



The Tarborough Press,

BY GEORGE HOWARD.

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Letters addressed to the Editor must be post paid or they may not be attended to.



COFFIELD KING,
MERCHANT TAILOR,

RESPECTFULLY informs his friends and the public generally, that he has received his

Fall and Winter GOODS,

Consisting of superfine blue and black Cloths, Invisible green and brown do.

Striped and corded Cassimeres of various colors, Plain black and figured Vestings,

do black and figured Velvets, Plain and figured Valenciennes,

do do Marseilles, Plain black and fancy Stockings, Umbrellas,

Bosoms, Collars, Gloves, Suspenders, &c

All of which he will sell low for Cash, or on a short credit to punctual customers.

He trusts by due attention to business, and his long experience therein, to give due satisfaction to those who may favor him with their orders.

He also will keep constantly on hand an assortment of

Ready made Clothing,

Tarboro', Nov. 5 h, 1838.

H. Johnston,

BEGS leave to inform his customers and the public, that he has

Received his Fall Supply of GOODS,

Of all the most Fashionable Articles, Suitable for Gentlemen's wear.

SUCH AS Superfine Cloths, Cassimeres & Vestings, Beaver cloth and Lion skin, for overcoats, Comblet for cloaks.

Stocks, Collars, Bosoms, and black silk Cravats, Suspenders, of superior quality.

He also has a few

Fine black beaver Hats,

Of the latest fashion. Gentlemen wishing to purchase Goods in his line, will do well to call and examine before they purchase, as he is determined to sell low for Cash, or on a short credit to punctual customers.

Tarboro', Nov. 15th, 1838.

At the cheap Cash Store.

JAMES WEDDELL,
HAS now on hand a large and general assortment of

Groceries, Hardware, cutlery,



China, Glass and Earthenware, Cotton Bagging Rope, Twine, &c &c

Which he offers cheap for Cash, country produce, or on a short credit to punctual men.

Nov. 24th, 1838.

Turner & Hughes's NORTH CAROLINA ALMANAC,

FOR 1839, For sale at this Office at the Raleigh prices, viz: 10 cents single, 75 cents per dozen, \$3 50 for half a gross, and \$6 per gross. Nov 1838. Printing neatly executed, AT THIS OFFICE.

POLITICAL.

From the Raleigh Standard.

ADDRESS

Of the Democratic Republican members of the General Assembly of North Carolina.

TO THE FREEMEN OF NORTH CAROLINA: (continued.)

The Governor having seen fit, to charge upon the democratic party hostility to the banks, and to hail his re-election as a decision of the people in their favor—we avail ourselves of the occasion to repel the charge, and to place our friends in their true attitude in regard to the matter. That they deprecate that bank mania which seeks to combine the moneyed power of the country, in the hands of these corporations, with the view of controlling its business operations, by furthering the views of the speculator, and of mingling in the politics of the day—is a truth we are free to admit. But that there exist any wish on the part of our political friends, to interfere with these institutions in the legitimate exercise of any of their rights—we utterly deny. The President has found himself called upon to meet a similar charge, and to deny any hostility of the kind, "neither official or personal." He says—"though always opposed to their creation, in the form of exclusive privileges, and as a State magistrate, aiming by appropriate legislation, to secure the community against the consequences of their occasional mismanagement, I have yet ever wished to see them protected in the exercise of rights conferred by law, and have never doubted their utility, when properly managed, in promoting the interest of trade, and through that channel, the other interests of the community."—"To this sentiment we feel prepared to subscribe, and doubt not, the democratic party will hold themselves bound to sustain the banks, so long as they shall act in good faith, in preserving that principle which should exist between them and the citizen—the conferring of mutual benefits." This charge of hostility is repelled by the fact stated by the Governor himself—that during the term of the suspension of specie payments—"demands were seldom made and of very inconsiderable amounts." In addition to this, we have it from good authority, that within six months next after the resumption, the amount of specie in each of our principal banks had not been reduced ten thousand dollars. But if the Governor means to charge upon the democratic party hostility to a National Bank, as evidence of a general hostility to all banks—we plead guilty to the charge, and avow the most uncompromising opposition to such an institution, now and forever. The establishment of the first bank of the United States, was in opposition to the opinion of those who afterwards became distinguished as the republican party. The renewal of its charter was opposed by the same party, and rejected by the casting vote of the Vice President, George Clinton; a republican and patriot of the revolution. The establishment of the second bank, grew out of the embarrassments of the times, and proved itself one of the most dangerous quicksands which the republican party has ever had to encounter. The renewal of its charter after a party war of unparalleled severity, was defeated through the moral firmness of Andrew Jackson, and the confidence of the people in his integrity and patriotism. That the federal or "whig" party desire the re-establishment of a similar institution, with a still greater capital, is beyond doubt. This is the true issue, now pending between the two great political parties—an United States Bank, or the separation of the government from all banks. The great leader of the "whig" party has openly avowed it, and his followers, whilst they affect to talk of State institutions, uniformly declare preference for an United States Bank. Whatever doubts may have existed in the minds of some, as to the right of Congress to establish such an institution, resting as it does on a constructive, and not an express grant of power; or whatever some may have thought, as to the necessity of some institution of the kind, to aid the government in its financial transactions; it is now obvious, the question involves considerations of a different character. The disclosures connected with the transactions of the late bank of the United States; its undisguised favoritism in its management; its resort to means in the purchase of opinions in its favor; its heavy loans to members of Congress—more than a million and a half to 265 members—and that too pending its application for the renewal of its charter—increasing the zeal of its partisans—changing enemies into friends; or neutralizing those who had been open against it; its denunciation and resistance to those who had been elected by the people to administer the government; and its direct attempt through the press and otherwise, to control the politics of the country; added to the

refusal to have its affairs investigated, and the shameful manner in which it set the public will at defiance in closing its concerns—are facts too well established, and too astounding, not to excite the just fears of every citizen, anxious for the preservation of the free institutions of his country. If the freemen of North Carolina, with their sound sense and economical habits, with these facts still fresh in their memories, are called on to decide between such another institution and an Independent Treasury—we fear not the result. That such is the true question, we honestly believe, and such our opponents would readily admit, did they not fear your decision. Mark what we say—Those who are loudest with their denunciations of an Independent Treasury on their lips, are the most decided for an United States Bank, at their hearts. Under this belief, we freely submit to you, to say—Whether the character of our government, and the liberties of the country, are most likely to be placed in peril, by the establishment of another Federal Bank, or the separation of the government from all banks, by means of an Independent Treasury.

3. The Public Lands.—This is a subject not free from difficulty, and one upon which men may, and honestly do differ, without any regard to their politics. The waste lands within the United States, was one of the most difficult matters for arrangement, that existed at the formation of our government. It was only by agreeing to waive it, and leave the matter open for future settlement, that the articles of confederation were acceded to, by the old thirteen United States. The principle, as originally established, was that the waste lands of the West should be the common property of the United States. These lands were ceded by the States, and became vested in the United States, on the express condition that they should be held and disposed of for the common benefit of each State, according to their respective proportions in the "general charge and expenditure." Under this compact, the public lands have been sold, and pledged to the payment of the public debt, thereby discharging the obligation of each State to contribute to the support of government. The sale of these lands, have not until within the past five years, more than reimbursed the public treasury, for sums expended, in the extinguishment of Indian titles—the purchase of Louisiana and Florida, and the expenses attending their survey and sale. The whole quantity ceded to the United States and Territories, are estimated within a fraction of three hundred and twenty million of acres. Of this quantity upwards of seventy-seven million were sold up to the 30th of September last. There has been granted by Congress from time to time, large quantities, under compacts made with the new States, in freeing the public lands from taxation, as well as for common schools, roads and canals, and other objects. These grants have been claimed, not only in lieu of taxes, but as contributing to enhance the value of the residue. The grants for roads and canals have usually been every alternate section, thereby greatly enhancing the value of the balance. But so far as to granting the public domain to the new States for any purposes, much less as a mere gratuity, however great their claims as pioneers and first settlers of a new country, we think Congress has been sufficiently liberal, and ought to stop. As to the 230 million of acres, which still remain—how, and in what manner that shall be disposed of, involves questions of the gravest import. For the old States to receive the lands, and undertake themselves to bring them into market, waiving any question as to the terms of cession, would not only break up the system which has been in operation for forty years, but would introduce endless confusion and litigation, and possibly end in revolution. It is no doubt better, that the public lands should remain with Congress. But whether there should be a division of the "proceeds arising from their sale"—as the resolution of the Legislature affirms, is a matter not free from difficulty. If, as the Secretary of the Treasury supposes—"by the gradual reduction in the tariff, which is in progress under the existing laws, the receipts from customs, which now average 16 or 17 million, will, by 1842, be so far diminished, as not to exceed 10 or 12 million"—it certainly would be a good reason for Southern men for not taking away the proceeds of the public lands, if by so doing, an increase of the tariff was thereby rendered indispensable. But might not some of the present authorized drafts on the public treasury be lopped off, without detriment to the public service? One thing seems now to be admitted, had Mr. Clay's bill for the division of the proceeds of the public lands passed into a law, and which was vetoed by Gen. Jackson, there would have been no deposit of the 28 million amongst the States, and besides seriously embarrassing the national treasury. It shows the danger of making this a party question, against which our friends have all along protested;

and on this score, we strongly objected to having this subject connected with those political resolutions, instead of having the matter placed on ground that might have obtained an united vote. One thing we think manifest, that it becomes Congress to arrange the matter of the public lands, and that at the earliest period. Every new Congress is but increasing the difficulty, and preventing justice being done to the old States, in the increasing strength of the new. It might be politic to apply the proceeds of the sales to the extinguishment of the amount deposited with the States, thereby discharging a debt which now exists, and which at the same time would remove the objection of embarrassing the treasury. We certainly are unwilling to see the public domain granted away otherwise, than as shall inure to the joint advantage of all the States, whose common property it is.

4. The Expenditures of the present Administration.—We unite with the supporters of this resolution in protesting against the "wasteful extravagance and profligate expenditure of the public money"—as creating not only—"a demand for heavy taxation"—but as tending—"to the corruption of public morals and the degradation of the national character." But we deny, most emphatically, that "the present administration" is justly liable to this charge. Where is the proof? Not surely the mere resolve of a clamorous opposition, who have never yet been chargeable with either economy or reform. Are we referred to the amount paid out from the public treasury within the past two or three years, as exceeding several millions that of any previous years, since the war. This may be true, and still not establish the charge.—The appropriations made by Congress for the year 1836, exceed the estimates from the departments 14 and a half million of dollars—for the year 1837 near 10 million, and for the year 1838 near 20 millions. In this excess is to be found in the first year, upwards of 800 thousand dollars for pensions—for suppressing hostilities, and other matters connected with the Indians, near ten millions. And in the last year is to be found expended for—"Military services, including fortifications—Indian affairs—Pensions—arming the militia—Florida war—removal of the Cherokees and Creeks—improving rivers and harbors—constructing roads and building armories and arsenals—Nineteen million, four hundred thousand dollars." These items, as is well known, are made under appropriations by Congress, and the greater part of them are of an extra character. They may have been in part necessary, by the Florida war, the removal of the Cherokee Indians—by which we get a new country—and by the threatened disturbance on the Northern frontier. But certainly no candid man will charge the administration with extravagance, because Congress have made improper appropriations, or such as were necessary from the situation of the country. If the supporters of this charge, will shew that the Pension list has been increased, rivers and harbors improved or roads constructed, under the advice of the President, or his immediate friends, then we admit, there would be some ground for the charge. But they know, as well as we do, that these appropriations are forced through Congress, by the vote of the opposition, with the aid of some few supporters of the administration, whose section of the country is to be benefited by them. Besides, in this last heavy expenditure, is more than five million received under French and Neapolitan treaties, and which the government paid over to such of our citizens as were entitled to receive it. Not only the President, but the Secretary of the Treasury, in their last communications to Congress, advise "the limiting appropriations to the wants of the public service, rendered necessary at present by the prospective and rapid reduction of the tariff; which the vigilant jealousy, evidently excited among the people by the occurrences of the last few years, assures us that they expect from their representatives, and will sustain them in the exercise of the most rigid economy." Such is the language of the man to Congress, on whom the supporters of this resolution, charge with the "profligate expenditure of the public money." We may well call upon our opponents to cast the beam out of their own eyes, and then they shall see more clearly, how to cast out the mote of their brothers.

We venture to assert the ordinary expenses of the present administration, have not exceeded those of previous years. That they greatly exceed the expenses of the early administration of the government, is what every man of ordinary intelligence must have expected. The grants of pensions to the remnants of the revolution, their widows and others, exceed the yearly cost of the government for the first ten years of its existence. We now have the expense of a Judiciary for 26 instead of 13 States; an army to guard an inland frontier of 5,000 miles, embracing a million and a half of square miles beyond our original territory; a navy to protect a sea-

coast of 3,000 miles; with a commerce of two millions of tonnage, instead of half a million; with the imports and exports of 300 million in value, instead of 43 million; with 16, instead of 4 millions of people, whose wants must necessarily increase the expenditure of establishments so greatly enlarged. Thus exhibiting a nation increasing in years and wants, but with means amply sufficient to supply all of its demands, without any oppression of its people. Such are some of the facts and views, which we have felt it due to the occasion to lay before you, in answer to the resolutions of censure and of opinion, which our opponents have occupied so much of their time in maturing and passing through the Legislature. We might rest the defence of our course here, but that we feel called upon to re-assert and vindicate the great Right of Instruction—which our opponents have sought, by their resolutions, to impeach and destroy. This right of instruction, is not an engine to be employed in the strifes of a party warfare alone, but it is the channel through which the voice of freemen is to be heard, and by which the grasping aspirations of the political aspirant can be controlled, and bro't into submission to the public will. It is a right which connects itself immediately and directly with the great principle of representative government, and should never be surrendered. It is a right which had been long asserted by the most illustrious statesmen of that country, from which we sprung, the only one, which, at the period of the settlement of America, possessed any thing like rational freedom. It was then held as necessary to control the popular branch of the British Constitution, and for his refusal to respect which, a BULLOCK was rejected from the service of his constituents. It was known to exist, and was practically asserted in the first formation of our own government. It was a right, recognized by a JEFFERSON and a MACON, names which will ever be held dear by every friend to the rights of the people. It is a privilege, not only secured in the Bill of Rights prefixed to our Constitution, but the very term is there employed as a command to the representatives of the people. It not only enables the people to make known their wishes, but to enforce them, by a positive command. To this end our State is divided into Counties, and these again allotted into Congressional Districts. Here the people can assemble and instruct. But the States, as sovereign communities, are alone represented as such, in the United States Senate, by their Senators. These are not only elected by the Legislatures of the several States, but it is through that channel for all practical purposes, that they are to be reached by the people. The mode of asserting this right, as well as the terms employed to carry it into effect, have been long understood and practiced in this State. Before the last session of the Legislature, the usual language resorted to, was—"that our Senators be instructed and our Representatives requested." To the people properly belong the duty of addressing their Representatives in Congress, as well as their members to the State Legislature. But it is through the Legislature that the public will is brought to bear upon our Senators.—It is admitted that each member of the Legislature, before voting for resolutions of instruction, should be well satisfied he represents truly the sentiments of his constituents. But however that may be, it is a matter between him and them, with which the Senator has nothing to do. Hence the necessity, whenever the Legislature shall undertake to exercise the right of instruction, of doing so, in plain, express, and unequivocal terms. It should not be the language of opinion, but of command. This is necessary, not only in assertion of the right, but as avoiding any room for doubt or equivocation, on the part of the Senator. It is alike unbecoming and undignified, for a legislative body to enter into an altercation, with any of their public servants. To avoid this, whenever they undertake to address them, the object should be direct, the end palpable, and the command positive. If the Legislature shall content themselves with a simple expression of an opinion, the Senator may say—"I respect your opinion for what it is worth; but, as you have not assumed the responsibility of instructing me, in what I am to do, I feel authorized to examine into the truth of the matter, to look into the political complexion of your body, and see how far you truly reflect the wishes of a majority of our common constituents."—Hence the importance in making up the record, of using those terms which have been sanctioned by time, and practiced by those who have gone before us. That many of our political friends think the simple expression of an opinion, by the constituent, is obligatory on the representative, is no reason why the Legislature, when they resort to the exercise of the right, should not do it in a way to be respected by all. It is right and proper, that it should be so, otherwise one party gains an advantage to-day, which they are unwilling to surrender to-morrow.