton against Mr. Madison nor was he stimulated to this deed, by the love which he bore to Mr. Clinton. For it is notorious, that he at once abandoned him, and harassed him even to the grave.

Tracing the line of Mr. Van Buren's history, we shall find him engaged with the politicians of New York, and opposing himself to the interest and feelings of the South, by the agitation of the great Missouri Question. Is it for this notable evidence of his regard, that we are now about to sustain him, at the sacrifice of our own favorite fellow-citizen?—Sir, if I have not been greatly deceived, it was to the party in New York, which he then headed, that we were indebted for the agitation of the Missouri question. We have heretofore regarded that question as one of the most vital importance—and we have meted out even severe justice, to all who then offended against us. How was it that Mr. Sergeant himself, incurred our most severe displeasure? Was it not in consequence of the part which he bore in the agitation of that memorable question? And yet this offence is perfect innocence, in the sacred person of Mr. Van Buren. Tracing his history to the Senate of the Union, we there find him opposing our interest; voting for toll gates on the Cumberland road; and lending his support to the hateful Tariff. The Lieutenant Governor when speaking last night, mentioned his having voted for the Tariff of '28, as though it had been the only instance of his having offended on that question? as though it were the only evidence, of his being opposed to us on that system. Nothing can be more erroneous. He voted for the Tariff of '24, and sustained it, in its most odious provisions. He voted against every motion to remove its most injurious enactments. And it was engrossed in the form in which it became law by the aid of the vote of Martin Van Buren. His course on the same subject in 1827, incurred the displeasure of the Southern Delegation. He induced them to regard him as opposed to the measure, usually denominated "the Woolen's Bill." But when the critical moment arrived, Mr. Van Buren was found wanting. He was not at his post, to vote against the measure. The Lieutenant Governor has regretted the absence of Mr. Barbour, when he thinks he should have voted against the U. States Bank. Does he complain of this absence of Mr. Van Buren, when he was expected to vote against the Tariff? Mr. Barbour's absence is never to be remembered. But it will be long ere I forget it; for I shall never forget his Albany speech. It was delivered to excuse his absence, and justify his conduct to his constituents. In it, he proclaimed his principles, and expressed his astonishment

that his devotion to the Tariff should have been brought into question. Especially as it was known that he had \$20,000 in protected property. This was published in the Enquirer, and lauded by its Editors.

In 1828, he carried out his principles and voted for that Bill of Abominations. And now, sir, is not Mr. Clay denounced for acting upon this very principle? And why should we observe these invidious distinctions? Why do we denounce in one man, that which we hold as guiltless in another? Lament not these things, to extenuate the conduct of Mr. Clay. Those who know me have not to learn that I have exerted myself against protecting duties—and not less against Henry Clay.—But I have opposed him because of his opinions; and the principle which is vicious in Henry Clay, is not the less vicious in Martin Van Buren.

Mr. OPIE here rose to ask whether Mr. G. was in order. Was Mr. Van Buren before the meeting? How was he brought here?

Mr. GOODE referred the Senator from Jefferson, to the Lieutenant Governor; the colleague of the Senator in this meeting.

Mr. DANIEL disclaimed having introduced the name of Mr. Van Buren. He was first named by the gentleman from Campbell.

Mr. GOODE. I have your example for canvassing his claims.

The SPEAKER declared that Mr. Goode was entitled to the floor.

Mr. GOODE resumed:

Mr. Chairman: This body has assembled on several occasions. We met first, and adjourned without taking any step, although many desired to act. The meeting was said to be "merely preparatory." We were again assembled; the roll was called; our names registered; instantly there was a motion to adjourn; seconded, by a call for the previous question; made out by the Senator from Jefferson. This call was not sustained; but the meeting adjourned to await the Apportionment Bill. We are again assembled before the arrival of the Apportionment Bill. We have entered on the business of the meeting; the claims of Mr. Van Buren have been considered; he has been defended in long speeches; columns after columns had been written in his behalf; and I am asked by what right I examine his claims? Sir, by the right of a member of this meeting. I infringe the rights of no man; I intend to exert my own; and, sir, has it come to this? May we not speak of Martin Van Buren, except it be to sound his praise? If we venture to question his infallibility, are we to be called to order? (Mr. OPIE said he did not intend to call the gentleman to order.) Mr. Goode—Then the interruption was unaccountable. Sir, Mr. Van Buren has opposed us in all things; he has disregarded our feelings; he has assailed our interests; and he has condemned our principles; and yet are we required to regard these things as acts of gracious condescension; as favors worthy of our gratitude. When he plants the dagger in our hearts, and smiles at the pain which himself inflicted, we are required to receive it as a token of affection.

Mr. Williams asked if the gentleman was in order.—Mr. Van Buren was not before the House.

Mr. GOODE asked why he was subjected to this continued interruption? Why was the same course pursued towards me? Why am I stopped in the discharge of my duty? This a tyranny not to be borne. (The CHAIRMAN requested Mr. G. to proceed.) Then, sir, (said Mr. G.) I have to ask, why is Mr. Van Buren to receive our support? Is it because of his devotion to our interests? Is it because of his consistency in the support of our principles? Is it because of the firmness and constancy of his character? Has he not belonged to all parties? Has he remained steadfast to any one party? Has he not acted with the Federal party? Has he not acted with the Republican party?—Did he not sustain Mr. Clinton? Did he not oppose Mr. Clinton? Has he not acted with the Tariff party? and again with the Anti-Tariff party? and has not this just been, in its turn, abandoned and left to work out its own salvation? He has sustained the doctrine of Internal Improvements. His friends maintain that he has abandoned the doctrine of Internal Improvements. Sir, I may respectfully ask, to what party, or to what principle, has he remained steadfast? Let his friends here answer. And yet, this is the man, to whom Virginia is to be yielded up, as a reluctant bride. It is not a connection founded in affection. Her heart will not throb with suppressed ecstasy, when yielded to his cold embrace—and I solemnly protest against the connexion. Sir, if the vote of Virginia be counted for Mr. Van Buren, the People of the Commonwealth will not have decreed it. Why should we do this violence to their will? Because it is necessary to defeat John Sergeant? This, sir, is the reply. Mr. Chairman, this practice of odious comparison, has been used as a powerful electioneering engine. Henry Clay has been pointed at, and an incongruous party has remained united.—At this result, I rejoice—whether I contemplate, Mr. Clay, or President Jackson—I rejoice at the firm union of the Party.—John Sergeant is to be rendered an object of terror; and the hate of him, is to stand in the stead of love for Van Buren. We shall be told, that we must choose between two evils; and that Mr. Van Buren is the lesser evil.—Sir, I protest against being thrown into so narrow a range of choice. Give me a man for whom I can feel some solicitude—a man, whom I may sustain with zeal. Give me Philip P. Barbour—he is worthy in every particular; and to refuse to nominate him, is to declare that our principles cannot prevail—is for all time; to cut off all hope from every son of the Old Dominion.—No one among them can ever hope to come before the Public with fairer pretensions—and the principle of hope will die in their hearts. They will not fail to observe, that the interests of the leaders in Virginia, will be forever engaged against them—and they will undertake to speculate, and to account for the fact.—They will reflect, that, if a Virginian be the candidate, the People will be able to judge of his merits, without appealing to their leaders, for information—and the consequence and importance of their leaders, will be diminished among the People. The Candidate also being known to the People, and having a strong hold on their affections, will not feel so sensibly, his dependence on the leaders, and will not so readily acknowledge their importance, or the force of his own obligations. If however, a stranger be run, the people become dependant on their leaders, for necessary information. The leaders become important, and consequential, with the People. The candidate too, being unknown to the People, can approach them only through their leaders. He will therefore cherish their leaders. He will acknowledge his own dependance. He will swell their importance, and acknowledge the obligation in a tenfold degree. The leaders of Virginia, will therefore, be forever interested, in preventing the nomination of a Virginian.

Mr. Chairman, I had other views—but I am admonished, that my remarks ought to come to a close. I have, in conclusion, to protest against the Resolution of the Member from Petersburg, because of its tendency to bestow the vote of Virginia, against the will of our People.

Pursuant to public notice, a meeting of the citizens of Halifax was held at the Court house, on Saturday, the 31st of March.

On motion, Elisha H. Eure, Esq. was called to the chair, and Maj. Rice B. Pierce and Capt. Henry Garrett were appointed Secretaries.

Doct. M. Read introduced the following Preamble and Resolutions, which were severally read, discussed and adopted:—Whereas it is all times right and proper for the people to hold primary meetings and deliberate for the general good, and to censure or approve the conduct of those in whose hands the administration of the affairs of Government are committed; and whereas we as a part of the citizens of this Republic, have viewed with pleasure the patriotism and enlightened policy which has governed the administration of Andrew Jackson, our venerable honest Chief Magistrate.

Be it therefore Resolved, that we cheerfully unite with our fellow citizens in other sections of the country, in recommending Andrew Jackson for re-election, and that we will use all honorable means to attain an end so desirable.

Resolved, That it be recommended to the people of this State to convene a State Convention in the city of Raleigh on Monday the 18th of June next for the purpose of appointing electors favorable to the re-election of Andrew Jackson to the Presidency, and some individual for the Vice President who is an advocate for Free Trade and opposed to the usurpations of the General Government.

Resolved, That Phil. Pendleton Barbour, of Virginia, be recommended to the people of this State as a fit person to be voted for as a Vice President of the United States, at the approaching election. If however from a development of public opinion, it shall clearly appear that P. P. Barbour cannot obtain such a support as to ensure his being one of the two highest candidates; in that event the Electors shall be at liberty to vote for that individual among the candidates who in their opinion approaches nearest those great political principles which North Carolina has ever held dear.

Resolved, That we disapprove of the Baltimore Convention, to be held in Maryland next believing it altogether an *ex parte* assemblage, which looks to the elevation of men rather than principles as a convention of party men for party purposes.

Resolved, That in the rejection of Martin Van Buren; by the United States Senate, we see no attempt to embarrass the administration—that in the conduct of Senators on that occasion, we see nothing either to condemn or approve; it being a matter resting entirely with their own

conscience, acting as they were, like jurors, under the highest and most sacred responsibilities.

Resolved, That a committee be appointed to correspond with other patriotic citizens in other sections of the State upon the subjects embraced in the preceding resolutions and that they adopt such measures as to them may seem proper to carry these objects into effect.

The Corresponding Committee consist of the following persons: Willis Alston, M. B. Pettigrew, Thomas Osby, T. M. Osmond, I. Matthews, T. Nicholson, J. Crockett, C. Whitaker, R. B. Pierce, T. Lanister, Henry Garrett, G. E. Sprull, W. J. Hill, E. H. Eure, J. W. Hatcher, Edward Morecock, P. Tilley, J. H. Fenner, Willis Johnson, M. Read, W. L. Long, R. C. Bond, E. B. Freeman, Chas. Gee, W. W. Thorne, Charles Shield, S. H. Gee, J. B. Tate.

On motion Resolved that the proceedings of the meeting, signed by the chairman and Secretaries, be published in the *Raleigh Advertiser*.

On motion, the meeting was adjourned, subject to the call of the Chairman.

E. H. EURE, Chm

Rice B. Pierce, Henry Garrett, Secretaries.

FROM THE RALEIGH STAR, CORRESPONDENCE.

(COPY.)

Washington City, Feb. 20, 1852.

Sir—I have this moment received a letter from Messrs. Lawrence & Lemay, Editors of the North Carolina Star, informing me that you are the author of a publication which appeared in that paper of the 10th inst. under the signature of A. B. Under an impression that you may have been misled by the remarks of Gov. Forsyth in the Senate of the United States on the nomination of Martin Van Buren, I cannot doubt for a moment but that you will, on a perusal of the correspondence which has passed between that gentleman and myself, promptly repair the injury which your publication is so well calculated to inflict on my character. I therefore confidently call on you for a retraction of those charges.

With respect,

Yours, etc.

JOHN BRANCH.

To Gen. R. M. SAUNDERS, Raleigh, N. C.

P. S. I have enclosed this letter to my friend Gov. Ireddell, through whom I hope to receive your answer.

J. BRANCH.

(COPY.)

Nashville, March 20th, 1852.

Sir—Your letter of the 20th ult. was duly forwarded to me by your friend. My answer to which has been delayed from causes not important to state.

At the time of writing the communication for the Star of which you complain, I had not seen the remarks of Gov. Forsyth in the Senate of the U. States on the nomination of Martin Van Buren; but my impressions were produced by the printed speech of Gov. Poindexter.

From the conversation as detailed by him, and the relation in which you stood to the President, (supposing you to have been the person referred to,) I did consider the conversation of that character which forbid its disclosure for the purpose for which it was afterwards used. It was under this impression that I penned the article in the Star, and in this point of view that I intended to reprehend your conduct. I am now satisfied that the conversation, though private, was not confidential, and I am free to say that I consider you above disclosing that which you might deem in any way secret, or of giving information in a matter which you would not be willing to avow to the world.

I have the honor to be, et.

R. M. SAUNDERS.

Hon. John Branch, Washington City.

Not having seen Gov. Ireddell, I forwarded this to the care of my friend, Mr. Mangum.

I delivered this to Gov. Branch, 24th of March, 1852.

W. P. MANGUM.

(COPY.)

Washington City, March 28th, 1852.

Sir—I have received your letter from Nashville, N. Carolina, dated the 20th instant. You have retracted the offensive charge, which you had thought proper to make against me in the Raleigh Star, of a breach of confidence, and of course your explanation is so far satisfactory as to relieve me from the necessity of resorting to another mode of redress, which might otherwise have been imposed on me. But, in accepting your explanation, I cannot pass by the manner in which you have chosen to make it, unnoticed. Without commenting on certain expressions which might be susceptible of an offensive construction, I am constrained to say, that

justice reluctantly yielded—far more so than I had a right to expect from one, between whom and myself there had previously existed friendly relations, and who must now at least be conscious of the injustice he has done me. Nor can I con-

clude without expressing my surprise, considering our previous relations, that you should so hastily, and on such slight suspicions as those stated in your note, attempt to inflict so deep a wound on my character. You must feel that you would not have thus acted towards me a few short months past; and since that I am conscious of no change that could have effected your then feelings, except that I bear, by no means of my own, altered relations towards those who yield that branch of the Govt. Government which has the dispensation of the patronage—the power of bestowing offices and rewards.

At the time to which I refer, my favorable countenance might at least in some degree have been considered as a passport to the devout worshippers at the shrine of power. But now, from the attitude in which I am placed, they may suppose that a more ready admission may be obtained by the imputation of my character. How far this change in my relations towards those who control the power of rewarding may have so greatly changed your conduct towards me, as that you should in so short a time pass from that of a visitor for office, through my favour, to that of an assailant of my reputation, and that too on suspicion so hasty and unfounded that you have been compelled on a review of the case to retract your charges, I leave without further remarks, to your own conscience and to the world to determine.

Respectfully, yours, &c.

JNO. BRANCH.

To Genl. Romulus M. Saunders, Raleigh.

P. S. As an act of justice to my character, I have requested the Editors of the Star, in which paper your publication appeared, to insert the correspondence which has passed between us in relation to it.

JNO. B.

The Vice Presidency.—The Virginia Times in an article on the late Richmond Caucus says: "This question of the Vice Presidency involves many and important principles and considerations, and will become the people to deliberate before they act—it is a question, not of a local, but of a general character, in which all the Slave holding States are equally interested. It is not so much a question of personal preference between P. P. Barbour and Martin Van Buren, as between Southern and Northern interests—Tariff and Anti-Tariff. This is the aspect which, in the present crisis, it must assume; and upon its determination rest, not only the interests of the Slave holding States, but the very existence of the Union; for, if Mr. Van Buren, with his high moral principles, be snuggled into the high offices of Government, it needs no prophet to tell, how arithmetical calculations to number the days of the Republic."

MR. CLAY'S RESOLUTION.

We commence, in this paper, the debate on the final reference of this matter in the Senate. The reader's attention is especially directed to the remarks of Mr. Tagwell. He touches the New York Senator tenderly; but in a tender place. These President making projects mean now to be well understood. Who can read the remarks of Mr. Tagwell, without feeling a sentiment of surprise, that such principles should be entirely overlooked in questions of Presidency and Vice Presidency, while such intrigues as Mr. Van Buren are thrust, *solent velant*, upon the People! The fact itself speaks volumes—it shows the fearful influence of an organized and pensioned Press; and how completely the popular will is controlled by the managers of Party. The New York Senators, it will be seen, not only voted, but argued on the side of the Tariff Party.

Virginia Times.

It is understood in Washington, that the Committee on Manufactures will in a few days, report a bill repealing the duties on all unprotected articles; and that it is proposed afterwards to introduce in a separate bill, the details of further reductions, retaining, of course, all that is odious and obnoxious in the protective System. Will the people of Virginia and the Southern States submit to this?—

Central rail Road.—Our readers will observe, from the proceedings of the Commissioners appointed by the act to incorporate The North Carolina Central Rail Road Company, at their meeting held at the Court house in this City, on Monday last, that a subscription was opened agreeably to the directions of said act; and we have pleasure in stating that most of the commissioners present set a good example, by immediately putting their own names upon the book to a considerable amount; and that some other citizens present also subscribed. Amongst these, was a gentleman from Person County, who, observing that the act named as Commissioners for receiving subscriptions in that county, the persons appointed at this meeting for the purpose, immediately resolved to open a subscription book at Person Court house, under the superintendence of Stephen M. Divens, Wm. McKissack and Dr. Gorham Wing. This has this magnificent enterprise been commenced under auspices promising the most felicitous results. *Ret. Register.*