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UNITED STATES OF AMERICA.









AN ADDRESS

TO THE

Citizens of North-Carolina,

ON THE SUBJECT OF THE

PRESIDENTIAL ELECTION.

25.10

1825
By Caroline proceed.

The time is rapidly approaching when you will have to perform one of the most solemn duties of a free people. The election of a President of the United States, always a matter of deep concern, is swelled into more than ordinary importance, as well by the actual state of our own internal affairs, as by our probable relations with the great powers of the world. The great republican party of the Union, always relying upon the virtue and intelligence of the people, have thus far triumphed over all opposition. By a wise and efficient policy, inspiring confidence at home and respect abroad, the federal party has been effectually prostrated. But the fact cannot be disguised, that a new party has risen up, which threatens to produce the utmost distraction and confusion in the republican ranks, if not promptly arrested in its progress, by the unequivocal disapprobation of the great body of the people. In other states the people have taken the alarm. In almost every state in the Union, their voice has been unequivocally expressed against the Radical candidate. In every contest, his friends have been defeated in their elections, when they were known to be such. Virginia, the place of his birth, and Georgia, the place of his residence, are the only states which adhere to him, with the exception of the state of Delaware, *which is now the only federal state in the Union.* This fact conclusively demonstrates the sympathy which subsists between the old and the new opponents of the republican party. But the election of a president derives an equal interest from the state of the world, and the part we may be called upon to act in its

affairs. The brave and generous defenders of Spanish liberty have been overwhelmed by the power of the French monarchy, instigated and sustained by the Holy Alliance; and we see evident indications of a design to resubjugate, by the same power, the independent states of South America. How far this unholy crusade may be extended, or what part it may be necessary for this republic to take, in the great conflict between despotism and freedom, less than a year will probably determine. But it is a matter of the utmost importance, that in selecting a man to preside over our affairs, we should inquire which of the candidates is best qualified to sustain the republican party against domestic opposition, and the cause of our country against the possible machinations of foreign despots. In reference to these great objects, I propose to discuss the relative pretensions of *John C. Calhoun* and *William H. Crawford*; as it is now apparent that, in this state, the contest will ultimately be resolved into an issue between these two gentlemen. The proposed discussion will involve a comparative view of their past history and services, and an inquiry into the evidence, furnished by these, of the purity of their republican principles, and their capacities for future usefulness.

I pledge myself to state no fact, which is not either a matter of general concession and notoriety, or established by the published speeches and reports of the gentlemen in question.

It will be recollected that the friends of Mr. Crawford, at the opening of the presidential canvass, believing that he and Mr. Adams had obtained the exclusive possession of the field, by a sort of prescriptive right, commenced their operations by holding up Mr. Crawford as the *uniform and exclusive Republican candidate*. Either not looking into his true character, or supposing that time had thrown the mantle of oblivion over his political frailties, they confidently expected to prostrate Mr. Adams by making him responsible not only for his own aberrations, but for the sins of his father. The ceaseless clamour kept up by all the organs that could be brought into requisition, about Mr. Crawford's uniform republicanism, very naturally excited a suspicion that it was designed to cover some latent and conscious frailty, in the party making it. The inquiry was made, and the suspicion realized. Mr. Crawford's own hand-writing rose up in judgment against him, and he stood convicted of having drafted and sanctioned an Address to President Adams, amidst the excitement produced by the most violent measures of his administration, expressing "the most *unlimited* confidence in the firmness, *justice* and *wisdom* of that *administration*." After various disingenuous artifices, (some of them evidently made with the advice, knowledge and approbation of Mr. Crawford,*) tending to throw a suspicion upon the genuineness of the Address, the author of the "*Four Letters*," which appeared in the *Richmond Enquirer*, pleads guilty, and attempts to extenuate the offence.

* Dr. Abbot's Letter.

He attempts to resist the direct and conclusive evidence of a record, by *ex parte* certificates of general character, referring to the political opinions entertained by an obscure man a quarter of a century ago! But not to dispute about *words*, what sort of a Republican was that in July, 1798, who had the most "*unlimited confidence*:" in the "*wisdom and justice*" of the *alien and sedition laws*? It has been shewn, from an Augusta paper of that day, that intelligence of those measures reached Mr. Crawford previous to the date of his Address. But the author of the "*Four Letters*" contends that the confidence expressed in the Address had reference only to the measures of preparation for a war against the French Republic. Considering this writer's eminent powers at definition, (by which he clearly shews that *one man* cannot be an intriguer,) one cannot but be surprised at his notion of '*unlimited confidence in an administration.*' According to his reading, it means confidence in a *single measure only* of that administration!! But even if this sophistry could be passed current for argument, it would be unavailing. It is notorious that the military preparations against the French Republic, contending as she was against a confederation of despots, contributed as much as any other measure to prostrate the federal party.

But the *Augusta Address* is only the first link in the chain of Mr. Crawford's title to Federalism. The public journals and documents, which cannot be *suppressed*, furnish a climax of proofs to substantiate it. These too will probably be resisted by certificates and definitions.

One of the first acts of Mr. Crawford's political life; after his election to the Senate of the United States, was his vote against the embargo; a measure recommended by Mr. Jefferson, to save our immense mercantile capital from the desolating sweep of the French Decrees and British Orders in Council. The support of the administration in that measure, was then the touchstone of republicanism. This is apparent from the fact, that Mr. Crawford voted in a small minority, *all* violent Federalists, with Mr. Pickering at their head. Such is the *company* by which the good old proverb requires us to judge of Mr. Crawford's principles in 1807. What explanation do his friends give of this matter? One says it proves that Mr. Crawford (and of course Mr. Pickering) had more sagacity than Mr. Jefferson and the whole Republican party; another asserts, *and proves it by Mr. Crawford's speech*, that he opposed the repeal of the embargo in 1809, when Mr. Jefferson and the party had determined to abandon it, and prepare for more decisive measures.

Now those who condemn the embargo, as a permanent measure and a substitute for war, must admit that it was wise and necessary, when viewed as a temporary measure and *preparatory* for war. Of course it was expedient in its inception when Mr. Crawford voted against it, and unwise in its continuance when Mr. Crawford voted for it. What a tissue of disastrous contra-

dictions! Always changing, always wrong, and *always against the administration!* But I hasten to another link in the chain. Before the close of Mr. Jefferson's administration, and after Mr. Randolph had seceded from the Republican party, it is notorious that Mr. Crawford attached himself to a junto headed by Mr. Randolph; a junto remarkable for puffing each other, and finding fault with the administration. At that time, if common fame speaks true, Mr. Randolph said Mr. Crawford ought to be President of the United States; a fact which serves the double purpose of shewing the concurrence of their views, and the congeniality of their principles; and of explaining why Mr. Crawford was more cautious and guarded in his hostility than Mr. Randolph.

In the spirit of this hostile feeling towards the republican administration, we next find Mr. Crawford delivering a most pointed and personal phillipic against Mr. Madison. The occasion of this phillipic was Mr. Madison's message, detailing the injuries inflicted on us by the edicts of Great Britain, and recommending Congress to place the country in an "armour and attitude" suitable to the emergency. Mr. Crawford sneeringly characterized this message as having all the ambiguity of a response from the Delphic Oracle; and solemnly admonished the Senate against preparation for war, contending that the embargo ought to have been adhered to! At a later period when the war became obviously inevitable, Mr. Crawford opposed the creation of a navy, pronouncing it "worse than ridiculous to think of defending our commerce by a navy," when every politician of sagacity must have been sensible of the folly and impotence of a declaration of war against Great Britain, without a navy to sustain it. When the question of war itself came directly before Congress, though Mr. Crawford finally voted for the measure, he gave it a cold, inefficient and equivocal support during the long and dubious contest in the Senate. At one period it was ascertained that there was a majority of two in that body opposed to the war, and to the very last the event was doubtful; yet Mr. Crawford never raised his voice in support of it. Soon after the war was declared, he took refuge from responsibility and danger in a foreign court, and there remained in undistinguished and unprofitable security, until the storm had subsided.

But although he shrunk from the responsibility of sustaining the war, we find him soon after the return of peace, ambitiously aspiring, by the most censurable means, to that high office, which a grateful people had almost unanimously designated as the reward of the long services and recent self-devotion of Mr. Monroe. As I view the attempt made in 1816 to force Mr. Crawford into the presidential chair by means of a Congressional caucus, to be one of the most alarming efforts at dictation which has occurred since the contest between Jefferson and Burr, I invite your serious attention to a brief narrative of the prominent facts relating to it.

I confidently appeal to you, and to the people of every other republican state in the Union, not excepting Georgia, to bear me out in the assertion, that the voice of the Republican party was as decidedly and unequivocally in favor of Mr. Monroe in 1816, as it was in favor of Mr. Jefferson in 1801. Mr. Crawford was not even *thought of* as a candidate, and his nomination would have overwhelmed them with the surprise and astonishment of a revelation. With a perfect knowledge of the wishes of the people to the contrary, Mr. Crawford made this desperate effort to usurp the government; and it is worth remarking how precisely he followed the usual artifices of usurpers. Under some pretext, not now recollected, Dr. Bibb, the friend of Mr. Crawford, wrote a letter, which was published, stating that Mr. Crawford 'did not wish to be considered one of those from whom a choice was to be made.' Upon the very face of it, this declaration is a modest invitation to his friends to persevere. But taken with the associated circumstances, we cannot resist the inference that there was a perfect understanding on the subject, and that this declaration was designed to promote the projected nomination. It was almost literally Cæsar putting aside the crown, that it might be the more strenuously urged upon him. Immediately after the publication of Dr. Bibb's letter, Mr. Crawford's organ, the Washington City Gazette, declared that it was *authorised* to state that nothing in that letter was intended to convey the idea that Mr. Crawford would not permit his name to be used, but that he would yield to the determination of his friends. From this time till the meeting of the caucus, every possible effort was used by the partizans of Mr. Crawford to effect his nomination. The Washington City Gazette teemed with incessant denunciations of Mr. Monroe, Mr. Jefferson, Mr. Madison and the Virginia dynasty; and the same topics were urged by Mr. Crawford's congressional friends in the messes and in private circles. It was also urged that he would *vacate all offices and fill them with his supporters*, thus attempting to purchase the government with its own patronage! During all these desperate efforts, neither Mr. Crawford nor any of his friends ever contradicted the above declaration of the Gazette, and it was perfectly understood by those who mingled in the scene, that he stimulated his friends, at least until he found his game desperate. To illustrate this dark transaction, I shall make a few quotations from some remarks made by the Editors of the National Intelligencer, in the paper of the 8th April, 1816. As these gentlemen are now the friends of Mr. Crawford, it is presumed their authority will not be questioned:

"Our astonishment increases, by retrospection, at the formidable number of the republican meeting opposed to the nomination of Mr. Monroe. We consult our inclination, and probably the interests of the great republican family, *in avoiding an examination of the circumstances, a combination of which had nearly*

produced a nomination *in direct opposition to the public will.*—“It is a fact undisputed, we believe, *that the activity and preconcert of the opponents of Mr. Monroe*, and a fastidious delicacy of his best friends, which prevented active exertions in support of his nomination, produced a state of things astonishing to most of the good people of the United States, who expected nothing less than that division of sentiment which prevailed among their representatives. The decided friends of Mr. Monroe were so backward in their exertions, that at one time their opponents, mistaking silent conviction for apathy, *looked forward to certain victory.* On their part, however, *no exertions were spared.* As no labor was too great, so *no means were too humble to aid their object:* witness the use made of the columns of an ephemeral print in this City, to soil the character and lacerate the feelings of their opponents.” “It has been said that the meeting was got up by Mr. Monroe’s friends under circumstances peculiarly favorable to their views. This is not true. On the contrary, it was his opponents, flushed with sanguine hopes of success—the result of consultations previously held—it was they who urged the meeting—it was they who convoked it.” “It is well known here that, had all the Republicans attended, his [Mr. Monroe’s] majority would have been more than doubled.”

Such is the character of this transaction, and yet it is to his conduct in relation to it, that Mr. Crawford’s friends appeal for proof of his unassuming modesty. They assert that he could have been nominated, but prevented it himself. I do not know which more clearly indicates the dangerous politician, the attempt to usurp the government by unprincipled combinations and direct appeals to the fears of incumbents and the venality of expectants, and “*in direct opposition to the public will,*” or the artful disguise and hypocritical duplicity with which the operations were conducted on the part of Mr. Crawford. When week after week his confidential partizans, holding daily consultations with him, continued to use all the “activity and preconcert” of men sustained and animated by a master spirit; when they undertook to promise that he would reward his supporters by expelling all officers unfriendly to his election; when they “urged and convoked the meeting,” can any man, at all versed in human affairs, believe that Mr. Crawford was the unwilling instrument of all this distracting agitation in the Republican party? Can it be believed, that a man of whom the people had not dreamed as a candidate for the presidency, and whose principal recommendation was that want of fixed principles which qualified him to be the instrument of a discontented and restless cabal? Can it be believed, that such a man was sustained upon such principles, and by such partizans, without his approbation and concurrence? I pronounce it impossible. Thus we find that the uniform and consistent Republican, who sets himself up as the exclusive disciple of the Jefferson school in 1823, attempted in 1816 to raise

himself to the presidency, by denouncing Mr. Jefferson and all his successors.

But to complete the climax of proofs, which establish the heterodoxy of Mr. Crawford's political principles, I invite your attention to a few brief remarks upon his conduct as a member of Mr. Monroe's cabinet. It will be seen that the magnanimity and delicacy, which prevented Mr. Monroe from dismissing a political opponent, has been rewarded by faithlessness and duplicity; and that, instead of sustaining the administration, as he was bound to do by every principle that binds men together in relations of confidence, he has secretly fostered and reared up, with a view to his own aggrandizement, a party as rancorously opposed to the administration of Mr. Monroe, as the federal party ever was to the administrations of Mr. Jefferson or Mr. Madison. During the early stages of the operations of this party, when its leaders were sanguine of success, neither their hostility to the administration, nor their connexion with Mr. Crawford, was disguised. They openly assumed the badge of their association, took pride in the name of *Radical*, falsely accused *the most economical administration we have ever had* of ruinous extravagance, and held up Mr. Crawford as the great reformer of abuses. But when the people of the United States, too enlightened to mistake the hypocritical cant of noisy partizans for evidences of disinterested patriotism, "frowned indignantly" upon this second attempt to elevate Mr. Crawford to the presidential chair by means of the distraction of the Republican party, that gentleman, with his accustomed dexterity, attempts to disclaim all connexion with the Radical party. Vain attempt! If that connexion constituted treason, it could be established before any court, by the strictest rules of judicial investigation. The evidence has gone abroad, and all the "multitudinous waves" of the ocean would not wash from Mr. Crawford's hands the stain of "*Radicalism.*" I will state a few incontrovertible facts. *Every Radical in the United States is the active partizan of Mr. Crawford.* There is no known exception. The Radicals in Congress, *as a party*, have invariably supported him. They organized themselves and appointed Speakers. A respectable member of Congress was invited by one of Mr. Crawford's friends to join them; and it was stated, as an inducement, *that there was a party organized against the administration; that the administration was not popular, and must go down.* Mr. Gilmer, of Georgia, the personal and political friend of Mr. Crawford, in the course of a violent attack upon the administration, said it would ruin the country, and that *he wished to see the line drawn and parties designated.* This declaration furnishes the stronger evidence, when it is considered that Mr. Gilmer, though a man of mistaken views and violent prejudices, is highly honorable and candid. Charged with the views and feelings of Mr. Crawford, he was too honest to conceal them. Dr. Floyd, of Virginia, a gentleman of the same charac-

ter, declared during the same debate, that he regretted that the period was so remote, that would terminate the administration of Mr. Monroe! The speeches of these two gentlemen, and the replies they elicited, were never published, doubtless for reasons satisfactory to the Editors of the *Intelligencer*. If the discussion had taken place before the collected body of the American people, a single doubt would not now exist, either as to the existence, the principles, or the ultimate object of the Radical party.

Thus have we traced Mr. Crawford through all the windings and sinuosities of an ambitious aspirant, recognizing no principle of action but self-aggrandizement; never false to himself, and seldom true to his party; alternately profaning the name of Jefferson, by assailing and assuming it; but in every instance sacrificing the peace and harmony, the wishes and principles, of the Republican party to his own ambitious projects. Let us inquire for a moment, what services he has rendered either to his party or to his country, to counterbalance these manifold aberrations? In what single instance has he triumphantly withstood the shock of the many assaults made by the federal party? In what crisis of our political conflicts, has he evinced either a disinterested devotion to the principles and measures of the Republican party, or displayed more than ordinary talents in their vindication? These questions have been reiterated again and again, and his friends have answered them by referring to latent capacities and dispositions, the sudden development of which is to astonish the country; and which, like his celebrated Address to Mr. Adams, will be "the more agreeable because unexpected."

Citizens of North-Carolina! will you support him as an uniform Republican, who has been more uniformly against us than with us? Will you support him as a statesman, who has not erected a single monument to his wisdom? Will you support him as a patriot, who has never evinced his devotion to his country, but who fled from responsibility during the most trying crisis in the history of the Republican party, or of our common country? I am sure you will not; and it is with great pleasure I now present, for your consideration, the claims of a statesman, whose unexceptionable character, indisputable talents, and varied and distinguished services, will exhibit a striking contrast with the corresponding deficiencies of the one whose claims I have been considering. I need scarcely tell you, that such are the characteristics of JOHN C. CALHOUN. From his earliest youthful conceptions, on political subjects, up to the present period, he has been an uniform and undeviating Republican. From a mother of Roman virtues, who had been often compelled to desert her home by the ravages of the Tories, he imbibed those noble sentiments of national devotion, which gave such a charm to his parliamentary eloquence; and from a father of sound and discriminating judgment, who served in the legislature of South Ca-

rolina during the whole period of the revolution, and after its termination till his death, he imbibed those early republican impressions which have "grown with his growth and strengthened with his strength." Having literally devoured most of the ancient historians at an extremely early age, and before he commenced his grammar-school studies, the impressions made by these parental lessons were swelled into an enthusiastic admiration of the great models of republican antiquity. Thus deeply grounded in his attachment to republican principles, we find him maintaining them under circumstances well calculated to illustrate juvenile ardor and youthful firmness. After the death of his father, he was placed at the Academy, and under the superintending care of his brother-in-law, the celebrated Dr. Waddel: a gentleman at that time not less decided in his federal principles, than he was distinguished for the graces of religion and the accomplishments of a scholar. As this was at a time not very remote from the date of the *Augusta Address*, drawn up by another of the Dr.'s pupils, politics was the subject of free conversation and discussion; and as John C. Calhoun discovered a very strong taste and inclination for political disquisitions, his brother-in-law very naturally, endeavored to reclaim him from what he conceived to be his juvenile errors. When I assert that the pupil openly avowed and firmly maintained his republican principles, against both the arguments and the authority of his guardian and preceptor, I confidently appeal to that preceptor, and to the surviving associates of the pupil, for a confirmation of the assertion.

From the Academy of Dr. Waddel, John C. Calhoun was transferred to Yale College in Connecticut. Here again he was destined to encounter his preceptor, the celebrated Dr. Dwight, in the field of political discussion. In the course of a recitation, the Doctor expressed a doubt whether the republican system was really better calculated to promote the happiness of the people than a limited monarchy. This gave rise to a warm and animated debate between the Doctor and Mr. Calhoun, in which the latter evinced such depth of thought and power of argument, that the former predicted his future rise to the highest honors of the Republic. At the period of which I am speaking, the name of Republican was so odious in Yale College, as to be considered almost an insuperable obstacle to the attainment of the honors of the institution. Yet Mr. Calhoun, with a few faithful associates, (who now live to testify to the truth of what I am saying,) boldly and fearlessly maintained the cause of republicanism, amidst the proscribing intolerance of prejudices, which almost excluded them from society. Such were the trials, and such the unshaken republicanism of Mr. Calhoun, at a period of life earlier than that, at which we find Mr. Crawford yielding to the prevailing current of federalism, and expressing "the most unlimited confidence" in the administration of John Adams. Soon after Mr. Calhoun commenced the practice of the law, he was elected to the Legislature of South-Carolina, where he at once exhibited a

maturity of thought beyond his years. His elevation of character-commanded confidence, and his power of argument seldom failed to produce conviction. Among the measures brought before the Legislature during the term of his service, was a proposition to remove the existing restriction upon the right of popular suffrage and make it general, with a qualification of residence only. Mr. Calhoun ably and successfully sustained the proposition; contending that where a large mass of citizens is excluded from all power in the state, they will ultimately become discontented, and either overthrow the government, or drive it to the adoption of tyrannical measures for its preservation.

Such was the republicanism of Mr. Calhoun in 1808, and by a singular coincidence of time, making the contrast of principle more striking, Mr. Crawford the very same year, in the Senate of the United States, voted for restricting the right of suffrage in the Mississippi Territory, according to the aristocratical notions of Virginia.

After Mr. Calhoun had served two years in the Legislature of South-Carolina, the interesting and portentous character of our foreign relations, induced him to abandon a lucrative profession; and, in obedience to the almost unanimous call of his constituents, he took his seat in Congress at the session usually denominated the war-session.

During every stage of the discussions which preceded the declaration of war against Great Britain, and during every stage and every vicissitude of that eventful and trying contest, Mr. Calhoun took a leading and distinguished part in the debates of Congress. As chairman of the Committee of Foreign Relations, it became his peculiar duty to devise and sustain the various measures necessary for the prosecution of the contest. A perusal of his various speeches, will result in convincing every impartial reader that for Roman energy, lofty patriotism, profound political sagacity, and masculine eloquence, Mr. Calhoun has no superior in the present day. I have deliberately weighed every phrase of this eulogium, and I feel perfectly assured that it will be confirmed by the judgment of posterity. I invite your attention to a brief review of some of his speeches, for a confirmation of the opinion I have expressed. And though disconnected quotations can give but a feeble notion of the impression made by the connected argument, yet enough will be presented to communicate the spirit of the orator, and to justify the following complimentary remarks and predictions of Mr. Ritchie, contained in the Richmond Enquirer, of December 24, 1811:—After characterising Mr. Randolph as “the snarling and petulant critic, who raves and bites at every thing around him; oblique in his positions; extravagant in his facts; floundering and blundering in his conclusions,” he thus proceeds with the contrast: “Mr. Calhoun is clear and precise in his reasoning, marching directly to the object of his attack, and felling down the errors of his opponent with the club of Hercules; not eloquent in his tropes and figures, but like Fox in the moral elevation of his sentiments:

free from personalities, yet full of those fine touches of indignation, which are the severest cut to a man of feeling. His speech, like a fine drawing, abounds in those lights and shades which set off each other: the cause of his country is robed in light, while her opponents are wrapped in darkness. It were a contracted wish that Mr. Calhoun were a Virginian; though after the quota which she has furnished, with opposition talents, such a wish might be forgiven us. Yet we beg leave to participate, as Americans and friends of our country, in the honors of South-Carolina. We hail this young Carolinian, *as one of the master spirits that stamp their name upon the age in which they live.*"

The speech which elicited this encomium, (in unison with the general sentiment of the country,) was delivered in reply to Mr. Randolph, and in support of the Report of the Committee of Foreign Relations, recommending immediate preparations for war. I regret that I have not this speech before me, but its spirit pervades those which succeeded it. In the debate on the proposition to lay an embargo for ninety days, as a measure preparatory for war, Mr. Calhoun said:

"There is no man, in his reason and uninfluenced by party feelings, but must acknowledge that a declaration of war on our part, ought almost invariably to be preceded by an embargo." "We will not, I hope, wait the expiration of the embargo, to take our stand against England—that stand which the best interests and the honor of this nation have so loudly demanded." "The gentleman from Virginia has told us much of the signs of the times. I did hope that the age of superstition was past. Sir, if we must examine the auspices, if we must inspect the entrails of the times, I would pronounce the omens good. It is from moral, not brute or physical omens, that we ought to judge; and what more favorable could we desire, than that the nation is at last roused from its lethargy, and stands prepared to vindicate its interest and honor. On the contrary, a nation so sunk in avarice, and corrupted by faction, as to be insensible to the greatest injuries, and lost to its independence, would be a spectacle more portentous than comets, earthquakes, eclipses, or the whole catalogue of omens, which we have heard the gentleman from Virginia enumerate. I assert, *and gentlemen know it*, if we submit to the pretensions of England, now openly avowed, the independence of this nation is lost,—we shall be, as to our commerce at least, recolonized. This is the second struggle for independence; and, if we do but justice to ourselves, it will be no less glorious and successful than the first. Let us but exert ourselves, and we must meet with the prospering smile of heaven. Sir, I assert it with confidence, a war, just and necessary in its origin, wisely and vigorously carried on, and honorably terminated, would establish the union and prosperity of our country for centuries."

In conformity with the foregoing views, Mr. Calhoun, sometime subsequent, presented an able Report, detailing the injuries inflicted by Great Britain on our neutral rights, and asked leave to bring in a Bill declaring war against that nation. The manifold difficulties, presented by the array of powerful talents in the opposition, and the hesitating, half-way policy of many Republicans, were finally overcome by the activity, energy and zeal of Mr. Calhoun, and the able co-operation of many distinguished Republicans.

After the war was declared, Mr. Calhoun, always deprecating

half-way measures, urged the repeal of the non-importation act. The speech delivered by him, on that occasion, so fully displays the consistent Republican, and so clearly portrays, to use the language (not before quoted) of Mr. Ritchie's compliment, "one of the old sages of the old Congress with the graces of youth," that I must be excused for making a copious extract. It gives the most admirable exposition of the restrictive system ever published:

"The restrictive system, as a mode of *resistance*, or as a means of obtaining *redress*, has never been a favorite one with me. I wish not to censure the motives which dictated it, or attribute weakness to those who first resorted to it for a restoration of our rights. But, sir, I object to the restrictive system—because it does not suit the genius of the people, or that of our government, or the geographical character of our country. We are a people essentially active. I may say we are pre-eminently so. No passive system can suit such a people: in action superior to all others; in patient endurance inferior to many. Nor does it suit the genius of our government. Our government is founded on freedom, and hates coercion. To make the restrictive system effective, requires the most arbitrary laws. England, with the severest penal statutes, has not been able to exclude prohibited articles; and Napoleon, with all his power and vigilance, was obliged to resort to the most barbarous laws to enforce his continental system."

After showing how the whole mercantile community must become corrupted, by the temptations and facilities for smuggling, and how the *public opinion* of the commercial community, (upon which the system must depend for its enforcement,) becomes opposed to it, and gives sanction to its violation, he proceeds:

"But there are other objections to the system. It renders government odious. The farmer inquires, why he gets no more for his produce, and he is told it is owing to the embargo or commercial restrictions. In this he sees only the hand of his own government, and not the acts of violence and injustice, which this system is intended to counteract. His censures fall on the government. This is an unhappy state of the public mind; and even, I might say, in a government resting essentially on public opinion, a dangerous one. In war it is different. The privation, it is true, may be equal or greater, but the public mind, under the strong impulses of that state of things, becomes steeled against sufferings. The difference is almost infinite, between the passive and active state of the mind. Tie down a hero, and he feels the puncture of a pin; throw him into battle, and he is almost insensible to vital gashes. So in war. Impelled alternately by hope and fear; stimulated by revenge; depressed by shame, or elevated by victory, the people become invincible. No privation can shake their fortitude; no calamity break their spirit. Even when equally successful, the contrast between the two systems is striking. War and restriction may leave the country equally exhausted, but the latter not only leaves you poor, but, even when successful, dispirited, divided, discontented; with diminished patriotism, and the morals of a considerable portion of your people corrupted. Not so in war. In that state the common danger unites all, strengthens the bonds of society, and feeds the flame of patriotism. The national character mounts to energy. In exchange for the expenses and privations of war, you obtain military and naval skill, and a more perfect organization of such parts of your administration, as are connected with the science of national defence. Sir, are these advantages to be counted as trifles, in the present state of the world? Can they be measured by monied valuation?—I would prefer a single victory over the enemy by sea or land, to all the good we shall ever derive from the continuation of the non-importation act. I know not that a victory would produce an equal pres-

sure on the enemy, but I am certain of what is of greater consequence, it would be accompanied by more salutary effects on ourselves. The memory of Saratoga, Princeton and Eutaw is immortal. It is there you will find the country's boast and pride; the inexhaustible source of great and heroic sentiments. But what will history say of restriction? What examples worthy of imitation will it furnish posterity? What pride, what pleasure will our children find in the events of such times? Let me not be considered romantic.

"This nation ought to be taught to rely on its own courage, its fortitude, its skill and virtue for protection. These are the only safeguards in the hour of danger. Man was endued with these great qualities for his defence. There is nothing about him that indicates that he is to conquer by endurance. He is not incrustated in a shell; he is not taught to rely upon his insensibility, his passive suffering, for defence. No, sir; it is on the invincible mind, on a magnanimous nature he ought to rely. Here is the superiority of our kind; it is these that render man the Lord of the world. It is the destiny of his condition, that nations rise above nations, as they are endued in a greater degree with these brilliant qualities."

Eloquence worthy of Demosthenes! sentiments worthy of the best days of Greece and Rome! and political reflections that would do honor to the most experienced statesman! If the picture had been drawn after the war, he could not have described its beneficial effects with a nicer precision. How enviable is the light in which Mr. Calhoun is exhibited, when we compare these views with the vacillating, contradictory course of Mr. Crawford in relation to the embargo!

In March, 1814, soon after the first dethronement of Buonaparte, to the eye of the timid, our affairs assumed a gloomy and disheartening aspect. The whole power of our enemy, flushed with success, was about to be poured in upon us. The opposition, vigilant and powerful, seized upon the occasion to embarrass the government, and used every effort to defeat the Loan Bill; a measure essential to the finances of the country. They denounced the war as unjust and inexpedient, and painted the hopelessness of the unequal contest in which we were engaged.

Mr. Calhoun replied in a speech, which no American can read without having his feelings raised to a pitch of "moral elevation," which it is the prerogative of wisdom, eloquently spoken, only to excite.

To show the expediency of the war, he took a historical view of the British maritime usurpations from the celebrated rule of 1756, up to the time of the discussion; and demonstrated that these aggressions were not accidental or temporary, but that they entered essentially into the system of the maritime policy of the enemy. From this luminous view of the origin, nature and principle of the wrongs we suffered, he clearly showed both the flimsiness of the pretexts by which the enemy sought to justify, and the opposition to excuse them; and the folly of expecting to obtain redress, by sheathing the sword and throwing ourselves upon the justice of the enemy. In concluding this view of his subject, he proceeded as follows:

"This country was left alone to support the rights of neutrals. Perilous was the condition, and arduous the task. We were not intimidated. We stood opposed to British usurpation, and by our spirit and efforts have

done all in our power to save the last vestiges of neutral rights. Yes, our embargoes, non-intercourse, non-importation, and finally war, were all manly exertions to preserve the rights of this and other nations, from the deadly grasp of British maritime policy. But, say our opponents, these efforts are lost, and our condition hopeless. If so, it only remains for us to assume the garb of our condition. We must submit, humbly submit, crave pardon, and hug our chains. It is not wise to provoke, where we cannot resist. But first let us be well assured of the hopelessness of our state, before we sink into submission. On what do our opponents rest this despondent and slavish belief? On the recent events in Europe? I admit they are great, and well calculated to impose on the imagination. Our enemy never presented a more imposing exterior. His fortune is at the flood. But I am admonished, by universal experience, that such prosperity is the most precarious of human conditions. From the flood the tide dates its ebb. From the meridian the sun commences his decline. Depend upon it, there is more of sound philosophy than of fiction in the fickleness which poets attribute to fortune. Prosperity has its weakness; adversity its strength. In many respects our enemy has lost by those very changes which seem so very much in his favor. He can no more claim to be struggling for existence; no more to be fighting the battles of the world, in defence of the liberties of mankind. The magic cry of French influence is lost. In this very hall we are not strangers to that sound. Here, even here, the cry of French influence, that baseless fiction, that phantom of faction, now banished, often resounded. I rejoice that the spell is broken, by which it was attempted to bind the spirit of this youthful nation. The minority can no longer act under cover, but must come out and defend their opposition on its own intrinsic merits."—"Our example can scarcely fail to produce its effects on other nations interested in the maintenance of maritime rights. But if, unfortunately, we should be left alone to maintain the contest; and if, which may God forbid, necessity should compel us to yield for the present, yet our generous efforts will not have been lost. A mode of thinking and a tone of sentiment have gone abroad, which must stimulate to future and more successful struggles. What could not be effected with eight millions of people, will be done with twenty. The great cause will never be yielded; no, never, never."—"Sir, I hear the future audibly announced in the past—in the splendid victories over the Guerriere, Java, and Macedonian. We, and all nations, are, by these victories, taught a lesson never to be forgotten. Opinion is power. *The charm of British naval invincibility is gone.*"

Such were the animating strains by which Mr. Calhoun, nearly ten years ago, roused his country to action amidst a complication of adverse circumstances, calculated to overwhelm the feeble and appal the stoutest. Never faltering, never doubting, *never despairing of the Republic*, he was at once the "stately column" of his party, and the beacon-light of his country.

Such is an imperfect glance at the services, rendered by John C. Calhoun to his party and to his country, during the most perilous struggle which that party and that country ever encountered; while William H. Crawford, during the same period, has left upon the records of his country "no memorial." Those who are familiar with the history of that crisis, that "second war of independence," must recollect, that the downfall of the Republican party was confidently anticipated by the Federalists, and seriously apprehended by many Republicans. This will account for Mr. Crawford's cold and hesitating support of the war, and his speedy retreat from its responsibility and its dangers. Mr. Calhoun, on the contrary, believing the cause of his party to be

the cause of his country, disdained to indulge a hope of rising upon its ruins.

At the close of the war, such was the confidence reposed in the integrity and talents of Mr. Calhoun, and such his practical energy of character, that he had a principal agency in such legislative measures, as were necessary for the organization of a peace establishment.

In fixing the number of the army, Mr. Madison was understood to be in favor of twenty thousand; and Mr. Clay contended for at least fifteen thousand; and Mr. Calhoun insisted that it ought not to be higher than ten thousand; contending then, as he has always done since, that the great point was not to have the establishment *large*, but *permanent* and *well organized*. Frequent changes, he said, destroy the spirit and zeal of the officers, and the organization of the army; defeating the very object of the establishment. With the same general views he zealously supported the Military Academy at West Point: an institution *then* struggling against powerful prejudices, but *now* the general favorite of the nation. It is beyond question the *cheapest* and the *safest* mode of diffusing military science through the country.

While Mr. Calhoun has always contended for maintaining our establishments for national defence, upon a scale commensurate with our resources, and adapted to our existing and probable relations with the great powers of the earth, he has as uniformly contended for strict economy in the public disbursements, and *accomplished his theory by his practice*.

He was the first to introduce a law depriving the executive of the power of transferring money from one head of appropriation to another, and make all appropriations specific. This measure he supported by a speech, in which he ably enforced the necessity of *that strict accountability in public agents* which, as Secretary of War, he has since introduced with such signal advantage to the country. In this salutary work of reform, he was opposed by all the influence of William H. Crawford, then Secretary of the Treasury.

In 1816, a proposition to repeal the direct taxes, gave rise to a debate on the state of the Republic, involving a discussion of the policy of the country in time of peace. The speech delivered by Mr. Calhoun on that occasion, elicited a burst of approbation, and extorted from a member, not friendly to the orator, this involuntary exclamation: "what a prodigious effort of the human mind!" The Editors of the *Intelligencer* stated, in their notice of it, that Mr. Calhoun might safely rest "his fame as a statesman and orator" upon that single production. I regret that of this speech, as of that on the Loan Bill, I can only give a few detached sentences. Taken together they contain a summary of all that can be said of the interests of the Republic, and the duties of the government in war and in peace. After taking a profound view of our probable relations with other powers, and the policy which we should pursue towards them, he proceeded to consider the measures of preparation necessary for our defence:

“The navy, said he, most certainly, in every point of view, occupies the first place. It is the most safe, most effectual, and the cheapest mode of defence. We have heard much of the danger of standing armies to our liberties; the objection cannot be made to a navy. Generals, it must be acknowledged, have often advanced at the head of armies to imperial rank and power; but in what instance had an Admiral usurped the liberties of his country?”

“In regard to the militia, I would go as far as any man; and considerably farther than those would, who are so violently opposed to our small army. I know the danger of large standing armies; I know the militia are the true force; that no nation can be safe at home and abroad which has not an efficient militia.”

After indicating the various defensive preparations demanded by the true and permanent interests of the country, he enforces his views by the following eloquent and impressive peroration:

The people, I believe, are intelligent and virtuous. The more wisely, then, you act; the less you yield to the temptation of ignoble and false security, the more you will attract their confidence. *Already they go far, very far before this House, in energy and public spirit.* If ever measures of this kind become unpopular, it will be by speeches here. I do sincerely hope that the members of this House *are the real agents of the people*; they are sent here not to consult their ease and convenience, but their general defence and common welfare. Such is the language of the Constitution. In discharge of the sacred trust reposed in me by those for whom I act, I have faithfully pointed out those measures, which our situation and relation to the rest of the world, render necessary for our security and lasting prosperity. I know of no situation so responsible, if properly considered, as ours. We are charged by providence not only with the happiness of this great and rising people, but, in a considerable degree, with that of the human race. We have a government of a new order, perfectly distinct from all which have preceded it. A government, founded on the rights of man; resting, not on authority, not on prejudice, not on superstition, but reason. If it shall succeed, as fondly hoped by its founders, it will be the commencement of a new era in human affairs. All civilized governments, must, in the course of time, conform to its principles. Thus circumstanced, can you hesitate what course to choose? The road that wisdom indicates leads, it is true, up the steep, but leads also to security and lasting glory. No nation that wants the fortitude to tread it, ought ever to aspire to greatness. Such ought to sink, and will sink, into the list of those that have done nothing to be remembered. It is immutable; it is in the nature of things. The love of present ease and pleasure, indifference about the future, that fatal weakness of human nature, has never failed, in individuals or nations, to sink to disgrace and ruin. On the contrary, virtue and wisdom, which regard the future, which spurn the temptations of the moment, however rugged their path, end in happiness. Such are the universal sentiments of all wise writers, from the didactics of the philosopher to the fictions of the poet. They agree and inculcate that pleasure is a flowery path leading off among groves and gardens, but ending in a dreary wilderness—that it is the Syren’s voice which, he who listens to, is ruined—that it is the cup of Circe, of which, whosoever drinks, is converted into a swine. This is the language of fiction; reason teaches the same. It is my wish to elevate the national sentiment, to that which animates every just and virtuous mind. No effort is needed here to impel us the opposite way. That may be too safely trusted to the frailties of our nature. This nation is now in a situation similar to that which one of the most beautiful writers of antiquity ascribes to Hercules in his youth: He represents the hero as retiring into the wilderness, to deliberate on the course of life which he ought to choose. Two Goddesses approached him; one recommending to him a life of ease and pleasure, the other of labor and virtue. The Hero adopted

the counsel of the latter, and his fame and glory are known to the world. May this nation, the youthful Hercules, possessing his form and muscles, be animated by similar sentiments and follow his example!"

I shall conclude this rapid glance at Mr. Calhoun's congressional services, by quoting one of his views on the great question of Internal Improvement, as contained in the speech he delivered in support of his well known plan on that subject:

"But when we come to consider (said he) how intimately the strength and prosperity of the Republic are connected with this subject, we find the most urgent reasons why we should apply our resources to the construction of roads and canals. In many respects no country, of equal population and wealth, possesses equal materials for power with ours. The people, in muscular vigor, in hardy and enterprising habits, and in a lofty and gallant courage, are surpassed by none. In one respect, and, in my opinion, in one only, we are materially weak. We occupy a surface prodigiously great in proportion to our numbers. The common strength is brought, with difficulty, to bear upon the point that may be menaced by an enemy." "Good roads and canals, judiciously laid out, are the proper remedy. In the recent war, how much did we suffer for the want of them! Besides the tardiness and consequent inefficiency of our military movements, to what increased expense was the country put, for the article of transportation alone! In the event of another war the saving, in this particular, would go far towards indemnifying us for the expenses of constructing the means of transportation."

After explaining the importance of roads and canals in the fiscal operations of the government, and in restoring the equilibrium of the currency, disturbed by disbursing the revenue at the seat of war, he proceeds:

"But on this subject of national power, what can be more important than a perfect unity, in every part, of feelings and interests? And what can tend more powerfully to produce it, than overcoming the effects of distance? No people, enjoying freedom, ever occupied any thing like so great an extent of country as this Republic. One hundred years ago, the most profound philosophers did not believe it even possible. They did not suppose that a pure Republic could exist on so great a scale as even the island of Great Britain. What was then considered chimerical, we now have the felicity to enjoy; and what is most remarkable, such is the happy mould of our government, so well are the state and general powers blended, that much of our political happiness draws its origin from the extent of our Republic. It has exempted us from most of the causes which distracted the small Republics of antiquity: let it not, however, be forgotten; let it forever be kept in mind, that it exposes us to the greatest of all calamities, next to the loss of liberty, and even to *that* in its consequences,—*disunion*. We are great, and rapidly, I was about to say fearfully, growing. This is our pride and our danger; our weakness and our strength. Little (said he) does he deserve to be entrusted with the destinies of this people, who does not raise his mind to these truths. We are under the most imperious obligations to counteract every tendency to disunion. The strongest of all cements is, undoubtedly, the wisdom, justice, and above all, the moderation of this house; yet the great subject, on which we are now deliberating, in this respect deserves the most serious consideration. Whatever impedes the intercourse of the extremes with this, the centre of the Republic, weakens the Union. The more enlarged the sphere of commercial circulation; the more extended that of social intercourse; the more strongly are we bound together; the more inseparable our destinies. Those who understand the human heart, know how powerfully distance tends to break the sympathies of our nature. Nothing, not even dissimilarity of language, tends more to estrange man from man. Let us then (said he) bind the Republic together, with a perfect system of roads and canals. Let us conquer space."—"Blessed with a form of government, at once combining liberty and strength, we may reasonably raise our eyes to

a most splendid future, if we only act in a manner worthy of our advantages. If, however, neglecting them, we permit a low, sordid, selfish, sectional spirit to take possession of this house, this happy scene will vanish. We shall divide, and, as consequences, will follow misery and despotism."

In the spirit of these enlightened and patriotic views, Mr. Calhoun, since he has been Secretary of War, presented to the House of Representatives, in obedience to a resolution of that body, a luminous Report on the same subject. The resolution of the House equally extended to Mr. Crawford, as Secretary of the Treasury. He has never yet complied with the call, though four years have elapsed. The question has been repeatedly asked, why has Mr. Crawford contumaciously stood mute, in defiance of the authority of Congress? Neither he nor his friends have condescended to answer it. I, then, will do them that piece of justice which modesty, no doubt, forbids them to do themselves. Knowing that the Virginia (or rather the Richmond) politicians were opposed to Internal Improvements, made by the national government, and that the rest of the Union entertained opposite views on the subject, Mr. Crawford hoped that, by holding himself *uncommitted*, he might please all parties. Indeed, he is supported, in Virginia, distinctly upon the ground of his opposition to Internal Improvements, of which I suppose he has given a *secret* pledge.

As Secretary of the Department of War, of which he took charge in December 1817, the services of Mr. Calhoun have not been less important, though much less striking to the general public, than those he rendered in Congress. Mr. Crawford, his predecessor, had left the Department in the utmost confusion; having made no single effort to correct the abuses, the extravagance and the waste, which had crept into the system during the war. By a new organization, grand in its results, but, like all the improvements of genius, simple in its principles and machinery, every abuse has been corrected, and the utmost economy substituted in the place of wasteful extravagance. All the subordinate agents of the disbursing departments are responsible for all the public money, or public property, which passes through their hands, to an *administrative* head at the seat of government, who sanctions their accounts only for expenses actually and *properly* made; whereas, before the new organization, these accounts were submitted directly to the Auditors, who sanctioned and passed them, of course, on the production of vouchers for the actual expenditure, without any inquiry into its *propriety*.

One of the most important branches of the system, which I have thus generally characterized, is the commissariat; by means of which, the army is supplied with provisions by commissaries, subject to military responsibility, and under the control of a head at the seat of government. By this improvement the manifold impositions, formerly practised by contractors, have been effectually avoided; the army is uniformly supplied with good rations; military operations are no longer liable to be defeated, by the default of persons not subject to military rules; and the expense of the supplies has been reduced to a degree that will hardly be credited. This great improvement, which Mr. Calhoun first proposed in Congress during the late war, and finally and effectually

ally recommended in an able Report as Secretary of War, was opposed by Mr. Crawford, Secretary of the Treasury, who volunteered and obtruded his out-door exertions, to save the nation from the "splendid and visionary projects" of "young Mr. Calhoun." The result of this new organization of the administrative branches of the staff, part of which Mr. Crawford thus opposed, and part of which his Radical friends in Congress attempted to destroy, has been an aggregate annual saving, in the military expenditure, (with an *increased* efficiency of the army,) of a much larger sum than has been saved by all the quackery of Radical amputation for the last five years. By official documents, submitted to Congress, it is demonstrated, that the reduction of the *annual* expenditure for the support of the army proper, effected by Mr. Calhoun's superior organization and superior administration, *and independent of the reduction of the numbers of the army*, amounts in the aggregate to the sum of one million three hundred and forty-nine thousand two hundred and eighteen dollars. Or, to express the same result in a different form, the annual cost of each individual (officers and soldiers being reduced to a common average) has been reduced from four hundred and fifty-one dollars fifty-seven cents, to two hundred and eighty-seven dollars and two cents.

Such is the economy of the man whom the Radicals, waging war against truth itself, have charged with extravagance; and such is the contrast between enlightened and practical views, carried into effect with systematic and laborious exertions, and perpetual clamors about retrenchment, either ending in words, or accompanied by unskilful attempts at reform, tending to produce disorganization.

The same principle of organization, which exists in the disbursing departments, has been extended to every branch of the general staff of the army. By means of the judicious division of labor, and a connected system of responsibility, centering in the Secretary of War, the utmost efficiency has been given to the army in its operations. It is admitted, by the most intelligent (if not all) of the officers of the army, that the organization of the staff is superior to that of any army in the world; essentially differing from the French, and decidedly better adapted to the geographical and political character of our country.

In the Military Academy at West Point, Mr. Calhoun has introduced such striking improvements that, from being unpopular, it has become the admiration of every visitor, the general favorite of the nation, and, by general consent, inferior to no similar institution in Europe. Such is its inflexible discipline, and such the success with which the principle of honor is made subservient to that discipline, that a young man cannot graduate without first rate acquirements and *exemplary moral habits*. The change already produced in the character of the army, by this and other co-operating and dependent causes, is striking, and must increase. Drunkenness and gambling are now unknown in the army. No *class* of citizens is more moral in its habits than the officers.

But we cannot realize the full benefits of Mr. Calhoun's labors in the War Department, until we consider the effect of his improvements in the event of war. Suppose, for example, the projects of the Holy Alliance should render it necessary that we should defend our domestic altars, the tombs of our fathers, and our general liberty, against the myrmidons of despotism, what would be the military capacity of the country, derived

from the peace establishment? Owing to the present organization, connected with the West-Point Academy, we could have, in six months, a regular army of thirty thousand men in the field, perfectly organized in all its branches, and commanded by officers at least equal to those of any peace establishment in Europe. Thus, by the expense of six thousand men, so organized and officered as to be capable of a prompt enlargement, we have the military capacity, the defensive power of thirty. But this is not all. Our extensive coast has been surveyed by skilful and scientific engineers; a system of fortifications, wisely projected, is rapidly progressing; and a minute knowledge of the topography of our whole line of exposed frontier, will enable the head of the department, by a glance at the maps in the office of the topographical engineer, to determine, as to each point of attack, how vulnerable and how defensible it may be. With a peace establishment but very little more expensive than that which existed previous to the late war, we are half a century advanced in military power. These are the results of wisdom and genius, profiting by the lessons of experience.

From this brief and imperfect summary of Mr. Calhoun's political services, I think every one will admit, that he has fully realized the prediction of Mr. Ritchie, made twelve years ago, that "*he is one of those master spirits who stamp their names upon the age in which they live.*" Where now is William H. Crawford? Dwindled into a pigmy by the side of a giant. While in Mr. Calhoun we have seen the undeviating Republican, sustaining the cause of his party with unrivalled ability "through evil as well as through good report," and coming out of every conflict "without a blot upon his escutcheon," we behold Mr. Crawford literally "floating upon the surface of the times," a sort of soldier of fortune in politics, prepared to fight under any standard which promised success to his ambitious aspirations. While Mr. Calhoun's political course is covered with monuments of wisdom, and firmness, and patriotism, we see, in Mr. Crawford's, a barren waste, disfigured by a few miserable wrecks of inchoate conceptions and visionary projects. While Mr. Calhoun, in every department of our government, has exhibited unequivocal evidence of talents of the first order, Mr. Crawford has been obliged to draw upon the ingenuity of his friends to prove, and the faith of the public to believe, that "he therefore should be counted wise for doing nothing." While Mr. Calhoun, in the War Department, has saved, annually, millions of the public money, and displayed talents for administration not surpassed by any American statesman, living or dead, Mr. Crawford has distinguished his administration of the Treasury Department by misjudging views and disreputable blunders, and by losing nearly a million of the public money, according to *his own shewing*, by making deposits in insolvent banks *contrary to law*. Does history furnish a stronger contrast between two men who have reached the same point of political elevation, in a government where talents, principles and services are the only legitimate passports to promotion?

Intelligent and patriotic citizens of North-Carolina! can you hesitate in your choice? If Virginia, having honestly "indulged the wish that Mr. Calhoun were a Virginian," now rejects him because he is not, and supports a native, whose place of nativity, disguise it as she may, is his only recommendation, will you not, preferring her noble sentiments in 1811, to the selfish practice of her ruling politicians in 1823, "participate as Americans and friends of your country, in the honors of South-Carolina?"

Let Mr. Crawford's partizans no longer have it in their power to say, that having "*secured*" Virginia, (such is their phraseology,) North-Carolina follows as a matter of course. Let the two Carolinas, connected by common interests and common sympathies, as well as by a common name, unite in the zealous support of John C. Calhoun, whose spotless purity of character, enlightened views as a statesman, and past devotion to the honor and the interests of the Republic, are his indefeasible titles to public confidence, and the ample guaranties of his future usefulness.

Nov. 1823.

CAROLINA.

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