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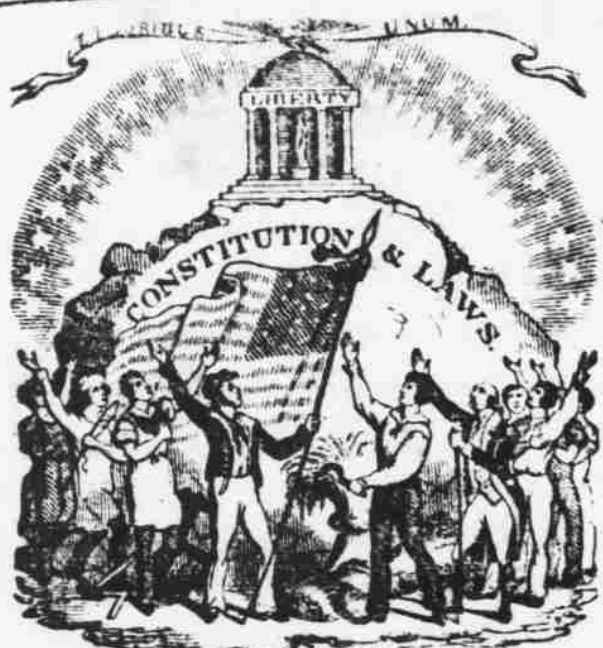
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POLITICAL.



From the Raleigh Standard.

To the People of No. Carolina.

My name having been presented to you as a candidate for Governor, at the ensuing election is my apology for this address. As I do not claim the support of any man, against his honest convictions of duty to his country, I shall address myself to the reason and understanding of the people, and cheerfully abide their decision.

Believing that the great measures of public policy advocated by the Democratic party were calculated to promote the prosperity and welfare of the country, I have given to those measures my cordial support. If asked what these measures are, I may point to our statutes and the history of the country for an answer. I may point to the overthrow of a corrupt National Bank, and the establishment of the Constitutional Treasury; to the repeal of a ruinous Tariff system, and the enactment of the more liberal policy embraced in the act of 1846; and to the acquisition of large, valuable, and fertile Territories, destined to add wealth and strength to this great country. These, and other measures, I may point to, as proud monuments of the patriotism, the purity, and wisdom of Democratic policy. Although a Democrat, I owe no allegiance to party farther than the policy of such party is calculated to promote the good of the country.

The adjustment of the slavery question is a subject of deep interest to every portion of the Union, and more especially to the South, with whose fate our interests and destiny are inseparably intertwined. Long before my entrance into public life, the agitation of this subject led to what is familiarly known as the "Missouri Compromise." Although I believed that, in entering into that compromise, the South had, for the sake of peace and harmony, conceded too much to the North, yet when I came into public life I was disposed to carry out that compromise in good faith. We had a right to expect and to demand of the North, that she would, on her part, stand by the compromise. But in this we have been sadly disappointed. A very large portion of the people of the North now seek to violate it, by demands incompatible with the interests, the safety, and the honor of the Southern States. The Territory of the United States was acquired by the common blood and common treasure of all the States; and to appropriate it to the use of some of the States, to the exclusion of others, would be a violation of every principle of justice and equality. Moreover, a vast amount of slave property is every year escaping into the Northern States, and most of these States, instead of faithfully carrying out the compromises of the Constitution, actually interpose legislation to prevent the recapture of fugitive slaves. In this way the South has lost millions. This grievance demands redress. The slavery question is of vital importance to us. To the North it is a mere abstract political question. To us, it is not only a question of right, involving an incalculable amount of private property, but the perpetuity of the Union, and above all, the domestic quiet and security of ourselves and families. The crisis demands

that the South should take a firm stand in defence of her rights. I have always been a Union man. I yield to no man in devotion to this glorious Union, and I desire to see it preserved and perpetuated to all time. After the enjoyment of civil and religious liberty, there is no object more desirable to me than the preservation of the Union. But the best and surest means, in my humble opinion, to preserve and perpetuate the Union, is for the South to take a firm and decided stand in favor of her rights, against the encroachments of the North.

I did not approve of the movement in favor of calling the Nashville Convention, yet a personal acquaintance with a large number of gentlemen, both Democrats and Whigs, who were in favor of that Convention, enabled me to repel the charge that they were in favor of treason or disunion. They are gentlemen of elevated patriotism, and are ardently attached to the Union.

I hope that wise and salutary counsels may prevail, and that this distracting question may at once be settled upon principles of justice to the South.

While a member of Congress I endeavored to adhere to the principles of the Missouri Compromise; and when a bill was before that body to establish a Territorial Government for Oregon, containing a clause inhibiting slavery, in that Territory—being compelled either to vote for the bill with that restriction or against extending the protection of our laws to that distant people—I voted for the bill, together with many Southern gentlemen. Some partizan Whig newspapers have seized on this pretext, and charged me with having voted for the Wilmot Proviso. The charge is untrue, for I am, and ever have been opposed to that Proviso, and have never voted for it at any time or in any way. The restriction in the Oregon bill applied to that Territory alone, all of which lies north of the Missouri Compromise line, whereas the Wilmot Proviso proposes to inhibit slavery both North and South of that line. I voted for the Resolutions annexing Texas, which contained a Proviso excluding slavery in all that part of Texas, North of the same line. These Resolutions were voted for by all the Democrats from the South, yet in doing so we did not vote for the Wilmot Proviso. While on this subject it occurs to me that if these Whig partizans would spend more of their time in examining the opinions of their own candidates, and less in misrepresenting the opinions of Democratic candidates, it would be better for the country. Two years ago I cautioned them against voting for Gen. Taylor, without a public declaration of his opinions. They would not take my advice, but turned round and denounced Gen. Cass as a "Wilmot Proviso Abolitionist," and that too in the face of the fact that he had publicly declared his opinion to the contrary. Gen. Taylor was honored with the vote of North Carolina, and Gen. Cass was defeated. Since then, who has done most for the South, Gen. Cass or Gen. Taylor? Gen. Cass, although instructed by the Legislature of his State to vote for the Wilmot Proviso, boldly and eloquently appealed to the North to do us justice, and openly proclaimed that before he would vote to carry out the instructions to perpetrate the injustice upon the South, he would resign his seat in the Senate. His appeal to the people of his State was not in vain; for the same Legislature assembled, and in a spirit of liberality highly creditable to themselves and still more complimentary to him, repealed those instructions. This is the same Gen. Cass who was charged in the late canvass with being a Wilmot Proviso Abolitionist. How stands the case with Gen. Taylor? It affords me no pleasure to state that his course has not done justice to the South. You looked in vain to his Annual Message to Congress for any appeal to the North to give up your fugitive slaves, or to do you justice in relation to the question of slavery. But you will find that he recommends a miserable non-action policy, which is, in the end, to accomplish the very object of the Wilmot Proviso.

This plan has become the scheme of the Abolitionists at the North. Gen. Taylor's policy has already been denounced by the veteran statesman, Henry

Clay, to whose eloquence many of you have delighted to listen, and around whose standard many of you have delighted to rally. Yet in the face of these facts, my competitor, Governor Manly, in a Speech delivered before the Whig Convention accepting the nomination, in speaking of the policy of Gen. Taylor, said:

"The Whig party of North Carolina, by a majority of 8000 votes, contributed to bring him into power, and we will be the last to desert the standard of the brave old soldier."

And again in the same Speech he says:

"The Whig party may well congratulate themselves and the Nation, in having at the head of affairs such a man, at such a tremendous crisis as the present."

For myself, I must say, I cannot congratulate any portion of the people of my State upon having at the head of affairs a man who persists in a policy so deadly hostile to our dearest rights. In vain may we make avowals of our devotion to our interests, if we elect and support those who do not represent those interests. Is this bitter pill of destruction to be gilded with the popular name of a military chieftain? The question is not whether you will "desert the standard of a brave old soldier," but it is whether you will permit yourselves to be betrayed by the mischievous policy of Gen. Taylor and his Cabinet.

While I have opposed Internal Improvements by the Federal Government, yet I have always avowed myself the friend of a fair and judicious system of Internal Improvements by our State. But I have ever been opposed to such wild and extravagant schemes as were calculated to involve the State in a large debt, without the prospect of a return of adequate advantages to the people. That I may not be charged with concealment, nor my views misrepresented, I will state, that had I been a member of the last Legislature I would have voted against the bill, chartering the Central Rail Road. My objections would have been more particularly confined to the details of the bill, I do not assail those who voted for the bill, but I believe they were governed by high and honorable motives. The stock in that Road has been secured, and the charter has become the irrevocable law of the State, and this is no longer an open question.

The State is now largely interested in the Road. Under these circumstances, as a citizen of the State, I desire to see the faithful execution of the law and the success of the enterprise. These views would govern my public conduct in regard to that subject.

I desire to see our system of Common Schools encouraged and improved, until it shall answer the laudable purpose for which it was established. This has ever been a subject in the success of which I have felt a deep interest. I voted with great pleasure for the first act ever passed by our Legislature to establish Common Schools. During the last canvass in the West, Gov. Manly assailed my vote on an amendment to that bill, to distribute the School fund according to federal population. Whether he will do so again, I know not. In his published Speech lately made before the Whig Convention, and which I presume was intended for circulation in the East, as well as in the West, I observe he does not make this point. I make this remark because the experience of the past has taught me what I have to expect for the future. I voted to distribute the School Fund according to federal population, because I thought that, upon the whole, it would be as satisfactory and as near right as any principle we could adopt. Since I gave that vote successive Legislatures have convened, and once, at least, a Whig Legislature has re-enacted the whole School law, and this principle of distribution still remains. For the part I acted, I think it has fallen to my lot to receive more than my share of abuse.

The views I expressed during the late canvass on the question of Equal Suffrage remain unchanged. Justice to myself and to the friends of this measure, requires a particular notice of a remark made by Gov. Manly in his late Speech, before the Whig Convention in Raleigh. In relation

to the origin of that question, he uses the following language:

"Whence did it come? In vain was it sought for in the primary assemblies of our people. They had not spoken nor moved in the matter. The great lever of public opinion, the Press, had been silent. The Democratic Convention which had just been held, had publicly recommended no such rule of action for the guidance of their nominee. From what region then could it have proceeded? It was conjectured that it smelt of the charnel house of the Washington City tactics, and that it had been sent on ready made to frighten the Whigs of this State from their property, and to place them in a false position in the election of Governor. What was conjecture then, has, in part, at least, become history now. It has been publicly asserted and admitted at Washington, I am told, that it was gotten up and manufactured there and sent on for North Carolina use; quoted and signed and gloated over as the infallible Democratic thunder; as their patent exploding blunderbuss for demolishing every thing."

Again, in the same Speech, he says:

"It was not to equalize the voting rights of the 'people' of North Carolina; but to elect the Democrat candidate, Gen. Cass, to the Presidency, that set that ball in motion."

I am no stranger to the inventions of Gov. Manly's fruitful imagination. As to the charge that this question was started to elect Gen. Cass I have only to say, that I made several speeches in favor of Equal Suffrage before Gen. Cass was nominated. Gov. Manly must know this fact, for some of these speeches I made in his presence. The charge that this question "was gotten up and manufactured" elsewhere, and "sent on here," is totally untrue. I have frequently, in public speeches, and in private conversations in the presence of Gov. Manly, contradicted this and similar insinuations made by himself and others. It would seem strange that he still persists in such an illiberal course towards this measure and its friends. Perhaps when he made that speech he did not expect me to be a candidate again; but I do not think that justifies him. He says it "smelt" of "the charnel house tactics of Washington City," and in the last canvass he said it smelt of "Abolitionism." No wonder this question of popular rights smells bad to Governor Manly, who was a Federalist during the last Whig. Young as he was, his precocious developments then but foreshadowed that in mature age he was to be the enemy of Equal Suffrage. It was not because it smelt of the "charnel house," that he opposed it, but because it was favorable to popular rights, and inconsistent with his notions of Government. It was too "levelling" and too "Agrarian" for him. He argued, that if the principle was carried out the poor men would make the laws, and divide the property of the rich among themselves. No wonder he does not like Equal Suffrage, for it came near doing for him in the last canvass what many of his friends fear it will do for him in this. Yes, fellow-citizens, I fancy, that the very worst smell, to him, of all that attaches itself to Equal Suffrage, is the smell of defeat; and in despite of all his abuse of the measure, the smell will be borne to him on every breeze till this great work is consummated.

I trust I shall be pardoned for alluding to the manner in which this subject was made an issue in the canvass of 1848, for I think the part I acted enables me to know more about this matter than any other human being upon the face of the earth. That some men were permitted to vote for the Senate and others were not, was no new discovery to me or to any body else. At any rate, I will remember my attention was directed to the inequality and injustice of this feature of our Constitution even before I became a voter; and I presume there are but few men in the State who could not say as much. My attention was frequently called to the subject when a Candidate for the Senate, by persons who desired to vote for me, but expressed a regret that they could not do so for the want of the land qualification. Many years ago, while a member of the Legislature, I determined at one time to present the subject to the consideration of

that body, but met with no encouragement from those to whom I communicated my intention. Occupying an humble position and possessing but little influence, I was fearful that a failure then might prove prejudicial to this question of Constitutional Reform, which I believed, I could at some day convince the people they ought to adopt. The time and state of public opinion then appeared unpropitious, and I abandoned my determination. Early in the year 1848, I determined to press the subject to the consideration of the people of the State. As federal politics had governed almost every thing in our State for years, I foresaw that it would be difficult to procure for this subject that consideration which its importance demanded, unless it was adopted by one of the political parties. With this view I determined to attend the Democratic Convention to be held that Spring and urge the adoption as an issue; and that if the Convention would not adopt it, I would seek some suitable occasion to make a Speech on the subject in my own County, and write it out for publication; and that I would publish essays on the subject, urging the consideration of this question to the people. Ill health prevented me from attending the Convention. When I heard from that Convention, I was surprised to learn that I had been nominated for Governor. Before I received official information of my nomination I wrote Mr. Holden a letter stating that I should probably decline, but if I run I desired to make Equal Suffrage an issue. Believing the state of my health was such that a canvass of the State would be hazardous to my life, I subsequently wrote a letter declining the nomination. This letter was not published, and my friends prevailed upon me to withdraw it and to accept the nomination. The next day after I accepted I left home to meet my competitor, who was then engaged in the Canvass. Before leaving home I apprised some of my friends of my purpose to make this issue. When I reached Raleigh, I mentioned the subject to several of my friends there; and Mr. Holden assured me, if I carried out my intention, that the Standard would zealously advocate the measure. At Goldsborough I mentioned the subject to friends I met there. When I arrived at Newbern I consulted friends there on the subject, and Mr. Gulick promised me that the Republican would zealously advocate the measure. My friends will recollect that in all these conversations that to make this issue was a favorite object with me; and that these conversations and consultations on the subject were brought about by my own suggestions. I had no consultation or conversation on the subject of making this issue with any one living out of the State; neither did I receive from Washington City or elsewhere any suggestion, either written or oral, in relation to making the issue.

The Democratic party had nominated me without my knowledge or consent, and although they had not authorized me to make Equal Suffrage a question in the election, yet I believed they would sustain me if I did right; and I therefore took the responsibility to put "that ball in motion" on the 10th of May 1848. This is the way in which the subject was introduced into the canvass of 1848. Whether Gov. Manly's "thunder" is imported from the "charnel house tactics of Washington City," I know not, and I care not. If, however, I might be permitted to judge of this fact from his antiquated notions and uncompromising hostility to popular rights, I would sooner suspect that his "thunder" came from the "charnel house tactics" of ancient European monarchies. If he draws his supplies from this source, I do not wonder that a proposition to extend the right of suffrage came on him, as he says, "like a clap of thunder in a clear sky."

What is the dearest privilege of an American citizen? It is to exercise the great and inestimable right of suffrage. In advocating this reform I do not now, nor have I at any time, proposed to change the basis of Representation for either the Senate or House of Commons. Let that remain as it is. What I propose is, to permit every man who is now entitled to vote for the Commons, to vote also for the Senate. Is this right? I might call your attention to the fact that this