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ADDRESS

TO THE FREEMEN AND VOTERS OF NORTH CAROLINA.

The immense importance of the next Presidential Election, and the deep interest it has awakened, form our apology for this Address to the Freemen and Voters of North Carolina.

Collisions of opinion, which grow out of political controversies, are conducive in the end to the discovery of truth, and a frank investigation of the measures of our government ought never to be discouraged. But every sober minded man unites in the sentiment that now-a-days there is too much passion and too little reason; too much Party and too little regard for Principle in the discussion of public measures; and that in examining the characters of our public officers, there is a fearful disregard of truth and justice.

True, the line between a fearless exposure of crime, and a prejudiced attempt to pervert the acts of a public servant, may not always be easy to discover; but then it is certain that few of the enemies of Mr. VAN BUREN seem to be so watchful to observe it as they are industrious to conceal it from others.

Great efforts are made to impress the public mind with the false opinion that our prosperity is declining, and that a firm but judicious exercise of our authority by the constitutional agents of the People is despotic. These things ought not to be so. There is no nation where all the solid blessings of life are more enjoyed than they are in the United States; and there never was one in which they are so freely distributed to the great body of the people by such liberal sacrifices. The administration of the Government has been conducted by Mr. VAN BUREN, we believe, with his pure intentions, and certainly with as respectful a consideration for the opinions and feelings of others, as ever actuated the Chief Magistrate of any country; and it is alike unjust and injurious to the people; to denounce a President for faults he has not been guilty of, and to depreciate the condition of the country, by the high rank it proudly occupies. Why should a People be raised up, and a contest against the constitutional authorities of the land, or taught a habitual distrust of the Government they have loved, except there be some wish to reconcile them to its overthrow? Let those who maintain a social treason against our Government, beware of encouraging this detestable habit, and let the love of talents and character in the opposition rise to the level of such as are mere tools of factious, and cultivate a higher and nobler aim than merely to render odious those who are possessed of power in the Government, in order that they may be deposed and others may vault into their vacant seats!

Has Mr. VAN BUREN been treacherous to the principles upon which he was elected to his present high station?—Let his disloyalty be proved by presenting the facts to our understanding! Are the measures of his Administration wise or unconstitutional? Let it be shown by an appeal to our reason! Do his opponents propose measures which are better for the Republic? Let them be pointed out and recommended to our attention! Do his enemies hold doctrines that are more congenial to the rights of the People? Let them declare such sentiments plainly and unreservedly, and leave an intelligent community to decide! Does the President hide his opinions and the open enunciation of his political principles? Let his enemies show this, by exhibiting their calls upon him for an expression of his sentiments, with his refusal to answer them! If those who are resisting the election of the President a second term, are not willing to meet his friends on grounds like these, then they have no right to complain, when the clamors by which so many are endeavoring to alarm the public mind, are reduced to the mere ravings of disappointed ambition or the mutterings of a factious spirit; whose influence depends upon creating political discord, and who would sink into insignificance in a time of perfect tranquility.

The Republican party, the friends of the Administration, believe that the President is entitled to public confidence; and relying upon the intelligence of the People, we functionally invite an examination into the facts. If these do not establish the claims of Mr. VAN BUREN to the support of the People, they have cause to see it and the right to remove him out of office. If these do not fix a reproach upon his Administration, then are they guilty of defaming his Administration, then are they guilty of defaming their character.

CHAPTER I.

The Banks, & the Independent Treasury.
In November, 1836, Mr. VAN BUREN was elected President. In March, 1837, he took possession of that high station, in accordance with the Constitution and the will of a majority; and in his inaugural Address he openly rebuked the financial policy of Abolition, by a clear declaration of his avowed hostility to it. As before his election he had pledged himself inflexibly to resist this course of discord, so did he now renew that vow to the nation and the world and give assurance to the people that he would VETO any bill which might be passed on the subject! He hesitated not to rebuke the fanatics, and bent only upon the right, he also overlooked the unmerited discards of a Southern opposition.

Was he not faithful and wise and patriotic in this?

In less than three months after his administration began, and before he had done a single act which by the remotest possibility could have had any injurious effect upon the Banks, those of them in which the public treasure was deposited, from one end of the Union to the other, stopped payment; and by not concerted act betrayed the nation's trust. Whig Banks and Bank Whigs forthwith united in a common cause of hostility to the Administration. These "Fets of the Government" were no sooner guilty of this dishonesty, than they became favorites of the opposition, and they were carried on a joint warfare against the Administration ever since. No little embarrassment was experienced in executing the laws, after all the money of the nation had been seized by the keepers of it; and in September, 1837, the President convened Congress to advise and to provide by law for the relief of the people and their Government. In compliance with the mandate of the Constitution, he is bound to give Congress "information of the state of the Union and recommend to their consideration such measures as he shall judge necessary and expedient." [Article 2, Section 3] He had no right to be silent, even if he had desired to shrink from his duty.

The connection between Banks and the Government having been dissolved by the faithlessness of the Banks, the President "judged it necessary and expedient" to have nothing more to do with them: To divorce Bank and State: To separate the Banks and Politics: To let the Banks alone, and to put no more of the public money into their hands; and believing this, he met the responsibility of his office and "recommenced" it accordingly. This is the INDEPENDENT TREASURY!

Did the President force or endeavor improperly to force this measure upon the nation? On the contrary, the same message which first recommended it also urged it upon Congress to suggest some plan for keeping and disbursing the public money that was better than this; if in their wisdom any such a one could be devised; and he also distinctly promised to give to their will his most hearty co-operation. There being a majority in the House of Representatives who were hostile to the Administration, they rejected the INDEPENDENT TREASURY, but proposed no substitute in its stead.

Is there any fault in the President here?

Again: The same Representatives of the People met in Congress in December, 1837. It was the same Congress at another session. Did the President attack their right of independent judgment or exhibit in any form the insolence of office? On the contrary, he calmly reviewed the objections that Banks and partisans had urged against the INDEPENDENT TREASURY, and pointed at the daring impudence with which the Banks had arrayed themselves against the country; and seeing no alternative but absolute submission to the irresponsible control of associated wealth, or the adoption of some system which like the Independent Treasury would make it the interest of the Banks to be honest and let politics alone, he was compelled, by his oath, his patriotism and his station, to present his recommendation? He did it and the House of Representatives refused their assent to it! Mr. VAN BUREN did not stop here.—He entreated your Representatives, at all events, to agree upon some law prescribing severe punishments against public agents who should steal the public money, and to declare it felony in any officer to turn or use the public money for private speculations.—The same House of Representatives refused their assent to this also.

He deprecated to Congress the allowance of any large discretion in the Executive over the public purse. He pointed out to your Representatives how the faithlessness of the Banks had in effect suspended the existing laws for regulating the Treasury of the Union, and earnestly invoked the aid of this law-giving power to pass some bill which would take the purse out of Executive discretion and put it, where it should be, under the guardianship of LAW, and if they did not concur in the measure he "judged expedient and necessary" then to devise some better one for the permanent relief of the People and their Government. His words we do not profess to repeat, but only the substance of his recommendations.

Now, what more could HE do? The reasonable recommendations of our President passed in the Senate, but they were rejected in the other branch of Congress; and finally nothing at all was done. A long session of seven months or more was consumed in forming new parties; starting candidates for President, and in violent invectives against our Rulers; but no act was passed, and we do not recollect that the opposition to the House of Representatives ever seriously proposed any measure instead of this Independent Treasury and the others which they had rejected. Now what loss could any Congress have done for the good of the nation! Was it patriotic to leave the country without necessary laws, of some sort, for keeping the public money and guarding it against any dishonest use of it? Let the People answer for themselves! Let the immense default of *Smartout and Price*, after this neglect by Congress, aid them in determining the question how far it was proper to declare such offences felonies and punish them accordingly.

Again: The same Congress met in December, 1838, which, however, expired by law on the 4th March, 1839. To give place to the present Congress, more "fresh from the people."

The President never recommended this measure to any Congress which had been elected to oppose it. A very large proportion of that Congress which preceded the present one, was chosen by the people before the bank explosion of 1837, and before the President recommended the Independent Treasury at all. He "believed" in the language of the Constitution, that this measure was "expedient and necessary." His experience and sagacity supplied no other that the Constitution sanctioned. The wisdom of Congress, although thrice assembled, suggested none; but at the very first election of Representatives to another Congress the people have sanctioned this recommendation of the President. He stood firm and unmoved when timid counsellors shrink and treacherous Democrats forsake the people's standard, under the combined pressure of party clamors and bank panics. "In this also has the President offended." To overturn the Administration and sustain the

Banks, elections have been fraudulently conducted and iniquitous means resorted to by State functionaries to counteract the public voice. But in vain; the present Congress, which is the first and only one elected since the Independent Treasury was proposed, is a fair exponent of the popular will upon that subject, and a majority are in favor of Mr. VAN BUREN's recommendation. It has passed in the Senate and will pass in the House of Representatives, in obedience to the will of the PEOPLE, and against the resistance of eight hundred BANKS.

What a triumph to Democracy! What a reproof to the treachery of venal politicians! What a rebuke to the insolence of Party! What an evidence of virtue in our President! What splendid proof of the integrity of the People, and of their capacity for self-government! Had this conflict terminated against the Administration, it would have been a triumph of the Banks over the Government of the United States! If servility to party and cowardly apprehensions of "hard times" had finally defeated the Republicans in this contest, we solemnly believe it would have changed our Government, for all practical purposes, from a Government of MEN to a Despotism of MONEY.

This is no empty declamation. The unprejudiced exercise of his common sense will enable any one to see that if the banking powers of this country can bring the voters and Government to submit to their doctrines—"that the banks are to stop payment at pleasure, and the law dare not enforce obedience to their charter obligations, for fear of ruin to the people, and that our Free Government cannot be conducted without the aid of a Bank,"—then the republican institutions of America will be virtually overturned, and the capacity of the people to govern themselves practically denied by others and substantially acquired by themselves.

Who is prepared for this? Such principles once put into practice and matured by time, which is to subvert them, hereafter, and by what power can they be reversed? We are far from asserting that all those who have been hostile to the Administration were deliberately planning an overthrow of popular liberty; but where this is the consequence of their party operations, what matters it to the people, if those who destroy their rights had no evil intentions. We speak of public dangers proceeding from the acts of politicians and having nothing to do with the personal motives of our opponents.

In this hasty but faithful sketch, you have a history of the most prominent measures of the Administration and of the warfare that has been waged against the President. You see in it how he has been misrepresented, and how his opponents have factiously resisted all his efforts to carry on the Government, opposing every thing and proposing nothing. You see in it the fearless stand Mr. VAN BUREN has taken in defence of the Constitution, and the self-sacrificing zeal with which he has maintained it, against the combinations of associated wealth and inordinate party spirit. For himself, it had been easier to betray his trust! For his country, how glorious that he did not!—Has Mr. VAN BUREN been in error, the honesty of his purpose must indicate his personal reputation. But he was right, and the second sober thought of the people "has sustained him; and generous Republicans every where, owe it to him and to themselves to show their confidence, not merely by a cold approval of his acts, but by hearty acclamations!

CHAPTER II.

Public Expenditures.
But the enemies of Mr. VAN BUREN, seeing that the Independent Treasury must soon pass, in spite of all their disorderly resistance in the past and present Congress, and anticipating how a short experience will falsify their clamors against it, have lately lowered the tone of their denunciations in respect to the Independent Treasury, and are laboring to excite opposition, and to hide their party's intentions to fix upon this country an irreversible bank dynasty, by their cries for retrenchment and reform in the Expenses of the Government. Have they proposed any bill to decrease the number of the salaries of officers? One fact is worth a hundred professions! We believe that there has been but one measure of the kind, viz: to diminish the salary of the Commissioner of Pensions. It passed by the aid of Democratic votes, and the President had no hesitation in approving it. But no sooner was this done, than these economical statements of the Opposition became dissatisfied with their work, and have been endeavoring to undo it ever since. Having discovered, to their chagrin, that the Commissioner of Pensions was a *Whig*? their views of the matter of economy were altogether changed!—Have they spent their time at Congress in talking or in talking? Have they not wasted the public money by voting "fat jobs" to one Printer sufficient to enable him to let out the work to another, and pocket TEN THOUSAND DOLLARS for his share of profits? Have they not altogether neglected the appropriate duties of legislation, and converted the House of Representatives into a great theatre for President making and unmaking? The falsehood and unfairness which have characterized their discussion upon the subject of the public expenditures have been so lately exposed by the "facts and figures" of Mr. Boston's speech, that very little need be added to them. We cannot too earnestly commend that able and conclusive speech to the real people of North Carolina. Let Democrats read it for their defence; and let any unprejudiced opponent of the Administration peruse it, if he dares to give truth fair play.

We are to no more the advocates for extravagance. All Administrations have been and always will be, imposed upon by some of their officers. It is the lot of human nature, and the best, if not the only preservative against the Government of a people being extravagant, is to lessen the Taxes. The legislators always have spent, and always will spend the money, if the people consent to let it be collected from their pockets and put into a public Treasury. The present Administration and its supporters generally have constantly advocated this doctrine, and have, therefore, resisted any increase of the *Tariff* or *Taxes*. These tariff taxes have been gradually reducing under the "Compromise Act" ever since Mr. VAN BUREN came into office; and it is the policy of his friends to keep these taxes down. That Act ex-

pires soon, and the next Administration will be charged with the responsible duty of raising the *Tariff*. This Administration is committed, pledged by the policy of keeping these taxes down.—It dare not and cannot abandon that position!—How far, therefore, it will be prudent in us to change it for one which policy is so withheld from the public eye any of Gen. Harrison's present views on this and other great subjects, we leave for you to determine; only repeating that economy will never be practically secured as long as the people are taxed more than is necessary for a cheap administration of their Government. If money is paid into the Treasury, members of Congress will be sure to spend it!

But why all this clamor against Mr. VAN BUREN about the expenditures of the Government? Is it his fault that the appropriations are extravagant? By no means. Can the President make laws either to expend or to save our money? The Constitution answers, NO. Can he take a dollar out of the Treasury, except what the Act of Congress commands him to expend? The Constitution answers, NO. Can he refuse to apply the public money which is appropriated by Congress to such purposes as the LAW itself requires, whether he approves the object or not? The Constitution again answers, HE CANNOT. The President, therefore, has no legislative powers, and, of course, no control over the public money and the expenditures of the Government, except these:—First—Before a law is passed he may recommend it to the consideration of Congress. Second—After a bill is passed by Congress he may VETO it. Now, if Mr. VAN BUREN has failed to exercise these his only constitutional powers, or either of them, in a proper manner, and thereby has permitted any extravagance which he might have prevented, it is admitted that to that extent he is *blameworthy*.—How are the facts? First—His recommendations beforehand! Look at his messages to Congress for these. See there how earnestly and constantly he has pressed it upon Congress to be more economical. Nay, has he not been required by a member of the House, in a public speech, for going too far? Were not his opponents disposed to censure him for his exceeding anxiety to present extravagant appropriations? Did not some of them denounce him as a trespasser upon the rights of Congress? Second—His VETO.—The President cannot rightfully veto any bill which barely appropriates money to carry into effect a law already in force. This would be exerting the tyrant's power of suspending laws, not the constitutional power of veto upon a bill. Again: If Congress passes a bill providing the means necessary to carry on the operations of the Government, although it may contain numerous items of unparliamentary extravagance, which by themselves ought to be rejected, yet the President cannot veto them, because he has no power to veto a part of a bill without the whole! He cannot veto the extravagant items and approve the rest. He must veto ALL or approve of ALL! If he does the first, the whole of the Government will be stopped. If, to avoid this, he adopts the other alternative, these extravagant appropriations are effected in spite of him. Now, after this fair exposition of the President's powers, his bitterest opponents are challenged to point out a single instance where a Money Bill has passed during Mr. VAN BUREN's administration that he could have vetoed and where he has not done so!

If there has been any such official delinquency in the President it is on the Record, and we demand of his accusers to show it!—But they refuse to do so!

CHAPTER III.

Harrison's pretensions—Nominations—Secret Committee—Log Cabin—Hard Cider, &c.
If Mr. VAN BUREN's merits were even less than his friends suppose; there is so much in the course and character of the opposition for a prudent people to resist and condemn, that these might of themselves force us into a support of this Administration, and to vote for the re-election of the President. Guided by the secret counsels of an irresponsible "Executive Committee," the party which heretofore abused the *Clay* System, have adopted the evil they once affected to abhor and have fearfully enlarged upon its practice. The old caucus plan, upon which the Republican Members of Congress used to nominate a Candidate for President, was one by which they all met openly together, to select the individual they preferred, and then they laid his Principles before the people, as well as his NAME. But now, this is substituted by a private association of Members of Congress, who lay before the People the NAME of their leader, but hide from the public eye the PRINCIPLES of their candidate for the Presidency.

A party who had heretofore deprecated the election of a Military Chief, as a greater evil to the United States than "war, pestilence, and famine," are now handed with others to place into presidential chair a candidate, whose chief merit lies in the fact that he has been a *General*; and it is not the least remarkable amongst all the incidents of this extraordinary tergiversation, that a proposer of the *Harford Convention* issue of their Central "Executive Committee"!

A party who had pretended to acquiesce in the public will against the United States Bank, have now united their strength to the Banks, and their advocates and dependents, to force the country into creating another NATIONAL BANK; and the consciousness of such a turn as had scruples upon the "constitutional question," have so far yielded to the potent charms of a pretended "necessity" for violating the Constitution, as at all events not to consider the schemes of its feasibility.

A party, who in our State had been most hostile to Abolition, in so much, that they saw in it the greatest danger, and with whom, a short while ago, it was *Deans to the South* to be even cautious, much more to be timid in our action against the Abolitionists; a party who practiced towards all others a commendable jealousy, and in some cases an intolerant distrust about Abolition; even they have become "time serving partisans," and actually united with the *Vanities* upon the same candidate for President, who is too foolish to reject the support of the Abolitionists, and too cowardly to embrace it openly.

A party whose leaders had presumptuously lured the spirit of American Democracy, as if it were a turbulent demon of disorder, and now in every warning against the encroachments of "associated wealth" and every allusion to the "Rights of the MANY," signs of evil times and attacks upon the good order of society and permanency of

Government, are now, in fact, resorting to all the arts of demagogues for alarming the public mind and persuading the people (these same Democrats) that their rulers are corrupt and their Government is oppressive.

And the "Proprietors of Millions," and "Lords of Palaces," looked by Senators and others, have become suddenly cured of all their apprehensions about "arraying one class of society against another." "The Poor against the Rich," and in their awkward attempts to play upon the sympathies of the poor men, are disgusting the intelligent, and insulting the bolder voters of North Carolina, by offering them "a LOG CABIN AND HARD CIDER CANDIDATE," who showed his earlier and more distinguished friendship for LOG CABIN, by approving of laws which denied to a free man his right of SUFFRAGE, unless he had a FREEHOLD WORTH ONE HUNDRED DOLLARS, and who evinced his love for "POOR FOLKS," by supporting laws to SELL them for FIVES, and to WHIP them besides for leaving their MASTER'S service!

Fellow Citizens: This is a faithful miniature of the Harrison party, and in it, we but present a picture that is familiar to the reading portion of the community. We repeat therefore that the objections to Mr. VAN BUREN ought to be exceedingly strong before the people of North Carolina venture to trust the party opposed to him. But some of our accusations will be denied and some of them have been denied already.

The usual limits of an address like this will not permit us to go fully, at this time, into all the grounds of accusation against them; but we shall not therefore omit to expose enough to justify their condemnation before an intelligent HARRISBURY tribunal.

The facts upon which we rely, shall be fairly stated; and whether the inferences we draw from them are correct, we cheerfully submit to the common sense of the people.

CHAPTER IV.

Battle of the Thames—General Harrison—Col. Johnson.

We have no motive to detract from the just claims of General Harrison to all the laurels he may have won in the Army of the United States. We are glad that his old age, (for he is now nearly 70 years of age) should be cheered by the admiring plaudits, even of those who believed it was unbecoming a moral and religious people to rejoice at the success of American arms! We shall not stop to cavil at the ostentatious boasting and loud boasts which party spirit is now able to excite, when for a quarter of a century after General Harrison's battles were fought, they who now clamor loudest in his praise, raised no shouts for the HERO!

But we do not, therefore, fail to notice, and we call upon the people to observe, that these party-spirited have hardly ceased to utter the meanest reproaches that party spirit could invent against Col. Richard M. Johnson, the real HERO OF THE THAMES, before they are crying out to the people against DISHONORING THEIR DEFENDERS. Col. Johnson's friends could not write his exploits to bolster his claims to military renown. He turns them about his person in his *broadsheet* and *mangled flesh*. They are the certificates which the feet of his country furnished him, to bring back home from the campaign! The tomahawk of the savage, and the sabre and shot of the enemy gave him his own scars, to bear with him to the grave of the United States, as moving certificates that he went out to meet the invaders of our land. And a long life of public service was about to be crowned in 1836, with the office of Vice President at the hands of a grateful people, when an enemy more subtle if not more savage than the Indian foe, laid a snare, first, to wood him to betray his law, and to become a candidate for the Presidency on the side of his political enemies; and this overture failing, they at once pursued his private sake; for he would not be a traitor for their sake; forgetful of his age, regardless of his wounds; heedless of our reproach; insensible to the wounded pride of the old soldier and "one of the best men in the world," with relentless cruelty, they ridiculed and caricatured the sins of his youth, and magnified every weakness of his nature into a crime, until his political supporters were driven upon the expediency of supporting him, and Col. Johnson was chosen Vice President—but not by a majority of the PEOPLE! And these defamers of Col. Johnson are now members of the Heroic party of 1840!

These are the politicians who now exclaim to the people "Defend your Defenders!"

They rob Col. Johnson of his blood bought laurels to decorate "the brow" of Gen. Harrison, and while they give the latter more praise than he ever merited, contemptuously stigmatize the former, as they traduced a Jefferson and a Jackson. Such is not the gratitude of the people of our country. It is the violence of faction and the injustice of party.

CHAPTER V.

A National Bank, &c.

We have said that the Harrison party are in favor of a National Bank; and this is denied also; but with what propriety let these facts answer.

Fact 1. The Harrison candidate for Governor of North Carolina is now openly in favor of a Bank. The Central Committee of that party are all believed to be in favor of it. The subordinate agents in our State of the central "Executive Committee" at Washington, as far as they have been ascertained, are advocates for a National Bank, and so are all the leading persons of their party; and if General Harrison himself is opposed to it, he does not venture to let it be known.

Fact 2. This party have heretofore supported the United States Bank, and have now where pledged themselves as a party, to pursue a different course hereafter.

Fact 3. They have nominated Gen. Harrison as their candidate, and Mr. CLAY, who openly opposes from the Senate Hall, the creation of a Fifty Millions Bank, has "cheerfully" surrendered his own pretensions to the Presidency and "Goes for Harrison!" Does he think the party is against a Bank, such as he has pronounced indispensable to the nation's welfare?

Fact 4. Mr. Webster, another of the opposition favorites, resigned his pretensions to their support, in order to produce harmony in the Harrison party. Does any one doubt about his opinions? Will it be supposed that he too has sacrificed to party expediency that necessary "Regulator of