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BY GEORGE HOWARD,

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DOMESTIC.

To the Jackson Central Committee.

Gentlemen—You have already learnt the result of the proceedings of the Baltimore Convention. As it may however, be a matter of some interest to you, as well as to our friends in other parts of the State, to have a more particular detail of the transactions, and principles upon which the Convention acted, and the delegation from each State being left to make such explanation as they might deem advisable—I avail myself of the first leisure moment, since my return home, to make this communication. In doing so, I am not to be understood as speaking the sentiments of others, though I shall endeavor to speak of things as they are; in the language of truth and sincerity; under the hope of being able to satisfy you of the correctness of my views, and of preventing as far as practicable a division among the friends of the administration in this State.

There were in attendance about 360 delegates—each State being represented, with the exception of Missouri; and the sentiments of that State communicated from a source entitled to the highest respect. The Convention being organized, it was ascertained that some of the States were much more fully represented than others—some having a larger, and some smaller number than their electoral vote. It was necessary therefore to devise some plan, which might reflect correctly the relative weight of each State. A vote *per capita* or by number and a majority to govern, tho' the true democratic principle, was not considered as likely to advance the wishes, or express the will of the whole of the States, agreeably to their vote in the electoral college, which had been the great object in convoking the Convention.—Hence it was decided, that each State without regard to the number of their delegates, should give its electoral vote leaving it with the respective delegations to determine upon the general or district principle of voting, as they might be divided or united in opinion. This rule being so manifestly fair and just, one so likely to accommodate the wishes of all, met with no opposition. The question of what States should be allowed to vote, in making a nomination, threatened a more serious disturbance to the harmony of our proceedings. To have said to the delegates from those States who had not voted

for General Jackson at the last election, and who, in all probability might not do so at the next, though warmed and animated with the same wishes and sentiments, and feeling a community of hopes and fears with ourselves—equally desirous of success to the same great object—that their voice could not be heard in the selection of a Jackson candidate for the Vice Presidency, would have been as unjust as impolitic. It was well known that at the last election, the electoral vote of Maine, New Hampshire, with the whole of the New England States, with the exception of a single vote, had been given against General Jackson. It was now admitted, that these two States were decidedly for him, and in the others, there were strong minorities from whom reasonable hopes of success were entertained. To obviate this difficulty, and to guard against the objection of suffering those non-effective States to decide the question, it was resolved that no person should receive the nomination without having in his favor at least two-thirds of the whole electoral vote. Thus requiring a greater excess, beyond a majority, to concur in the nomination, than the votes of the five anti-Jackson States. Having thus settled in a way perfectly fair and satisfactory, the rule of voting and the number necessary to a choice the Convention proceeded to a ballot. The result was 203 for Martin Van Buren—49 for P. P. Barbour—26 for R. M. Johnson—giving Mr. Van Buren more than two-thirds on the first ballot, and of course the nomination as Vice President.

The delegation from Virginia, consisting of upwards of 90 members, of high character from every part of the State (who had voted for Mr. Barbour) then offered a resolution approving of the nomination and pledging themselves to its support. The same course was pursued by the Kentucky delegates (who voted for Col. Johnson) and who said their friend would unite with them in favor of the nomination. I have since learnt that Col. Johnson approves of the course taken by his friends and will himself sustain the nomination.

I was perfectly disposed in Convention, as I had been before, to unite with our Southern brethren upon some candidate agreeing with us in all our opinions on measures of national policy. I thought then, as I think now, that the friends of the administration in the South, should have submitted their claims and preferences fairly to the umpirage of the great body of their party, and abide the result. I was well satisfied, that a Southern candidate uniting only the six plantation States (as they are termed) could not possibly succeed. I was as well satisfied that a candidate from the North East or North West, without a union of interest, would prove equally unsuccessful. I honestly endeavored to inform myself, by a free interchange of opinion with members from these different sections, who was most likely to

effect this union all important to our success. I became convinced that in the North Western States, Mr. Van Buren was the second, if not their first choice, and that after Col. Johnson, he would most certainly be taken up, and was given distinctly to understand, that the nomination of any man as rigid as Mr. Barbour was known to be, in his views of national politics, would jeopardize the chance of General Jackson in the States of Kentucky, Ohio, Indiana and Illinois. I was still disposed however not to yield, without an effort in favor of a Southern man. For altho' it has been charged upon the Convention, that it was gotten up and carried on with a view to the nomination of Mr. Van Buren, I well know as regards the delegates selected from this State, the charge was without foundation, and I am equally well satisfied that it is, as regards others. The feeling in favor of Mr. Van Buren originated in a strong sense of public indignation, at his rejection as minister by the U. States Senate. Thus satisfied under existing circumstances that Mr. Van Buren would in the end command the nomination, I was disposed as a Southern man, strongly imbued with Southern feelings as I trust others will do, cautiously to examine the political aspect of things—to consider well the grounds we should occupy—before suffering our feelings and the management of our political opponents, to lead us into mazes from which we might find it difficult hereafter to extricate ourselves. I enquired of myself if we of the South should insist on a candidate opposed to the tariff, the great point in controversy, whether its supporters would not also insist upon one favorable to it? This being the test to decide the question, we of course being in the minority, must have failed. We had the President, with sentiments, if not entirely in accordance with our own, favorable at least to a liberal adjustment of the measure. I found it a fact too, beyond question, that whilst the ultra opponents of the tariff in the South were hostile to Mr. Van Buren, its more violent supporters to the North were equally so. I thought then, as I think now, if the people of the South were prepared to submit to no terms in the adjustment of this distracting question, short of a total abandonment of the principle of protection, then the crisis had arrived, when we should take our stand, and in all things present an unbroken front. But if they were not prepared to raise this standard of opposition, even to the hazard of revolution and I did not believe they were—then it becomes our duty to act in a spirit of mutual forbearance and compromise, to practice this spirit in yielding to the wishes of a large majority of the great republican family. In this spirit, and with these feelings, altho' I had voted for Judge Barbour, I united without hesitation in the unanimous recommendation of Mr. Van Buren.

Having taken this course, I may be allowed to express some

additional considerations which influenced me in adopting it. In the first place, I found Mr. Van Buren the stronger candidate with the Jackson States, and more likely to unite a majority of the electoral votes, than Mr. Barbour. Giving to Mr. Barbour the votes of Virginia, North Carolina, South Carolina, Georgia, Alabama and Mississippi, it would make but an aggregate of 71 votes. Whereas Mr. Van Buren with equal certainty would receive the vote of Maine, New Hampshire, New York, Tennessee, Indiana, Illinois, with three votes in Maryland—making an aggregate of 90 votes—so that between the two Mr. Van Buren must have been the strongest, and in every reasonable probability one of the two highest, to be presented to the Senate for their choice. With the nomination, I believed, in addition to the above he would likely receive the vote of New Jersey, Kentucky, Ohio, Missouri and Georgia, in all 149—a majority of the whole electoral vote—to say nothing of his chance in Virginia, North Carolina, Alabama and Mississippi. Our persevering therefore, for Mr. Barbour could have led to no practical good—but much mischief. There was no prospect either of his election by the people, or of his receiving a vote large enough to go before the Senate as one of the two highest. In the second place I was led to enquire, whether the objections urged against Mr. Van Buren, were of a character to forbid the South voting for him under any circumstances? These were his views upon the subject of Internal Improvements—and his vote for the Tariff of 1828—throwing out of view the partizan objections of particular individuals, founded as I considered in personal prejudice. Upon the first question, I say with confidence, that both from his speeches and votes, whilst in the Senate, he was always regarded as opposed to the power of Internal Improvement by the General Government. That upon the bill for procuring surveys, plans, and estimates, upon the subject of roads and canals, and which has been the foundation of the various abuses since practised by Congress, in their appropriations upon objects national only in name, Mr. Van Buren voted in the negative—the vote being 25 yeas, 21 nays. In regard to the Tariff of 1828, I found the fact to be, he had voted for it, but that he was no more responsible for its passage than any other person who had supported it. That in regard to the charge of his having been the cause of inserting the duty upon wool and lead, without which it is said the bill could not have passed the Senate—the fact turns out to be, that the duty upon wool was carried in the House of Representatives by a vote of 100 yeas—93 nays—the whole South voting for it—in order no doubt to render it odious the Eastern members against it. In the Senate, a motion to increase the ad valorem duty upon wool from 50 to 70 per cent. the vote was 16 yeas, 31 nays—the Senators from the South voting in the

affirmative. As regards the duty upon lead, the amendment was offered by Mr. Kane, a Senator from Illinois—(and who is now voting with the South for every proposed modification of the Tariff) without concert or understanding, as I am authorized by that gentleman to say, of any kind or for any purpose, with Mr. Van Buren, and carried by a vote of 29 yeas, 17 nays. That Mr. Van Buren voted for the tariff of 1828, under instructions from the Legislature of New York, pressed through that body, without advisement with him, and as was believed at the time against his wishes. He belongs to that class of politicians who recognize the right of the constituent to instruct and the obligation of the representative to obey, unless upon matters of constitutional prohibition. Upon the whole I feel well satisfied, that Mr. Van Buren has no fixed hostility towards the South, but on the contrary, feelings of the most friendly kind—that his constitutional opinions are in the main in accordance with our own, and if the tariff is not adjusted upon fair terms of compromise, the fault will not be with Mr. Van Buren, or those who contributed to his nomination, whatever may be the course of his friends in Congress. In conclusion, I am forced to consider the question as now presented to the freemen of North Carolina, whether they are willing to unite with the supporters of Andrew Jackson, in securing the election of Martin Van Buren, by the people, or of hazarding the election of John Sergeant by the Senate? If they are prepared to nullify or secede, should it become necessary, in order to force a proper modification of the tariff, then I admit they should keep aloof from this election, and hold themselves in readiness for action. If they are not thus prepared, and I do not believe they are—then, they should unite in the support of a man, whom I sincerely believe will harmonize in the wishes of all moderate men, in an honest endeavor to settle this tariff question, and sustain in good faith, the President of their choice in all measures of great national policy.

I have the honor to be, your ob't serv't.

R. M. SAUNDERS.
Raleigh, June 8th, 1832.

Disgusting Scene.—The New York Courier says: Yesterday a white woman bearing the impress upon her countenance of having once been handsome, was conducted to the Police by the 1st Ward Inspector, at the instance of an ill looking negro, black as coal, who claimed her as his wife and charged her with having eloped from his residence in Boston. The wretched female told the magistrate that the claimant with some others had made her drink to intoxication in Boston, & while she was in that state the marriage ceremony was performed. The magistrate not having any power to act in the matter, ordered both to leave the office.

Deliberate slowly, execute promptly.