

# The North Carolina Standard.

PUBLISHED WEEKLY, BY  
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EDITOR AND PROPRIETOR.

THE CONSTITUTION AND THE UNION OF THE STATE—THEY "MUST BE PRESERVED."  
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**POLITICAL.**  
SPEECH OF MR. CALHOUN,  
OF SOUTH CAROLINA,  
On the passage of the Tariff Bill—delivered in the Senate of the U. States, Aug. 5, 1842.  
(CONCLUDED.)

I next propose to consider what must be the consequence of that result on the business and trade of the country. For that purpose, I propose to select a single article; as it will be much easier to trace the effects on a single article with precision and satisfaction, than it would be on so great a number and variety. I shall select cotton, because by far the most considerable in the list of domestic exports, and the one with which I am best acquainted.

When the cultivation of cotton is profitable, those engaged in it devote their attention almost exclusively to it, and rely on the proceeds of their crop to purchase almost every article of supply, except bread; and many even that, to a great extent. But when it ceases to be profitable, they curtail their expenses, and fall back on their own resources, with which they abound, to supply their wants. Household industry revives; and strong, substantial coarse clothing is manufactured from cotton and wool, for their families and domestics. In addition to cotton, corn and other grains are cultivated in sufficient abundance, not only for bread, but for the rearing of stock of various descriptions—hogs, horses, mules, cattle, and sheep. The effect of all this is to diminish greatly the consumption of the manufactured articles, whether imported, or made in other portions of the Union; and still, in a greater degree, the purchase of meat, grain, and stock, followed by a great falling off in the trade between the cotton region of the South and the manufacturing region of the North on one side, and on the other, the great provision and stock region of the West. But the effects do not end there. The West—the great and fertile valley of the Mississippi—draws its means of purchasing from the manufacturing region almost exclusively from the cotton; and the falling off of its trade with that region is followed by a corresponding falling off in that with the manufacturing. The end is, that this scheme of compelling others to give higher prices than they can afford, terminates, as it regards this great branch of industry, in the impoverishment of customers, and loss of the trade of two great sections of the Union. It is thus, Senators, that every act of folly or vice (through the principle of retributive justice so deeply seated by an all-wise Providence in the political and moral world) is sure at last to recoil on its authors.

What is said of cotton, is equally applicable to every other branch of industry connected directly or indirectly with the great export industry of the country. This bill would affect them all alike; cause them to sell less, and give more for what they buy; and to fall back on their own resources for supplies; or abandon their pursuits, to be followed, finally, by impoverishment and loss of custom to those with whom it originates. The whole tendency of the measure is to isolate country from country, State from State, neighborhood from neighborhood, and family from family, with diminished means and increasing poverty as the circle contracts. The consummation of the system to use an illustration no less true than striking of a deceased friend, "is Robinson Crusoe in goat-skin."

Such would be the effects of the proposed high protective duties, both on the interest in favor of which and that against which they are intended; even on the supposition that the evil is such as not advocates of this bill suppose. But such is not the case. The present embarrassment of the manufacturing interest is not caused by the fact, as supposed, that the imported articles have taken possession of the market, almost to the exclusion of the domestic. It is far otherwise. Of the whole amount, in value, of the articles proposed to be protected by this bill, the imported bear but a small portion to the domestic. The chairman of the Committee on Manufactures (Mr. SIMMONS) estimates the former at \$45,000,000, and the latter at \$400,000,000; that is, about one to nine.—This estimate is based on the census of 1840. It is probably less now than then, in consequence of the increase of the manufactures since, and the falling off of imports. I venture nothing in saying that, at no former period of our history, has the disproportion been so great between them, or the competition so decidedly against the imported articles. If further and even more decided proof be required, it will be found in the state of exchange. It is now about 33 per cent. in favor of New York, against Liverpool; which is proof conclusive that our exports, after meeting our engagements abroad, are more than sufficient to supply the demands of the country for imported articles, even at the comparatively low rates of duty for the last year; so much so, that it more profitable to import money than goods. As proof of the fact, I see it stated that one of the banks of New York has given orders to import a large amount of specie on speculation. It is in such a state of things, and not such as that supposed, that it is proposed to lay these high protective duties; and the question is, how will they work under it.

That they will more effectually exclude the imported articles, and still more strongly turn

the exchange in our favor, and thereby give a local and artificial expansion to the currency in the manufacturing region, and a temporary stimulus to that branch of industry, is probable; but there is no hazard in saying that it would be fleeting, beyond what has been usual from the same cause, and would be succeeded, more speedily, and to a greater extent, by the falling off of the home market, through the operation of causes already explained. The result, in a few words would be a greater and more sudden reaction; to be followed by a more sudden and more extensive loss of the home market; so that, whatever might be gained by the exclusion of foreign articles, would be far outweighed by the loss of it. What else would follow, I will not attempt to anticipate. It would be the first time that a high protective tariff has ever been adopted under similar circumstances; and it would be difficult, without the aid of experience, in a case so unprecedented, and on a subject so complicated, to trace consequences with anything like precision or certainty.

The advocates of the protective, or rather prohibitory system, (for that is the more appropriate name,) have been led into error, from not distinguishing between the situation of our country and that of England. That country has risen to great power and wealth, and they attribute it to her prohibitory policy—overlooking the great advantages of her position; her greater freedom and security, compared to the rest of Europe; and forgetting that other European countries, and Spain in particular, pushed the system even further, with the very reverse effect. But admitting that the greatness of England may, in part, be attributed to the system; still it would furnish no proof that its effects would be the same with us. Our situation is, in many respects, strikingly different from hers; and, among others, in the important particular, as it affects the point under consideration, that she never had but few raw materials to export, and they of no great value; coal and salt, and wool formerly; while our country has numerous such products, and of the greatest value, in the general commerce of the world. England had to create, by manufacturing, the products for her export trade, but with us, our soil and climate and forests are the great sources from which they are drawn. To extract them from these, to ship them abroad, and exchange them for the products of the rest of the world, forms the basis of our industry, as has been shown. In that is to be found the great countervailing cause, with us, to the system of prohibitory duties; the operation of which I have endeavored rapidly to sketch. It has heretofore defeated, and will continue to defeat, the hopes of its advocates. In England, there neither was nor is any such countervailing cause; and hence the comparative facility and safety with which it could be introduced and established there.

But, it was asked, what is to be done? What course does true policy require, to give the highest possible impulse to the industry and prosperity of the country, including manufactures and all? I answer, the very reverse of that proposed by this bill. Instead of looking to the home market, and shaping all our policy to secure that, we must look to the foreign, and shape it to secure that.

We have, Senators, reached a remarkable point in the progress of civilization, and the mechanical and chemical arts, and which will require a great change in the policy of civilized nations. Within the last three or four generations, they have received an impulse far beyond all former example, and have now obtained a perfection before unknown. The result has been a wonderful increased facility of producing all articles of supply depending on those arts; that is, of those very articles which we call, in our financial language, protected articles; and against the importation of which, these high duties are for the most part intended. In consequence of this increased facility, it now requires but a small part, comparatively, of the labor and capital of a country, to clothe its people, and supply itself with most of the products of the useful arts; and hence, all civilized people, with little exception, are producing their own supply, and even overstocking their own market.—It results, that no people, restricted to the home market, can, in the present advanced state of the facts. For that purpose, they must compete successfully for the foreign market, in the younger, less advanced, and less civilized countries.—This necessity for more enlarged and freer intercourse between the older, more advanced, and more civilized nations, and the younger, less advanced, and less civilized, at a time when the whole globe is laid open to our knowledge, and a rapidity and facility of intercourse established between all its parts heretofore unknown, is one of the mighty means ordained by Providence to spread population, light, civilization, and prosperity, far and wide over its entire surface.

The great problem then is, how is the foreign market to be commanded? I answer, by the reverse means proposed in order to command the home market—low, instead of high duties; and a sound currency, fixed, stable, and as nearly as possible on the level with the general currency of the world, instead of an inflated and fluctuating one. Nothing can be that purpose, to the command of foreign trade, than high prohibitory duties, even if it regards the exports of manufactures. The artificial expansion of the currency, and consequent rise of price and increased expense of production, which, as has been shown, must follow, would be of themselves fatal; but to that must be added another cause not much less so. I refer to the general pressure of the prohibitory system on the export industry of the country, as already explained, and which would fall with as much severity on the export of manufactures, as on that of cotton, or any other manufactured article. The system operates with like effect on exports, whether of raw materials or manufactured articles in the last and highest state of finish. The reason is the same as to both. This begins to be understood in countries the most advanced in the arts, and whose exports consist almost exclusively of manufactured articles—and especially England, the most of any; and hence they have already begun the progress of reduction of duties, with the view of increasing their exports. In the recent adjustment of the tariff, England, with that avowed view, made great reduction in her import duties.

But can we hope to compete successfully in the market of the world by means of a sound currency and low duties? I answer, if we cannot, we may give up the contest as desperate; and the sooner the better. It is idle, and worse than idle, to attempt to add to the growth of our manufactures by the prohibitory system. They have already reached, under its influence, their full, but stunted growth. To attempt to push them fur-

ther, must react, and retard, instead of accelerating their growth. The home market cannot consume our immense surplus productions of provisions, lumber, cotton, and tobacco; nor find employment in manufacturing, for home consumption, the vast amount of labor employed in raising the surplus beyond the home consumption, and which can only find a market abroad. Take the single article of cotton. It takes at the least calculation, 700,000 laborers to produce the crop—more than twice the number, on a fair calculation, employed in all the branches of manufactures which can expect to be benefited by these high duties. Less than the sixth part would be ample to raise every pound of cotton necessary for the home market; if every yard of cotton cloth consumed at home were manufactured at home, and made from home-raised cotton. What, then, I ask, is to become of the five or six hundred thousand laborers now employed in raising the article for the foreign market? How can they find employment in manufacturing, when 91 parts in 100 of all the protected articles consumed in the country are now made at home? And if not in manufacturing, how else can they be employed? In raising provisions? Those engaged in that already, supply and more than supply, the home market; and how shall they find employment in that quarter? How those employed in the culture of tobacco, and the lumber business, and foreign trade? The alternative is inevitable—they must either persist, in spite of these high protective duties, with all the consequent loss and impoverishment which must follow them, in their present employment; or be forced into universal competition in producing the protected articles for the home market, which is already nearly fully supplied by the small amount of labor engaged in their production.

But why should we doubt our capacity to compete successfully, with a sound currency and low duties, in the general market of the world? A superabundance of cheap provisions, and of the raw material, as far as cotton is concerned, gives us great advantage in the greatest and most important branch of manufactures in modern times. To these may be added, a favorable situation for trade with all the world; the most abundant and cheap supply of what may be called natural capital—water, coal, timber, and soil; and a peculiar aptitude for mechanical and chemical improvements on the part of our citizens, combined with a great energy, industry, and skill. There are but two drawbacks—high wages and high interest. In other respects, no country has superior advantages for manufacturing.

No one is more averse to the reduction of wages than I am, or entertains a greater respect for the laboring portion of the community. Nothing could induce me to adopt a course of policy that would impair their comfort or prosperity. But when we speak of wages, a distinction must be made between the real and artificial; between that which enables a laborer to exchange the fruits of his industry for the greatest amount of food, clothing, and other necessities or comforts, without regard to the nominal amount in money, and the mere nominal money amount, that is often the result of an inflated currency, which, instead of increasing wages in the proportion to the price and means of the laborer, is one of the most effective means of defrauding him of his just dues.—But it is a great mistake to suppose that low prices and high wages, estimated in money, are irreconcilable. Wages are but the residuum after deducting the profit of capital, the expense of production, including the exactions of the Government, in the shape of taxes; which must certainly fall on production, however laid. The less that is paid for the use of capital, for the expense of production, and the exactions of the Government, the greater is the amount left for wages; and hence, by lessening these, prices may fall, and wages rise at the same time; and that is the combination which gives to labor its greatest reward, and places the prosperity of a country on the most durable basis. It is not my habit to stop and illustrate by example; but the importance of the point under consideration is such, that it would seem to justify it.

For this purpose, I shall select a product of the soil, and take the article of wheat. Suppose twenty bushels of wheat to be produced on an acre of land in Virginia, worth ten dollars the acre; and twenty on an acre in England, worth one hundred dollars; and the wheat to be worth one dollar a bushel; suppose, also, that the interest, or cost for the use of capital, to be the same in both countries—say 6 per cent.—and the cost of cultivation, and the exactions of the Government the same; it is manifest, on the supposition, that wages could not commence in England till \$6 (the interest on \$100) was paid; while in Virginia it would commence after 60 cents (the interest on \$10) was paid. And hence, in England, setting the cost of cultivation and the exactions of the Government aside, but \$14 would be left for wages, while \$19.40 would be left in Virginia; and hence, the residuum, or what might be called the profit of the farmer, might sell at a lower price, and leave still a greater fund for the reward of wages. The reduction of the cost of cultivation, and of the exactions of the Government, would have the same effect as paying less for the capital, and would have the effect of making a still greater difference in the fund to pay wages. Taking the aggregate of the whole, and comparing all the elements that enter into the computation, I feel assured that, with a sound currency and low duties—i. e. light taxes exacted on the part of the Government—the only element which is against us is the rate of interest; but that, our advantages in other respects would more than counterbalance it; and that we have nothing to fear in open competition with other countries in the general market of the world. We would have our full share with the most successful; while, at the same time, the exuberance of the home market, relieved from oppressive burdens, would be vastly increased, and be more effectually and exclusively commanded by the productions of our own manufacturers, than it can possibly be by the unjust, unconstitutional, monopolizing, and oppressive scheme proposed by this bill.

I am not ignorant, Senators, that it is the work of time and of great delicacy to pass from the artificial condition in which the country has long been placed, in reference to its industry, by a mistaken and mischievous system of policy. Sudden transitions, even to better habits or better conditions, are hazardous, unless slowly effected. With this impression, I have ever been averse to all sudden steps, both as to the currency and the system of policy which is now the subject of our deliberation, but as I believe them both to be, and deep as my conviction is in favor of a sound currency and low duties, I am by no means disposed to reach, by a sudden transition, the points to which

I firmly believe they may be reduced, consistently with the necessary wants of the Government, by a prudent management of our finances.

But, so pernicious as the prohibitory or protective system may be on the industrial pursuits of the country, it is still more so on its politics and morals. That they have greatly degenerated within the last fifteen or twenty years; that there are less patriotism and purity, and more faction, selfishness, and corruption; that our public affairs are conducted with less dignity, decorum, and regard to economy, accountability, and public faith; and, finally, that the taint has extended to private as well as public morals; is, unhappily, but too manifest to be denied. If all this be traced back, the ultimate cause of this deplorable change will be found to originate mainly in the fact, that the duties of our Government, or, to speak more plainly, the taxes on the imports, from which now the whole revenue is derived, are so great, that the most powerful portions of the community—not in numbers, but in influence—are not only exempted from the burden of tax, in fact, according to their own conception, receive bounties from their operation. They crowd our tables with petitions, imploring Congress to impose taxes—high taxes; and rejoice at their imposition as the greatest blessing, and deplore their defeat as the greatest calamity; while other portions regard them in the opposite light, as oppressive and grievous burdens. Now, Senators, I appeal to you—to the candor and good sense even of the friends of this bill—whether these facts do not furnish proof conclusive, that these high protective duties are regarded as bounties, and not taxes, by these petitioners, and those who support their course, and urge the passage of the bill? Can stronger proof be offered? Bounties may be imposed, but it is not in human nature to pray for taxes, burden, and oppression, believing them to be such. I again appeal to you, and ask if the power of taxation can be perverted into an instrument in the hands of Government to enrich and aggrandize one portion of the community at the expense of the other, without causing all of the disastrous consequences, political and moral, which we all deplore? Can anything be imagined more destructive of patriotism, and more productive of faction, selfishness, and violence; or more hostile to all economy and accountability in the administration of the fiscal department of the Government? Can those who regard taxes as a fruitful source of gain, or as the means of averting ruin, regard extravagance, waste, neglect, or any other means by which the expenditures may be increased, and the tax on the imports raised, with the deep condemnation which their corrupting consequences on the politics and morals of the community demand? Let the history of the Government, since the introduction of the system, and its present wretched condition, respond.

But it would be doing injustice to charge the evils which have flowed from the system, and the greater which still threaten, exclusively on the manufacturing interest. Although it ostensibly originates with it, yet in fact it is the least efficient, and the most divided, of all that combination of interests from which the system draws its support. Among them, the first and most powerful is that of the vigilant, and well-trained corps, which lives on Government, or expects to live on it; which prospers most when the revenue is the greatest, the treasury the fullest, and the expenditures the most profuse; and, of course, is ever the firm and faithful support of whatever system shall extract most from the pockets of the rest of the community, to be emptied into theirs. The next in order when the Government is connected with the banks—when it receives their notes in its dues, and pays them away as cash, and uses them as its depositories and fiscal agents—are the banking and other associated interests, stock-jobbers, brokers, and speculators; and which, like the other, profit the more in consequence of the connexion; the higher the revenue, the greater its surplus and the expenditures of the Government. It is less numerous, but still more active and powerful, in proportion, than the other. These form the basis; and upon these, political aspirants, who hope to rise to power and control through it, rear their party organization. It is they who infuse into it the vital principle, and give life and energy and direction to the whole. This formidable combination, thus welded and directed, rose to power in the late great political struggle, and is now in the ascendant; and it is its death-like efforts to maintain and consolidate its power, that this and the late session owe their extraordinary proceedings. Its hope now is centered in this bill. In their estimation, without a protective tariff, all is lost; and, without that, which is now lost, may be regained.

I have now, Senators, said what I intended. It may be asked, why have I spoken at all? It is not from the expectation of changing a single vote on the opposite side. That is hopeless. The indications, during this discussion, show, beyond doubt, a foregone determination on the part of its advocates to vote for the bill, without the slightest amendment, be its defects or errors ever so great. They have shut their eyes and closed their ears. The voice of an angel from heaven could not reach their understanding. Why, then, have I raised my voice, if my hope is in truth, "Crushed to earth, it will rise again." It is rising; and I have added my voice to hasten its resurrection. Great already is the change of opinion on this subject since 1828. Then the plantation States, as they were called, stood alone against this false and oppressive system. We had scarcely an ally beyond their limits; and we had to throw off the crushing burden it imposed, as we best could, within the limits of the Constitution. Very different is the case now. On whatever side the eye is turned, firm and faithful allies are to be seen. The great popular party is already rallied almost en masse around the banner which is leading the party to its final triumph. The few that still lag, will soon be rallied under its ample folds. On that banner is inscribed: FREE TRADE; LOW DUTIES; NO DEBT; SEPARATION FROM BANKS; ECONOMY; RETRENCHMENT; AND STRICT ADHERENCE TO THE CONSTITUTION. Victory by such a cause will be great and glorious; and if its principles be faithfully and firmly adhered to, after it is achieved, much will be redound to the honor of those by whom it will have been won; and long will it perpetuate the liberty and prosperity of the country.

An ice-cream dealer offers to subscribe to the N. O. Tropic if they will "insert gratis any little puff he may require," and sends one as a specimen. The editors insert the puff, and add "with pleasure" that "if his ice-creams and sodas are half as cold as his impudence, his customers will have no cause to complain."

**A FAN FOR FANNING,**  
AND  
A TOUCH-STONE TO TRYON,  
CONTAINING  
An Impartial Account of the Rise and Progress of the much talked of Regulation in North Carolina.  
No. II.

It was said, in No. I. That the Inhabitants of North-Carolina in general, had not any just sense of religion, and that disturbances existed on account of the oppression of the people, long before the regulation, or any such thing took place in Orange County. For the first of these the writer can declare from his own knowledge, to which he will add the testimony of a North-Carolina Man, in his own words; with this observation, that although to argue from particulars to universals, be inconclusive, logically speaking; yet in the instance before us, and in instances similar to it, we may, because we judge right in determining the disposition of readers by the composition that pleases them.

The writer of said piece having spoken on the nature of law in general, and of the laws and constitution of North-Carolina in particular, showing the excellency of the constitution, proceeds, in his address to the people, thus, "Well, Gentlemen, it is not our form or mode of government, nor yet the body of our Laws, that we are quarrelling with, but with the Male-practices of the Officers of the County Courts, and the abuses we suffer by those that are empowered to manage our public affairs; this is the grievance, Gentlemen, that demands our serious attention. And I shall show you that most notorious and intolerable abuses have crept into the practice of the Law, in this County, and I doubt not into other Counties also; though that does not concern us."

In the first place, there is a Law which provides, that every Lawyer shall take no more than fifteen shillings for his Fee in the County Court. Well, Gentlemen, which of you has had his business done for fifteen shillings? they exact thirty for every Cause; and three, four, and five Pounds for every Cause attended with the least difficulty; and, in the Superior Court, they exact, as Fees, almost as many Hundreds; and laugh at us for our stupidity and tame submission to these damnd, &c.

Again, a poor Man gives his judgment Bond for five Pounds; which Bond, is by the Creditor thrown into Court. The Clerk of the County has to enter it on the Docket, and issue Execution, the work of one long Minute, for which the poor Man has to pay the trifling Sum of forty one Shillings and five pence. The Clerk, in consideration of his being a poor Man, takes it out in work, at eighteen pence a Day. The poor Man works some more than twenty-seven Days to pay for this one Minutes writing.

Well, the poor Man reflects thus. At this rate when shall I get to labor for my Family? I have a Wife, and parcel of small Children suffering at home, and here I have lost a whole Month, I don't know for what; for my Merchant, or Creditor, is as far from being paid as ever. However, I will go home now and try, and do what I can. Stay Neighbor, you have not half done yet. There is a damnd Lawyer's Mouth to stop yet; for you impover'd him, to confess you owed this five Pounds, and you have thirty Shillings to pay him for that, or go and work nineteen Days more; and then you must go and work as long for the Sheriff for his trouble; and then you may go home, and see your Horses and Cows sold, and all your personal Estate, for one tenth of the Value, to pay off your Merchant. And lastly, if the Debt is so great, that all your personal Estate will not do to raise the Money, then goes your Lands the same way, to satisfy these cursed Caterpillars, that will eat out the very Bowels of our common Wealth, if they are not pulled down from their Nests in a short time. And what need I say to urge a Reformation? If these things were absolutely according to Law, they are enough to make us throw off all submission to such tyrannical Laws; for were such things tolerated, it would rob us of the means of living; and it were better to die in defence of our Privileges, than to perish for want of the means of subsistence. But as these practices are contrary to Law, it is our duty to put a stop to them before they quite ruin our Country; and before we become Slaves to these lawless Wretches, and hug our Chains of Bondage, and remain contented under these accumulated Calamities.

I Believe there are few of you that have not felt the weight of these iron Fists. And I hope there are none of you but will lend a hand towards bringing about this necessary work, (viz. a reformation); and in order to bring it about effectually, we must proceed with circumspection, not fearful, but careful.

First, Let us be careful to keep sober, do nothing rashly; act with deliberation.

Secondly, Let us do nothing against the known established Laws of our Land, that we appear not as a faction endeavoring to subvert the Laws, and overturn the system of our government. But let us take care to appear what we really are, Free Subjects by Birth, endeavoring to recover our lost native rights, and to bring them down to the standard of Law."

So far the Granville paper; from which it appears, that there have been the same evils elsewhere with those which produced uneasiness in Orange County. And that they never thought of destroying the Constitution, as has been said by G. W. T. T's Tools.

The writer of the above cited address to the Inhabitants of Granville was indicted for libelling the Officers, &c., and imprisoned. This happened in the Year 1765. And the law suit was not ended in the beginning of the Year 1770.

In consequence of the above address, &c. the people of Granville, petitioned the legislative Body for redress of grievances, and against the male-practices of the Officers. The consequence of which was, that the Officers sued the Petitioners, and brought their Actions against them as Libellers; which action shared the fate of the former, i. e. was in suspense in the year 1770. The Officers in the mean while, carrying on their old Trade of oppressing, and griping the poor Inhabitants. Nor did the evil arise from Lawyers, &c. demanding exorbitant Fees, and refusing to do the peoples business until they had what they asked; this perhaps may be answered with a Let them not employ Lawyers; but they must employ Clerks to register their Deeds, &c. and these men

have demanded six times the legal Fee, and will not do the business for less. And what is the consequence? The Land becomes forfeit; The Clerks, and Lawyers, &c. watch their opportunity and seize the forfeiture, and possess the Lands, and the people, when they have improved them must turn out, or pay for them the demand of these Men. These Lawyers were not the only evils complained of; great levies were raised from the people, and no accounts given for what use. And therefore it was, that not only Granville, but the Counties of Brunswick, and Cumberland, in the year 1766, refused to pay the Tax Gatherers; nor was their refusal treated with sword and cannon; but the reason what it may, perhaps these Tax-Gatherers had not yet let G. T. into the secret of getting rich at the expense of the people, under the plausible pretence of raising public moneys. Perhaps conscious guilt stopped their mouths. Whatever the reason, it appears that there was no public resentment (resentment of Government) expressed until Orange-County began to be uneasy, and would no longer bear Oppression; similar to the manner in which the other Counties, as even knowing that the same other Counties, attempted, as they say themselves, "to plead their own Cause at the bar, against Extortion," at which time, some persons from the borders of Granville told them "they feared that matter would ruin some of them, for that just such a cause had been undertaken in Granville County some years ago, and that they were at Law about it to that day." But why so displeas'd with Orange-County, and not with the Rest? No other County was bless'd with a FANNING, whose rigid Vice could not brook a Detraction; and whose despotism would not suffer him to think that the men who chose him their Representative His Equals, whose proud Heart would not bear the instruction of His Constituents; for this seems solely to have been the Cause of his high Disposition; though he will not say that, there was not a design formed particularly against Orange County, because the body of its inhabitants, were Dissenters from the established Church of England. If there was no such Design, why were not Granville, Brunswick and Cumberland, where Quakers and Baptists are not so numerous, treated with the lenient Measures of Powder and Ball? If there was no Design, why did Fanning project the Scheme of a College, and form a Plan, which in itself, if not altogether impracticable, was most absurd. He, in the Charter of which, places himself at the head of the institution, an Excellent Chancellor of a College, and the Rev. Joseph Alexander, next to himself, in the Faculty. What was this for, but to bring over the Presbyterians to his side, against their Brethren of other Denominations; And with the same spirit and Design, the Gov. gives Commissions making one Col. Alexander, and another Capt. Alexander, another Alexander, Esq., Justice of the Peace, &c. &c.—And all this to take in a large body of Presbyterians, settled in Orange-County since the last War, that they might be ready Tools of the Junta, to serve as pack-horses, to do their drudgery; and this unridles the affair of "Thousands coming in and taking the Oaths to Government," those who had been bought by Commission and Profitorships in this, curiously projected, Fannian College, this Castle, or rather College in the Air; they came in and took the Oaths to Government, and poor ignorant people, dependent on Esq. such a one, Col. such a one; they follow, and Gov. T.—n has the Satisfaction, of seeing hundreds daily coming in and submitting, many of whom, would for a morsel of Bread, take the Oaths to Gov. T.—n to Day, to the Pope to morrow, and for a bottle of Rum, to the Grand Turk the Day following.

Having taken this general view of the state of Affairs in North-Carolina, from which it appears, that there was a general oppression exercised upon the People, whether the effects of a concerted scheme or no, let every one determine for himself; we return to the affairs of Orange County in particular. The Inhabitants of which, as we before said, labour'd under accumulated calamities. Their first step was to do themselves justice in the Courts of Law, in which they fail'd, after spending much Time and Money. And from what the People say, it appears that such was Fanning's interest with the Gov. that he could turn out of Commission any one he pleased; the trust of which will be seen, in the course of these papers. Therefore, necessarily must have an influence upon the Court, proportion'd to their love of official Dignity. And this will account for the strange conduct of the civil Courts in the County of Orange.

Having no hopes from appeals to the Laws of their Country, the enquiry was, what shall we do? shall we tamely submit? If we petition the Legislature of the Colony, we may judge of the Success we are like to have, by what we have known, in the case of our Neighbours of Granville. What then remains! After many conferences, on the subject of their grievances, they came to this Resolution, "To address public Officers, particularly the civil Magistrates, Assembly men, &c. And, if possible to have matters fairly look'd into and settled; that if their complaints were just, the causes of them might be removed; that if their jealousies were groundless, they might be convinced of it, and made quiet."

(To be continued.)

THE NEW ATTORNEY GENERAL. The New York Tribune asks—"Will not the Baltimore papers—if the examination would not cost them too much labor—tell us who and what is John Nelson, our new Attorney General?"—We can give the required information without the least labor or difficulty. Mr. Nelson is the son of General Roger Nelson, a distinguished revolutionary officer, who bore the honorable scars of service on his body; and who subsequently repeatedly represented the upper district of this State in Congress, and died as one of the associate judges of the State. The present Attorney General practised law in this State, residing in Frederick, the place of his nativity, (having been elected once to Congress) until he was appointed by General Jackson Minister to Naples to settle the Neapolitan indemnity. He was also a member of the State Senate for five years. On his return from Naples he removed to Baltimore, where he has since remained in the practice of the law. To his legal acquirements, eloquence and general ability as an attorney, we have never heard an objection—and hence we consider his appointment to be unexceptionable. In politics he belongs to the Democratic party, of which he has always been a leading member.

THE QUESTION NOT SETTLED.—An exchange paper says that the question, "May a man marry his wife's sister?" can only be properly answered by the sister herself, when the widower pops the question.

\*Hon. Warren R. Davis.