

# Raleigh Register

## AND NORTH-CAROLINA GAZETTE.

"Ours are the plans of fair delightful peace, unwarped by party rage, to live like brothers."

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### TERMS.

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### ADVERTISEMENTS.

Not exceeding sixteen lines, will be inserted three times for a Dollar; and twenty-five cents for each subsequent publication; those of greater length, in proportion. If the number of insertions be not marked on them, they will be continued until ordered out and charged accordingly.

### Judge White at Home.

A Public dinner has just been given to this distinguished citizen at Knoxville, by his immediate neighbors, at which the Judge delivered the following speech, which contains so many startling truths, that we transfer it entire to our columns.

The reader will perceive from a perusal of it, that so early as the Fall of 1834, more than two years before the expiration of his term, the President was dabbling with the succession. He had, at that early period, in his own mind nominated his successor, and had fixed upon Mr. Van Buren as the proper person to carry out his administration. To lure Judge White into this arrangement, his name was to be run for the Vice Presidency; and this arrangement was made known to some of Judge White's friends in East Tennessee. Upon his arrival at Washington in 1834, the President finding that Judge White could not be induced to enter into any plan, other than that devised by the people, he changed his original purpose of running Judge White as Vice President, and substituted Col. Johnson's name for that office. To give to these nominations some appearance of being in accordance with public sentiment, it became necessary to get up a Convention of Delegates "fresh from the people." The official organ accordingly announced the necessity of this convention to the public; and the office holders and dependents on Executive favour, were appealed to, to carry it forward. The great body of the people had no agency in getting up the Baltimore Convention. It originated with the President—was convened expressly for the purpose of sustaining his nominations, and was an assemblage emphatically, of those who live, move and have their being in the sunshine of Executive favour.

GENTLEMEN:—The sentiment just given, and the feelings with which it has been received, encourage me to do something more than make my acknowledgements for your undeviating support, and continued confidence.

After an absence of almost nine months, seven of which were devoted to my duties in Congress, upon my return home, to find my neighbors, the people of my own county, ready to greet me as a friend, and to declare in the face of the world, that my character as a private citizen does not deserve reproach, and that my conduct as a public man meets their approbation, is a source of the highest gratification. More especially when I reflect how incessantly I have been assailed, and with how much industry the vilest slanders have been circulated, under the sanction of names, some of which I know are, and long have been, very dear to you, as well as to the great majority of my fellow-citizens.

For eleven years I have, in part, represented Tennessee in the Senate of the United States. Until the two last, my services, humble as they were, appeared to be acceptable to the great body of the people. Any complaints against me were made, comparatively by a few, and they were, of those, decidedly opposed to the present Chief Magistrate and his administration.

Now the matter has changed, and I have been violently assailed by some of those with whom I have formerly acted, and several of those who were my bitter opponents, on account of my attachment to the Chief Magistrate, have become his zealous friends, while they still continue their hostility to me. Having resided in the state from my boyhood, and having, from the time I attained the years of discretion, been busy among the people in some capacity or other, I believed a large and overwhelming majority of our fellow-citizens were decidedly Jeffersonian Republicans, and belonging to that school of politicians myself, when honored with a seat in the Senate, I flattered myself that on all important questions, when I honestly carried out, in practice, my own political opinions, I would also faithfully represent the opinions of my constituents.

I have neither solicited nor desired the worth, and could not have been induced to accept it, if a sacrifice of any of my principles, domestic afflictions visited me in such rapid succession, and with such weight, that I had made upon my mind to withdraw, and let my place be supplied by some one, whose mind would not be doomed to brood so much over his own misfortunes; but abandoned the idea at the

earnest solicitation of some, whom I, childishly, then thought my friends, and who are now under the hypocritical pretence of continued friendship, my most deadly enemies.

In the great struggle to bring the present Chief Magistrate into office, it became necessary that his friends should proclaim and enforce, by all the arguments they could advance, their political principles; and what were they?

1st. All useless expenditures of the public monies should be discontinued.

2d. All offices should be filled by men who were honest, capable, faithful to the Constitution, and of business habits.

3d. That neither Congress nor any department of the federal government had any power, except that which was expressly granted by the Constitution, or was necessary and proper to carry into effect some power which was expressly granted.

4th. That the executive power should be so limited and regulated by law, that neither the President nor any officer appointed by, or dependent upon him, could use his influence or power to control or guide public opinion in elections.

5th. That the Constitution should be so amended as to secure to the people the right of choosing the Chief Magistrate themselves. That the same person should not be elected for a second term, and that offices should not be filled with members of Congress.

6th. That all surplus monies which might accumulate in the Treasury, beyond the reasonable wants of the Federal Government, should be divided among the States by some fair ratio, to the end that the People, to whom it rightfully belonged, might have the benefit of it for Internal Improvements, Education, &c.

7th. That all caucuses or combinations of men, whose object it was to create or control public opinion in the election of President and Vice President should be discountenanced and put down.

These were the great leading principles for which we in common, with others, contended. The public voice sanctioned them by the election of the Chief Magistrate in 1829. In his inaugural address in 1829, and in his subsequent addresses he has avowed and proclaimed several of them.

They are the very doctrines on which I have practised from that day to this, so far as my humble capacity enabled me; and I now challenge my persecutors to put their fingers on the cases in which I have departed from them.

How then has it happened, that for the last eighteen months or two years my humble name has, in a certain set of newspapers, and among a certain class of politicians, been constantly coupled with some degrading charge?

Upon this subject, I can perhaps give you some facts, not heretofore generally known, and this I shall do, not for the purpose of injuring any one, but for the sake of making a just defence for myself.

The General Assembly of this State sat in Nashville in the fall of 1833. At the commencement of its session, as is my habit, I was there. While there, the news reached us that the Deposites of the public monies had been removed by the order of the President, from the Bank of the United States. I immediately foresaw that this would produce a violent effort in Congress to put down the administration. I ascertained that there was a wish among the members, before the session closed, to present my humble name to the people of the United States as a suitable person to succeed the present Chief Magistrate.

To every member with whom I conversed, and to every other person who addressed me on the subject, I used all the arguments in my power to prevent them from doing so; and with some that I could take most liberty with, when coming away, left it in charge, that should a nomination be attempted in my absence, to have it prevented.

At the close of the session one of those gentlemen wrote me, that he was censured as unfriendly, for not concurring in the plan of a nomination. I immediately answered his letter, assuring him he had not only acted in conformity with my wishes, but in accordance with my request—and that so sure was I that such a nomination would have weakened the President in Congress, that if it had been made, I would have held myself bound to withhold my assent.

In the Spring of 1834, I received communications from different quarters upon the same subject, proposing if it met my approbation that there would be meetings of the people to nominate me. To this course I gave no encouragement. During that year the President visited Tennessee. Our Convention was in session, and after their rise, I was informed some of the members had wished to nominate me, but had abandoned the attempt after they ascertained it would incur his displeasure. On his journey to Washington he conversed freely with some of my friends, and remonstrated against any attempt to nominate me as President—said that there must be a National Convention, that Mr. Van Buren ought to be nominated as President, I, as Vice-President, and when his eight years expired, I was young enough then to be taken up as President. All this was communicated to me,

and the only answer I could make was, that either office was beyond my merits, but that I could not enter into any arrangement, which would operate as a lure to induce any person to vote for myself or for any other person contrary to his judgment. Thus the matter stood when the session of Congress commenced in December 1834. During that winter, many county meetings were held, at which my name was brought before the public, as well as by the Legislature of Alabama.

Under a full belief that a system was about being put in operation, which would destroy the freedom of election, which was intended to transfer all federal power into certain hands, who by the like process would transfer it into the hands of others at their pleasure, & that the effect of this would be to give the operations of the Government such a direction as would favor the interests of one class of citizens, at an entire sacrifice of the interest of all others, I consented that my political friends might use my name, or not, as they believed would most promote the public interest.

In this I may have erred: but if I did, it was an honest error.

After giving this consent and before the Baltimore Convention, I was repeatedly forewarned what I might expect if my name was not withdrawn. These threats carried no terrors to me. Whatever of character I have, was given to me by my country, and whenever it becomes necessary to risk the whole of it, in defence of those principles which I think essential to the preservation of liberty, I willingly stake it all. I feel that I was not intended to be the slave of any man, or set of men—that I have some mind, and that the author of my existence intended I should exercise it—that I should form opinions as to politics & religion, and freely and fearlessly act upon them, without being intimidated by what either men or devils can do. Could I have hesitated for one moment in my course, I would have fancied that I heard myself addressed from the tombs in yonder churchyard, [pointing to the place where his father and mother are buried] in language like this,—my son, remember that the same principles are now involved, which were proclaimed in July, 1776.—That to maintain them, I risked my life and every thing dear to man—that after struggling through a seven years war, with my compatriots in arms, we succeeded in the establishment of a free Government—Under it I lived happy, prosperous, and died without leaving a spot upon my name—that good name and that free government, I left my children, as an invaluable inheritance; and it is possible that for the lack of moral courage you will deprive yourself and your children of those blessings for which I toiled so long and risked so much? If still doubtful, a voice still more endearing, if that be possible, would salute my ears in accents like these—Can you for an instant forget the lessons taught by your mother? Remember you have not only your father's name in charge but you have also that of my family. Do you not recollect how I used to encourage you and your brother to discharge your duty, as my only sons, to watch and warn me when the Tories would approach your dwelling for plunder, in your father's absence, in the tented field? That I would then inform you that my family were among the first to hoist the Pole of Liberty in the South, and among the most firm and fearless in defending it? And will you, who have not a drop of any but Whig blood in your veins, hesitate as to the course you ought to pursue? To these questions I could give but one answer—Fear not for me. The same good name you have transmitted, and the same rich inheritance, shall be left unstained, and transmitted unimpaired to your grand children.

But to proceed—The Baltimore Convention met, and in due form nominated a candidate for the Presidency and Vice-Presidency, against whom no man has heard me say one word. They have accepted the nominations, and I have no doubt, in doing so, acted on those principles which they think it right to maintain. As to myself, I solemnly declare that, with the knowledge I have of the manner in which that Convention was brought about, the object it was intended to accomplish, and the consequences expected to flow from it, had I been nominated by it for either office, such nomination would have been almost the only contingency upon which I would have prohibited the use of my name.

Let me not be misunderstood—I am very far from insinuating it as my opinion, that the whole of that assemblage, or a majority of them, were either dishonest or dishonorable men. Many of them are strangers to me, and I hope were governed by worthy motives, and I doubt not believed great good would result from their labors. I, on the contrary, think nothing but evil can result from a nomination by a set of men collected under the auspices of the Executive, with a view to nominate an individual designated by him.

Notwithstanding this nomination, my name has been permitted to remain where it was before placed, and the threatened vengeance has been pouring out upon my

devoted head ever since. "Tray, Blanche, Sweetheart, little dogs and all," have been let loose upon me. I have heeded them not. It has been my aim to bear any and every thing. I have uniformly conformed my public conduct to my avowed principles, and what I believed to be the politics of my State. So far as the Administration has acted on the principles which brought the Chief Magistrate into power, I have been, as I think, a uniform and steady, though very humble, supporter. If on any point he has changed his principles, it is unreasonable to expect me to change with him, unless I can be furnished with sufficient reasons for such change.

Humble as my pretensions are represented to be, we all now see, and know, that my venerable old friend, the Chief Magistrate himself, in his own proper person, has openly, and in the view of the sovereign people themselves, turned out to control and regulate public opinion. This is a trouble which I am very sorry he had to take on his account. His acts are to live after him. He occupies the most dignified station upon earth. If any man living did more towards elevating him to that station than I did, it was because he had more influence. He has the efficient control of the whole fund of the nation—the disposal of our invaluable public domain—the appointment of all officers at home and abroad—the power to remove tens of thousands of officers, who have no means to procure subsistence for a day, if he chooses to remove them; they must do as he directs or be turned loose to starve. All this 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, so as 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 as 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 doctrines 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 votes, 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 peo-

ple 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 bring 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 vote against his three millions session before last? Did they vote against expunging the journals? Not they. Not one of them. Yet they are opposed to his Administration, because 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, and 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 became 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 be 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 in 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 I have 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 a nong 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 principles. "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 manner 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 the 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 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 thanks 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 find that I have detained you already too long.

The National Intelligencer contains the oration of James Barbour, Esq. of Orange, recently delivered on the life and services of Mr. Madison. He states on the authority of Mr. Madison, that when the Patriarch was a Student at Princeton, he slept only three hours in the twenty-four!

Honour to the Brave.—We are pleased to perceive that the City Council have erected a Monument over the remains of the gallant Volunteers, who died in this City after their return from the Florida Campaign, and were interred in the Cemetery attached to the Methodist Protestant Church in Wentworth street. Thus should it ever be. The memory of the patriotic citizen-soldier, who falls a martyr in his country's cause, is embalmed in the hearts of his surviving countrymen, and we should

"Give in charge, Their names to the sweet lyre. The historic muse Proud of her treasure, marches with it down To latest times; and Scripture in her turn Gives bond, in Stone, and ever during years, To guard them, and immortalize her trust."

The monument is a handsome Obelisk of White Marble, ten feet high. Charleston Mercury.

Execution at Sea.—A sailor was hung on board the U. S. Sloop of War John Adams at sea, near Naples, July 3d. He murdered one of his fellow seamen in a drunken frolic, at Mahon, as he afterwards confessed. He was tried by a Court Martial. The event produced a melancholy sensation on board the ship.