

FROM THE RALEIGH STAR.

Messrs. Editors.—Having accidentally met with a New York paper of the last month, my curiosity prompted me to examine what relationship it bore to the cause of Mr. Van Buren, and to see how that political desperado paddled on the great water of popular opinion in his native State. From the ease and majesty with which he passed the rapids down the locks of the grand canal of the Baltimore Convention, I expected to find him gliding smoothly along its surface, and exultingly flapping his wings, and quacking, in ecstasy.

"I am monarch of all I survey." But, Sirs, my astonishment was beyond comparison, when I found him fluttering and struggling for existence in a vortex, stronger and more turbulent than the Norwegian Maelstrom. At every round his circle becomes visibly diminished, and all the art of magic itself cannot rescue him from being eternally engulfed in oblivion.

Under the head of "Reminiscences," I discovered a list of some of the most notorious political acts of Mr. Van Buren, given in the plain and simple garb of truth, without hyperbole, or other meretricious ornament. Short as it is, it affords a better illustration of his character and principles than any thing that has heretofore been published; and for the gratification of the people of this State, I have selected a few of his "undertakings" for their perusal and instruction. How his friends can still assert his republicanism, and uphold him as a very paragon in democratic politics, and reconcile their conduct, even to the Intitudinarian morality and honesty of politicians; is general, is an enigma as incapable of solution, as was the arithmetic of the Baltimore Convention; in which mere fractional minorities were so ingeniously calculated to outnumber overwhelming majorities. The first of these "undertakings" of Mr. Van Buren reads as follows:

"In 1812, he undertook (but failed) to elect De Witt Clinton, President of the United States, and voted with the federalists of the Eastern States for the 'peace party' candidate!!!

The administration of Mr. Madison has been, ever since the termination of the late war, and will be during the existence of the present generation, the touchstone of republicanism for all those who bore even the smallest share in the transactions of those troublous times. Then were "the times that tried men's souls." The patriots of '76 fought and contended for the establishment of liberty; those of 1812 for its confirmation and duration; and the individuals who skulked behind the intrenchments which the constitution had thrown up for the defence of our rights and privileges, assailed the administration of the Government, as wicked and tyrannical, and threw every obstacle in the way to the prosecution of the war, were held in a light no better than the Tories of the revolution.

Of this class New England offered a platoon, regularly organized, and ably directed by men of the first intelligence and talent. Baffled in their attempts for power, they fastened on the opportunity, when the Government was literally bankrupt, and the circulating medium was withdrawn from the country into the vaults of their banks, when our ports were blockaded from Eastport to Orleans, and our country threatened by an army more savage than the Vandals, and accustomed to the spoils of victory, they prosecuted their mad schemes of ambition and opposition to the administration, which might have terminated in the loss of our liberties, and our ruin as a nation, had not our heroic President blasted their hopes and prospects by his unparalleled victory on the plains of Orleans.

But at this appalling moment, where do we find Mr. Van Buren? In vain we look for him in the battle field, bravely contending against the enemies of his country by the side of a Brown or a Scott. In vain we seek him among the victors of the lakes, or of Ocean's mighty deep, mixing in the fight with Columbia's tars. In vain we seek him in the halls of Congress, kindling the flames of patriotism by his eloquence, exposing the sophistry of traitorous argument, lashing the vices of insatiable ambition, and supporting by his vote the prosecution of a necessary war. No, the darkness which shrouds his soul would have been dispelled by the light of truth, that burst from the patriot orators of the day, and left it exposed in all its hideous deformity to the retributive gaze of detection. And well he knew it, and mingled only in scenes, in which congeniality of sentiment prevailed, and every partaker reflected each other's depravity. There he was at peace—if any peace there is "to the wicked." In some midnight caucus Martin Van Buren was to be found, in these times of peril, plotting with the "peace party" federalists, opposition to the man who recommended the war, and destruction to the party that supported him.

Yet this same Mr. Van Buren is held up to us as a diamond democrat of the purest water, and as the most undeviating of the party. Yes, this same man, who, during the late war, was discovered under the banners of the New England "peace party" opposing De Witt Clinton to Mr. Madison, and thereby indirectly aiding by his influence our enemies, the British is pushed forward by a set of hungry office seekers at the North, and recommended to the support of that very party, which he so grossly insulted and betrayed during the war. "Oh, tell it not in Gath!"

But here it may be said in palliation of his conduct, that "he only exercised the right of suffrage guaranteed to every man by the constitution; and that, like General Jackson, he voted for a man who possessed stronger nerves than a mere philosopher." I never condemn a man for exercising a constitutional right. I punish his principles and his motives, when he

covered to be corrupt, though his actions are justified by the letter of the constitution. General Jackson acted with purity of principle, and supported Mr. Monroe from no other motive than of placing a man of experience and firmness in the Presidential chair; and he afterwards had the candour to acknowledge that he was "deceived" as to the character of Mr. Monroe. General Jackson never severed himself from the republican party; nor was he ever found attached to the "peace party" of New England; neither has he at any time been remarkable for his complaisance to the British, though a wag once accused him of giving them a number of bulls. Such unallowed alliances, his noble spirit would have spurned with indignation. But let us have some more of the "undertakings."

"In 1817, he [Mr. Van Buren] undertook (but failed) to defeat the nomination of the same De Witt Clinton for Governor of this (New York) State, and made a great speech in caucus to convince the democrats that they ought to prefer General Porter for Governor.!!!

"In 1820, he undertook (but failed) to defeat the re-election of Governor Clinton, and brought forward Vice President Tompkins as a strong candidate to run against the man, whom he (Van Buren) thought a very good man for President, but who would not do for Governor of this (New York) State.!!!

"If, in Mr. Van Buren's 'undertaking' of 1812, we have an instance of his desertion of the democratic party, (if, by the by, he ever was a member of it) we have here, in his 'undertakings' of 1817 and 1820, the strongest evidence of corruption and perfidy that ever was evinced by the most unprincipled and ambitious aspirant, in his treatment of a man and a friend, whom he, a few years before, so eminently admired, as to bring him before the public as the fittest man to fill the high and responsible station of President of the United States. What does this mean! It is true that, to steer the State vessel of New York, requires the hand of a steady and skillful pilot; but never did I even dream of its being so difficult to manage, that the same man, who was thought fit to be placed at the helm of the great national ship of the United States, should be deemed incapable of conducting it safe into port. Had De Witt Clinton, in the short space of four or five years, become a lunatic! Had his uncommon faculties and gigantic mind, in this limited time, become in any wise impaired by disease and disipation? Or had his character become tarnished by acts of dishonesty and turpitude? If so, the conduct of Mr. Van Buren was not only justifiable, but meritorious. A breach of friendship, when the interest of the republic is at stake, should neither create any compunction of conscience, nor should the commission of it subject the party to censure; for, in fact, in such a case, it becomes an imperious duty to sever the bonds of amity, however reluctantly, and publicly proclaim it "from the house tops." But it is known to the world, that neither lunacy nor decay of intellect, nor dishonest and immoral conduct on the part of De Witt Clinton operated a severance of friendship between him and Mr. Van Buren. Mr. Clinton retained his faculties to the last; his moral character was no more to be reproached than it was in 1812, when Mr. Van Buren testified to its purity. If any thing, the sun of his glory emitted a more lustreous ray towards its descent than it did at its meridian, when it was partially eclipsed by the dark shades of Van Buren and his satellites. How then are we to account for this enigmatical conduct in Martin Van Buren? One beam of the light of truth will dispense the mist which the wily magician has conjured around us. I will afford it. The world cannot bear two suns: Alexander would not suffer two Kings; and Cæsar would prefer the supremacy in a small hamlet to the second rank at Rome. Had De Witt Clinton succeeded to the Presidency in 1812, Martin Van Buren, who stood next on the political ladder of New York, would have immediately mounted to the deserted round. But, unfortunately for him his machinations were defeated. Mark well the consequences! The warm friend of 1812, who so zealously supported Clinton for the highest office in the gift of a free people, became, in 1817 and 1820, his most bitter and unrelenting enemy. What would not this man stoop to for power? He can place a curb on his ambition. Could he not be fairly elevated to the Presidential chair, he would convulse the Union to the centre, and hurl the whole federal system into a political chaos, rather than suffer unrevenged the severest of all stings, that of disappointed ambition in the success of a rival.

Those, who are anxious for the reputation of General Jackson and character of his administration, should warn him of the kiss of a treacherous Judas: "His embrace is death." Jefferson had his Burr; Washington had his Arnold; Henry 2d, the wisest and most sagacious Prince that ever graced the English throne from the conquest down, had his Becket; and Andrew Jackson may foster a worse than either. So long as the General does not impede the course of Mr. Van Buren to the Presidency, so long will they move in harmony. But if Van Buren's plan should be in the least retarded in its progress by coming in contact with that of General Jackson, a catastrophe may be anticipated similar to the one which produced so much vibration in De Witt Clinton's. Now to the last of these "undertakings" on which I shall comment.

"In 1824, he [Van Buren] undertook (but failed) to make Mr. Crawford President (in opposition to General Jackson) of the United States, notwithstanding he managed to prevent the people of New York from voting for President, by keeping the choice of Electors with the Legislature.

"As in Van Buren's other 'undertaking' which I have noticed, we behold his democratic principles illustrated by a practical junction with the "peace party" federalists of New England, and his regard for consistency in his base desertion of, and opposition to, a man, whom a few years before he supported for the Presidency, so in this, we discover his true sentiments as to the theory of democracy. According to Mr. Van Buren's doctrine, the people are incapable of governing themselves. Now, it has always been acknowledged, as the first and fundamental article of democracy, that "all power is derived from the people," and that they are fully competent to judge of all those matters of government which relate either to themselves or to their interests. It is to be presumed, therefore, that they are capable of judging of the qualifications of a President and Vice President. But Mr. Van Buren declares that they are not; and says that the State Legislature, which is so liable to intrigue and corruption by the paucity of its numbers, is far more capable of ascertaining the qualifications of a President. From this, it might be inferred that he is a rank aristocrat; but if we examine his conduct towards De Witt Clinton, we would say, that he possesses principles as despotic as the Autocrat of Russia. Yet, although we are incapable of deducing from the farago of his numerous political tergiversations, what is his real creed of politics, we can assure ourselves to a certainty that he is no democrat, and void of all honour, when it conflicts with his interest. The people, however, have disproved his assertions. In the election of 1812, they afforded an instance of their capacity and freedom of will, throughout the United States, by electing James Madison President, in opposition to corruption and all the influence of the New England "peace party;" and in 1824, they will evince that they still retain that capacity and freedom of will, by consigning Martin Van Buren to an ignominious retirement.

THE VICE PRESIDENCY.—As a civilian & statesman, in clear, scrutinizing, discriminating powers of mind, Philip P. Barbour is surpassed by none of his contemporaries, as a pure disinterested, and upright patriot, but few men can be compared with him. He has risen to the high eminence, on which he now stands, by direct, and open and honorable exertion of his great talents, at the bar, on the bench, and in congress; he has never descended to the low and crooked paths of intrigue. His character stands in contrast with that of Martin Van Buren. Although many years at the bar or in the senate, the latter never acquired much distinction, in open, and honorable exertions of talent; but was always noted for his propensity to intrigue. He has evinced no strong and steady attachments, or fixed, and virtuous principles; on the contrary, in his temper there is a pliancy, and in his whole character, there is a supple, which peculiarly qualify him for the indirect winding, the insidious double dealing, the hollow pretences, the hypocritical professions of intrigue. These qualities constitute the basis of his character; they have guided and marked him, at every step of his career; and by them alone has he acquired celebrity. Such a man may not safely be trusted; he is ever ready, when tempted by self-interest, to wage a secret war, against principles, which he pretends to maintain, and in opposition to friends, to whom he professes to be attached.

In addition to these intrinsic, and inherent objections to the character of Van Buren, he is peculiarly and deservedly odious, as one of the most efficient champions of the unjust, protective tariff of 1824, and of the more exorbitant, protective tariff of 1825.

His partisans exhort us to abandon the candidate, whom we prefer for his virtues, and to unite with them, in supporting Van Buren; but we cannot consent to be instrumental in delegating a high political trust, to a man, in whom we do not confide, and who has largely contributed to aggravate the burthens of a system of unjust taxation. To claim of us, such a sacrifice of prudence, and principle, and love of country, is most unreasonable; and we cannot unite on Martin Van Buren, without loss of honor and integrity.

On the contrary, our fellow-citizens, who have heretofore preferred Van Buren, cannot have any valid objections to uniting with us, in support of Barbour. They cannot deny his talents; and they freely admit, that they approve of his character, of his principles, of his conduct. If they are sincere in deprecating the consequences of division, then do we most cordially invite them to unite with us in supporting Philip P. Barbour—a patriot without reproach. If they reject our invitation, and pertinaciously adhere to Van Buren, notwithstanding the hazards which they ascribe to division among us, we shall be constrained to believe, that under the false pretext of securing the success of the Jackson party, by unity of action, their real object is, to advance the election of their favorite candidate. Fed. (Geo.) Union

On the August Chronicle after speaking of the certainty of Mr. Barbour's getting the vote of the Clark party in Georgia, thus speaks of his prospects with the Troup party: [Edr. CAR.]

The Troup Electoral Ticket was probably nominated, with a view to the election of Mr. Van Buren, as the (then) preference of the Troup party. We are inclined to think, however, that that party, now having become more and more conscious, as the Anti-Tariff excitement has progressed, of the outrageous and unprincipled inconsistency and folly, of voting, under such circumstances, for a thorough going Tariff man, against an Anti Tariff man—are rather disposed, very properly, to surrender men for principles, and vote

ment, in the redress of southern grievances; and that single act could conduce more to this end, than the bringing to the aid of the highest branch of the national legislature, a man whose heart and principles would be one in the great cause of the Constitution and equal rights; one whose sentiments and feelings are perfectly identified with ours; and one who, instead of giving a centrifugal direction to the course of affairs, would exert the whole of his powerful influence, in drawing them around the centre of our wishes? P. P. Barbour is that individual. When it became necessary to agitate the question of the Vice Presidency, the friends of free trade and the agricultural interests of the country, (who claim also to be the devoted friends of the Constitution and the Union,) weighed impartially the claims of the different candidates who had been announced; and being unable to make a selection from among them, because they could not recognise in either of them any of these indispensable qualifications; finding that all differed from them widely on fundamental principles—points of vital importance to liberty—they were driven to the necessity of casting their eyes over the galaxy of other American statesmen for a choice. They saw none of more brilliant attractions, and better calculated to shed the benign influence required than Judge Barbour; and him they recommend to the support of their fellow citizens as the only candidate holding sentiments on the all absorbing questions of national policy, in unison with their own.

The friends of Judge Barbour do this under the most flattering belief that he is the choice of the great body of honest and intelligent yeomanry of this State. They know that his and their sentiments are the same; and they confidently believe that, although some of them, having become the credulous dupes of the gross impostures practised on them by reckless and designing political partisans, have been enticed away from the man of their choice; yet they look on the most of them as men "gifted with minds not quite impervious to conviction," and hope that they will yet yield to the convincing testimonies of their error, and unite in overwhelming his adversaries on the day that decides their destiny.

With these brief and hasty remarks, the Jackson and Barbour Ticket is submitted to the people; and, as to ourselves, we shall cheerfully acquiesce in their decision, under the full persuasion that they are the "first and last, and best and noblest, as well as safest security of a virtuous government."

TO THE EDITORS OF THE ADVOCATE: GENTLEMEN.—The address of the Charlottesville Convention contained an allusion to Mr. Van Buren's opinions on the subject of the veto of the Mayaville Road Bill, which (I understand) has been impugned by the Washington Globe or its correspondents. It is due, therefore, to truth, as well as to the parties concerned, that the unquestionable authority on which that allusion was founded, should be laid before the public. The accompanying communication from Col. Carson of North Carolina, was written in answer to an inquiry which I propounded to him, previous to the meeting of the Charlottesville Convention.

I deem it proper, also, to state that a copy of Col. Carson's communication was furnished at his request to the Editors of the Globe, in August last; and as that press has since taken no notice of the subject I am authorized to publish Col. Carson's statement, which you are requested to do accordingly. Very respectfully, THOMAS W. GILMER. Charlottesville, Oct. 3d, 1832.

"I called to see Mr. Van Buren, and among other subjects, we held a conversation relative to the Mayaville road bill, which had just been sent to the President for his sanction. This conversation, as nearly as I can recollect, was as follows: I remarked that I hoped the President would veto that bill—Mr. Van B. answered that "that was impossible." I asked how impossible! "Because the principle (he said) in some way or other, had been sanctioned by every Administration since the commencement of the Government."

I answered, admitting the principle had been sanctioned by his predecessors, that formed no obligation on Gen. Jackson to sign the bill if he believed it unconstitutional. He remarked that "the obligation was the many precedents for such works and further (said he) it would lose us the State of Kentucky and Ohio—and probably Indiana and Pennsylvania." I then rose from my seat and with some warmth said, "is it possible Mr. Van Buren, that you place popular considerations in the scale against high and elevated principle, &c.?" He remarked something about the warmth of my feelings, rashness, &c. unnecessarily to be repeated.

This ended the conversation with Mr. Van Buren, and is the substance, although it may not be verbatim et literatim. I left him with the decided belief, as the conversation warranted that he was opposed to the Veto. I have heard it suggested, however, (I don't know upon what authority,) that he was not opposed to it in Cabinet Council—and this makes it proper for me to state a conversation held subsequent to the Veto Message.

I happened to be at the President's some few evenings after the Veto Message, and found Mr. V. Buren in conversation with Col. J. K. Polk of Tenn., upon that subject.—Among other things he remarked that he believed it would be (the veto) one of the most popular acts of the Administration, to which Col. P. assented.—I then said to Mr. V. Buren that I was gratified to perceive his change of opinion. He said "how change!"—Why sir,

Just as our paper was going to press, we received the following communication from Gen. Joseph H. Bryan, of Oxford, the gentleman who was reported to have received the famous letter from Judge Barbour, said to express a desire that his name might be withdrawn from the contest for Vice President; which establishes beyond all doubt that the Judge has expressed no such wish, and is perfectly willing that the people should be governed by their own wishes in the matter.

Oxford, 15th Oct. 1832. Messrs. Lawrence & Lemay: GENTLEMEN.—Below you will find a copy of a letter addressed to Hamilton Jones, esq. Editor of the Watchman. I forward it to you for publication, that the report may at once be contradicted. Respectfully, your obt. servt. JOS. H. BRYAN.

Oxford, Oct. 15, 1832. Hamilton Jones, Esq. SIR.—In your paper of the 6th instant it is stated that Judge Barbour is no longer a candidate for the Vice Presidency, and that I had received a letter from him, authorizing such an inference. I know not who your informant may be, but he has certainly mistaken the mark widely; for I have received no letter from Mr. Barbour, in which he either declines, or intimates any intention of doing so; but on the contrary, expressly states that he has never felt any solicitude on the subject and that he is only desirous to do what, in the posture in which he is placed, he ought to do; for he had never in any degree presented himself to the people for the appointment; that it is a voluntary movement on their part without consulting him, and a matter belonging exclusively to them, with which he positively declines all interference. Now if this amounts to withdrawal, they has withdrawn. Justice to Judge Barbour and his friends requires that you make this statement public with as little delay as possible. I have the honor to be, very respectfully, your obt. servt. JOS. H. BRYAN.

From the Edenton Miscellany. Pursuant to public notice, a numerous portion of the friends of free trade and state right assembled at Walton's Rooms in this county, on Saturday, the 9th inst. and after an eloquent and patriotic address from John L. Boyles, Esq. the following resolutions, on motion of Capt. John E. Spencer, were adopted.

Resolved, That this meeting consider the present Tariff as unconstitutional, and partial in its operation. Resolved, That we as free people, relying upon our state sovereignty, are not compelled to yield obedience to any laws, not based upon the constitution of the U. States, or the Magna Charta of our liberties. Resolved, That we highly approve the course pursued by our brethren of S. Carolina, and that we cordially subscribe to the doctrines advanced and supported by Hayne, McCallie and others of the State Rights Party with regard to the present system of protection. JOHN E. SPENCER, CHAIRMAN. E. GARRETT, Sec'y.

The Editor of the Fayetteville Observer, commenting on the letter addressed by the Hon. P. P. Barbour to the Senate committee, says, "He (Judge B.) comes out with such an avowal of his sentiments as cannot be mistaken by any one. No mystification, no evasion. His opinions are no longer liable to misconstruction, or misrepresentation, and though some of them do not accord with our own, we respect and admire the spirit of candor in which they are disclosed. Will not the high minded people of the South prefer the honest politician who acts thus, to him whose opinions cannot be told? They will answer on the 8th of November."

As an evidence of Jackson's great strength in N. York, the Standard devoted to the cause of the old Hero, and published in the City of New York, mentions that it has had lately, an acquisition of eighteen hundred and nineteen subscribers—an increase unparalleled in the history of the Press. Chronicle.

The New York Standard says: "The thermometer by which the country is against them. Bank stock is said to be down to 140."