

choose to remove them; they must do as he directs or be turned loose to starve. All his power I zealously strove to give him, and I did so under a thorough conviction that he would only use it in accordance with the spirit of the Constitution. That he would follow the wise example of Washington of Jefferson, of Madison and Monroe. That so far from openly interfering in the election of his successor, or encouraging any Executive officer to do so, he would sternly prohibit it in others, and think it a high political and moral duty in himself to be perfectly "neutral," and lest he should disclose his preference would avoid conversing on the subject with his most intimate friends. In this I have been disappointed. I have been apprised that for twelve months past he has neither been sparing nor backward in his censures of me. It gave me no uneasiness—I was willing to bear it all without complaint. My only wish was that he might so conduct as to take nothing from the high character which in common with others, I had for years endeavored to give him. Not content with this he comes to our own State among my own constituents, those in whose employ I now am, took a circuitous route through East Tennessee, to be in many Villages, and is still on his tour through West Tennessee into North Alabama, openly denouncing me as a "red-hot Federalist," having abandoned his administration and being so far from him as the poles are asunder, &c. Now with great deference to the opinion of that highly esteemed and venerable man I must be allowed to say he is entirely mistaken. I am not now and never was a Federalist, in any sense of that term recognized by or known to the American people. I am now and ever have been, a Republican of Mr. Jefferson's school, so far as I have been able to comprehend the doctrine taught by him. The true way to test this matter is for each of us to put down the articles of his political creed, and see in what we disagree. I have given you mine, you and the American people, who have taken the trouble to read what I have said, or to notice my recorded vote, know that I have practised on my professions. It is not with me to say whether the Chief Magistrate has practised on his or not. If we now disagree in any thing, I aver that I agree with the republican creed and that he will be found on that side which leads directly to monarchy, although I hope he does not so intend it.

It is undoubtedly true that upon one point he and I are antipodes, as far apart as the poles are from each other. He thinks it an important point of his administration before his time expires, to select his successor, and through the medium of a Convention, got up under his own auspices, have the person thus selected, recommended as a suitable candidate, to use all his influence and patronage to procure the election of the person thus recommended, and he denounces every man as a Federalist, and as opposed to his Administration, who will not vote for and support such person.

I disagree with this whole doctrine, and insist, it is no part of his duty to select his successor, to have him recommended by a Convention, or to use his influence or patronage to induce or coerce persons to vote for him. This is obviously the point of disagreement, and I willingly leave to the present generation, and to those who are to succeed us, to say which of us holds the republican side.

Suppose Mr. Adams to be now President, and his term about to expire, and he had designated Mr. Clay as his successor, and was using all his patronage to induce persons to vote for him, and was actually travelling through Massachusetts and elsewhere, haranguing the people and denouncing Gen. Jackson as a red-hot Federalist because he would not withdraw his name and vote for Mr. Clay. What would be said by our venerable friend in such case?

With a view to being this doctrine home to the comprehension of every man. Suppose there were now a proposition to amend the Constitution, and make it the duty of every President before his term expired to select the man in his judgment best qualified to succeed him—to have a Convention called to recommend such person, and then to use all his patronage and influence to have him elected. Is there any one man in America so stupid as not to see, it would be taking from the people all choice, all power in electing their Chief Magistrate, and vesting it in the hands of one man? If such an amendment were to prevail, so far as the election of President was concerned, we would have to all intents and purposes a Monarchy. Well; if we can be prevailed on to think this practice ought to be pursued, without such an amendment, practically the government is a monarchy, because the people will have given up their right of choice, and transferred it to one man. It is not me alone that is denounced, but every friend I have in Congress from the State. They are taken up one by one by name and denounced by the President as Federalists, and opponents of his Administration. In what have they opposed his Administration? Did they against his three millions, session before last? Did they vote against expurgating the journals? Not they. Not one of them. Yet they are opposed to his Administration, be-

cause they will not vote for the person he has selected as his successor. It is true as to one of them, Mr. Huntsman, when the President was asked how he was he said he did not know, he was hanging on the fence, and it was doubtful which side he would fall.

In justice to that gentleman I must be permitted to state, if there be any sincerity in man, he is as much on the Tennessee side of the fence, as any of his colleagues. I have thought it right on this occasion to bring this point plainly and distinctly to your view that you might every one see the reason why I and my friends are denounced as Federalists, opposed to the Administration and the Antipodes of our esteemed and venerable Chief Magistrate.

The real offence which I have committed is not the abandonment of my principles, but because I would not abandon them. Not because I become the Tool of the opposition; but because I would not unite with an old and valued friend in doing that, under evil and mischievous advisers, which before God I believed, would rob the people of that freedom for which our Fathers "periled their lives, their fortune and their sacred honor;" and bring reproach upon our memory when we are numbered with the dead.

I have no controversy with the Chief Magistrate, I aspire to nothing which he wants. If there is any controversy it is between my countrymen, who solicited the use of my name, and him. They have solicited me to let my name be used as his successor, and I have consented. This is my whole offence. If there is any thing wrong in it, who is the cause of it? It is not me that is to be put down and disgraced in this controversy, if Tennessee is either coerced or coerced to surrender her choice. It is the people, who have placed me in the position I now occupy. The Saviour of the World, when upon earth, found among the small number of his disciples, one Judas, who not only sold, but betrayed him for his thirty pieces of silver. It were vain for one of my humble attainments, who has nothing to offer but his best efforts to promote the public welfare, to hope that all who professed to be his friends would continue to act up to that character. Already have I found more than one Judas, who by parting with their interests in me have received or expect to receive more than twice their thirty pieces. I doubt not there may be more who will yet do so; but if it is the will of Providence that the use of my name shall be of service to my fellow-men, it will be so ordered that in place of such hollow hearted and false friends, I will receive the aid and support of many honest men, who will desire nothing but that the government may be preserved in its purity; and if there lives the man, who can induce a majority of the people of Tennessee to abandon their own principles, and sacrifice an individual, whose name they had placed before the public to gratify his wishes, then will I admit that I never understood the character of the people among whom I have lived for almost fifty-two years.

My enemies have made a mistake. They imagine that as I have determined not to advocate my own pretensions for the most dignified station upon earth, that they may charge me with what misconduct they please, in my present station, as Senator, and that I must remain silent, or lay myself liable to the charge of indecency in electioneering. I cannot and will not act on any such false delicacy. If I am unjustly accused—if I am charged with entertaining principles, which do not belong to me, and these charges are made to my own constituents, by a character of the highest standing, it is due to you, it is due to the country and it is just to myself that I not only repel the charges, but disclose the motives of those who make them.

My political friends who have placed my name before the Public, are Jeffersonian Jackson Republicans, professing and practising now, the same creed they professed in 1828. Our motto is "not words but deeds." We determine to prove our faith in our creed by our practices. If for this we are to be denominated "newborn Whigs," we are content. Instead of being placed in the company of aliens and strangers we will still be in the embraces and arms of our long cherished principle. "Names are nothing," said our venerable Chief Magistrate, in his letter to Mr. Monroe. Dress a Tory in the garments of a Whig and he will be a Tory still. As well might we expect to conceal the Wolf by putting on the covering of the lamb, as to suppose that we conceal the conspirator who seeks to deprive the people of their right of suffrage, by throwing over him the name of a "good old Jeffersonian democratic republican."

All political power is vested originally, in the great body of the people. It all resides there yet, except such portions of it, as they have vested in their different Agents, to be used for their benefit. They have reserved to themselves the right freely to choose the two highest officers, known to the Constitution, in that mode pointed out by it.

This right is the sure rock, upon which the whole superstructure rests. Upon it I have planted myself. "The rains of slander may descend, the floods of calumny may come, the winds, the storms, and the tempests of denunciation may beat upon me," but there

will I remain unmoved, until some political earthquake shall shiver both it and me to atoms.

In conclusion permit me to add, that as to our venerable and esteemed Chief Magistrate, if in any thing I have said there is the appearance of unkindness, or want of respect, it was certainly not intended. He has assailed me openly for my conduct, while in your employ. One of the first laws of our nature is self-defence. I obey that law as a freeman, whose rights and reputation are dear to him. We disagree in opinion on a most important subject. At our age, and every circumstance considered, it becomes us both to disagree, in opinion, in good temper. In times past he has had his troubles, and in them, he never was without a friend to justify or excuse his conduct when I was present. He has decreed that we shall separate, or I surrender that freedom for which my father fought. The first is the only alternative for a man determined to preserve his self-respect. He and I are poorly employed, if we lose our temper about human governments. In the course of nature they must soon cease to have any operation upon either of us. We must soon appear before a tribunal where the Judge himself will be the only witness. He cannot be misled as to our acts or our motives, and my prayer is that instead of applying the rules of strict justice to either, our errors, vices and infirmities may find forgiveness in his mercy.

If hearts from the fulness of a grateful heart would avail you any thing for your unshaken confidence and steady support under every change and vicissitude of life, I would pour them out as long as my strength would permit; but I feel that I have detained you already too long. I offer you the following sentiment, in which I know you will cheerfully unite.

Practice not Professions.—The Republicans of Tennessee are now what they were in 1828, Jacksonians, following the creed of that Apostle of Liberty, Thomas Jefferson. Should this entitle them to a "Newborn" name, they care not; provided they are left in the full enjoyment of their inalienable right of suffrage. They would rather have even a bad name with good principles, than bad principles concealed under a good name.

COMMUNICATION.

FOR THE STAR.

To the Freemen of North Carolina.

FELLOW CITIZENS:

As the period for the selection of a Chief Magistrate approaches, you perceive attempts made by allied combinations to wean you from the man of your choice, and enlist you in support of the individual whom they wish to place in the Executive Chair. These attempts are the offspring, not of jealous watchfulness of your interests, or of generous wishes to promote your welfare; for these party managers well know that you are capable not only of preserving unimpaired the purity and safety of your free institutions, but that you are also able to ascertain which one of your distinguished men is best qualified to secure this object, without any interference on their parts. They well know that you desire no caucusing to enable you to fix upon the individual whose moral firmness and integrity fit him for that important trust.

And yet you have seen a mighty effort made to dictate to you the individual to whom you are to give your suffrages. You have seen a Convention, formed of self-appointed individuals, assembled for the purpose of informing a free people who is to be their future ruler! I say self-appointed—for what one of you had any agency in their appointment? or what man, in one hundred, was concerned either in the selection of Delegates to that Convention, or in prescribing for them the man for whom they should give their preference?

An individual had been nominated for your support by a portion of the people—by the freemen of Tennessee. This nomination struck terror to the hearts of those who desired to control your destinies; and with a view to overawe and deter you from his support, they convened this mighty humbug, composed chiefly of office holders and expectants, who proceeded to place before you their candidates, with all the pomp and authority of a regal Court! Not content with this assumption of power, you perceive an Address from a committee appointed last winter by a portion of the members of the legislature, abounding with vindictive and unfounded attacks upon the people's candidate, & reiterating their assertion that you must support their candidate, or that "there will be no election by the people." If the election does go to the House, on whose heads will the responsibility rest? Your candidate had been announced long before the assemblage of the office holding caucus which nominated their's. And yet you are told that if the election goes to the House, the blame will belong to you, for your impudence in sustaining your candidate!

Fellow Citizens, be not deceived by the vain boasting and over-confidence portrayed in this address of the committee. This is one of the chief expedients on which they rely for success. They hope to deceive you by empty boasts and high-sounding notes of their own consequence. But experience has taught you that they are not invincible—that even the immense patronage of the Government, a powerful monopoly of office holders, and the advantage of holding the reins in

their own hands, are insufficient to enable political intriguers to battle successfully with a free and independent yeomanry. You have conquered them, when the prospect seemed almost hopeless; and now, encouraged by former success, your majority will be largely increased, unless you permit them to awe you by their commanding injunctions. But let us examine their statements, and test the truth of their assertion that Judge White cannot be elected by the people. The committee say, that the States in which he will be run do not give more than 94 Electoral votes. This is a false attempt to deceive you, and whip you into the support of Mr. Van Buren.—Judge White will certainly be run in Virginia, N. Carolina, S. Carolina, Tennessee, Georgia, Alabama, Mississippi, Louisiana, Arkansas, Missouri and Illinois—which States give 103 votes; and he will probably receive every vote to which they are entitled. Besides this, the Electors for the States of Ohio, Kentucky, Indiana and Maryland will probably cast their votes for him, if by so doing, they can prevent the election from going to the House of Representatives, and with the assistance of these States, his election will be almost certain. On the other hand, the prospects of the caucus candidate are daily declining; and his opponents speak confidently of carrying even his own State against him. His support will probably be confined to the old Federal States of New England, and perhaps New York; and their candidates have almost invariably been defeated. If you doubt that he is the candidate of the Federalists, how can you account for their almost unanimous support of him? Connecticut, Rhode-Island, and other Federal States, which supported Mr. Adams in preference of General Jackson, and which have always been found foremost in the ranks of the Federalists, are now rallying upon him; and they were always opposed to the administration, until it was ascertained that Mr. Van Buren was a favorite.

But why do we see these office-holders so careful that you should not go astray in the selection of your rulers? Are they endued with a greater share of patriotism than falls to the lot of farmers and mechanics? Are Steam Doctors and County Court Lawyers more sincere in their devotion to liberty than the great mass of the people? No, fellow citizens, such meddling interference is not made with a view to assist you in judging of the honesty and qualifications of your public men. They dread your unbiased judgment—they well know that you are most likely to give your suffrages to a man who possesses both integrity of character and firmness of purpose; and these are qualifications which they dread. Their pretended solicitude for your welfare springs from a desire to secure their own interests, by the selection of a man who will reward them for their services in procuring his election. If you doubt this, look at their acknowledgments in this very vehicle of slander which they insulingly address to you. They say, that all men must be dependant for their support upon those who elect them," and that they must "form their cabinets" from their supporters.—This assertion, which they have let out in their endeavors to vilify their opponents, furnishes you the true cause of their solicitude for the election of Mr. Van Buren. They know that he is a pliant tool, a time serving politician, whom they can mould and fashion after their own will,—such a man is suited to their desires; and hence their untiring and zealous activity in his support. Acting on the hope of experiencing the benefit of the party motto, that "to the victors belong the spoils," they will use every method, however foul and disgraceful, to attain their end. They have already begun their occupation, by calling Judge White an "apostate."

Fellow Citizens, is this the manner in which candid and gentlemanly men should deal with their opponents?—Would the committee of a party maintaining true and sterling principles, and candidly battling in defence of those principles, have descended to an epithet so low, so disgraceful, so unworthy the character of an upright man? Or if they had so calumniated him, would they not have clearly substantiated their charge by proof? Your own observation teaches you that no party whose situation is not desperate, would have bestowed such an epithet upon an opponent, and that too, while addressing men of honor and principle, without fully and clearly substantiating their charge; and your own love of truth and justice admonishes you that men whose principles are untarnished would never seek to cast a foul and unfounded stigma upon another. But it may be said that they have attempted to prove their charge. Vain and useless attempt! They well knew that they could never succeed in so doing; but they knew also, that to apply the epithet, and make no endeavor to sustain it, would be worse than rashness—that it would be productive of consequences quite the reverse of what they intended to produce. But let us examine this forced attempt at confirmation; and mark the recklessness and sophistry which characterize it. The committee begin by asserting that until Judge White was brought out as a candidate for the Presidency, he "never once separated from Gen. Jackson, even in the minu-

ter details of Executive duties, or of legislative recommendation." This declaration is made at the very time when the Van Buren presses are affirming that Judge White opposed Gen. Jackson when he offered as U. States Senator from the State of Tennessee!—thus plainly declaring that either the presses or the committee are guilty of a breach of truth! Do you need any further evidence to satisfy you that this Address is gotten up for the express purpose of deceiving you by false representations and sophistic reasoning. If so, look at the next charge which they prefer against Judge White.—They say that "he never has had an opportunity, since he became a candidate, to reverse any vote which he had previously given in support of the administration, but he has done so, and gone against the President, against himself, and with the opposition." In 1829, Gen. Jackson, speaking of the surplus revenue, says:—"It appears to me that the most safe, just, and federal disposition which could be made of the surplus revenue, would be its apportionment among the several States, according to their ratio of representation."

The committee tell you that Judge White then supported him in these views, but still say that in voting for the Deposite Bill, at the last session, he opposed the administration! Judge White voted for the Bill, and General Jackson approved it—was this deserting his former principles, and going "against the President?" Because Mr. Van Buren is opposed to the Deposite Bill, and to doubt used all his endeavors to prevail upon the President to veto it, must Judge White be called an "apostate" for supporting it? He upheld the principles of the Bill in 1829.—This the committee admit,—and the Journals of Congress will inform you that he voted for it in 1836. And yet he is denounced as an "apostate" for voting for the Bill, and sustaining both his own and the President's former principles. Fellow Citizens, it is not the wish of the committee to make Judge White support the President, for he is, and ever has been, one of his firmest friends—but they would make him kneel to Martin Van Buren, and assist him in his endeavors to control the will of the President.

Again—the committee say that "he voted against expurgating from the Journals of the Senate the Resolution of censure against the President." Judge White introduced and supported a Resolution to rescind and make null and void this objectionable article. Read his powerful and manly speech in support of his motion, and then contrast it with the shuffling and sophistry of this address. Judge White will sustain his own consistency in voting against expurgating the Journals, which the constitution clearly forbids, by declaring that the Senate "shall keep a Journal of its proceedings." A Resolution to instruct him to vote for expurgating, was offered in the Legislature of Tennessee and rejected—thus, in effect, instructing him to vote against it. This he has not yet done (though the committee endeavor to make you believe that he has) for the Resolution has not yet been acted upon! But they have reason to fear, from Judge White's consistent support of the constitution, and his known regard for the wishes of his constituents, that he will obey their instructions, after using all his endeavors to rescind the Resolution. This is the same party, fellow citizens, who are continually censuring Senator Mangum for not obeying the instructions of his Legislature; and yet they denounce Judge White, because they fear he will obey his instructions! Consistent politicians! Which now merits the charge of having "deserted former principles," the committee or Judge White? Which deserves the epithet "apostate?"

The committee then go on to show that Judge White voted for the Land Bill in 1836, and opposed it at a former period. Is there any inconsistency in this? When Judge White sustained the President in vetoing the Bill, we were labouring under a heavy national debt, which the surplus arising from the sales of the public lands had been appropriated to defray, & which could not soon have been paid without the assistance arising from this source, unless the public Taxes were raised. But now, in the language of this same committee, "the nation is out of debt, our resources are great beyond all former example, and the most perplexing question which now disturbs our legislation, is not how shall any more be extracted from the people? but, how shall it be contrived to draw less from their pockets?" Viewing the question in this light, Judge White voted to return to the people the property which was lent to the Government for the payment of the national debt, that debt having been defrayed, and the source of revenue still remaining unexhausted. By this policy, N. Carolina would annually have received upwards of 500,000 dollars, which would have enabled the State to vie with her sisters in the establishment of Free Schools & works of Internal Improvement. But Judge White is an "apostate" for sustaining the measure!—Why? Because Martin Van Buren wishes to keep the surplus for other purposes.

But if this consistent party are so anxious, as they say they are, to "reduce the present burdens of the people," why do they sustain Mr. Van Buren, who avows himself hostile to any measure for restoring them their

money? No "apostate?" No desertion of principle?"

Fellow Citizens, Mr. Van Buren openly declares his hostility to any measure for restoring to you your rightful share of the public lands. This share you have a clear and undoubted right to receive. Your fathers ceded to the General Government large tracts of valuable territory for the purpose of defraying the national debt—the proceeds of which were to be restored to them after its payment. That debt has been defrayed, and still you are denied your rightful participation in your own property! Will you forever surrender your legitimate claims by electing Martin Van Buren, who will undoubtedly veto every Bill restoring you your rights?

Fellow Citizens, these are the grounds, and the only grounds (except his vote in the election of a few officers, for which he then gave clear and satisfactory reasons—reasons which may have been sufficient for any unprejudiced mind) upon which the committee denounce Judge White as an "apostate." Have they sustained their charge?

In my next, I shall place before you some of Mr. Van Buren's "inconsistencies," and endeavor to show that the term "apostate" can be far more appropriately applied to him, than to Judge White.

A SOUTHRON.

From the Hillsborough Recorder.

Grand Republican Festival.

Agreeable to public notice, the Barbecue complimentary to the Hon. Willie P. Mangum and Gen. Edward B. Dudley, was served up on the grounds of Mr. Burgwyn, about one mile north of this town, on Saturday last. It was the largest assemblage of the kind ever witnessed in this part of the state; it is estimated that there were present more than fifteen hundred persons. There were many strangers from different parts of the state, but the assemblage was composed principally of the substantial farmers of Orange. The preparations were upon an extensive scale, and the committee of arrangement deserve great credit for the order and good taste of their arrangements. An excellent band of music was provided, the culvering strains of which, interspersed through the proceedings, contributed much to the enjoyment of the day. Throughout the whole nothing occurred in the slightest degree to mar the festivity. Col. Caldwell Jones presided, assisted by William Hall, Catlett Campbell, William Barber, Abner Parker, James Mcbane, Alfred Wooten, Charles W. Johnston, James S. Smith and Frederick Nash, esqrs. as vice Presidents. After the clergy was removed the following toasts were drank.

1. Liberty—The Constitution—Union.
2. The Old North State—She has coolly and deliberately taken her position for the coming contest; let the enemy make their posture for she will not waver in the onslaught.
3. General Edward B. Dudley—The character of the state is illustrated in the Chief Magistrate elect, who to the greatest merit adds a modesty which never proclaims it. As for the expressions of enthusiasm which this toast was received, had William B. Meares, esq. of Wilmington, being present, arose and said that he felt bound on, in the absence of his friend and fellow townsman to return his acknowledgments for the tribute of respect just bestowed. He had known Gen. Dudley from his youth to the present hour, and felt assured North Carolina could not have elected her chief magistracy any of her sons so devoted to her interests. Born and reared in the retirement of the country, he was early trained to active business habits, and the close pursuits of industrious life. At an early period he had acquired the confidence of his countrymen, and though opposed to the federal politics of a large majority of them, he was elected a member of the Assembly in 1811. During the session of that Assembly the question was agitated, whether North Carolina should continue to choose her rulers by the vote of the people, or by the vote of the President and Vice President by electors, as she had previously done, and through his diminished strength in the electoral college, or make such a change as would throw her whole weight in favor of her favored candidate. By the alteration adopted by that Assembly, the entire vote of the state was given to James Madison, and for its support of that measure Gen. Dudley was denounced by his federal constituents. Soon after the declaration of war in 1812, though in easy circumstances and enjoying all the comforts of domestic retirement, his patriotic spirit would not permit him to remain a sluggard in the hour of danger. He volunteered his services to his country, was appointed to a command in the militia, and continued to serve his country to the end of the war. On return of peace, he again embarked in the active business of life, and his enterprise and public spirit diffused improvement around him, and furnished bread to many poorman's families. Again he was called to the councils of his country, and through his legislative career you have seen his zealous and patriotic interest in the welfare of his native state. Such conduct for your next Governor. Rest assured, the questions which now agitate this union, he will be found the true, the loyal North Carolinian. In conclusion, Mr. Meares offered the following sentiment:—

Southern Rights, or give us the ship.

3. The Hon. Willie P. Mangum—The firmness with which he has sustained the cause of Constitutional Liberty commands our gratitude and admiration—North Carolina will not desert him who has been true to her best interests.

This toast was received with loud and enthusiastic applause. After order was restored, Mr. Mangum rose, and in a speech full of eloquence and abounding in impressive appeals, he exclaimed their attention for some three hours. He was frequently interrupted with loud cheering and other expressions of approbation, and appeared throughout to possess a perfect control over the feelings of the large concourse by which he was surrounded. We never heard a more happy display of oratorical power. We have requested Mr. Mangum to furnish us with the substance of his remarks, and hope in a week or two to be enabled to present them to our readers; but those only who heard them delivered, will be able to form a just conception of their force and beauty. On concluding his speech, Mr. Mangum offered the following sentiment:—

The State of North Carolina—The ship of the South—her motto "Drapes and tacks"—[the spotless and snow-white linen].

3. Hon. Hugh L. White—The incorrupt