

"Ours are the plans of fair delightful peace, unwarped by party rage, to live like brothers."

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JOSEPH GALES & SON, EDITORS AND PROPRIETORS.

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POLITICAL EXTRACTS.

From the Edgefield Advertiser.

The following is the reply of Mr. Calhoun to a letter of invitation from a Committee of our citizens, who tendered him the compliment of a Public Dinner, for his able and patriotic services at the recent eventful session of Congress.

Fort Hill, Nov. 3rd, 1837.

GENTLEMEN—It is with very great reluctance I decline your kind invitation to partake of a public dinner. From no quarter and on no occasion could an expression of approbation be more acceptable, but so short is the interval between this and the next regular session of Congress, and so indispensable is it, that I should devote it exclusively to my domestic concerns, preparatory to my long absence from home, that I am compelled to decline the honor intended.

In saying that on no occasion could the expression of your confidence be more welcome, I intend no unmeaning common place. During the long period of my public service, never have I seen a more important crisis than the present, and in none have I ever been compelled, in the discharge of my duty, to assume a greater responsibility.

I saw clearly on my arrival at Washington, at the commencement of the late extra session, that our affairs had arrived at that point, when, according to the course we might take, we should reap the full harvest of our long and arduous struggle against the encroachments and abuses of the Federal Government, or lose the fruits of all our labor.

I clearly saw, that our bold, vigorous attacks had made a deep and successful impression. State interposition had overthrown the protective Tariff and with it the American System, and put a stop to congressional usurpation; & the joint attacks of our party and that of our old opponents, the National Republicans, had effectually brought down the power of the Executive, and arrested its encroachments for the present.

It was for that purpose, we had united. True to our principle of opposition to the encroachment of power, from whatever quarter it might come, we did not hesitate, after overthrowing the protective system and arresting legislative usurpation, to join the authors of that system, in order to arrest the encroachments of the Executive, although we differed as widely as the poles on almost every other question, and regarded the usurpation of the Executive, but as a necessary consequence of the principles and policy of our new allies.

In joining them, we were not insensible to the embarrassment of our position: With such allies, success was difficult, and victory itself, without a change of principles and policy on their part, dangerous; and, accordingly, while we united with them against the Executive, we refused all participation in the Presidential contest. But, with all its embarrassments, it was the only practicable course left us, short of abandoning our principles, or the country, by retiring altogether from the field of contest.

In this embarrassing position, we waited the development of events, with the fixed determination, that let what might come, we would inflexibly pursue the course, which a regard to our principles, and the success of our cause demanded.

Such was the position we occupied, from 1833, when our contest with the General Government terminated, to the commencement of the late Extra session, when it became manifest a great change had been effected, which could not but have a powerful influence over our future course.

It soon became apparent after the meeting of Congress, that the joint resistance of ourselves and our late allies in conjunction with the course of events in reference to the currency, had brought down the lofty pretensions of the Executive Department.

The union between the Government and the money power, which had so greatly strengthened those in authority at first, had not only ceased, but they were forced to take ground against the re-union of the two, and to make war against those very banks, which had been the instruments of their power and aggrandizement.

Forced to take this position, and divested in a great measure of patronage and influence from the exhausted state of the Treasury, they were compelled to fall back, as the only means of saving themselves, on the principles of 1827, by which we had ejected from office the National Republican party, and to which our portion of the old party of '27 have inflexibly adhered, but from which, the other, adhering to the Administration, had so greatly departed in practice.

As I saw this state of things, I clearly perceived, that a very important question was presented for our determination, which we were compelled to decide forthwith: Shall we continue our joint attack, with the Nationals, on those in power, in the new position, which they have been compelled to occupy? It was clear, with our joint forces, we could utterly overthrow and demolish them, but it was not less clear, that the victory would inure, not to us, but exclusively to the benefit of our allies and their cause. They were the most numerous and powerful, and the point of assault on the position which the party to be assailed had taken in relation to the banks, would have greatly strengthened the settled principles and policy of the National party, and weakened in the same degree ours.—They are, and ever have been the decided advocates of a National Bank, and are now in favor of one, with a capital so ample, as to be sufficient to control the State institutions, and to regulate the exchanges and currency of the country. To join them, with their avowed object in the attack, to overthrow those in power, on the ground they occupied against a bank, would of course, not only have placed the Government and country in their hands without opposition, but would have committed us, beyond the possibility of extrication, for a bank, and absorbed our party in the ranks of the National Republicans. The first fruits of the victory, would have been an overshadowing National bank, with an immense capital not less than from fifty to a hundred millions, which would have centralized the currency and exchanges, and with them, the commerce and capital of the country, in whatever section the head of the institution might be placed. The next would be the indissoluble union of the political and money power in the hands of our old political opponents, whose principles and policy are so opposite to ours, and so dangerous to our institutions as well as oppressive to us.

Such clearly, would have been the inevitable result, if we had joined in the assault on those in power, in the position they had been constrained to occupy; and he must indeed be blind—all past experience must be lost on him, who does not see that so infatuated a course would have been fatal to us and ours. The connexion between the government and the bank would, by necessary consequence, in the hands of that party, have led to a renewal of that system of unequal and oppressive legislation, which has impoverished the staple States, & from which we have escaped with such peril and difficulty. The bank, when united with the Government, is the natural ally of high duties and extravagant expenditure. The greater the revenue, and the more profuse the disbursements, the greater its circulation, and the more ample its deposits.—This tendency on the part of this institution, and the known principles and views of policy of the party, would have co-operated, with irresistible force, to renew the system we have pulled down with so much labor, with an aggravation of its oppression far beyond any thing we have ever yet experienced, and thus the fruits of all our exertions and struggles against the system, would have been lost—forever lost.

By taking the opposite course, the reverse of all this will follow, if our State Rights party be but firmly united and true to their principles. Never was there before and never probably will there be again, so fair an opportunity to carry out fully our principles and policy, and to reap the fruits of our long and arduous struggle. By keeping the banks and the government separated, we effectually prevent the centralization of the currency and exchanges of the country at any one point, and of course the commerce and the capital, leaving each to enjoy that portion, which its natural advantages may command. By refusing to join our late allies in their attack on those in power, where they have sheltered themselves, we prevent the complete ascendancy of the party and their principles, which must have followed, and gain the only opportunity we could have of rallying anew the old State Rights party, of 1821, in the ground they then occupied, as an opposing power, to hold in check their old opponents, the National Republican party. It would also give us the chance of effecting, what is still more important to us, the union of the entire South. The Southern division of the Administration party must re-occupy the old State Rights ground.—They have no alternative; and unless we, who have so long, and under so many difficulties, adhered to it, shall now desert our stand, the South must be united. If once united, we will rally round the old State Rights party, all, in every section, who are opposed to consolidation, or the over action of the central government; and the political parties will again be formed on the old and natural division of state rights and national, which divided them at the commencement of the government, and which experience has shown, is that division of party most congenial to our system, and most favorable to its successful operation.

As obvious as all this must appear, I felt, that I assumed a heavy responsibility in taking the course I did. It was impossible, that all the circumstances and motives, under which I acted, could at once be generally understood, and, of course, the part I was compelled to take was liable to be misconceived & grossly misrepresented.

We had been so long contending against the abuses and encroachments of the Executive power, as to forget, that they originated in the prior abuses and encroachments of Congress, and were accordingly exclusively intent on expelling from office, those who had acquired and exercised their authority in a manner so dangerous, without reflecting into whose hands the power would go, and what principles and policy would gain the ascendancy. With this state of feelings on the part of our friends, I saw it was impossible to take a position, which, by consequence was calculated to cover those in power, however urgent the cause, without occasioning a shock, in the first instance, and the imputation of unworthy motives, to meet which, however transient some resolution and firmness. But there were other, and far greater causes of responsibility, to which this was as nothing.—Of all the interests in the community, the banking is by far the most influential and formidable—the most active, and the most concentrated and pervading; and of all the points, within the immense circle of this interest, there is none in relation to which the banks are more sensitive and tenacious, than their union with the political power of the country. This is the source of a vast amount of their profits, and of a still larger portion of their respectability and influence. To touch their interest on this tender point is to combine all in one united and zealous opposition, with some exceptions in our portion of the community, where the union of the two powers acts injuriously to the banking, as well as to the commercial and other great interests of the section. To encounter so formidable an opposition, supported by a powerful political party with whom I had been acting for some years against entire power, and who regarded the union of the government and the banks as essential to the union of the States themselves, was to assume a heavy responsibility, under the most favorable circumstances; but to back and sustain those in such opposition, in whose wisdom, firmness and patriotism, I have no reason to confide, and over whom I have no control, is to double that responsibility. This responsibility, I have voluntarily assumed. Desiring neither office, nor power, and having nothing to hope personally from the movement, no motive, but the disastrous political consequences, which I clearly saw must follow from any other course; to the country and its institutions generally, and our section in particular, and a deep sense of duty, could have induced me to take the step I did.—That it has met the approbation of so respectable a portion of my old constituents and friends, to whose early and steadfast support, under every trial and difficulty I am so much indebted, is a source of deep gratification which I shall long remember and acknowledge.

With great respect, I am, &c. J. C. CALHOUN. To Messrs. J. Bunsell and others, Committee.

THE SUB TREASURY SCHEME.

As Mr VAN BUREN, in his late Message, insists upon being clothed with the enormous increase of patronage which the Sub Treasury Scheme, in its practical operation, would yield, we must continue our efforts to enlighten the people as to its true character and designs. The following strong article on the subject, we copy from the Richmond Enquirer—a paper which has sustained all the measures of the late and present Administration, this single one excepted.

Practical illustration of the Sub-Treasury Scheme. This measure was adopted by regulation of the Treasury Department, when the banks suspended specie payments, viz. about six months ago. The collectors and receivers were directed to receive nothing but gold and silver, and to keep the money in their own possession, instead of paying it into banks, and to disburse it upon the drafts of the Treasury, as the banks had previously done. This is in substance the Sub-Treasury scheme. It is time now, that its good fruits should appear, if ever they are to appear. What are they? Has it restored a specie circulation? No.—Has it given to our paper system a wider specie basis? Its whole tendency is the reverse. Has it enabled the Government to pay off the public creditors in specie?—Fudge! What is the Government doing at this time? Issuing ten millions of paper money, and paying the public creditors of all kinds with it.

If we cannot agree about theories and arguments, for God's sake let us look at facts immediately before our faces. Has this Sub-Treasury scheme done one single thing it was promised to do? Where is the specie it has collected in the Treasury? Where is the specie in circulation which its friends promised it would introduce?—It has given a "beggarly account of empty boxes" to the Treasury, and has banished specie from the eyes of the community.—And yet it is all right—and we must approve it, or we will be called deserters from the ranks—inconsistent politicians—not firm and true men—not up to the hub Democrats—not faithful friends of the Ad-

ministration, &c. &c. &c. Was there ever such arrogance on the face of the earth? Is it to be tolerated for a moment in a land of freedom? Is there a son of a Revolutionary sire, who can look on such intolerance without feeling his blood run hot in his veins? Are we to rivet chains upon our minds, extinguish all moral sense in our bosoms and banish from our thoughts forever, that we have a country to love and admire. Must we surrender every thing to party, and never think of our country? Why, Sir, what will be the state of morals in the country, if such doctrines prevail, that you cannot upon any question exercise your independent judgment, and express the conscientious convictions of your minds, provided you differ in opinion from an Administration you assisted to bring into power, and whose general course of policy you approve, without laying yourself liable to the charge of treachery and infidelity to political friends, and of abandoning the true Democratic faith? I say, if such is the doctrine that the people of this country are to sanction, there is not upon the face of earth a more corrupt and infamous government than the boasted American Republic. Administered upon such principles, it is the vilest and most depraved system that can disgrace the age in which we live.—We had infinitely better send the youths of our country to Spain or to Turkey to learn lessons of political morality, than to bring them up in a country where every noble sentiment of honor, and every impulse of patriotism is to be extinguished in our minds, and be substituted by a code of morality that would have disgraced the slaves of the most heartless despotism that ever existed at any period of the world. Is this the Government our fathers fought for? Is this the land of freedom achieved by their blood and their valor? But who are these Sir Oracles, these patent Democrats, who are undertaking to deliver lessons of political wisdom to such men as Rives and Mason, Legare and Tallmadge, and many other distinguished men of our country, who have heretofore supported the Administration, and will continue to support it in all the measures they believe will promote the welfare of the country? Yes, who are they who have thus impudently set themselves up as the only orthodox politicians, and arrogantly claim the right of reading out of the political Church any man they please.

But to return to the Sub Treasury scheme—Has it been executed? Can it be carried into effect? If it can, why did Congress suspend the collection of the revenue due upon merchants' bonds?—Where is the specie, if it has been executed? What six months in operation, and no specie yet! This great financial measure a half year in operation, and still the only blessing it has produced to this great vigorous and productive country, is the necessity to issue ten millions of Treasury notes!!! What! collect the revenue in specie and pay the public debts in paper!!! Dogive us light, Mr. Editor.—We are all in the dark on this side of the mountain. Perhaps six months is not long enough to test the virtues of this experiment.—Then, let us wait and give it time to unfold to the nation its promised blessings.—A Western Mountaineer.

A POLITICAL TEXT BOOK, FOR ALL TRUE BELIEVERS.

Whereas, it is of the highest importance to produce concert and unity of action in our party, and to prevent dissensions, contradictions and inconsistencies: Now, therefore, this collection of Texts, with the annotations and hints subjoined, is compiled for the instruction and benefit of the faithful.—From them speakers in Conventions, and in all other places, will draw the subject of their harangues, and never forget that they comprise the cardinal points in our faith.—Editors of Newspapers will likewise take the subject matter of their Editorials from these Texts, and expound them with edifying earnestness. As ignorance may pervert, and the Common People may not comprehend all the texts, this collection must never be read publicly, nor shown to individual members of the party, except by some person duly initiated, who can expound them properly and prevent misapprehension.—Above all things, let those to whom a copy is sent, be careful not to let it get into the newspapers.

TEXT THE FIRST. Federalism, Federalism, Federalism. This must be the beginning, middle, and end of all political addresses, speeches and resolutions. It is better not to give it any particular definition, but work on the fancy and imagination of readers and hearers, by describing it indistinctly as something vast and terrible. Always allude to it in a general way, not descending to details, as truth would not answer our purpose.

Note.—This text is placed first because it is of primary importance, and of right, ought to precede all others.

TEXT THE SECOND. The United States Bank—the whole Bank and nothing but the Bank. This institution must be described as a monster—a Hydra with a hundred heads.—All perils that befall by sea or by land, fires, earthquakes, famine, pestilence and

droughts must be ascribed to the foul agency of its patron saint, Nicholas. We cannot enroll him in our calendar. On the other hand if the seasons be fine, crops abundant, and business lively, do not forget to remind people that it happened during "my administration." Should any impertinent enquirer ask if the Pet Banks are not little monsters of the same species with the great one, let him be indignantly rebuked and charged with the heinous crime of federalism. If he persists in his inquiry, let him be seriously admonished and threatened with excommunication.

TEXT THE THIRD. The Gold Currency. This will be a favorite topic. Public speakers must draw deeply from the "Mines of Potosi." They must likewise talk of Bullion and Golden Ingots—they will afford them fine points for effect. When they are in want of tropes and other rhetorical figures, they may allude to the Incas of Peru, the walls of whose palaces were covered with silver, and the pots and kettles in the kitchens made of molten gold. Should any simple and indigent member of the party inquire if the administration will ever enable him to eat his broth out of a golden porringer, tell him to wait with patience, and that there's no knowing what may happen. Some things can be done as well as others.

TEXT THE FOURTH. The Last War. This subject must be advanced on all occasions to benefit the party. Never let it be omitted. If irreverent persons should ask what the measures of the present administration, or the generation now alive have to do with a war that occurred twenty-four years ago, make no reply. Avoid controversy which edifieth not.

TEXT THE FIFTH. Federalism—Federalism—Federalism. This excellent text will bear repetition. It cannot be used too often. But, above all things, be careful not to explain it definitely, lest it be turned against us; for with sorrow it must be admitted that we have too many of us fallen from the true faith and followed dangerous heresies.

TEXT THE SIXTH. When you are with Romans act like Romans. That is to say, an accommodating latitude may be allowed between our principles and our practices. When a Loco Foco is present, defend the "equal rights" doctrine on the general principle of the world; and when he expresses his horror of paper money, remind him of Jackson's and my golden eagles. When one in the Banking interest, praise the Pet Bank System which Government has adopted in the regulation of its deposits. Should you converse with a friend of the "American System," talk of a judicious tariff. To the seaman, speak of "Free Trade and Sailors' Rights." Favor State rights with a nullifier, and agree with the Whigs that our "Union must be preserved." Be careful, however, at all times, and in all places, not to commit yourselves too explicitly.

TEXT THE SEVENTH. Rotation in Office. A very difficult and delicate text, continually liable to be misunderstood. It will need all the aid and light that can be gathered from the preceding texts, to prevent its perversion. It means—perhaps it is not best to say what it means exactly. Mystery sometimes conduces to faith. Generally, however, the Ins should expound this text rather than the Outs.

EIGHTH AND LAST TEXT. Federalism, Federalism, Federalism. The importance of this Text induces us to remind our brethren of it a third time. If any honest brother enquires whether the measures of the present Executive have not tended to an unconstitutional increase of power, inform him that he must submit his single judgment to the supreme and infallible decision of "the Party," if he be incorrigibly obstinate and incredulous, accuse him of heresy and let him be excommunicated.

To the True Believers throughout the Union. Brethren! I shake hands with you all. My heart is big and it is in the right place. Prudence is the greatest of virtues. Be faithful. Promise all who are disaffected a plentiful share of loaves and fishes. Let every thing be sacrificed to the "good of the Party."

Given under my hand and seal this fourth of March, Anno Domini, 1837, in secret session at Washington, D. C. M—V—B— Examined and approved, A—K T—H. B— I think it will do. F. P. BLAIR.

HOW DO WE STAND?

The election in this State has closed; and those for the year 1837. It is truly amusing to look in the Government newspapers, the Washington Globe and the Albany Argus, and see with what an unblushing face they endeavor to impose on the people the folly and despotism of the currency tinkers, and endeavor, by all the arts imaginable, to delude the world into the belief, that Van Buren is still in a great majority, and that Kendall, Benton, Wright, and Woodbury, as well as themselves, are not

only very great, but also very honest men. Let us examine, for a moment, how far the people coincide with these worthies.—At the elections in 1835 and '36, the Jackson Van Buren party had the following States, viz:

- Maine, Georgia, New Hampshire, Alabama, Rhode Island, Mississippi, Connecticut, Tennessee, New York, Ohio, New Jersey, Michigan, Pennsylvania, Illinois, Virginia, Missouri, North Carolina, Arkansas, Indiana.

In all, nineteen States out of the twenty-six. At the elections which have taken place the development of the views of the present Administration, where the opinion of the people could be expressed, either for a Governor, members of Congress or State Legislature, what States have "the party" lost? Let us see; there is

- Maine, North Carolina, Rhode Island, Georgia, Gov. New York, Alabama, Con. New Jersey, Mississippi, Gov. Tennessee, Ohio, Penn. State, Illinois, Gov. Indiana.

Making 13 States of the 19, that have virtually protested against their measures. Michigan has just had its election, and it is yet doubtful how it has terminated, but it is believed the Loco Focos have succeeded by a very small majority. There are 4 of the remaining 19 States to hold their elections early in the Spring; of these, it is in the opinion of the Loco Focos themselves, that they will lose old Virginia and Connecticut. In what State will the Administration find support or repose? In the glorious States of New Hampshire, Missouri and Arkansas! And yet they cannot with any safety, rely on New Hampshire; she is already aroused for the contest, and the result is quite doubtful.—Noah's N. Y. Star.

MESSAGE OF GOV. RITNER.

The important position of Pennsylvania, well denominated the "Key Stone State," and the influence which her politics have had on all national questions, give to the measures of her Legislature an importance only inferior to those of Congress itself. The message of Gov. Ritner, which is now before us, has been looked for with considerable interest, and will no doubt have the happiest effect on the Legislature now in session. The message is an able paper. It bears the mark of a strong philosophical mind, and is distinguished throughout for the force and cogency of its reasoning.—There are some peculiar notions held by the Governor in which we do not concur, but in the main we approve of his reasons and recommendations.

On the question of the Banks and the Currency, the message is very satisfactory—and the men and the causes which have produced the present state of affairs clearly pointed out.

The returns from all but four of the banks in the State, including the banks of the U. States and their circulation, specie, discounts and deposits, stood as follows in the beginning of May and November 1837:

Table with 3 columns: Date, Circulation, Specie, Discounts, Deposits. Rows for May and November.

The Governor declares himself in favor of such a reform in the Banking system as would tend to curb their power to do evil without impinging on their capacity to do good. For this purpose he recommends the incorporation of the following provisions into all future bank charters and their instant application, so far as chartered rights and the faith of the State will allow, to the Banks now in existence:

- 1. Limitation of bank dividends to 7 per cent. 2. Limitations to issue in proportion to specie. 3. Severe punishment for exceeding the above limitations. 4. No loans to be made to brokers and directors. 5. Limitation of loans to any one firm or person. 6. Excess of profits over 5 per cent. to be reserved and invested as a species of safety fund. 7. Banks to keep their notes at par at Philadelphia, Harrisburgh and Pittsburgh. 8. To be a certain number of years, no notes to be issued less than \$10. 9. President and directors personally responsible for all claims, in case of suspension of specie payments. 10. The excess of 7 per cent. to be hereafter the only bonus for a charter. Stock to be sold at auction, and the premium to go to the safety fund. 11. No bank to go into operation until two-thirds of its capital be paid in.

The state of the public Treasury is highly cheering. The balance in hand is \$2,220,135, and it is recommended that \$100,000 be annually appropriated for schools, the system of which is in gratifying operation. A very interesting account of the state of the internal improvements of the Commonwealth is given, and the culture of Silk is recommended to legislative protection and encouragement.—Pitt. Chron.