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## The Tarborough Press,

BY GEORGE HOWARD,

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## POLITICAL,



From the Washington Republican.

### TO THE FREEMEN OF THE

Eighth Congressional District of North Carolina.

(continued from last No.)

A prominent measure of the Whig Congress was the passage of a Bankrupt law, which authorized debtors to repudiate, at will, their honest debts; but as that measure has already been condemned by public opinion, in language so strong as to compel those who framed and passed it, to vote its repeal, I deem it unnecessary to attempt here to expose its injustice, or the deleterious effects it may have had upon the prosperity of the country. It passed the Senate by a vote of 26 to 23—but 4 Democrats voting for it; and it passed the House of Representatives by 111 to 105—only 3 Democrats voting for it.

There is another act which I cannot pass over in silence. At the extra session of Congress, the Whig party, in the House of Representatives, professing to act upon principles of economy, and to outstrip their predecessors—the Democrats—whom they had so much abused, proposed the following resolution, which was adopted by a vote of 178 to 19:

“Resolved, That the House now proceed to the election of a printer of this House, for the 27th Congress, whose compensation shall be twenty per cent. less than the joint resolution of 1819.”

The House then proceeded to elect a printer, which resulted in the election of Gales & Seaton, the Editors of the National Intelligencer, (the organ of the Whig party,) who undertook the printing at the reduced price. But, just at the close of the last session of Congress, the Whigs, by a strict party vote agreed to allow to Gales & Seaton 20 per cent. more than they had undertaken to do the work for, and 15 per cent. more than the Democratic party paid Blair & Rives the Congress before. Thus voting into the pockets of their Whig Editors an extra allowance of thirty or forty thousand dollars; & nearly that much more than the Democratic party paid to Blair & Rives for similar work. “This is Whig economy with a vengeance!”

An attempt was made by the Whig party, at the last Congress, to destroy that great conservative principle in the Constitution—the veto power—which they denounce as the one man power. It is no more the one man power than the House of Representatives, or the Senate of the United States, where important measures are often passed or rejected by the vote of a single member. The present obnoxious tariff law would not have passed the House of Representatives had my opponent voted against it. The veto power operates only as a check upon hasty legislation; and merely suspends the action of Congress until a measure can be fully discussed, and well understood, and can never be exercised by the President so as to oppress the people. I therefore consider it to be a great conservative power, and I am opposed to its being either abridged or abolished.

I am opposed to a National or U. States Bank, both upon the grounds of inexpediency and constitutionality. Experience has proved that it is neither necessary to regulate the currency nor exchanges of the country;—for without the aid of a United States Bank, most of the State Banks have resumed specie payments—the currency greatly improved, and the impression upon the minds of many that such an institution was necessary to regulate exchange has been removed. The tables of domestic exchange in New York, establish the fact, that without the aid of a United States Bank, the exchanges of the country have been restored to a healthy condition. The Journal of Commerce says:—

“The exchanges of the country are restored to a specie basis with the single exception of Alabama. Our table of domestic exchanges, therefore, which we have kept standing for five years past, has lost its honor and its use. The regulations which exist in the nature of things possess a power to restore order beyond that of any other regulators which have been invented. Here the great principles which we had foolishly rejected, took up our disordered affairs, and see what perfect work they have made! The exchanges of this country were never in so good a state as now. The rates of discount are exceedingly small, and the facilities of collecting and remitting as good as can be desired. More and better than all, the exchanges, in their present arrangement, cannot be thrown out of order.”

In the face of these facts, why should we hear any complaints about exchanges and the necessity of regulating them? These complaints come not from the people themselves, but the politicians of the country who wish to control the people. If a United States Bank could afford a currency equal to gold and silver, would it have the effect to raise the value of depreciated local bank paper to par? If so, it would effect more than it did in the days of its greatest prosperity, for the prices of bank notes, from the year 1818 to 1825, were at a much greater discount than at present. The value of local, as well as other bank paper, must always be regulated by the capacity of the banks themselves to redeem in specie; and if the notes of a United States Bank were equal to gold and silver, it would require as much of your local or State Bank paper to procure them as it would the gold and silver itself. And instead of a United States Bank regulating exchanges so as to reduce the rate, its whole energy and strength would be exerted to depreciate State Bank notes and increase the rate of exchange, for one of its principal sources of profit would be the buying and selling of exchange. But throwing aside the inexpediency of establishing such an institution, where, let me ask, is the power granted in the Constitution to establish a bank? The questions now at issue, are the same as were between the Federal and Republican parties in the days of old John Adams. They are whether the General Government is strictly limited to the powers delegated to it by the Constitution—or whether, by a latitudinarian construction, it may exercise any powers which the interests or the passions of a dominant majority may dictate? These parties had their origin in the Convention which framed the Constitution—one party, of which Alexander Hamilton was the leader, was for a strong, energetic, Central Government, with a President and Senate for life, with power to appoint Governors over the States, and to negative State laws. In a word, to strip the States of all the attributes of sovereignty, and to make them as dependent on the Central Government as they had previously been on the crown of Great Britain. The other party, of which the opinions of Mr. Jefferson may be considered the exponent, was for limiting the powers of the General Government, to certain specified objects of general concern, and to leave to the States all the powers not thus delegated. This party prevailed in the Convention, and such was the wise jealousy of power by the patriots of the revolution that it is certain that no other Constitution would have been ratified by the people. For a consolidated government, over a country as extensive as ours, all admit to be incompatible with civil liberty. Foiled in the Convention in carrying their favorite consolidating and monarchical schemes, the Federal party have constantly endeavored to extend the powers of the General Government, by construction and implication; and have succeeded in exercising powers unwarranted in the Constitution. Some, indeed, which it is now known the Convention directly refused to grant—as the power to grant charters of incorporation, which was proposed in Convention, and rejected on the ground that it would confer on Congress the power to establish a Bank. It is in this way that they derive the power to establish a National Bank—a splendid system of Roads and Canals throughout the United States, and a Protective Tariff—none of which are expressly granted in the Constitution, or derivable from it by any fair rules of construction.

The power to lay and collect taxes, duties and imposts, is restricted to specified objects, viz: to pay the debts and provide for the common defence and general welfare of the United States. Alexander Hamilton, in his report on manufactures, did maintain that Congress might grant bounties on them out of the Treasury, under the clause to provide for the general welfare; and, indeed, as far as Constitutional power is concerned, there can be but little difference between making donations to manufacturers directly out of the Treasury, or putting the same amount in their pockets, by means of a protective tariff. Such a sweeping construction given to these words would at once subvert all the barriers

which were so cautiously erected in the Constitution, to guard the rights of the States, and would make the General Government as omnipotent as the British Parliament. What power might not Congress exercise, under pretext of the general welfare, and which can be effected by the appropriation of money? Might they not tax you to carry out the mad project of Abolition so often introduced in the halls of legislation by John Quincy Adams, that malignant reviler of the South and her institutions? Might they not tax you to pay the two hundred millions of dollars, which some of the States now owe on account of debts contracted for internal improvements and banking?

The Southern States are the weaker portion of the Union, and it is absolutely essential to their safety, that their co-partners in the Government should be held to a strict construction of the Constitution, or it may be wielded to oppress them. Can it be denied, that the action of the General Government, heretofore, has been fatally oppressive to the South? Heavy contributions have been levied on Southern labor by a high tariff for the benefit of Northern Manufacturing capitalists—the public money has been mostly disbursed there; and is it a matter of wonder, that there should be such a contrast in the prosperity of the two regions? The richest bounties of a beneficent providence could not withstand the blighting influence of such partial legislation.

But, besides the unconstitutionality of a National Bank, its corruptions, the danger of placing such a tremendous power as that of supplying a paper currency for the whole country, in a corporation of individuals associated together for the purpose of speculation and making money, and giving them the power to expand and contract the circulation at will—a power which Mr. Jefferson pronounced most deadly hostile to liberty and the principles of our government—there is another view of it to which, as Southern men, I would entreat your most serious consideration. This bank must be owned at the North; for there is concentrated the capital and trade of the country; and there are the persons who are to own and manage it. Can it be doubted that it will be wielded to promote the particular interest of that section, though at the sacrifice of the South. Mr. Biddle said there were few State Banks which the United States Bank could not destroy by an exertion of its power. The control over your currency, then, would not only be placed in the hands of those who have no sympathy with you, but whose interests may be directly adverse to yours. Is this a condition for Freemen? May not exigencies arise when this power may be wielded with fatal effects to your interests? In view of these and other objections, it does seem to me, that nothing short of infatuation can induce the people of the South voluntarily to put on the shackles of a National Bank.

As to the question of Internal Improvement by the General Government, it is liable to objections scarcely less weighty than those to the Tariff. It is a power not granted by the Constitution, nor is it necessary and proper to carry into effect any of the granted powers. Its advocates themselves do not agree as to what part of the Constitution to refer it. Sometimes it is claimed under the power to establish Post-roads—sometimes the war making power—sometimes from the power to regulate commerce. Mr. Clay, in 1811, in his speech against the renewal of the charter of the Bank, called the power to create a Bank a vagrant power, wandering throughout the whole Constitution in quest of some congenial spot to fasten upon. The remark is equally applicable to the power of Internal Improvement, unless it is claimed under the “general welfare” doctrine, which would lead us into consolidation, and do away entirely with the Constitution, which we vainly thought had defined and secured our rights and liberties, by barriers which our rulers could not transcend. By the Constitution, “all powers not granted to the General Government are reserved to the people or the States;” but if this doctrine is to prevail, we see how utterly worthless is the principle of written Constitutions, (which heretofore has been our boast,) to secure the liberties of a people against usurpation and tyranny. Mr. Clay, in the speech alluded to, also laid down the correct rule of interpreting the Constitution in regard to implied powers. That the power claimed as incidental to a specified power, should be congenial with, and obviously flow from it—that the incidental power ought to be strictly subordinate and limited to the end proposed to be attained by the specified power. In other words, under the name of accomplishing one object which is specified, the power implied ought not to be made to embrace other objects which are not specified in the Constitution. That it is mockery, worse than usurpation, under pretext of effecting a lawful object, to accomplish other objects which are not lawful—that the relation and condition of principle and incident should not be pro-

trated and destroyed. This is good Republican doctrine. It is the doctrine which Republicans have always contended for. It is the doctrine of the Virginia Resolutions of '98 and '99, (which led to the overthrow of John Adams and the Alien and Sedition Federalists,) which have always been considered orthodox by Republicans, and objected to only by Federalists; and it is the doctrine of the Constitution. Mr. Clay was at that time an ardent Republican, but he has since fallen into all the heresies of the Hamiltonian Federalists, and been foremost in violating the correct rules of construction laid down by himself. But if Congress did possess the power to adopt a general system of Internal Improvement, the exercise of it would be inexpedient and dangerous. The public money is paid into the Treasury by the people of all the States, and it would be the height of injustice to take it to make Roads and Canals; the benefits of which must necessarily be chiefly local. What possible benefit to the people of North Carolina, would it be for the General Government to make a Road or Canal in Illinois, or Michigan? which, perhaps, would never be seen by one of you. Even the famous Maysville Road, which was vetoed by General Jackson, was that of any national importance, more than a Road any where else? This system had its origin in a combination between the West and the North—the West, with a vast extent of fertile soil, shut out from the Atlantic by high mountains, wanted expensive Roads and Canals made by the General Government, to enable them to carry their products to the Atlantic cities—the North wanted a Tariff to protect their manufactures—the Tariff was to raise the money with which these splendid works were to be made. It is well known that the constitutional opinions of Mr. Monroe, were opposed to these works, for he even vetoed a bill to establish Toll Gates on the Cumberland Road, to collect enough from the travel and use of the road to keep it in repair.

But on the accession of John Quincy Adams to the Presidency, with Clay for his prime minister, a new turn was given to the administration of affairs. These gentlemen had no constitutional scruples. Engineers were traversing the country in all directions, making surveys and reconnoissances, and works were projected in a short time that it would cost a hundred millions of dollars to execute. Fortunately for the country, that administration was overthrown by the voice of the people. And had not the system been arrested by General Jackson, by the veto, (a power which the Whigs are now zealous to destroy,) it is impossible to tell what an enormous amount the public debt would now be. For these sanguine calculators would not have been content with the slow process of taxation. They would have anticipated the taxes by loans. Mr. Clay contended that posterity would not complain of a debt contracted for Internal Improvements, because the benefits would descend to them with the debt. That the debt would descend to them is certain—but the promise of benefits would most probably be delusive. We have had some experience in these things since that time. As General Jackson's veto cut off all hopes of their being able to saddle these burthens on the General Government, the States undertook them themselves, and what has been the result? Why, the works have generally been entirely profuse, and the money vested in them by States and individuals entirely sunk. Nothing can be more delusive than the estimate of Civil Engineers of the benefits to result from public works, previous to their commencement. They always make a captivating display on paper to induce the necessary appropriation or subscription; but in the end it is generally found that all the money invested has been lost to the holders, and that the Engineers and contractors are the only gainers. The patronage of the President, already too great, would be vastly increased in letting out jobs and contracts, and employing a host of officers, engineers, contractors, toll-gatherers and superintendents. The manner in which it would be used to operate on whole communities and States, for political and party purposes, is too obvious and humiliating to be dwelt on. Nothing could possibly be contrived so effectually to degrade the sovereign States into humble supplicants to the Federal Government—to unnerve opposition to the encroachments of power—to break down the proud, independent and virtuous feelings of our people, and to render the already overbearing power and patronage of the government fatal to our liberties. A disgraceful scramble for the public money would ensue in which, as Mr. Jefferson said, the meanest would get most. What part do you think the long proscribed, but as yet, high minded South, would receive? Perhaps a sop might occasionally be thrown to them, but the lion's share would be borne off by more populous and strong regions.

I am in favor of an economical expenditure of the public money, not pretended to win power and then abuse it, but for economy in fact and truth, because it is necessary for the safety of our institutions—Republican and right in itself. Every officer of the government is an agent having a trust committed to his care for the people's benefit, and should be held to the strictest accountability, and made honestly to discharge his duty. Let us then adopt and act on the motto inscribed on the Democratic Banner:—Free Trade—Low Duties—No Debt—Separation from Banks—Economy—Retrenchment—a strict adherence to the Constitution.”

Respectfully, your ob't servant,  
ARCH'D H. ARRINGTON.  
HILLIARDSTON, Nash County,  
June 24th, 1843. }

**Sudden Deaths.**—We have heard of several very sudden and unexpected deaths in our County during the past week. Mrs. Britte, wife of Mr. Charles Britte, a farmer of this County, died without the least apparent illness. Mr. B had been to this place on business, and returned home about sunset. When he rode up in the yard, he saw his wife pass from the kitchen to the house, attending to her domestic avocations. He stopped in the yard for a few moments to unsaddle his horse, when one of his children ran to him, and told him his mother was groaning. He immediately went in the house, and found her lying on the bed perfectly dead. Muses Overton, a free black, had been to a reaping, and working against some other hands employed in cutting, had over exerted himself. While returning home he became perfectly deranged, commenced acting in the most fantastic manner, fell in the road, and instantly expired.

Elizabeth City Old North State.

**Exciting Ordination Scene in the Episcopal Church.**—Eleven young men were, on Sunday, ordained at St. Stephen's church, by the R. v. Bishop Onderdonk. The service was read by the Rev. Dr. Berrien, and the sermon was preached by the Bishop. After he had concluded, the eleven candidates stood around the altar, when he announced, as it is customary, that he was about to ordain them, and requested that if there were any person or persons who had any objections to make, or knew aught against them, they would now announce the same. A moment of silence ensued, when the Rev. Hugh Smith, of St. Peter's, rose in the middle aisle, and stated that he had by letter yesterday informed the Bishop that he should protest against the ordination of one of the candidates, Mr. Carey, in consequence of his holding opinions favorable to romanism; and he did now accordingly protest. When he sat down, the Rev. Mr. Anthon, of St. Mark's church in this city, who had been sitting in the same pew with Mr. Smith, also rose, and in like manner protested against the ordination of Mr. Carey, for the same reason.

Bishop Onderdonk stated that he had received the objections of the Rev. gentleman, and had in consequence appointed six competent and worthy persons to examine into the charge which had been made against Mr. Carey, and that they had unanimously reported to him that it was unfounded, and that also was his own conviction, and that he should proceed to ordain all the candidates. He then commenced reading the prayer, and during the ceremony, Messrs. Smith and Anthon both arose and left the church.

It is supposed that the objections to the ordination of Mr. Carey arose from the idea that he held an opinion similar to those promulgated in the celebrated Oxford Tracts, and for which Dr. Pusey has been recently suspended in England. It is indeed a continuation of the same controversy which has divided the Episcopal church on the other side of the Atlantic.

N. Y. Express.

The Southern Literary Messenger has been purchased by Mr. Benjamin Minor, a young lawyer of this city. Mr. M. has the reputation of being a good scholar and writer, and as he intends to devote a good portion of his time to its interests, we have no doubt that it will well sustain its present high standing.

Richmond Herald.

The steam ship Columbia, which sailed from Boston on the 1st inst., with 85 passengers, and a crew of 73, was wrecked on Sunday afternoon, the 2nd, on Black Ledge reef, near Seal Island. All the passengers and crew were saved. The weather was foggy, and the ship was running at the rate of 10 miles per hour. The vessel is lost. It was insured in England to the amount of £50,000.—ib.

The Locusts are said to be very numerous in some places in the Northern and Middle States. They have not done as yet much damage to vegetation, but one or two deaths have been recorded as proceeding from their bite, which is represented as poisonous.