



AND

NORTH-CAROLINA GAZETTE.

Our are the plans of fair, delightful Peace, Unwarpy by party rage to live like Brothers.

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THE PRESIDENCY.

From the Richmond Enquirer, FOUR LETTERS Addressed to the People of the United States, BY A FELLOW-CITIZEN. Letter III

I come now to the defence of a charge, which though I am bold to affirm, is alleged against Mr. Crawford with less foundation, and is more unwarranted, than any other, yet as no specifications are given, it will be more difficult to be met and exposed—I mean the charge of intrigue.

I am not, however, without a confident belief, that I shall be able to make this accusation yield to the force of truth, if I can have the unprejudiced attention of every dispassionate mind.

It is too well known that an excess of prejudice destroys the power of conviction, and passion always weakens the strength of judgments. In relation to this charge, no man's political life can more abundantly attest the truth of these reflections than Mr. Crawford's. Without pointing to a single fact where such an imputation is either apparent or probable, without referring even to a solitary instance of disingenuousness, he is branded with a trait, that has obtained belief and currency, with less evidence to support it than any other, with which his peace has been so unsparringly invaded—and there appears to be a tenacity in urging it, equalled only by the consummate assurance that seeks to force it down upon the public opinion, exclusively by the main strength of unaided and obstinate assertion.

This charge originated with one of the bitterest personal enemies Mr. Crawford ever had, and when I mention the name of Clarke, that enemy is perfectly understood, and would of itself, if his private character could be known, be more than sufficient to prevent the trouble of this vindication; for, if there is an honest man in the world who really knew him, that would suffer his mind to make up a decisive opinion upon the credit of his unsupported declaration, that man would be the slave of a credulity entitling him more to pity than resentment. I know that I run a risk of forfeiting the respect which every writer deserves, by bringing this character into view; first, because it must degrade every subject with which it is connected, and secondly, the terms indispensably necessary to its faithful description, will subject me to the charge of persecution, the atmosphere in which he can alone "move, breathe, and have his being." But it is absolutely requisite to obtain a right understanding of the source from whence this charge has arisen, painful and disgraceful as it may be to take Governor Clarke along in our company, and hold up to view a part of the disgusting picture of his life.

It is a well known fact, and I take no pleasure in mentioning it, but it is demanded by the occasion, that in Governor Clarke's early life, such was the dissipated course of that life, that no decent man could even accidentally fall into his company, without the certainty of a direct insult; and such was the untoward turbulence of his disposition, that unless a sense of prudence dictated a separation, a personal difficulty was the inevitable consequence. The harmony of every company was marred into which he intruded himself, for his society was never sought or solicited; the tranquillity of the hospitable and the hilarity of the festive board were destroyed, may even the peaceful pastimes of the theatre and the still more innocent amusements of the ball room could not escape his licentious rudeness. At this time, and in this unquestionable state of things, Mr. Crawford then just admitted to the bar, and of uncommon energy of character, for which he has always been remarkable, determined, and frequently took occasion to express that determination, that as his professional pursuits would frequently bring him into contact with this individual, a respect for himself would constrain him to chastise any insult from that quarter; that nothing but a general acquiescence in such drunken hectoring had encouraged a mind, fit for distinction in nothing else, to violate all the decencies of society with impunity; that he would not submit to it, and accordingly carried his threat into execution. This was certainly the incipient and true cause of that deadly quarrel, which has so long, and I can with truth say, on the part of Mr. Crawford, with the deepest regret, agitated the repose of society. Clarke, with a shrewd discernment, of which in his whole life he has given but the solitary instance, plainly saw that the opening career of Crawford, like the famous Eclipse, to use the fashionable slang of the turf, was sufficient to make himself and his rider, and he, like Purdy, has fastened upon him with unflinching steadiness, and set him with a death-like closepress, resolved that nothing but death shall separate their fame. He has never lost an opportunity of having it distinctly understood, that he is the constant rival of Mr. Crawford, and by that means has actually succeeded in connecting his public importance with that gentleman, knowing that every step he rose upon the public estimation, he would be obliged to carry his loathsome load, and if I may use the expression, this fungus, that has grown out of the exultance of his political greatness.

To shew that this has been an ungracious and an unwilling strife on the part of Mr. Crawford, has it not been kept up to the present day by his unflattering adversary? Has it not been renewed by him, after it had died away from the public mind, for upwards of fifteen years, and that too while Mr. Crawford was absent from the state upon public business, and when its continuance had long since ceased, when no fresh instance of provocation had been offered, and there appeared not even a plausible reason for its revival?

The inference is too obvious to be misunderstood. It was this contest that brought him into notice, and it is this alone that will keep him in a sphere, to which few so ignorant have ever aspired, and none so malignant have ever attained.

It cannot have escaped the observation of the reflecting class of community, how easily, in popular governments, the public mind can be troubled, how extensively its surface may be agitated, and like the force of a rapid current, how difficult it is to obstruct or divert any steady direction it may have acquired. Its tendency ceases only with the suspension of its impetus. In the struggle between these characters, talents, integrity, and indeed every qualification which belongs to honest motives and an unsuspected rectitude of life, being altogether on the side of Mr. Crawford, he was almost unanimously supported by the public sentiment, and this decisive impression would have remained the same to the present hour but for his long absence from the state. Social as well as individual feelings may be wooed, caressed, and flattered out of their strongest partialities and warmest affections. To aid in this object and to effect a revolution of the public mind, two of the most powerful passions belonging to the human breast were brought into operation, jealousy and sympathy; jealousy at the overgrowing power, as was alleged, of Mr. Crawford, and sympathy for the persecution of his antagonist. Those who know any thing of the secret springs of the heart, know that a long course of uninterrupted success in any thing, but more especially in the enjoyment of public confidence, unless supported by the most active moral impulses, or directed by the strongest dictates of interest, often incurs a discontent and jealousy, that of itself will ultimately wear out the most seemingly well-fortified popularity—but add to this the agency of pity for an object, though the most contemptible, who is supposed to suffer by this prosperity, and the change of feeling becomes inevitable, and what is the most extraordinary feature of the case, the popularity while it gradually leaves the favorite, to make his mortification the more complete, settles upon his opponent.

This has been precisely the process in the case before us. Never, perhaps, had any one acquired, and so deservedly too, such a popularity as Mr. Crawford, in the state of Georgia. And such was his magnanimity and forbearance, he never abused it, for his requests were few and always reasonable. On the contrary, the demands of his rival were unceasing and without number, and so continual and repeated was his defeat and disgrace, that compassion at last usurped the seat of honest conviction, and he now owes his present elevation to a morbid pity of public sentiment, of which he has the meanness to boast. Mr. Crawford was absent from the state, and though daily acquiring for it, by distinguished services, an honorable reputation, yet it was studiously represented that he filled appointments so high that he felt himself above the people, above those very people who had given him his political projectility; that he cared nothing for the soil in which his early honors were radicaded, that he was not, as he had so often pretended to be, the sincere friend of the state, that all his promotion had been gained by intrigue, and that too exerted against a native Georgian, who had fought for the country, whose father before him was a revolutionary soldier and sufferer, both of whom had defended the frontiers; that the younger Clarke had been most cruelly persecuted and injured in his private and public character, and that all this was done to favor a person whose unrivalled prosperity had made him haughty, supercilious and overbearing. Every one must at once perceive what an effect such a picture as this, possessing colours of such glowing contrast, would have upon the unpractised taste and temper of a people, easily deluded and readily disposed from a sense of generosity to repair any injury of which they had been the innocent cause. And although their sound judgment long resisted the influence which this suing appeal to their clemency constantly exerted, yet as plains become furrows and furrows channels by repeated friction, so their too pliant emotions, collecting into a current and rushing into the fatal course prepared by an artful seduction, bore down all opposition. This was the lucky moment for a "Book," which to be sure could not disgrace its author, for in that regard he stood pledged to much more criminal acts, that had long since done the work, but which was and is a disgrace to the state over which he presides. In this book the charge of Intrigue is reiterated from the title page to the end, and that too for the very avowed purpose of injuring his pretensions to the Chief-Magistracy of the Union.

My readers need not be afraid that I intend to discuss the merits of this Book. I will not dirty my hands, or distress their senses with the odour of such a detestable performance; one, that even Mr. Walsh, the political enemy of Mr. Crawford, whose testimony I frankly own on any other subject, could not be entitled to credit, has pronounced too disgusting for the taste of any country, however wanting in refinement it might be. But we will consider the ground for the charge of Intrigue, not because it is found in that repository of every thing that is infamous, but because it has crept with all its ordure about it, from that place into a much higher circle, even the filthy press of the Washington Republican, and from thence has been repeated by papers, of sufficient character to make them ashamed of quoting their authority, and therefore are worthy of notice.

Intrigue is one of those expressions of our language that can be better conceived than defined. It is of a subtle nature, of doubtful import and difficult explanation, but yet none will contend, that it does not require

associates, a plot, an object, and necessarily implies a great want of moral honesty and sincerity. Now, whenever a charge of this crime, for surely it is one, is made against an individual, the time when, the place where, the persons concerned, the object in view, and the modus operandi, ought to be fully stated and clearly proved. This the meanest culprit in society, for the most petty transgression, is entitled to, and surely we will not convict our highest and most useful characters, of a greater delinquency, upon less certainty of proof and description of the offence. What other case except the one alleged by Clarke is to be found against Mr. Crawford—and of this very indictment against him, by reason of its miserable counts, attempted to be supported by still more wretched argument, as has been openly and honestly acknowledged by Clark's own friends.

Besides a full investigation of this whole affair before the legislature of the state, before a judicial tribunal, before the public in every shape that the matter could be presented, all of whom, in the most prompt and unequivocal manner, have honorably absolved him, not only from the charge but the slightest imputation of it, will any one believe that a character like Mr. Crawford, whose talents, integrity, and deserved popularity had elevated him far above an individual, who, from the life he had led and the company he had kept, had been subjected, to say the least of it, to the reproach of very suspicious deeds, would have occasion for so base a report? Against an individual who was not in his way, who was destitute of every quality that gives consequence to rivalry or dread to opposition, over whom he had effected a complete victory before the people, whom he had so far outstripped as to make it impossible he should ever be overtaken? That he should run the risk of forfeiting by undue conduct an advantage so signal and one so safe, without the smallest prospect of promoting that advantage? The thing is too unreasonable, too incredible, to have a moment's belief.

It is a matter of interesting and curious speculation, sometimes to trace the rise and progress of political characters, especially if they arrive at eminence. We know the secret springs by which many unfortunately too often succeed, is the exercise of a favoring sycophancy towards the people, and a slavish complacency with their unsettled humors. We see many occasionally raise their heads above the surface of the great field of popular commotion, by these acts, but the frame of their platform is so slender and the veil of their contrivances so thin, that penetrated by the light and overcome by the weight of public scrutiny, they fall through and sink to rise no more.

But there are some, who disdaining the little shifts and artful plans that sometimes lead to distinction, pursue a more open, virtuous high-minded course. They win the affections of the people by the invincible force alone of honesty and sincerity—this has been truly the manner in which Mr. Crawford has earned his political trophies.

There is in every community, and it has been peculiarly the case in many of the states, some great mind riving subjects by which the public opinion has been distracted almost to convulsion.—These are the stormy seasons that in their fury, crush and carry off many an honest statesman, and in their noisy fermentation give birth to many a distinguished villain. The state of Georgia, it is notorious, has been uncommonly disturbed, by two subjects at least, since the Yazoo fraud, in which, painful as it may be to say, and certainly as the faithful record of history will have to declare, there has been a triumph of dishonesty over the eternal principles of justice. I allude to the gambling away of the public domain, & also the suspension of law, by which honest creditors, to the utter loss of their rights in many instances, were denied the use of the courts of justice. It was first by following and then by leading the public feeling in those tempest driven questions that his Excellency, without a mind to conceive, or judgment to execute, and with habits in earlier and principles in later life that all enlightened men have consented to detest, has been able to reach a pinnacle, which he now finds by woful experience is too high for a giddy brain and too tottering for a nerveless arm. But in these very questions Mr. Crawford, true to the cause of essential right, endeavored with all the powers of his mind and by the exertion of his influence, to defeat the accomplishment of objects so fraught with mischief and disgrace; and although he was completely baffled, yet such was the confidence of the people in his integrity, their conviction of his sincerity, and of the honesty of his motives, and such was their admiration of his talents, that he maintained throughout the struggle an unweakened hold upon their affections, when many of his coadjutors, of less political promise, fell by his side. On the theatre of his Georgia politics, these were the only prominent opportunities for intrigue, and here we find him on that side of the array, that stood opposed to the most furious assaults of popular resentment. With the most uncomon predilections in his favor, if he had been a man solicitous for his personal aggrandizement, destitute of candour and moral honesty, he had nothing to do but to fall in with the general inclination and his political fortunes were made, but he preferred to have his reputation based upon a more solid foundation. If then he has been guilty of intrigue in Georgia, it has been by himself, and this idea is ridiculous, for his associates have been, Jackson, Baldwin, Early, Troup, Forsyth, Meriwether, Wilde, Floyd, Bullock, Stevens, and many others of the very first and oldest citizens of the state, possessing the confidence of the people in the highest possible degree. If he has been guilty of intrigue, it is without a plot or an object. No case is stated no

occurrence has transpired, no question has presented itself where it was necessary, and no inducement has been shown. From the first hour of his public life he has been as popular as he could wish; he has obtained without difficulty every appointment he wanted, and he has received but two; the last was of the highest grade that could be conferred. For what should he intrigue? Nothing surely in Georgia, for Georgia had given him, at once, all that she could give—Here perhaps I shall be told for the Presidency. Let us now examine this branch of the subject. I presume it will not be contended, even by such a willing as Governor Clarke, or such a whipster as "Pendleton," &c. that he laid his intrigues for such a high office in his Georgia politics, although I have no doubt, the first named of this pious junto has ignorance and vanity enough to believe that the whole of his cruel persecution was for that exclusive object. Georgia does not arrogate to herself so much consequence as to suppose that any question connected with her federal rights or her municipal police, are of so much importance as to furnish the hot-bed in which Presidents are to germinate. If, then, Mr. Crawford's intrigue has commenced after he left the Georgia boards, one would suppose that it could be very easily detected in some point of a very short but illustrious course of his official services. I must here again apply the rule I have before laid down, and ask where are his associates? As well might a man be guilty of conspiracy by himself as an intrigue.—Are they to be found on the list of such worthies as Mr. Macon, Lowndes, Bayard, Griswold, Holmes, King, Lloyd, of Mass. Willhouse, Van Buren, Skinner, Dana, Dickerson, Dowry, Laycock, McLean, Llovd, of Md. Gen. Smith, Pleasants, Philip Barbour, Randolph, Floyd, Gen. Williams, of S. C. Judge Smith, Clay, Hardin, Col. Williams and Cocke, of Ten. Gen. Taylor, Williams of Indiana, Benton, Saunders and Williams, of N. C. And indeed many others of the most distinguished characters of the Union, with part of whom he has, at some period or other, been upon terms of the most intimate private friendship, and with the whole, united in public employments. I have purposely selected characters, worthy of credit, from both sides, of the great question that divides the Union, to testify in the case, and to say, whether either of them knows any good, or even suspicious ground, for this charge, if either of them has ever been intrigued with, for surely to have undertaken such a business, would have been running a very great risk, to produce but very little effect—and to have attempted it, would have been still more hazardous; for fortunately for this government, our great and good men are not easily enlisted in such wicked machinations; and as to bad men, Mr. Walsh knows from experience, they can do no good.

If none of this host of witnesses can bring aught against Mr. Crawford, what does it speak? May we not be indulged with an inference on this occasion, even though it may be an inconclusive mode of reasoning? I call upon Mr. Calhoun especially, for formerly, his private and public relations with Mr. Crawford, were of the most confidential character, to state the case of intrigue prior to the time he has become an interested witness. All the facts he knew previous to that era, we are more than willing he should relate; but subsequent to that time, we are not—not so much on account of any dread of the facts themselves, (for we wish to heaven they could be known,) but on account of the fictions into which they might be converted. It is not the story we fear, but the manner of relating it—it is not to the weight of the evidence, but the wanderings of the witness we object. In the first case, where we consent to his testimony, we have a check upon him; in the last none: and as honest as he may be reputed, and free from arrogance as he may be suspected, he is none the worse for being closely watched; for we have reason to believe that this great story about intrigue, is finally brought down to the last two years of Mr. Crawford's public life, and instead of its being a long, deep, subtle, and well matured series of ingenious devices, having for their object the base possession of the Presidential Chair, it is a short, shallow, feeble and rickety plot, to cut him out of it, conceived by the restless ambition of a rival candidate, and circulated by the malice of gratuitous and prostituted emissaries—and having had no other object than to terminate in the delusion of our good old President, it will inevitably result in the discomfiture of his busy and artful deceivers. If Mr. Crawford, without associates, has been an intriguer, he is certainly a very bungler at the business; for all must confess that the object of his intrigue must have been the Presidency. If this is admitted, can any thing be so ridiculously absurd as that, when an opportunity presented itself to realize his wishes, he himself should be the first to defeat them? Did he not openly and personally decline a nomination in favor of Mr. Monroe, in consequence of which many of his friends declined attending the caucus, and at last, but a few votes would have turned the scale? When was there a better time to have intrigued, and that too with success, if he be so aspiring as alleged? the slightest canvassing would have accomplished all his purposes; yet where is the man who will dare to say he was ever solicited on the subject? Again, he surely acted with a degree of folly, of which there is no parallel, on the bank question, if he supposed that his support of an institution, confessedly of federal control, of doubtful legality, and of dangerous influence, urged with a warmth of censure against the great states, and with some peculiar reflections against his own native state, one of the most powerful and high-minded in the Union, could promote his views upon the Presidency, advance his

march towards it—and whatever else may be said against him for this instance of his public, daring and political intrepidity, in the name of God, let him have credit for his independence, and at least, a want of intrigue. Of a character with this indiscretion, if he has been intriguing for the Presidency, is his famous Indian Report, and his still more noted speech against the Delphic Oracle. On the first subject, though by no means an original idea with him, having long ago been suggested, both by Patrick Henry and Mr. Jefferson, he must have been fully aware that it would be no very popular topic, and as to the last, he could not have flattered himself that a single friend would be acquired by his remarks; on the contrary, he had a right to expect a very different result, for he was performing a tournament against the sturdy front of a character, deservedly immovable, and braced by the unyielding weight of an office of the highest patronage in the government. That a man would intrigue by low and deceptive artifices on one day, and do away its effects on the next, by an open, lofty independence, is what no one is prepared to believe, who, under an indulgent heaven, is permitted to retain his reason. If then, such acts as these broken intrigue, would to God we had more of such intriguers in the national councils!

UNIVERSITY OF THE STATE OF NEW YORK. COLLEGE OF PHYSICIANS AND SURGEONS.

City of New-York, May 6th, 1823. THE College of Physicians and Surgeons will commence their course of Lectures, for the ensuing winter session, on the first Monday of November next, (the 3d,) at the College in Barclay-street.

- Dr. HOSACK, on the Theory and Practice of Physic, and Clinical Medicine.
Dr. MACNEVEN, on Chemistry.
Dr. POST, on Anatomy & Physiology.
Dr. MITCHELL, on Botany and Materia Medica.
Dr. MOTT, on Surgery
Dr. FRANCIS, on Obstetrics, and the diseases of Women and Children.

THE BOARD OF TRUSTEES deem it proper to make it known, that, in conformity with the ordinances of the Honorable the Regents of the University, every Student is required to attend two full courses of all the Lectures delivered in this College, before he can be admitted as a candidate for the Doctorate; unless said student shall have previously attended Lectures in said College, prior to the session of 1822-3, or shall have attended one entire course of lectures delivered in some respectable Medical School of University. The Candidate must, also, have Studied Medicine three years with some respectable practitioner, have arrived at the age of twenty-one years, and it will be expected that he should produce written testimony to that effect.

The Matriculation Ticket is five dollars, the holder of which is entitled to the use of the College Library.

By order of the Board, WRIGHT POST, M. D. President. JOHN W. FRANCIS, M. J. Registrar.

FAYETTEVILLE ACADEMY.

THIS Institution now affords advantages equal to any in the Southern States, being conducted upon the most approved principles, and provided with superior Teachers in every branch of Useful and Ornamental Education—This, with its healthy situation and moderate charges for Board and Tuition, must insure it a liberal patronage. The strictest attention will be paid to the conduct and morals of those attending it.

Female Department, conducted by Mrs. Hamilton with Assistant Teachers.

- Rudiments, per quarter \$2 50
Reading and Writing 3
English Grammar, Ancient and Modern Geography with the Use of the Maps and Globes, History, Chronology, Mythology, Rhetoric, Belles Letters, Composition, Natural Philosophy, Botany with Plain and Ornamental Needle Work. 6
Music, taught by Madame Villa, in the best Italian style.
Per ann. taught in the Academy, \$50, or \$20 per quarter
Per ann. taught out of the Academy, \$100 per quarter \$25.
Drawing, Painting, and the French Language taught by M. Lesing, a native of France.
Drawing and Painting, per quarter \$6
French 6

Classical Department, under Dr. G. David's tuition.

- The Latin and Greek Languages, Natural and Moral Philosophy, Logic, Astronomy, Mathematics, Geometry and Algebra. \$8
English Music Department.
Rudiments \$3
Reading, Writing, Arithmetic, English Grammar, Ancient and Modern Geography with the Use of the Maps and Globes, 6
Pens and Ink provided the Students with out charge. A tax of 25 cents each Student for wood, water, &c.
Board, including all the above Branches except Music, \$35 per quarter—payable in advance.

WM. HAMILTON. For the satisfaction of Parents & Guardians the following Gentlemen may be referred to. J. A. CAMERON, Esq. Pres. of the School Committee. Rev'd R. H. MORRISON. April 30, 1823. 32