



"The powers granted under the Constitution, being derived from the People of the United States, may be resumed by them, whenever perverted to their injury or oppression."—Madison.

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POETRY.

From Blackwood for October.

HOPE.

BY SCHILLER.

We speak with the lip, and we dream in the soul,
Of some better and fairer day;
And our days, the meanwhile, to that golden goal
Are sliding and sliding away.
Now the world becomes old, now again it is young,
But "The World's" for ever the word on the tongue.

At the threshold of life Hope leads us in—
Hope plays round the youthful boy;
Through the heat of his charms may with youth begin,
Yet for age it reserves its toy.
When we sink at the grave, why, the grave has scope,
And over the coffin Man planteth—Hope!

And it is not a dream of a fancy proud,
With a Fool for its dull beguiler;
There's a voice at the heart, that proclaims aloud—
"Ye were born to possess the Better!"
And that voice of the Heart, O ye may believe,
Will never the Hope of the Soul deceive!

"GENIUS SLUMBERING."

Long o'er his papers the editor pore'd;
Exchanges were dull—and the editor bored.
Soft as the June-breezes played in his hair,
He dream'd of that land where the earth-quake are;
And swift as the death of the hurricane comes,
The paragraphs flew from his fingers and thumb;
Fair cities he sank in the bottomless sea,
And toppled down mountains in glorious glee.
Volcanoes were raging—he stood on their brink,
And dipped his steel pen in their lava for ink,
On the valleys that slumber'd in beauty below,
He wrote down the curses that stamp'd them with woe.
O little he need to borrow,
As he murmured in sleep, "what a paper to-morrow!"

MISCELLANY.

Doctors.—Now that I am talking of doctors, what a strange set they are, and what a singular position they hold in society! Admitted to the fullest confidence of the world, yet, by a strange perversion, while they are the depositaries of secrets that hold together the whole fabric of society, their influence is neither fully recognised, nor their power acknowledged. The doctor is now what the monk was once, with this additional advantage: that from the nature of his studies, and the research of his art, he reads more deeply in the human heart, and penetrates into its most recesses. For him, life has little romance. The grosser agency of the body, reacting ever on the operations of the mind, destroys many a poetic day-dream, and many a high-wrought illusion. To him alone does a man speak "son deat mot" while to the lawyer the leanings of self-respect will make him always impart a favorable view of his case. To the physician he will be candid and open more than candid. Yet these are the men who, watching the secret workings of human passion, can trace the progress of mankind in virtue and in vice. While ministering to the body, they are exploring the mind; and yet, scarcely the shadow of fear dispated, when they fall back to their humble position in life, bearing with them but little gratitude, and strange to say no fear!

The world expects them to be learned, well-bred, kind, considerate, and attentive, patient to their querulousness, and enduring under their caprice; and after all this, the humbug homeopathy, the preposterous absurdity of the water cure, or the more reprehensible mischief of mesmerism, will find more favor in their sight than the highest order of ability accompanied by great natural advantages.

Every man—and still more every woman—imagines himself to be a doctor. The taste for physics, like that for politics, is born with us, and nothing seems easier than to repair the injuries of the constitution, whether of the state or of the individual. Who has not seen, over and over again, physicians of the first eminence put aside, that the nostrum of some ignorant pretender or the suggestive twaddling old woman, should be, as is termed, tried?

No one is too stupid, no one too old, no one too ignorant, too obstinate, or too silly, not to be superior to Brodie and Chambers Crampton and Marsh; and where science with anxious eye and cautious hand, would scarcely venture to interfere, heroic ignorance would dash boldly forward and cut the Gordian difficulty by snapping the thread of life. How comes it that these old ladies of either sex never meddle with the law? Is the game beneath them, when the stake is only property and not life? or is there less difficulty in the knowledge of an art whose principles rest on so many branches of science, than

in a study founded on the basis of precedent? Would to Heaven the ladies bountiful would take to the quarter sessions and the assizes, in lieu of the infirmaries and dispensaries, and make Blackstone their aid-de-camp vice Buchan retired.—*Dublin University Magazine.*

An Embryo Reprobate.—There is a great deal of originality in your genuine Kentuckian, and the following is not a bad illustration of the remark:

"A rough Kentuckian, hearing a child squall and squeal very furiously, remarked: How wickedly that small sample of mankind is swearing now, in the infantile vernacular! What will it come to when it's educated?"

The following is an extract from a late unpublished English work on America:

"Leeches are bluffs on American rivers, where the slaves congregate to dance their aboriginal dances; at which great quantities of water-melons are drunk. *Paw-paws*, a species of a large cherry, is used on the Mississippi, to feed an animal called *Hopster*, and the same river abounds with an odd fish called *Sucker*. It is great sport in a town there, called Kentucky, to shoot at the *Coon-Crackers*, a species of birds that infest the houses. The country, on the whole, is well worth a visit; but we advise a traveller to carry a life preserver; for when the steamboats on the rivers are heavily loaded, and after the passengers have paid their fare, they open their boiler and blow some of the passengers overboard, to make room for those they expect to get at the next landing."

Humburg.—Henry Clay says, in a letter dated a few days before the Dayton barbecue—"I am here in comparative quiet and repose, and have no wish again to embark on the tempestuous ocean of public affairs."

A few days after, he was stumping it through Ohio and Indiana, with the intention of making a tour through the South. When at Madison, Indiana, he received intelligence of the dreadful coon skinning in this State, and immediately fled with "my man Charles" from "the tempestuous ocean of public affairs," to "comparative quiet and repose" at Ashland, where he is likely to remain.

Ventriloquism Practically Illustrated.—In Baltimore, Wednesday, as Wyman, the ventriloquist, was passing the horse market, he was accosted by a jockey with "let me sell you this pony."—"How old is he?" said Wyman. "Seven last spring," answered the jockey. "Oh what a lie!" ejaculated a most unearthly sound, "I'm 13, and you know it as well as I do." The astonished jockey looked around, under the impression that some acquaintance, by way of a joke, had volunteered a speech in behalf of the pony, but discovered no one. This perplexed him, and striking the horse across the neck, the same voice cried "if you do that again, your blackguard, I'll throw you off and kick out your brains." This second speech was too much for the dumfounded rider, who leaped from the horse and started to run, much to the amusement of the bystanders; and it was with great difficulty that he could be persuaded to mount the pony again after the joke was explained.

A Perfect Devil on fits.—A Thompsonian Doctor was once "called in" to see a sick child. He looked at the patient, felt its pulse, shook his head, hemmed thrice and took a seat; rose again, hemmed, shook his noddle ominously, felt the patient's pulse, and cast his eye upon the patient.

"What ails my child?" asked the father.
"I don't know," replied saddle bags.
"Can you do nothing for him?" breathed the anxious sire.

"Nothing," was the response. "But," added the distiller of roots and herbs, "I have some medicine with me that will throw him into fits, and then I can cure him, for I'm a perfect Devil on fits."

For Sale—cheap.—A lot of beautiful portraits of Daniel Webster, in gilt frames, lately hanging in the parlors of several distinguished Clay whigs. As they were bought at a time when it was supposed he would play second fiddle to Mr. Clay, they are consequently out of date. Beneath the picture, is the following couplet:

"Diogenes his lantern needs no more!
An honest man is found! the search is o'er!"
Apply at the Clay Club.—*New Haven Register.*

Old Virginia.—Among the Aristocratic first families who hail from "Old Virginia," we have ever observed that those who were remarkable for nothing but ignorance, were the greatest sticklers for the superiority of Virginia blood over all others. Virginians are always *thar*, in time of danger, said an elderly matron of our acquaintance the other day. "I always *taught* my children *brava-do*, for I'd rather see 'em die as to run."—*Texas Red Lander.*

Decency.—Mr. Cushing, a whig, in his late speech at Newburyport, Mass., said—"Never had there been such coarse and vulgar abuse used by party presses before, as had been heaped upon this administration, by presses that had heretofore arrogated to themselves 'all the decency.'"

The whigs are consoling themselves that Miller's doctrine will prove true, and that next year locos as well as whigs will have to budge.
Let it be so. We shall not have to go by Salt River, as will the whigs. O sheepshears!—*Plain Dealer.*

A Sign.—An exchange paper says that the best sign a dry goods merchant can raise in the west, in order to make a ready sale for goods, is "Not Married." The suggestion is pretty good, but it does not go far enough. The following, written on a sign in a New England village, was better. "Dry Goods, by John Biglow: who wishes to get married." This sign drew all kinds of custom. The single ladies went of course; and married men all-ways told their wives to go, under the impression that they could easily cheat so great a fool.

Not found yet.—The 500,000 Whigs who attended the Dayton Barbecue.

Politics of the Day.

We promised in our last some extracts from the letter lately written to his friends in New York, by the Hon. JOHN C. SPENCER, Secretary of War. This letter was in response to a letter from a number of gentlemen of Rochester, New York, inviting Mr. S. to extend his recent visit to the State to that portion of it, and to give them a public explanation of the course of Mr. Tyler's administration. Unable to do this, he adopted the channel of a letter for this explanation.

After laying down the grounds on which Mr. Tyler was elected to the Vice Presidency, the difficulties of his situation when unexpectedly called to administer the Government, and the first inklings of his future quarrels with those who elected him, Mr. Spencer makes the following disclosures, which must give the people a still worse opinion than ever of the moral and political honesty of the leaders of whigery:

In proof of the absence of all selfish, interested or ambitious motives on the part of the President, in the course which his convictions of duty prompted, I may now advert to a fact long known to me, which has been promulgated in the newspapers of the day, vouched for by at least one whig editor, stated by a representative in congress from Massachusetts in a speech lately delivered at Newburyport, upon authority, and hitherto not denied.—That fact is, that previous to returning the second bank bill to congress with his objections, in full view of the assaults to be made upon him, and with the purpose of removing all cause of agitation, as well as to secure himself against unjust imputations, the President submitted to his then cabinet, whether he should, in the message then about to be transmitted to congress, announce a resolution to retire from public life at the expiration of the existing term; and that against his doing so, all the members of the cabinet, then present protested, on the ground that such an announcement would not have the effect to produce peace or quiet, but would only change the direction of faction; that no one had a right to expect such a step from him, as he had not been elected President, and no obligation existed that should interpose any barrier between him and a direct vote of the people.

In connection, and yet in contrast with the preceding, is another fact of an extraordinary character, which though known by many, has lately been distinctly promulgated. It is shadowed in a letter of Mr. Ewing's in the statement by him of a proposition having been made to the President, that the majority who had passed the first bank bill, would consent to postpone the second to the next session of congress, if they could receive assurances that in the mean time no hostile movement would be made on the part of the President. The full meaning of this statement has now been developed by the declaration of a member of congress, that a message was carried from the whig leaders in congress to the President, to the effect that if he would engage not to disturb any members of his then cabinet in the enjoyment of their offices, the second bank bill should be postponed. The answer to such a proposition may be easily conceived. The effect of that proposition was to prove the identity of the members of the cabinet whose places were deemed in jeopardy with the hostile members of congress, and if the design was to precipitate matters, it was most effectual.

You will require no aid to determine which of the actors in these scenes exhibited a lofty disinterested patriotism, and which evinced any tenacity for place or desire for power. These facts are full of instruction, and furnish a key to many mysterious transactions.

After sketching and ably defending the various measures urged upon Congress by Mr. Tyler, Mr. Spencer thus broaches the subject of the currency:

The recommendations of the annual message on the subject of Currency and Exchanges, next claim our attention. After pointing out the necessity of a medium of Exchange, approximating to uniformity of value in the different parts of the country, the President proceeds to redeem the pledge he had given at the previous session of Congress, by submitting the outlines of a plan for the safe keeping and disbursement of the public revenue, which shall at the same time furnish a currency, and thus indirectly regulate exchanges. The limits which I have assigned to this communication forbid a repetition of the details of the exchequer plan as developed in the message and afterwards more fully exhibited in the bill submitted to Congress by the Secretary of the Treasury. This is the more regretted, because I am confident it has not been sufficiently considered by my fellow citizens generally, and is thoroughly understood. It is emphatically the plan of the President, originated and matured by him, with a single modification introduced on the advice of his cabinet. It proposes to attain its objects by the application of powers acknowledged in practice to exist in the Government from its foundation. The Treasury Department was instituted for the collection of the public revenue, its safe-keeping, and its disbursement according to acts of appropriation by Congress. To a board of control under the superintendence of that Department, there was given the immediate charge of this business, with authority to establish agencies, or employ State Banks in its transactions. To these was added the power of issuing Treasury notes to the amount of fifteen millions, selling drafts, receiving deposits, and purchasing bills of a certain description. These were the general features; and the President invited a discussion of its merits, while he expressed a readiness to concur in any modifications that did not violate its essential principles, particularly such as should by any constitutional means relieve the Chief Executive Magistrate from any controlling power over the public Treasury. You perceive how entirely this plan avoided all constitutional objections, by providing that the functions of purchasing and selling drafts other than for the purposes of the Government, should be exercised in any state only when not prohibited by such state. All conflict with state jurisdiction was prevented; the banking privileges of the states were left without interference, the operations of the Treasury simplified and facilitated,

and the great interests of the Union promoted by the introduction of the currency founded on the revenues of the country, and yet so limited as to be always equivalent to specie. This plan has been approved by some of the most competent financiers of this country and of England, and pronounced to be adequate to all our wants, safe in its operations, and calculated to furnish the most perfect currency that could be devised. So far as the opinion of an individual who has had some experience in such matters, and who it is known to you has had occasion to become acquainted with the abuses to which a National Bank is from its nature exposed, so far as the opinion of such an individual is of any value, it is unhesitatingly given, that this plan in its essential features, is far preferable to any other that has been submitted, and that it will accomplish all the purposes for which it was designed, without hazard to the Government, without danger to the people, and without stimulating anew the reckless spirit of speculation, whose excesses we have all such cause to mourn.

If, as seems to be generally conceded, the question lies between this plan and a National Bank, there cannot be much room for doubt or hesitation. Waiving for the present the insuperable difficulties presented by the Constitutional objections to such a bank operating through the whole Union—objections so long entertained by a large portion of our fellow citizens and strengthened rather than diminished by discussion and by the sad experience of the tremendous power and the still more tremendous corruptions of such an institution,—waiving these, the very fact of the existence of such objections and of others of a different character, will effectually prevent a subscription to the stock by those sound and prudent capitalists whose countenance and whose real wealth can alone give it vitality. Such men will never consent to place their property in a position to be the sport of the alternate triumphs and defeats of parties. The chartering a Bank under such circumstances, would but invite the cupidity of those who intend to become borrowers rather than lenders, and who by means of the irresponsibility of a corporation and with the impunity that has marked former transactions of similar institutions, would plunder those whose confidence they had invited but to betray it. Whatever may have been our opinions heretofore of the utility of a National Bank, however we may have been compelled to acquiesce in its supposed necessity, the history of the last few years has, I should hope, convinced all who are open to conviction, that any evils which may be anticipated from the want of such an institution, however great, are more tolerable than the certain, positive and immeasurable injuries which we now know have flowed from the existence of one that was instituted under the most favorable auspices, and was committed to the charge of men at the time esteemed the most honorable and trustworthy in our land. Within four years of its existence, the last Bank of the United States became little better than a den of robbers. Its managers, with few exceptions, pursued a systematic scheme of plunder and fraud, which was arrested by the investigations of a committee of Congress.

Clemency (now believed to have been mistaken,) towards innocent stockholders, and a hope that the example which had been made of the offenders would deter others from similar practices, saved the Bank from dissolution. It was allowed to proceed under new restrictions designed to prevent the recurrence of similar frauds. In a few years, it was found at open war with the Government of the country, seeking the renewal of its charter, subsidizing presses and editors, squandering its treasures in partisan elections and openly purchasing the support of the venal in all directions. The moral corruption which thus flooded the whole country, was in itself an evil of the most fearful magnitude. It struck deep at the roots of public faith and private honor, and prepared the way for that reckless and unbounded extravagance, which the Bank itself stimulated by the profuse distribution of its money, and the consequences of which we are now reaping in individual sufferings, (from which a Bankrupt Law affords but slight relief,) and in the degradation of the character of our country by the fraudulent insolvencies of our public corporations, and by the shameful refusal of sovereign states to fulfil their obligations.

The final extinction of the same institution under a state charter, but managed by the same individuals, and the consequent inevitable exposition of its affairs, have disclosed scenes of depravity and fraud at which the whole country stand aghast. Who can look back at the immense amounts of public funds which have been entrusted to the fidelity of the same men, without a feeling of horror at the abyss which we have escaped? And who would again venture the treasury of the nation upon the integrity of any body of individuals in an associate capacity, when we have before us such reiterated examples of the feebleness of the most unspotted public and private character, to resist the temptations which attend the control of enormous wealth and inordinate power? How can any government justify itself in thus transferring to corporate individuals, the functions with which it is entrusted for the welfare of the people? The collection, the preservation, and the disbursement of the public revenue is the business of the government itself, through its own agencies, with all the responsibilities of office, and with the securities of oaths, bonds, and constant check and supervision. It might with equal propriety relieve itself of the burden of governing its Territories, by employing the agency of corporations, might likewise be consigned to their care. If the government is inadequate to the entire management of its fiscal affairs, should we not be better employed in seeking and providing the necessary powers to enable it to discharge one of its highest duties, than in creating artificial bodies to whom this same and still greater powers must be confided? If there be danger in the exercise of such powers by the selected public agents of the people, directly and periodically responsible to them for all their acts, is the danger lessened by transferring their exercise with the secrecy which invariably attends the proceedings of corporations, to those who are not elected by the people, and not responsible to them, but who hold their chartered rights for a longer or shorter term, by an immutable law, which even the will of the people cannot rescind?

Is not the only plausible objection which has been urged to the Exchequer plan, that it will increase the power of the government and particularly of the Executive Department,—is it not unfounded and irrational? All power is liable to perversion for improper purposes, but since it must exist, the true question is, where can it be most safely lodged?—The American people have oversteered this question by declaring that their own representatives and officers chosen by themselves, are the most safe depositaries of those powers with which government must be clothed, for the protection and defence of all. If the Constitution would permit the selection of the superintending officers by other means than the appointing power which it has created, let those means be adopted, according to the invitation of the President. But until they can be derived or obtained by the consent of the states, and the people, we have the same and even greater security against the abuse of such powers, than we have against the abuse of any other power vested in the Executive. The means of obtaining full and perfect knowledge of all the operations of the Exchequer board and its agencies, at any time and at all times, by Congress and by the people, are provided. The system is capable of any modification or improvement which experience may suggest, and if, after all, serious evils should be felt or justly anticipated, no vested rights of any corporation can be interposed to prevent its instant repeal. No human institution is or can be free from liability to abuse, and the true question is whether the advantages to be gained by furnishing a sound currency to the country, are so important as to justify the employment of the powers given by the Constitution, to obtain them. The ability of the government itself to accomplish this great object, has never yet been fully and fairly tried.

I have dwelt on this subject, my friends, because it has received so little examination in or out of Congress, and because it involves the most momentous interests to the nation and to its citizens. In the election of Representatives to Congress, you are called upon to determine whether the Exchequer plan shall prevail, or whether a National Bank shall be established, or whether the whole matter shall remain unregulated and unprovided for. A respectable portion of your fellow citizens avow their desire for the incorporation of a Bank of the United States and have rallied under the name and banner of a distinguished statesman who is pledged to effect that object by all the political power which may be placed in his hands. The appeal to the electors of the country, to confer such power upon him and those who concur with him, is right, fully and fairly made. Against the creation of any such institution the President and his administration have contended, and mean to contend, until the people in their wisdom shall deprive them of the power of further resistance. Confiding in the intelligent virtue and firmness of that people, they cheerfully abide the issue.

The policy of the administration of President Tyler is further indicated by the special messages, which during the session of Congress he deemed it his duty to transmit to that body. The first of these, of general interest, related to the condition of the treasury, and the imperative necessity of speedy provision for fulfilling our obligations to the public creditors, and defraying the current and unavoidable expenses of the government. A loan had been authorized for an amount scarcely equal to one-half our ordinary annual revenue, and this sum, relatively so insignificant it had been found impracticable to obtain. The President believed that a pledge of specific funds for the payment of the interest and the redemption of the principal of the loan, would at once relieve the country from the odium of such a failure, and replenish the treasury until adequate revenue should be provided by the passage of the proper laws. In the proceeds of the sales of the public lands, he perceived such a fund already provided, and he recommended to congress the temporary appropriation of it to the great public exigency which presented itself. He was well aware of the claim which had been imposed in behalf of these states to a distribution among them of these proceeds. But on examining the act of September, 1841, providing for that distribution, he found the principles on which it should be made, settled by those who had been the warmest advocates of the claim. The whig majority in congress had by that act determined that such distribution should not take place when the country was engaged in war with a foreign power, nor when an economical administration of the government required the imposition of duties exceeding 20 per cent. on the value of the article taxed. Congress had thus in accordance with the constant practice which had prevailed from the foundation of the government, solemnly re-asserted its authority to control the distribution of those proceeds, and to direct their employment for the benefit of the nation, whenever its exigencies demanded them. In his judgement that exigency had arrived; and his recommendation was disregarded, and the loan is not yet taken. These views of the President were not new—in his message to congress at the extra session in June, 1841, he said, "among such a distribution of the proceeds of the sales of the public lands, provided such a distribution does not force upon congress the necessity of imposing upon commerce heavier burdens than those contemplated by the act of 1833, would act as an efficient remedial measure, by being brought directly in aid of the states."—These sentiments were expressed to a new congress, in which there was a known majority in favor of a distribution, and at a time when a collision had taken place between the President and that majority.—The doctrines and principles of that message met with universal favor from the whig press, and no exception was at that time taken to the passage above quoted. The act of September, 1841, for the distribution of the proceeds of the land sales was passed, and embodied the identical principle thus stated by the President.

Notwithstanding congress was thus distinctly apprised of the views of the President, which they have sanctioned and adopted, and of his determination to adhere to them, that body passed two bills in succession, in direct conflict with the principles which it had thus solemnly recognized. The last of these bills bore conclusive evidence on its face that the contingency contemplated by the compromise act of September, 1841, had arrived, that rates of duties exceeding twenty per cent. had become necessary for an economical administration of the gov-