

than other members generally; but I have always understood that, if a general dis- covers that a large body of troops whom he has pushed forward are not able to sustain their position with advantage, he may direct them to be withdrawn. If he has taken a false position, may he not abandon it rather than have his troops cut to pieces? Let us, then, see how this matter stands. We at the south are in no danger. It is popular with us to vote against abolition petitions, and if a man has the boldness to take any other course he is denounced. But how is it with our allies at the north? They are hardly pressed on this point. I have been appealed to personally by several gentlemen of both political parties, who have hitherto stood with us of the south on this question, and who say they will continue to do so if we deem it necessary; but that they say they are losing ground; that the friends of the south are giving way, and the abolitionists gaining ground; and they are anxious that we should give up the rule, assuring me that they are prepared to vote with us on all the main questions.

Let us now recur to our simile of a battle. Suppose a general had taken a position with his own troops behind a secure breastwork, but had stationed his allies on exposed ground, where they were rapidly falling by the enemy's shot, and could with difficulty sustain themselves. They appeal to the general, and tell him that, if he regards it as important to maintain his position, and considers the ground valuable, they will still endeavor to occupy it. He tells them in reply that he ought to have taken it, but that he will not, once having taken it, retire, but that they must remain there and be cut to pieces. Now, I appeal to my friends from the south to say whether it is fair that we should keep our allies in this attitude longer, even if some of them are generous enough to submit to it?

But suppose in all I have said I am wrong. Can we not, as a matter of sound policy, receive these petitions? We have repeatedly received the petitions of foreigners; surely we may, as an act of courtesy, receive those of our own citizens, though we do not choose to grant the prayer. I should be glad if gentlemen from the south would review their ground.

But it is said that if we now rescind this rule the abolitionists will boast of it. Without doubt they will profess to be greatly delighted; but, sir, there will be no real joy among them. Deprived of the powerful lever with which they have operated on the north, they will find themselves short of their strength.

I regret the course pursued on another account. We of the south are in a position peculiarly delicate. Slavery exists with us; it does not exist at the north; and England has abolished it in her West India possessions. I have, indeed, not much belief in the sincerity of the British Government. So long as she retains more than one hundred millions of slaves in the East Indies without even an effort to liberate them, she deserves no great credit for her humanity.

Mr. Holmes here interposed to state, in justice to England, that she had recently taken steps towards the liberation of her East India subjects.

Mr. Clingman resumed. I think the gentleman for the information. But I was about to observe that we stand in a delicate position at the south, though we stand on firm ground while we stand upon the Constitution; but we should be careful not to ask for more than is clearly right. While we fix ourselves on the Constitution, we stand on solid ground, and we should not irritate others by claiming too much. The north is irritated by the abolitionists, who tell them that we are not satisfied with slavery at the south, but want to make them slaves too by taking from them the right of petition. Now, our ground is firm enough without our seeking to stand upon doubtful ground, and thus giving irritation. Some persons, indeed, are anxious to keep up the excitement, (I do not here refer to members of Congress in either House.)—While there are some at the south who take the highest ground, as they say, on this subject, in order to induce the people of the south to esteem them the most zealous lovers of their rights, and thus obtain favor at home, there are men at the north who take the opposite ground from the same principle. They seek to make capital of it, and we are short-sighted enough to enable them to do it. Hence, the feeling grows out of it both at the south and in the north. The feeling is now very different from what it was some years ago, and all arising from this foolish struggle about petitions.

My constituents, most of them, know of the feelings which prevail at the north only what they see in this House, and when they see half the House voting to abolish this rule they consider them all as siding with the abolitionists. This ought not to be so, and will not if we can come to a right understanding. I regret exceedingly to see the subject of slavery introduced on all occasions, even in debates on the navy and subjects the most disconnected with it. This discussion of abolition topics has generated all the ill-feeling which unhappily exists between the south and the north. Its worst feature is its sectional character. Men may differ widely on other subjects, such as the Tariff and the Bank, and because the discussion does not assume a sectional complexion they differ with safety. Standing as they do, side by side throughout the country, both parties can correctly ascertain each others views, and the excitement does not attain a dangerous height. But in such a sectional question as this, they in different portions of the country do not communicate readily, and by consequence cannot understand each other, and by the perpetual excitement of unkind sectional feeling the worst consequences may ensue. There is no opportunity here to diffuse correct information. All in one section of the country are of one way of thinking, and hence they remain in the dark. While we thus continue to fan the flame of discord on trivial occa-

sions till it attains a great height, should it some day assume a practical form, as it did during the discussion of the Missouri question, the additional excitement then raised might produce the greatest possible mischief.

Before I resume my seat I will say that I know perfectly well that many of my friends differ with me on this subject; I beg all such to understand that I cherish toward them not the slightest unkindness. I know they are just as honest in their intentions and just as pure in their purpose as I can possibly be; and I therefore hope that we may discuss the points in which we differ without excitement. I trust the whole question can be temperately considered; more especially as I believe there exists no diversity of views on the main question.—Nobly thinks of attempting to abolish slavery in the District of Columbia or in the Territories; and, should any man be so unwise as to try it, his motion will be voted down with a unanimity such as has rarely been seen on this floor.

From the Madisonian.
Demagoguism—Mr. Van Buren.

Mr. Brownson, the great Democratic writer, (and editor of Brownson's Review, published at Boston,) thus characterises the despotic Jacobin Club, which manages the Van Buren party, and seeks to control the Democratic party:

"Selfishness, thus, becomes a time-server: seeks not for truth and justice, but for what is popular; asks not What is right? but simply What will the people say? It has no opinion of its own. It runs athwart popular prejudice; trends on none of the people's corns; is non-committal on all points on which the public mind has not declared itself; and is tolerant to all incipient errors, for they may become popular to-morrow. It is prudent, sleek, decorous. It has no rough edges, no angular points, and thrusts its elbow into no man's ribs. Its face has a settled smile, and its voice is soft, gentle, insinuating. It is calm, dispassionate, mild, deliberate. It is free from rage, from hurry, and 'bides its time.' If it fails to-day it will succeed to-morrow. The sober, second thought of the people, will set all right—and place it at the top of the ladder."

Well may the writer add—"We draw here no fancy sketch. We are, unhappily, painting from the life."

"This system, if we have rightly learned it, and we have learned it from the intimate personal associates of the distinguished man who is at present its most brilliant representative, is in substance this: in a republican government every thing must be done by means of party. Our first effort, therefore, must be to get and to keep, our party in the majority. We must never oppose any measure likely to throw it, or to keep it in the minority. * * * Having determined that all is to be done by and through party, and that our primary duty is to labor for the organization and ascendancy of our party, the next thing to be insisted on is, fidelity to the party and strict adherence to its usage—the surrender of all individual opinions, convictions and preferences, to the decision of the party, which decision, be it understood, is always to be effected by the aforesaid politicians who have hold of the crank. This throws the whole business into the hands of central committees, and deprive the great mass of citizens of all free voice in the determination of measures or in the selection of candidates. To keep the ranks of the party full, to prevent members from breaking away and asserting their independence, appeals are now made to the lowest and most corrupt passions of the human heart. The individual who shows himself a little uneasy, or disposed to kick at the party traces, must be denounced, thrown over, and declared to be an enemy, and no longer entitled to the confidence of the party.—Thus men must be kept in the party, and faithful to its usages, decisions and nominations, not by attachment to its principles and measures, but through fear that, if they assert their independence, they will lose their share of 'the spoils.'"

Mr. Brownson then goes directly at Mr. Van Buren:

"And here, we must be permitted to say, is a strong reason why the American people should pause and deliberate long, before elevating Mr. Van Buren to the high office from which, in 1840, they so indignantly ejected him. It cannot be denied that Mr. Van Buren is the most conspicuous representative of this system of party management in this country. The system itself has been perfected, and to no inconsiderable extent, was founded by him and his near immediate associates. He is intimately connected with it; owes to it all the political elevation he has ever received, and relies on it alone for his restoration to the Presidency. He has no hope but in its influence; his restoration would, therefore, be a direct sanction of the system by the American people, and go far towards fastening it upon the country beyond the reach of future redress. In this view of the case, the reelection of Mr. Van Buren, whatever his personal worth, would be a dangerous precedent, and a most serious public calamity."

In speaking of Mr. Van Buren's defeat in 1840, Mr. Brownson says:

"Considerate men, who stood by Mr. Van Buren, and made no inconsiderable sacrifices to sustain him, felt that all was not lost; nay, that the gain might, possibly, in the long run, overbalance the loss. Mr. Van Buren, they felt, was out of the way, and this, in itself, was no trifling gain.—Hope sprang up afresh, and, in the buoyancy of their hearts, they were disposed to treat him with all tenderness, to tread lightly on his faults, to forget the injuries he inflicted on the republican cause, and to magnify, as much as possible, his virtues and public services. * * * But the re-appearance of Mr. Van Buren on the stage changes the whole aspect of affairs. He comes not alone, but as the chief of a band, which the country had devoutly hoped was dis-

perated, never to be collected again. He comes as the representative of the same old corrupt and corrupting system of party tactics, followed by the same swarm of greedy spoilsmen, with their appetite for plunder sharpened by the few years' abstinence they have been forced, through the remains of the original virtue and patriotism of the country, to practise. Gratify his wishes, restore him to the place he is personally soliciting, and we lose all that was good in the defeat of the republican party in 1840, and retain only the evil; we restore what, with an almost unheard of effort, the country had thrown off, and place the republican party in the condition in which it must be defeated again, or the country is inevitably ruined."

From the Whig Standard, Jan. 5.
The Issue already before the People.

The proceedings of the House on Wednesday settled at least one of the issues to be presented to the people during the next Presidential canvass. After the vote on Doctor Duncan's bill to divorce the Government from the banks, (a mere clap-net expression,) or, in plain English, to re-establish the Sub-Treasury, there remains no doubt of the fact that the Old Hunkers are resolved to sink or swim with the odious and thrice condemned measure on their backs. Van Buren, the Sub-Treasury, a standing army of 200,000 men, no protection to American industry—these were some of the issues upon which the canvass of 1840 was carried on. These were some of the issues upon which the people rendered their verdict. Do the Old Hunkers desire a second trial of them by the same jury? If so, agreed. They alleged that the jury—the people—were bribed—that they were intoxicated with hard cider, and made mad with patriotic songs; well, if they think the people more honest now than they charged them with being then, more sober, and less inclined to sing patriotic songs, we are content; we have confidence in them, and do not believe any of the libels uttered against them by the Globe, Richmond Enquirer, and other papers of a similar stamp. We cannot see, in the first place, how the Whigs could have procured money enough to bribe some hundred and fifty thousand unpurchasable Democrats, unless they were to be bought very low—for a few coppers a piece—and we have too good an opinion of the Democracy to believe they hold themselves so cheap.

No: the Globe and its co-laborers do the people gross injustice—nay, heap foul calumny upon them. The verdict which they rendered against Mr. Van Buren, his Sub-Treasury, his scheme of a grand standing army, his other standing army of office-holders, defaulters, leg-treasurers, and Swartwouters, was an honest, sober-minded, deliberate, well-weighed verdict of condemnation; such an one as they will again render upon a second trial of the same issues. Nor will they be less likely to renew their verdict of 1840 by being told by such disinterested advocates as Blair, Ritchie, and Crosswell, that they were a set of dots, danderheads, fools, madmen, inebriates, bribed miscreants, and false-hearted knaves, who got drunk on cider, and became crazy with singing. We for these staid, sober, truth-loving editors will never be able to persuade the people that they were guilty of the heinous offences laid to their charge; nay, verily, we strongly apprehend that if the people were mad in 1840, they will be "as mad as March hares" in 1844; that if they went crazy with song-singing then, they will become frantic by the same means during the coming season; for already there are sundry song-books published, (and there was not one so early as this four years ago,) containing many an enticing and right merrie song, which, when sung by a god, full Whig choir, lifteth up the spirit, and maketh the heart glad. We know these songs have a contrary effect upon some, whom, instead of cheering, they sadden extremely. This only proves the old adage to be true, namely, that what is one man's meat is another's poison.

With whom will you go?

The Indiana State Journal concludes an able article on the tariff, with the following questions:

"Now with whom will the FARMERS go? With that party which dares to lower the price of their products? To afford them an European market for them? Will they go with the Free Trade party, who, while Europe closes all avenues to the sale of wheat and corn, &c., will yet insist upon permitting that country to sell her free of duty, thus to create a foreign debt, and thus to drain American specie with which to pay it?"

"With whom will the MECHANICS go? With that party which, by the imposition of a tax, desires to protect such wares as they manufacture, from the competition of the pauper labor of the old world? Or will they go with the party which proposes to suffer a foreign people to flood our shores with manufactured articles at so low a rate as to prevent the American mechanic from fair sales, and thus to beggar him and close his shop in bankruptcy?"

"With whom will the LABORER go? With the party whose object is to secure to labor a fair equivalent? or will they go with those who desire, by placing the American laborer in competition with the European pauper, to bring him down to a few pennies a day for his wages?"

"For whom will men of all classes go? For the party whose avowed purpose it is to raise the revenue for the support of the federal government by a tax upon British goods? Or will they go with that party who seek to bring the revenue in hard dollars, BY THE TAX GATHERER, by the levy for that purpose of a DIRECT TAX upon the pockets of the people?"

"Farmers! Mechanics! Laborers! it is for you to answer these questions at the polls! The Democratic Whigs are with you and your interests, if you would contribute to your interests, sustain them by your suffrages!"

THE MESSENGER.

Friday Morning, Jan. 10, 1844.

FOR GOVERNOR
WILLIAM A. GRAHAM.

Books, Books.—There are two or three complete sets of the Christian Family Library remaining unsold, and as the agent has ordered them to be returned, the lovers of real good books will do well to send in their orders immediately, as such opportunities are rare. A gentleman called and got a set of a couple of days ago very fortunately, and as some days may pass before a conveyance can be obtained, two or three other families may yet be supplied. Each set contains 15 tolerably large volumes, very well bound, and are offered at the extremely low price of \$6 50 per set—only 43 3/4 cents per volume. Call immediately at this office and seize the opportunity.

AN APPEAL TO THE WHIGS.

"The price of liberty," said the sage of Monticello, "is eternal vigilance." Whigs of North Carolina, will you disregard the virtuous admonition?—In this spirit the great Whig party of the Union are called upon to commence organizing their forces, and to diffuse correct information among the mass of the people, for the great battle of this year will soon be upon us. To the result of the coming Presidential election, the people may well look with intense interest, for it will doubtless decide the fate of the two great political parties in this country, for years to come. Whichever party gains the ascendancy then, will maintain it, and all efforts to supplant that party will prove as futile as the attempt of a monkey to turn the course of the Mississippi. Ought not the Whigs then to commence with an earnestness that will show to their opponents that they are determined to make an unparalleled rally in defence of those principles upon which the salvation of our country alone rests?

In view of the wretched state of affairs in this government, an appeal is made from lapsing infancy to tottering age, to every Whig—to every lover of his country, in behalf of that inestimable boon our fathers bequeathed us, and of the purity of the government and her institutions, that might penetrate even hearts of stone.—And shall the appeal go unheeded? Forbid it countrymen. Never let the reproach rest upon you that you refused to aid in pushing forward the country to that zenith of glory it is destined to occupy. If ever there was an occasion for united action in our country's cause, it is now. Surely if there ever was a time when the true conservators of the public weal were called upon to rise in the majesty of their strength and rescue, not only their public but their private interests—their personal independence, the inheritance of their children, and the best interests of their common country from utter ruin—IT IS NOW!

In the name, then, of the dearest interests of our beloved country, we call upon the Whigs of North Carolina, and of the whole Union, to ORGANIZE—to don their armor for the coming contest. Remember that "the price of liberty is eternal vigilance," and every Whig in the Union should glory in preserving his country from ruin. Let every Whig, in view of the glorious victory that awaits his party next fall, as a true patriot, take courage. The Whigs have the numbers and they have also the consciousness of advocating an honest cause. All they require to secure a triumphant victory is ENERGY—UNITED, PERSEVERING ENERGY, AND ORGANIZATION. If every Whig but does his duty, we need "never despair of the republic."

The Presidential campaign will soon be upon us, and our opponents are already on the alert and in motion. They will make a desperate effort to again palm upon the people Martin Van Buren—a man whom they once tried and condemned. Is it not time then, for the Whigs to rally? Let each Whig aid in disseminating correct information among the people. Let there be light! If reason is left free to combat error, we shall certainly be crowned with a glorious success of those principles upon which the permanence and prosperity of the country are based.

Sick with the experiments of the last twelve or fifteen years, the people have determined to return to the old-fashioned simplicity of the FATHER of his country. In order to secure to the government a return to its former prosperity, it must be administered upon the principles which the Whig party propose, and which are briefly laid down as follows by their champion, HENRY CLAY, and cordially embraced by every true Whig in the Union:

A sound National currency, regulated by the will and authority of the Nation:
An adequate revenue with fair protection to American industry:
Just restraints on the Executive power, embracing a further restriction on the exercise of the veto:

A faithful administration of the Public Domain, with an equitable distribution of the proceeds of the sales of it among the states:

An honest and economical administration of the General Government, leaving public officers perfect freedom of thought and the right of suffrage; but with suitable restraints against interference in elections:

An amendment of the Constitution, limiting the incumbent of the Presidential office to a single term.

These are the cardinal doctrines of the Whig party, and we may confidently appeal to the judgment of an enlightened and patriotic people to judge of their merits. Now contrast them one by one, with the doctrines of the present misnamed Democratic party.

"1. In lieu of a sound National currency regulated by the will and authority of the Nation's one portion of modern Democracy" (and those of North Carolina are among that number,) "propose State Banks, and another the Sub-Treasury and hard money."

"2. In lieu of 'an adequate revenue with fair protection to American industry;' modern Democracy propose 'free trade—low duties'—that is, they are willing to admit the pauper labor of Europe into our country free of duty, while Europe imposes a duty upon the labor of our people, who receive a just compensation for it, a duty amounting almost to prohibition."

"3. In lieu of 'just restraints on the Executive power, embracing a further restriction on the exercise of the veto;' modern Democracy sustain with one voice this monarchical feature in our Constitution, and the one man veto power against the will of the people. They advocate the 'largest liberty' to the President in the exercise of the veto, which circumvents the legislation of the country to Executive edicts."

"4. In lieu of 'a faithful administration of the public domain, with an equitable distribution of the proceeds of the sales among the states;' modern Democracy declare that the states shall not in their separate capacity enjoy the inheritance bequeathed to them, but that the money arising from the public lands shall be absorbed in the reckless and profligate expenditures of the Federal Government. They declare that the states shall not have these means of paying their debts, but shall be ground down by direct taxes, or disgrace themselves by repudiation."

"5. In lieu of 'an honest and economical Administration of the General Government, leaving public officers perfect freedom of thought, but with suitable restraints against interference in elections;' modern Democracy would revive Van Buren economy and with it Van Buren office holding honesty. They proclaim it the duty of the paid officers of the Federal Government to instruct the people how to vote, and to use the patronage of the Government, in perpetuating the power of those at whose hands they hold office."

"6. In lieu of 'an amendment of the Constitution, limiting the incumbent of the Presidential office to a single term;' modern Democracy insist that the President shall be re-eligible to office, that he shall be permitted to serve two terms, whereby, as experience has proved, the worst abuses of power, and the most corrupt intrigues, will ever be practised in the first, in order to the attainment of the second term."

Freemen, "choose ye" which set of principles you think best calculated to promote the welfare of the country, and go to work with a determination to gain their ascendancy. Remember with what contempt your fathers looked upon those who, in the days of the revolution, refused to lend a helping-hand, when the cause of their country was in danger. And how much better will you be if you permit your opponents to saddle upon the country the odious doctrines they advocate?

Soon we shall enter upon the Presidential and gubernatorial campaigns—campaigns which we trust, will prove eventful of great good to the whole Union, as evincing with what Roman virtue the darlings of faction and evil-working misrule, shall be rebuked by the honest yeomanry of the country. In order to secure the triumph of Whig principles in the coming elections, the people must be made perfectly acquainted with the men and measures they are asked to support. The best method of imparting this information is to "circulate the documents." The true palladium of freedom, and the most potent engine of free discussion is the press. "Read and circulate," should be the motto of every Whig, for with a knowledge of Whig principles among the people, the cause must triumph.

We appeal, therefore, to each Whig into whose hands this paper may fall, to exert his influence to extend the circulation of the HIGHLAND MESSENGER. In making this appeal, we pledge ourselves, heart and hand, that the Messenger shall see justice done to the Whig cause, so far as the abilities of its conductors are capable. May we not expect prompt action on the part of our Whig friends in this respect? If each Whig into whose hands this paper may chance to fall, will get us only one new subscriber, our list will be greatly increased, and the power of the Messenger to do good vastly enlarged. We hope to mark the response to this appeal in the accession of many new subscribers to our list.

The terms of the Messenger will remain as heretofore—\$2 50 per annum, in advance, or \$3 within the year. To clubs—five copies one year for ten dollars in advance.

Extra Edition of the Messenger.
Ten Copies for Ten Dollars!

In order to facilitate the important work of diffusing among the people correct information with regard to the character, principles, measures, and objects of the two great political parties of our country,

we propose to issue an Extra Edition of the Messenger as it is, containing the same matter that is transmitted to our regular subscribers.

This Extra Edition will be commenced with the number of April 5th and continue to the number which shall announce the result of the Presidential election in November next, making in all thirty-five weeks, or numbers. Of this Extra Edition we will send through the whole term ten copies for ten dollars, invariably in advance. Where less than ten copies are ordered, we must have \$1 50 per copy. No order will be attended to unless accompanied by the cash. Orders to be sent in by the 25th of March next.

We appeal to Clay Clubs and to neighbors who may wish to club together to receive a paper during the Presidential campaign, to exert their influence in extending the circulation of the Extra Edition of the Messenger. We hope they will be prompt in sending in their orders, as the Extra Edition will certainly be published. Orders respectfully solicited by
McKEE & ATKIN.

THE RIGHT OF PETITION.

The reader will find in to-day's paper, the remarks of Mr. Clingman, in the House of Representatives, on the right of petition. We fully concur with Mr. Clingman in his views upon this subject, and have ever believed that it was the imperative duty of Congress to receive such petitions. It must be obvious to every candid mind that such petitions are, abstractly considered, harmless, from the very fact that there is not now, never has been, and probably never will be, a majority of abolitionists in Congress. Refusing, therefore, to receive their petitions has given the abolitionists a consequence they were not entitled to. Had the southern members of Congress acted, heretofore, in accordance with that foresight which this vexed question obviously gave them, the matter would have been put to rest, and the attempt to revive the exploded humbug would have proved about as successful as the attempt of the sparrow to chase the eagle.

We say that we concur with Mr. Clingman in his views upon this subject, and we think that nineteen-twentieths of the people of this district cannot, when they thoroughly investigate the subject, come to a negative conclusion. Now what is the object had in view by receiving these petitions? Is it not emphatically, first and last, the preservation of harmony between the north and the south? Then the question is, will this be the result? The abolition question is the only thing calculated to mar that harmony which the compromise between the north and the south, at the adoption of the constitution, intended should exist, and experience has fully shown that the rejection of abolition petitions widens the breach already existing between these two portions of the Union. If, then, these petitions be received, and an action had upon them, it will, in all human probability, be final, and there cannot surely be one person found in the whole Union who cannot foretell the fate of the question, should this be the case. Then this would settle at once the contention between the north and south, growing out of the abolition question. A contrary result could not be expected by any one.

Take another view of the subject. If the time should ever come when the abolitionists will have a majority in Congress they will then receive these petitions without doubt. But this time is very far distant—so far that it is very doubtful whether the revolutions through which America will pass for centuries to come, will roll it around. But it is time that the question was settled, and if the contention which has existed for years on this subject be kept up, what good is to result from it? None at all; it will rather strengthen the abolitionists. Persecution is the life-blood of this delusion. Experience has shown this.

It is to be hoped that southern members will look better to their interests hereafter. Let the abolitionists petition as much as they please, so they are deprived of the powerful engine they have heretofore used in the advancement of their cause.

Meeting of the Clay Club.—It is to be hoped that the members will not forget that the Asheville Clay Club holds its first meeting to-morrow evening at early candle-lighting, in the court-house. The citizens are cordially invited to attend.

It has been suggested that the town commissioners would not be censured for preventing in some way, such an accumulation of mud in the streets. "A hint to the wise is sufficient."

Assassination.—Capt. Edward W. Collier, proprietor of the Richmond Hotel, at Augusta, Ga., was assassinated in the streets of that city on the morning of the 8th inst., by Robert Burns, a runner for the United States Hotel. The Mayor of the city has offered a reward of \$500 for the murderer.