

which, in common with the people of the Union, I entertain of their unwavering though unpretending patriotism and unspotted political faith, and the high gratification I should derive from being tho't worthy of their confidence, I shall feel it a duty to be content with whatever disposition of the question they, in the honest exercise of their opinions, shall see fit to make.

With sentiments of high consideration, I am, gentlemen, your obedient servant,
M. VAN BUREN.
To Joseph H. Bryan, Josiah T. Granberry and Memucan Hunt, Esq. Committee, &c.

AN ADDRESS

To the friends of Gen. JACKSON in North Carolina, and to the supporters of his Administration of the affairs of the General Government.

FELLOW CITIZENS:

The Jackson Central Committee take pleasure in announcing the names of those who have been nominated by the people in our several districts, as Electors for North Carolina. This ticket is pledged to the support of General ANDREW JACKSON for President, and MARTIN VAN BUREN for Vice President of the United States—and we confidently believe that its success is certain, if the occasion shall call forth that activity and energy among its friends, which its importance to our country would seem to require. An early and active opposition to it had cast about our prospects some shades of doubt, but these have begun to yield to the light of truth, and we are not without hope, that most of our opponents will yet sacrifice their prejudices to the common cause of our party and our country. However this may be, it is our right, and has become in some measure our duty, to address you on this subject.

GENERAL JACKSON.

General Jackson, fellow citizens, has now filled the office of President, nearly four years, and is once more a candidate for re-election. His pure patriotism, his uncorrupted integrity, his firm adherence to what he believes right, his distinguished ability, and disinterested devotion to the good of the whole country, have not indeed silenced opposition; but they have secured a successful administration of our affairs in times of perilous excitement, and given to him fresh claims upon the gratitude and affections of the people. He may yet be reviled, insulted, and traduced by those, who choose to gratify a corrupt taste for personal and political scandal, or he may be as ungenerously vilified by others, who, without any relish for defaming character, have yielded easy victory to the detestable mode of perverting all the acts of a public agent to purposes of a reckless opposition.

Still we do not doubt that North Carolina will be true to herself and to our venerable President in the coming contest, if his friends will be united. He has won a place in the affections of our people, that we have no fears of seeing yielded to the clamors of party, or lowered by the maledictions of disappointed ambition. Before his elevation, the opponents of Gen. Jackson sought to alarm the fears of his friends by warning them, that he was a military chieftain, and would set at defiance the restraints of the Constitution, and that by the indulgence of an ungoverned temper, he would embroil our country in disputes with foreign nations. But now the notes of complaint are changed, and he is abused because he is too scrupulous of his constitutional obligations, and his opposers are most clamorous, because he refuses to exercise powers, which they say are vested in the Federal head of the nation, but which he doubts, and therefore declines to assume. To the confusion of all their predictions, these soothsayers in politics are presented with a military chieftain, who can govern without violence, and render himself most obnoxious to his opposers by a fearless resistance of the encroachments of power upon the liberties of the people and the rights of the States. He was dangerous they said, because he would exceed the authority we gave him. He is dangerous they now say, because

he will not exercise the powers we have conferred. The unbridled temper too, which we were told, was to involve us in fearful disputes, the opponents of the Chief Magistrate with a convenient dexterity, choose to forget; and the Hero of New Orleans! the proud patriot! the President of the United States! Andrew Jackson! is now charged with having bowed in mean humiliation at the footstool of a foreign throne, and sacrificed the honor of his country!! We recur, in vain, to our foreign negotiations for the proof of our disgrace. We find there nothing but a successful termination of protracted disputes. The results have been highly satisfactory. We may defy all the efforts of ingenuity to find in them the grounds of complaint: but a determined jealousy has fixed itself about the manner of the operation, and searched after something, that was not altogether suited to the refined modern system of diplomacy. Our venerable President, unpractised in the rules of deceitful pretences, untaught in any other school, but that which inculcates the propriety of "asking nothing but what is clearly right, and yielding to nothing that is wrong"—has illustrated by his practice, that with nations, as with individuals, "honesty is the best policy."

But it was attempted to obscure the fame of the Hero of New Orleans, by casting over its brightness a cloud of reproach for the necessary means which were used to secure victory, and save the country. The success of the same patriot in the administration of our foreign affairs, would be too dazzling in the view of a jealous opposition, if no intervening shade were formed to throw about its splendor. Hence, for the first time, in our history, the venerable sages of this land, have been stimulated to exert all their faculties, in the noble enterprize of degrading their country, that they might disgrace her rulers. Our President is a tried and faithful officer. He would be more than man, if he did not sometimes err, yet his administration of the affairs of the Union has been honorable to himself, and prosperous to the nation. The times of trial, to which he has been exposed, he has met with an unflinching independence of character, and conduct, that must extort even from those, who did not approve his acts, the reluctant homage of their admiration for the virtue, that enabled him to perform them. We know, that these just encomia on the conduct of a public servant will be perverted by some into the simulations of a party zeal; but they are no more than sheer justice, when applied to the great and leading acts of Gen. Jackson's administration. We then Fellow Citizens, ought not to vote for him only as a "choice of evils," but give to him a free and generous support, because he has been proved to be "faithful, capable, and honest."

THE VICE PRESIDENT.

The supporters of the present administration, before last May, had recommended in different States, as candidates for Vice President on the Jackson ticket, Mr. Dickerson of New Jersey, Mr. Wilkins of Pennsylvania, Judge Smith of South Carolina, Col. Johnson of Kentucky, Judge Barbour of Virginia, and Mr. Van Buren of New York. It became obvious that the public will, could not be united upon either one of these, while all of them were held up as candidates—our divisions would prevent any election by the people, and transfer the choice of Vice President to the Senate, where Mr. Sergeant might be appointed—that where Gen. Jackson's majority was not large, it would endanger his re-election by having more than one Jackson ticket of electors—and therefore it was proposed by the Republican members of the New Hampshire Assembly to all the friends of Gen. Jackson, that a Convention of Delegates from each State should be assembled at Baltimore for the purpose of uniting the party by a nomination of some one candidate, for Vice President. This was the true origin of the Baltimore Convention, about which you have read and heard so much. The proposal met with approbation in all parts of the country, and the Convention was accordingly held in May, 1832. It became an occasion of sufficient interest in the Union, to

convoke three hundred and fifty delegates, representing all the States excepting one. In that Convention Martin Van Buren was nominated as the Republican Jackson candidate for Vice President. The vote for him was more than two-thirds of the whole Convention—and the sentiment in his favor with our party, as developed by our friends in that body, was so manifest that the minority who had voted for Judge Barbour and for Col. Johnson acquiesced in the nomination, and it was made uncinously. We do not know it, if the Convention was a measure that incurred in North Carolina any avowed hostility, before the result of its deliberations had been published—or at least before it had been anticipated from the current of public opinion. But tho' the friends of Judge Barbour, in that Convention, fairly yielded their own preference to the sentiment of a majority, and for the sake of uniting the Jackson party;—though he and his friends there and here and elsewhere availed themselves of this chance to unite on him, the whole vote—no sooner has their disappointment been announced, than it is met with efforts to divide our strength by a nomination of Judge Barbour in North Carolina and an opposition to Mr. Van Buren. We state to you facts; with the motives of our opponents we have nothing to do.

The warmest advocates of Judge Barbour's nomination are bound to concede that he has now no chance of being elected by the people. They do not, they cannot, pretend, that his prospects are better, than a possibility on account of multiplied divisions to be returned before the Senate of the United States, as one of the two, between whom they must choose. Even this, we are persuaded, is illusive. And will you lend your aid in dividing the votes of our party; for the purpose of taking from the people the election of their own officers? Shall the lessons of experience be lost sight of and forgotten? Have you discarded all remembrances of the memorable crisis in our political history, when, (in 1801) the election of President was cast on the House of Representatives, and of the trial, which our liberties encountered in the strife it created? Have you so soon cast into oblivion the events of a similar election (in 1825) when the voice of the people was unheeded and their "wills were paralyzed in the election of Mr. Adams over Gen. Jackson?" Shall the angry contest which ensued this event, in the election of 1828, and by which the rights of the people were vindicated and re-established be once more invited, and its effects on the temper of freemen dared? And shall all this be done before the expiration of his term of office, in whose person, the wishes of the people were vindicated?

But if a choice of Vice President by the people shall be defeated, no fair doubt remains but that Mr. Sergeant, the opponent of Gen. Jackson, will be one of the two candidates, between whom the Senate must choose and it is extremely probable, that he will be elected. Are you prepared to risque it? His whole system of politics is opposed to yours. The Vice President is *ex officio* the presiding officer of the Senate, where the friends and opposers of the present administration are so nearly divided, that his casting vote may frequently enable him to thwart or promote the most interesting measures that come before that body. It might be too, in the providence of God, that the President will not live to the close of his next term and his friends would find their country, and themselves seriously embarrassed, if such a calamity, (may heaven avert it) should reduce them to the necessity of giving the reins of our government into the hands of one, whose political opinions they believe to be dangerous to its preservation and purity, whose rule over us, to be consistent, must aim at the advancement of a party, whom we are professing to oppose.

It seems to us, fellow citizens, that there are other considerations that must deter you from deliberately entailing on our country the misfortune of having the Vice President elected by the Senate of the United States. We say misfortune, for surely there can be none greater than to poison the public confidence with jeal-

ousy towards this essential branch of our political institutions, unless it may be to introduce just cause for this distrust. The Senate uncontaminated by the touch of party fury, will long preserve the affections of the public, will ever prove a barrier against the encroachments of power upon the just rights of THE STATES and of the people. Yet suspicion and distrust will inevitably attach to their course in the present agitations of the public mind, if an uncautious people transfer to them the choice of their chief officers. Do we betray a weak timidity in this warning? Are there no 'beginnings of evils,' that may justly call into action the vigilance of patriotism? We confidently appeal to your own experience in these times of fresh trial on our union and our government. Discarding all party preferences, and looking beyond the particular individual, whom the Senate might elect, still those, between whom they must choose, will come from different States, will represent different political parties, and the contest will gather about it the excitements which prevail in the country. Who does not know, that these will distract the harmony of their counsels? Who does not apprehend that the blaze, they will kindle, may help to destroy the best government in the world? If the evil were unavoidable, then its consequences must be met: but now we have time to take warning, and if we incur the risque, its effects are deliberately invited? The vote of North Carolina for Mr. Van Buren will, we believe, make his election by the people secure. It will not elect Judge Barbour. This we may assert with confidence, for where he to get the votes of all the States, where a Barbour ticket is nominated, he could not be elected. What then can be the design of those, who yet support Judge Barbour's election? The sure effect of such a course will be, to divide the Jackson party and throw away the vote of the State: it may be to cast the election on the Senate, to embarrass Gen. Jackson, a second term, with a Vice President, who opposes him, and to endanger the peace and permanency of our government. The motives of those, who started this division, we judge not, still we must be allowed to say, that the bitterest enemy of Gen. Jackson could not have devised a scheme, that is better calculated to weaken his popularity, and to defeat even his re-election. Its effects are more dangerous to his cause, than open hostility.

But are there no other objections to Judge Barbour's being a candidate. We indulge no motives to undervalue his claims upon your admiration. We will not deny, that he possesses public and private virtues: yet in these, he is not superior to Mr. Van Buren, and in other respects, he does not equal him. The station, which he fills as a Judge of the United States Court, is one, towards which we should cherish, in the public mind, sentiments of high respect and habitual submission. The great nerve of the Judiciary is in that unsuspected purity of its officers, which will secure a confidence among the people, that its deliberations are not mingled with political prejudice, or personal ambition. Admit within its sacred halls, the strifes of party politics, and that purity may be stained, that confidence will be destroyed. Shall Judges be invited to descend from their high places into the arena of politics, and he, who is to day the dispenser of public justice, become to-morrow, the table orator of a party? Shall he who is placed as a salutary check upon all encroachments by the other branches of the government, be converted into a candidate for wielding the power he is charged to control, and thereby tempted to enlarge a possession, that he hopes to enjoy? May not jealous patriotism, without descending into vulgar prejudice, remember, that Judges are men? We are not to be understood, as predicting these evils to be a necessary consequence from the present state of things: but the example is new, and against the practice of the government, it will be dangerous; its ultimate consequences may be disastrous.

(to be concluded in our next.)

A word's a thing that flies away,
But writing may be made to stay.