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PUBLISHED WEEKLY, BY
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EDITOR AND PROPRIETOR.

THE CONSTITUTION AND THE UNION OF THE STATES—THEY "MUST BE PRESERVED."
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TERMS.

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POETRY.

THE PRISONER FOR DEBT.

BY JOHN G. WHITTIER.

Look on him—through his dungeon grate—
Feebly and cold, the morning light
Comes stealing round him, dim and late,
As if it loathed the sight.
Reclining on his strawy bed,
His hand upholds his drooping head—
His bloodless cheek is seam'd and hard,
Unshorn his grey, neglected beard;
And o'er his bony fingers flow
His long, dishevel'd locks of snow.

No grateful fire before him glows—
And yet the winter's breath is chill:
And o'er his half-clad person goes
The frequent age-thrill!
Silent—save ever and anon,
A sound, half-murmur and half-groan,
Forces apart the painful grip
Of the old sufferer's bearded lip:
O, sad and crushing is the fate
Of old age chain'd and desolate!

Just God! why lies that old man there?
A murderer shares his prison-bed,
Whose eyeballs, through his horrid hair,
Gleam on him fierce and red;
And the rude oath and heartless jeer
Fall ever on his loathing ear,
And, in wakefulness or sleep,
Nerve, flesh, and fibre thrill and creep,
Whene'er that ruffian's tossing limb,
Crimson'd with murder, touches him!

What has the gray-haired prisoner done?
Has murder stain'd his hand with gore?
Not so: his crime's a fouler one!
God made the old man poor!
For this he shares a felon's cell—
The fittest earthly type of hell!
For this—the boon for which he pour'd
His young blood on the invader's sword,
And counted gain the fearful cost—
His blood-light'd liberty is lost!

And so, for such a place of rest,
Old prisoner, pour'd thy blood as rain
On Concord's field, and Bunker's crest,
And Saratoga's plain?
Look forth, thou man of many scars,
Through thy dim dungeon's iron bars!
It must be joy, in sooth, to see
Yon monument* uprear'd to thee—
Piled granite and a prison-cell—
The land repays thy service well!

Go, sing the bells and fire the guns,
And fling the stony banner out;
Shout "Freedom!" till your lipsing ones
Give back their errand shout:
Let boasted eloquence declaim
Of honor, liberty, and fame;
Still let the poet's strain be heard,
With "glory" for each second word,
And every thing with breath agree
To praise our glorious liberty.

"All public communities ought to be divided into the rich and the many. The first to consist of the rich and well born—the latter of common mechanics and farmers." Adams.
"As well might a blacksmith attempt to mend a watch, as a farmer to legislate. With his huge paws upon the statute book, what can he do?" Boston Courier, 1838.
"If the appeals to the reason of the people will not prevail, money can and will be used, and that will obtain votes when all other means are found abortive."—New York Commercial Advertiser, 1839.

LETTER FROM MR. GILMER.

From the Charlotteville (Va.) Jof. Republican.
August —, 1843.
DEAR —:—The candid spirit in which your inquiries are submitted induces me to reply to them, not so much in compliance with your desire that I should vindicate myself as to furnish you with a brief outline of some important incidents connected with the origin and progress of political parties in the United States. My own course or opinions, are of too little consequence to afford much interest either to partial friends or relentless opponents. I desire no other vindication of my humble agency in public affairs, than will be perceived by every unprejudiced mind by reference to certain cardinal principles, which I have endeavored to follow as my guides under all circumstances. These I have not been willing to abandon for the advancement of any party or any man, not even my own. In their application, or on minor points of mere expediency, I have been always ready to concede and conciliate for the purpose of harmonious and efficient co-operation with those whom I believed to be united by devotion to some great principle. As to men in office, or when candidates for office, I have long since learned that of all guides they are most fallacious, as their mere promotion is an object the least worthy of my combination.

The general forms of our government like our population came originally from Europe. The events which preceded and followed the American revolution have not yet entirely eradicated those mistaken ideas of the objects, duties and powers of government which have always prevailed in Europe, and which, to a greater or less extent, have had their influence in the United States. The fatal error of mankind (an error which history and experience have hitherto failed to correct) is in ascribing omnipotence to government; in usurping not only the rights and duties of the people but also the authority and infallibility of God. The system of governing *deus gratia* or without the will of the governed, is maintained under the pretext of apprehended anarchy, while history proves that despotism under its various forms has been and must be the nearest road to anarchy. The true source of this disposition constantly to augment the powers of government and multiply the objects of their application, is distrust of the capacity of men in the aggregate to govern themselves. In most governments this distrust on the part of those who claim to govern has been too readily acquiesced in, and hence the legitimate powers of government have been *scudum* applied to strengthen the popular resources for self-government.

There were many in the convention which framed our Constitution who from distrust of the people attempted to make the federal government in form as well as substance a monarchy, without the hereditary feature. This design being defeated, the government was no sooner organized under the Constitution than the struggle was renewed, and a strong government attempted to be established by construction. It was urged that powers which had been expressly negatived by the convention were to be implied and exercised as "necessary and proper," notwithstanding the explicit declaration that all powers not granted were reserved to the States or to the people. The federal and republican parties of the day, and ever since, when they divided on their respective principles, have differed as to the extent of powers granted to be assumed by the several departments under the Constitution. The federal party, whose leader had advocated the British model in government, soon manifested its peculiar views of government, not only by its measures of domestic policy, but in its sympathies with the crowned heads of Europe who combined to maintain the principle of royal legitimacy against revolutionary France. For some time after the adoption of the Constitution by the States, public opinion was unsettled in reference to the numerous foreign and domestic questions which arose.

The old federal and republican parties finally joined the issue before the country in the memorable contest between John Adams and Thomas Jefferson. These parties were not then known as the Jefferson or the Adams party, but were distinguished by their opposite views of government, and they recognized these men only as the exponents of their respective principles. These principles were comprehensive, embracing on both sides the whole circle of government, all its departments, and involving the general question of limiting the agency of the people by extending the powers of government. They had reference not only to the measures of that day, but to those of every age, involving the great question whether the people shall govern or be governed. The advocates of too much government relied then on some of the expedients which they urge now.—The alien and sedition acts, &c., were only applications of the federal principle to objects different from those to which the same principle has been since applied, and would be applied again. The principle of a national bank was in issue in the contest of 1800. It was earnestly remonstrated against in the celebrated report of 1799, written by Mr. Madison, as belonging to that class of powers the exercise of which by the federal government it was maintained, would prove dangerous to the people and the States. It was attempted then as it is now to sustain this particular measure on the authority of Gen. Washington. I have never been able to contemplate Gen. Washington as a party man. His fame rises above party as the eagle soars above the mist. While the authority of no man should be recognized in a republic as precluding inquiry into its soundness, I have never believed that the judgment of General Washington or of Mr. Madison approved the principle involved in chartering a national bank. It is now known that at Gen. Washington's request Mr. Madison prepared a veto of the first bank bill. That bill was ultimately signed more in deference to the solicitude of Hamilton and others, than from his own convictions, by the father of his country. Mr. Hamilton had previously, without authority, commenced the system of receiving convertible paper instead of specie, under the act of

1799, a responsibility of incalculable weight when we reflect on the consequences which have since been felt both by our government and individuals. The financial condition of the country in 1791 was in extreme embarrassment from the debt of the revolution, as it was in 1816, from the debt of the last war. Mr. Madison not only wrote a veto of the first bank at the request of Gen. Washington, and denounced the principle which it involved in his report of '99, which was regarded as the declaration of rights by the republican party in Mr. Jefferson's election and ever since, but he subsequently, as President, vetoed a bank bill. He signed another, it is true, as had been done in 1791, when the public mind intimidated by the embarrassed condition of the country and the government imparted its panic alike to the wise and the brave. In both instances, as often happens, a symptom of disease was mistaken for remedy. There can be no mistake as to the general principles which characterized the federal and republican parties on their first formation, or as to the signal results which followed the memorable republican triumph of 1800. Notwithstanding the severe tests to which our institutions were so frequently exposed by our foreign and domestic relations, by the aggressions of France and England on our maritime rights, by the embargo, the war, the loss of our commerce and the accumulation of a large public debt, notwithstanding the violent death spasms with which the federal party continued to struggle against the government during these periods, three successive republican Presidents were elected, and the country enjoyed comparative political repose until near the termination of Mr. Monroe's administration. The federal party resisted all attempts at retaliation or defence, and finally resisted the war with England. They were overwhelmed by public indignation, and at the close of Mr. Monroe's administration no such thing as a federal party under that name existed in the country. The principles of that party remained, but they have ever since been urged under some other name.

Mr. Adams, jr. (who had been among the first to abandon the federal party, *eo nomine*, after the election of Mr. Jefferson, under the pretext that the party of his father meditated a dissolution of the Union, and who in later times has presented to Congress a petition for the dissolution of the same Union,) General Jackson, Mr. Crawford, Mr. Calhoun, and Mr. Clay were candidates for the Presidency to succeed Mr. Monroe. The old federal party now assumed the name of National Republicans, and Mr. Adams received their general support. There was no election by the people, and he was elected by the hocus pocus of the House of Representatives. Mr. Clay, through whose agency Mr. Adams had been elected in the House, was installed as his Secretary of State, an office which, after the example of Jefferson, Madison, and Monroe, was supposed to be in the "line of safe precedents!" Mr. Clay, through whom and Mr. Adams no very cordial relations had hitherto existed, now became thoroughly identified with the National Republican party. He and his friends sustained the re-election of Mr. Adams in 1828, while General Jackson was elected by those who had preferred him, to Mr. Crawford, or Mr. Calhoun in 1824. The republican party assumed the name of Democratic Republican party by way of contrast, I suppose, to National Republicans. The Democratic Republican and National Republican parties were arrayed distinctly against each other in the contest of 1828, between Jackson and Adams. Mr. Adams was defeated as the National Republican candidate. Mr. Clay became the candidate of that party in 1832, and was most signally defeated by the re-election of Gen. Jackson.

Soon after the re-election, in 1832, of Gen. Jackson, his proclamation was issued, containing doctrines which were unsatisfactory to most of his friends, as well those who disapproved of those who approved the course of South Carolina with regard to the tariff act—doctrines which were applauded by the National Republicans, and afterwards explained by the authority of Gen. Jackson himself. In 1833 the deposits were removed from the United States Bank, where they had been placed by the act chartering the Bank in 1816. This was done by the Executive under circumstances which induced a large number of those who had supported General Jackson in 1828 and in 1832 to condemn the act. I was one of that number, and as a member of the Virginia Legislature, I offered a resolution declaring that no direct or implied sanction was intended favorable to a United States Bank by the condemnation of the order removing the deposits. The National Republicans condemned it also because it was a blow aimed at the Bank. They knew then as they know now, that in their advocacy of the Bank or a Bank, there was no concurrence whatever between themselves and that portion of the Jackson party which united with them in condemning the powers claimed by the Executive in the removal of the deposits. Their object was then, as it is now, to obtain a National Bank.—Ninety-nine hundredths of the Jackson party who condemned the removal of the deposits were then opposed to the constitutionality and expediency of a National Bank. There was, if possible, still less concurrence between the Jackson men and the National Republicans in regard to the tariff.—That portion of the Jackson party who condemned this Executive act were generally the most ultra anti-tariff men.

Under these circumstances in 1834 the whig party was formed. It could not have been organized then, nor could it have acted harmoniously on any one of the present political issues at any moment from 1834 to 1841. If the bank or the tariff or Mr. Clay's election had been urged as a party measure by the Whigs, that portion of them who had belonged to the Jackson party would have co-operated with the democratic party, with whom they agreed and with whom they had acted on these questions and against Mr. Clay. The name of national republican was dropped and that of whig was assumed, to indicate not only the points of agreement, but also the points of disagreement among the elements of the Whig party. The removal of the deposits was the first point of agreement or co-operation. It was followed by the protest, which grew out of it. The expunge followed and was likewise connected with the removal of the deposits. It was urged that the power of appointing and removing public officers (also an executive power) was abused.—Executive abuses and executive reforms therefore were the only party issues urged by the Whigs before the people. It was denied most emphatically and authoritatively that the Whig party was a bank, a tariff or a Clay party.

In 1836, Judge White was the Whig candi-

date for President. Gen. Harrison's name was associated with his, but that portion of the whig party who had been Jackson men, with very few exceptions, then refused to vote for Harrison, from the apprehension that he was a national republican. The same objection would then have applied with still greater force to Mr. Clay.
In 1837, there was a general suspension of the banks and the proposition was made under Mr. Van Buren's administration to separate the Treasury entirely from the banks, State and Federal. It was opposed by all the advocates of a National Bank and at first by many of its opponents, under the hope that some system could be devised with the co-operation of the State Banks, to avoid the charter of a United States Bank and the adoption of the Independent Treasury. It was feared by some that a Government Bank would result from the plan of divorce as proposed by others, that the influence of the Federal Government would be brought to bear injuriously on State institutions. The National Bank had failed to obtain a renewal of its charter from Congress, and to cover its unsound condition, had procured one from the Legislature of Pennsylvania. The suspension was soon followed by a general failure of the banking system, and the most startling frauds were exposed. The Banks, many of them unable to meet their own engagements, were all too much embarrassed to afford any relief to the embarrassed of others to which they had contributed so much. Public confidence in the system was extensively impaired, and few could be found willing, to invest money under National or State charters.

The Whig National Convention assembled at Harrisburg in 1839. That convention refused to nominate Mr. Clay—General Harrison was nominated; he was proclaimed, canvassed and voted for in many States, particularly Virginia, as a Jeffersonian Republican, as an anti-Bank man and scrupulously in favor of the Compromise act. He and his friends were pledged to investigate and reform the Executive abuses of the Government, while it was denied that they or he sought to establish a National Bank or enact a Protective Tariff. The 27th Congress was composed of a commanding majority of Whigs in both Houses. It met in extra session, under General Harrison's proclamation, and was convened to supply ways and means for the Government. The executive functions had devolved, after General Harrison's death, on Mr. Tyler, who had been nominated and elected Vice President under the same pledges. If there was any difference between his position and that of General Harrison, it was that Mr. Tyler was known to be more steadfastly opposed to the leading measures which were subsequently pressed by the Whig party, and some of which met his decisive veto. In reference to all legislative questions then the Whig party professed Democratic principles before the election.

The country had a right to expect after all this that some measures would have been adopted to detect, expose, and correct the excessive abuses which had been so loudly complained of. It is true that the removal of deposits, the expunge, the protest, &c. had long since ceased to be practical questions, and nothing could be done in reference to them in 1841. What did the Whig party propose to do? To charter a National Bank—to repeal the Compromise act—to enact a high and unequal protective tariff—to distribute the proceeds of the public lands at a time when the Treasury was empty, and when the Government was compelled to resort to loans and Treasury notes to defray its ordinary expenses—to enact a Bankrupt law—to vote gratuities from the Treasury to individuals as well as the States, and to impeach their own President. The only measure of Executive reform which I recollect as meeting the general approbation of the Whig party was the proposition to abolish the veto power from the Constitution, and this was urged as an after-thought because that power was used to prevent the charter of the Bank, by one who, like themselves, stood pledged to the country against a Bank.

Soon after the commencement of the extra session a select committee was appointed, on my motion, to investigate the various departments of the Government, to inquire whether the expenditures of Government could be reduced, the patronage of the Executive diminished, and to report such measures of reform as our examinations might suggest. After making as thorough an examination of the departments at Washington, and of other branches of the public service as our other duties would permit, it was recommended to abolish the franking privilege, to regulate and reduce the mileage, to reduce the expenditures, to abolish certain illegal usages and many useless offices in the departments, to institute a new system for the examination and appointment of clerks and other officers in the Departments, to require a more detailed and rigid statement of expenditures, and to require the President to report to the Senate the reasons for every removal from office, &c. &c.

The journals and the events of the 27th Congress will explain why these measures were never acted on. Leading members of an extra number of the various reports from the retrenchment committee. The events of the last ten years will explain why it was attempted by the Whig party to do those things, which, as a party, they were pledged not to do; and to leave undone the only things which, as a party, they were pledged to do. The national republican party was in a small minority in 1832, with Mr. Clay its candidate for President, as it was in 1828, with Mr. Adams. Neither its leading measures nor its leading men could receive the support of the democratic portion of the Whig party, in 1836, or in 1840. Mr. Clay who had been beaten in 1824 and in 1832, was not proposed in 1835, and he was rejected in 1839, as the whig candidate. The clamor for executive reform and for a strict construction of the Constitution as to the executive powers, was used to decoy the old republicans into the support of national republican or federal men and measures. The power of association is very great, and we see how many of the old republicans have been brought by degrees to acquiesce or to approve federal principles. But few, very few of the democratic republican party who opposed the removal of the deposits, could have been persuaded in 1834, that in 1843 they would have sustained the whig measures of the 27th Congress, or any candidate for the Presidency on the issues now proclaimed by the whig party. Yet many seem to have made up their minds for such a revolution. The bank was the favorite measure of the whig party after the election of 1840, though that party up to that time so studiously evaded it. It was calculated to hasten the action of Congress on this and other subjects by means of the extra session, and with

a charter for twenty years, with the prejudices resulting from the last Presidential canvass, the patronage of the government, and other means which accident might supply, to prepare the public mind for the metamorphosis of the Whig party into a national republican party by 1844.

What is the position of parties now? If we test them by their personal preferences as to the presidential candidates, they will present again, as they did in 1840, a confused mass of partialities and prejudices, resulting from former party conflicts, the spectacle of men united and opposed promiscuously without reference to their convictions as to the great principles which must give practical effect to government, of prolonged and angry excitement without any adequate cause or distinct object, of a violent struggle which when it is over will have decided nothing for the country. The experience of the last three years ought to teach all men of all opinions that this is not desirable. The people have more interest in the measures of government than in the men who now as their agents are to excite them. All will agree that something shall be settled by the next election. That the policy of the government should be fixed in some direction. Confidence can never be permanently restored until the great issues now avoided before the country are determined. What are they? No one will pretend that the removal of the deposits, the protest or the expunge are now practical party issues. They never can be again unless another national bank is chartered. I am aware of no permanent measure of executive reform except the abolition of the veto, now proposed by the Whig party. Certainly none other was proposed by that party in the last Congress, unless the proposition to divorce the Executive patronage from the political press, while the legislative patronage under their own control, was permitted to remain, can be considered such. The political issues, as every candid mind will perceive, are now distinctly joined in reference to the revenue and the currency as they will be affected by the legislation of Congress. There are other questions, some of them important too, connected with both the legislative and executive duties of the Government, but they cannot now be regarded practically as party issues. It is not my purpose at present to discuss any of these questions of issues. My object is simply to state positions of parties heretofore and now in reference to what have been and are practical issues. It would be an unreasonable, however, for a man, who is opposed to a National Bank or a Protective Tariff, to vote for a candidate or a party avowing those measures as leading objects because he disapproved of the removal of the deposits, the protest, expunge, &c., as it would be for a Christian to turn Mahomedan because he opposed the measures of the Pope which led to the reformation.

The bank question arises now under very different circumstances from those which existed when it was formerly before the country. Our experience has taught us much, which, if we are wise will be remembered. While no one advocates the policy of government issuing permanent loans to individuals or to corporations, it is contended that government, itself an agent, has the power and is bound to create a corporation, to become a partner in this corporation, to permit individuals to issue their paper in the shape of promises to pay money, that government shall receive this paper, that these favored individuals shall be permitted also to keep the revenue when collected, to lend it to the people who paid it, and to lend the credit of the government besides their own. It is contended moreover that government has authority and ought to exercise it to raise money by taxation for other purposes than to pay its debts and defray its expenses. Professions of economy in public expenditure and of relief to be afforded to individuals by law, have been too often made to be longer heeded. Parties will be judged, as they should be, by the tendency of the measures they advocate, and the people can thus determine which will cost them least. The distribution of the proceeds of the public lands, when there is no surplus in the treasury, is like assumption of the State debts, a policy which can only be favored by those who regard taxation and public debt as blessings, and will resort to these or similar measures merely as pretexts for using the taxing power for individual or local benefit. The best guaranty for economy and fidelity is furnished by those who maintain that the power of raising money is limited by the nature and objects of the federal government, and that when raised, it shall be applied as public money, only for the purposes specified in the constitution. Taxation and appropriation are certainly the most important powers employed by government, and they ought to be most narrowly watched by the people. The moneyed power (as it may be termed) or the power claimed for government to control not only the contributions from the citizen to the treasury, but also the proportions and distribution of wealth among individuals and classes, is the main spring of government. It may give law to the people and form to the government to suit the caprice of those who manage it. It should be remembered too that Executive encroachments on the rights of the people can only result under our system from legislative encroachments, and by regulating the objects, duties and powers of government by the constitution, we adopt the simplest and surest method of preventing executive abuses. Your friend &c., THOMAS W. GILMER.

KEEP IT BEFORE THE PEOPLE.

That while the late whig Congress lavished their thousands of dollars upon a favorite press at Washington, voted a present of \$25,000 to the widow of Gen. Harrison, and lined their own pockets with "yellow boys," to the tune of \$8 a day, they refused to refund to General Jackson the \$1,000 fine imposed by Judge Hall! A party so hollow in its pretensions—so destitute of patriotism, of philanthropy, with a very bad grace appeals to the people—to Americans, to Irishmen, to sustain them in such a niggardly course of legislation. There is more patriotism in a few ladies of New Orleans, who raised a part of the fine imposed but never was received by Gen. Jackson, than in the whole universal whig party. The whig Congress, generous souls, instead of imitating so glorious an example of paying a debt of gratitude—a fine unjustly imposed—to the venerable patriot and hero of New Orleans, have spent months and months in squandering the people's money, increased the expenditures of the nation more than \$5,000,000, broken every promise made the people in 1840, increased the price of every thing the farmer uses upon his farm, his axe, hoe, spade, shovel, plough, drag-teeth, log-chains, &c., to enrich the eastern capitalists—raised the price of every description of domestic

goods, reduced the prices of produce, reduced the wages of labor, and saddled the people with a National Debt, which the whig party contends is a national blessing! Not content with sacrificing every interest of the commercial and producing classes, they have in view the adoption of two federal measures—a United States Bank to rob the people and infuse corruption into every branch of our political government—and the assumption of the State debts—to tax the honest yeomanry of Michigan for the payment of Mississippi, Illinois, and other defaulting State bonds—with these measures in operation we shall then have coon-skin, \$2-a-day-and-roast-beef-whiggery in all its beauty. Genesee Dem.

"Wamba, the son of Willess, the born thrall of Cedric, the Saxon."—Such was the inscription engraved on the collar of an English serf, in those early times when the few lorded it over the many. Although the many were then born thralls to feudal barons, it has been reserved to the present day to witness the degrading spectacle of a freeman becoming the voluntary slave of another,—of resigning his intellect, his opinions and his judgment into another's keeping, and acting as a mere conduit pipe, through which his master may convey his views without resistance or obstruction. Mental servitude is more degrading than physical. Force may fasten chains on a freeman's limbs, but his mind cannot be enslaved, save at his own volition. What state of degradation can be more disgusting and abhorrent than that of voluntary submission, in thought as well as deed, to the arbitrary will of another. The cringing, fawning sycophant who, with the privileges of a freeman, possesses the spirit of a slave and crouches at his master's feet, licking his hand in slobbering servility, deserves to be driven from the society of men,—aye, even from companionship with the negroes by whom he is surrounded. The labor of the hands may sometimes be devoted to another's gain against one's will, but the voluntary prostration of the soul to the ignominious condition of thinking in obedience to another's behests, is indeed the lowest depth of human degradation. The Almighty never made man erect, that he might commit his mind and conscience to the keeping of a human master, and although, in Divine Providence, he may be sometimes forced to undergo physical toil for another's benefit, his intellect was never intended to be so debased, under any circumstances. "The born thrall of the Saxon" might, in the days of feudal barbarism, wear the collar of Cedric, but he, who now constantly follows at his master's heels, breaks forth in exclamations of praise at every word he utters, sings praises to his praise from morning to night, prostitutes his intellect to invent forms of speech by which to extolize indiscriminately his every act and sentiment, and sacrifices his right of private judgment, his intellectual and moral freedom, and all the nobler qualities of man, may bear a white skin, but it covers a more degraded than negro soul. For all such beings we have no feelings but those of loathing and disgust. Missouri Reporter.

REDEMPTION OF WHIG PROMISES.

It was the beautiful remark of a Roman Consul that a striking similarity was observable in the method by which federal bankers and federal politicians redeem their promises. The following article from the *Charlotte Advertiser* enumerates some of the acts adopted by the federal party, at the extra session of '41, which exhibit the sincerity of their clamor about "retrenchment and reform."
"One of the first acts of the federalists at their extra session commencing in May, 1841, was to repeal the INDEPENDENT TREASURY LAW, and in so doing, they made a 'UNION OF THE PURSE AND SWORD' in the hands of the Executive, giving him full power over the public moneys, to place it where he chooses, without restraint, and without having his duties defined by law.

After this the federalists, in imitation of the British aristocracy voted away TWENTY-FIVE THOUSAND DOLLARS of the people's money on one of the wealthiest families in this State, in express violation of the construction which guarantees an equality of the rights of all. An additional appropriation of FIVE MILLIONS AND FORTY THREE THOUSAND DOLLARS was then made for the service of the year 1841, at the extra session—although a plentiful provision had been previously made by a former Congress, during their regular session.

After this an ADDITIONAL TAX OF SIX MILLIONS was imposed on the people in form of tariff duties. Then a loan of TWELVE MILLIONS was added to the burdens of the people.

And another debt of SIXTEEN MILLIONS would have been contracted for a NATIONAL BANK, but this was stopped by the President's VETO.

At their regular session, which commenced in December, 1841, the Federal Congress authorized an ADDITIONAL LOAN OF FIVE MILLIONS, which still increased the burdens of the people.

Then, again THIRTEEN MILLIONS were added to the tax of the people in form of a tariff, without affording any benefit to the government.

After this a third of a million was voted to the State of Massachusetts for refusing any aid in the late war.

Then the Federalists brought in a bill to pay the heirs of HULL. After this they REFUSED to pay back General JACKSON'S FINE, imposed on him by a federal judge, for saving the city of New Orleans.

From the Richmond Compiler. TOBACCO—EASTERN & WESTERN CROPS. A gentleman residing in Charlotte frequently sends letters of interest to the Norfolk editors. The following from the Norfolk Herald of Wednesday, will attract the notice of commercial men: CARLOTTE, (Va.) Oct. 15, 1843. Gentlemen: The present year has been a chequered one to the tobacco planter. The winter was unfavorable and the crop was diminished one half. In April we had our James and Dan, and Staunton, a most memorable frost that seriously injured the growing crop of wheat, above the falls of the rivers. Still the wheat crop turned out an average one through the State, although particular estates came off very badly. But what constituted the great and irreparable loss of the year was