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SPEECH OF MR. S. RANGE OF N. C. IN THE SENATE OF THE C. STATES.

(Continued.) Our whole system of Government is based upon principles of equanty, and the scapranciples have always been more or less violated in its administration. But the substitute proposes a violation even greater than has yet been practised. Even the United States Bank might locate a branch in any State desiring it; and under the deposite law of 1896, the Secretary of the Treasury was not restricted to any State for the choice of banks, nor to any given number of banks in any one State. But we have, by the provisions of the substitute, the system of equality completely subverted, and the power of the large States magnified, and that of the small ones diminished. In the first place, the banks are limited to twenty-five, so that one State of the Union must of necessity be excluded from any participation in the real or imaginary benefits of this arrangement, and only twenty-five banks out of the hundreds in the Umon are allowed to share it. Tims will be a pet bank system with a vengeance. And what is worse, the selection of these banks is to be committed in part to Congress, where the large States, in one branch at least, have a most decided advantage. True, is the princisle of equality assignmer overlooked in this in usure. But there is another clause of the Constitution standing in the way of the adoption of the substitute, (for it runs counter to a whole phalanx of constitutional provisions,) and that is a portion of the 2d claus 2d section of the 2d article; "he, [the Pandent,] snah nominate, and by and we at the covere and consent of the Senate, such appoint, ambassadors, other public : - a mi co sais, p. lges of the Supres Ca , and are the once a of the Links and Mr. Am, warring the question rised by my colleague, who men experations are competent to be chosen

officers of the Government, (and I do not

say that the objection is not a valid one.)

it seems to me evident, from this clause of

the Constitution, that whether the officer

with the consent of the Senate, or by the

Preside at alone, or the heads of Departs

ments, if they shall be vested by law with

that power. And yet the substitute pro-

and its manifest policy.

attempt would be made to establish it as pudiated itthe regular medium of receipt for the pubof the world. When they are sities of the Government, had accured to peets, because he will suspect.

money which is not money, Government monopoly, the losses by frauds and misgives currency to a falsehood, and unset- management up to 1819, and the contintles the sound foundations of public opin- gent fund for promoting the spread of bank ces to which a falsehood may lead, which which claim the merit of antiquity, and he has once labelled as truth. The notes look down upon that as a novely, which, of a bank are no more money than the beginning with the history of mankind, notes of individuals; and the Government has existed in its native simplicity to this can, by its action, make one pass as money day. as well as the other. And why should they not? Why should favored assectaworth and ability may be more distinctly through the searcity of those articles .upon which our matitutions are based? 'If Senator from Massachusetts who last adcally, were a legitimate object of the action of this Government, it would cereate ly be much better accomplished by its endorsing the notes of the poor and needs but worthy and struggling, citizen, true those of these weathy corporations.

But the system proposed by the sathe Constitution. In the first place, it ency unknown to the Constitution, and ainto the texture of the Government a fourth estate, never designed by its framers to enter into it. It in effect declares that our ignorant forefathers knew nothing of man heart, or had overlooked the only did not see the beauties of that bank maposes that banks shall be selected as fiscal be secured against the fingers of the pul-

from Massachusetts, [Mr. Websier,] on and turn one hundred years since, is a period book, and must pour back into it at its elib. other occasion, that the Government ought antiquity, and stands protected by hone from this occasi all that we would want o. Is to pay, or even offer to pay, its cred- experience. The first bank which we for the purposes of our Tressury, would the state sound, unnorm medium, so that hear of the the history of the world was be but as a bucket-full from the waters of the actual amount paid to each creditor that of Venice, established in 115., A.D.; the Potomac. should be equal to the nominal amount the next was that of Genoa, in 1345, near the is next urged against the Independdue him. In this I heartily concur; and two hundred years after; the next was that ent Treasury that it is in fact a Governtherefore think the commanding the receipt of Amsterdam, in 1609; and then that of ment bank. "If this were so, it were a a medium, highly improper. Money is the about twenty years afterwards we followed at once abandon it. But assertion is not only medium in which the law should au- by the Bank of France, to wit : in 1716. proof, and after all the ingenious efforts of especially public debts; and it is an abuse on the theatre of the world, but not least they have, as I think, signally failed. The of terms to call bank notes money. They for their wars and robberies. Commerce most plausible of all the untenable arguwant the main characteristic of money, has enriched them, but it has been a com- ments to which they have resorted to supand have, by looseness of conversation as merce conducted in fraud and enforced in port this charge is, that the bill authorwell as of ideas, assumed the name of that blood. I will not go back to Venice & Ge- izes a transfer, by draft if necessary, of for which they only stood as a substitute. noa, but take England, and the groans of the funds of the Government from one part From England, from whom we have bor- oppressed India speak for her. The riv- of the country to another; and this they rowed the paper system, we have also bor- ers of blood which have deluged that un- say constitutes a bank. If this be so, then rowed this rice of expression, which con- happy land, cry out for vengeance upon her almost every man in the country is not an individual is inquey. It is of the natitions, who subsist only on commerce. The transfer money which he may have in one ture of money, whon paid to discharge al- first bank in France was a part of Mr. part of the country where he does not together the previously existing debt, and Law's famous bubble, for the payment of want it, to another where he does. But to vest without more the property purchas- the national debt, and a very similar ori- this objection of a Government bank comes he is scarcely conscious. ed in one person, and the money paid for gin is found for that of England. From with peculiarly ill grace from the opposiit in another. But the payment of a bank their unlucky explosions, the alchemists tion; for however we may beat around the note merely changes the debtor, and sub- learnt lessons by which they profited in fu- subject, the sting of a government bank statutes the bank as a debtor to the holder ture experiments. But no bank became lies at last in its power to furnish a circuof all note, in lieu of him from whom he the fiscal agent of the Government, until lating medium to make loans and pay divtogethed it. It is still but what the law- the Bank of England became so in the idends. These are the levers by which atticles which had an intrinsic value, and Government in pecuniary difficulty, and a system of institutions connected with the

Senator from Kentucky, [Mr. Clay,] that came into existence. Government necesthe Government makes money of whatever sities were great, and bonus, loans, and ernment does, by affixing its stamp of ap- obtained for the banks the authority to probation, cause to pass as money what is make these disguised exactions from the not so in truth. And does not this con- people. Yet gentlemen say that banking sideration of itself, so far from furnishing is not profitable, and refer to the small a reason why Government should hx its dividends of the United States Bank .ion; and no man can see the consequent principles. These are the institutions

Again, it is argued that the collection and disbursement of the revenue in gold tions be taken under the fostering care of and silver are altogether impracticable, the Government, and individuals, we use without creating great public distress known, discarded from it ! Is this in keep. And here I will frankly contess, that when ing with the great principles of equality | hest began to consider this subject, I was apprehensive that the adoption of the La assistance to the poor, in whose behalf the dependent Treasury system would materi thy affect the price of property, reducing dressed you [Mr. Davis] spoke so patheti- it to a distressingly low value; and that has been, in my view, the only infavorable circumstance connected with it. But long or observation and deeper reflection that dissipated that tear, and I now teel confi ... if that the depression in the value of property, produced by the present reaction. is lar greater than that which would be into is a radical change in the whole action more permanently produced by any probaof our Government from that proposed by ble check given to the paper system by this or any other in asure within the reach of legislates into perpetual existence a cur- Congress, or, indeed, by the total suppression of bank paper. I will call your at garast which many of its own provisions tention to a report furnished by the Secreare directed. In the next, it introduces tary of the Treasury at the present session showing the balances in the Treasury a the end of each year, by which it is, in my judgment, manifest that five millions of follars are enough for the Treasury circube an individual or corporation, he can the dire corruption which pervades the his lation; and with the reduction in the fereaue, which I hope to see take place means of providing against it. That they three millions will be amply sufficient .-Mr. G dlatin computed the precious met chinery by which the public treasure might | ds in the world (in 1819 I think it was) at between four and five thousand millions agents of the Government by Congress, lerer, and neglected to provide it. And it the annual increase to be equal to about lous omession. If all this is true, shall we bring it up to between five and six thou-Whether receiving paper in payment or suffer that sacred instrument to be thus in- sand millions. Of this about two thouthe public dues, be a direct violation of terpolated without a regular process of a- sand five hundred millions exists in coin. the Constitution, as insisted by the Sena- mendagent-that the legislature shall thus But our calculations are not to be circumtor from South Carolina, [Mr. Calhoun, or altar what was framed for the express p.ir. serined within the two thousand five hunmi, it ought, at any rate, to receive no pose of circumscribing its own action !- dred millions, the whole amount of the five startion from Congress; because, in the Surely not. But it is not true that the free or six thousand millions belonging to the first place, if not accountly prohibited by the mers of the Constitution were ignorant of great family of the nations, for that pur-Constitution, it is evident it would have this bank agency, but it seems had it dis lose for which the God of nature seems been done had its framers foreseen that an timetly before them, and deliberately re- especially to have provided them; and whenever the coin is found d ferent, the But, notwithstanding all this, the Oppo- bullion existing in other forms will, by an he does. We find whole masses of the sition calls the Independent Tressury a presistable law, come as offerings to the Constitution directed by them against the norelty -an experiment. That is to say, alter of public convenience, whether it is paper sestem, and we well know that it that the only plan known for the first 5,000 found in the embellishments of modern was a thing of which bitter experience had years of the existence of the world, is a life, or the curious rases dog from the rutande them heartify sick; that they were, movelty, although it has been, with very just of antiquity. The circulating medium in the memorable language of a gentleman few exceptions, continued ever since; - of the world may be compared to a vast oon the other side, hard money men. In the while that which was never heard of un- cean, of which the peculiar portion of second place, no prodent person ought to til about seven hundred years ago, and did each nation is connected with it, like a receive what he cannot with propriety pay not receive any thing like the form in hav or arm of the sea. Each is affect d out; and it was well urged by the Senator which it is now urged until a little mor by its tides; receives of its fullness of its

transferred, the debt before existing is ex- | it a larger privilege of plundering the cit- | It is further objected to the Independ-1 the Senator from Massachusetts, (Mr. Webtinguished, and no new one is created .- izens-of covertly taxing them to reim- ent Treasury, that it increases Executive ster,) delivered at the last session of Con-They are the arbiter and finisher of all burse herself. Upon the same principle it patronage. We have heard a great deal of transactions. But it is insisted by the was that our U. S. Banks of 1791 and 1816 humbugs upon this floor; but of all the humbugs which have ever come under my observation, this is the merest. Already, it receives as Such. I agree that the Gov. other accommodations to the Government the offices holden at the will of the executive exceed ten thousand, and our fears are suddenly appealed to upon the addition of twenty. Public liberty is perfectly safe with a corps of ten thousand office holders. but ten thousand and twenty threaten its stamp upon bank notes, operate directly They leave out of the calculation the a- immediate annihilation. Sir, I say ogain, the other way ! In declaring that to be mounts paid to the Government for their as I have said before, that under our institutions, an open and acknowledged patronage is a principle of weakness, rather than of power, to him who wields it. I feel it in my own humble sphere. My stuation here entitles my opinious to some little respect in the appointment of officers in my own State, and I am, of course, ochave gained. Such, in a much larger who re, is the situation of the President. fice while professing attachment to the Administration, afterwards becoming its opponents, than of opposition being won over by appointment to attachment and advodisguised putronage, is not true of that se-

> wife will be reduced to beggary, and the view, pages 33 and 34: prospects of my little one forever blighted. counter it." So would reason, under these most secret and retired places; and every man feels hunself drawn on this side, and

had been recently reading the speech of into the field,"

modestly to put in my dissent to this opinion of my fellow-traveller, but to no effect; and as the argument grew warmer, he finally brought the weighty authority of the Senator from Massachusetts to bear upon me, and declared that that gentleman was unrivalled in his knowledge of constitutional law, and that any man who would read the speech of the Senator, would come to the conclusion that the word currency was in the Constitution; and yet I admit that the honorable Senator from Massachusetts did not say that the word currency casionally applied to on that ground by Congress over the currency, and the oblithose who desire them. In the discharge gation to regulate it, from the third clause of my legislative duties, my constituents of the eighth section of the first article, ulation, his conclusion will not follow; affecting theme. cret and complicated influence which may for the necessity does not exist, upon which But another great evil of the paper syshis superstructure rests; and, of course, tem is, that it causes the producers of the

Mr. Locke, one of the most profound writers in the English language, has said : gress, insisted that it was. I ventured " It is the interest of every country that the standard of its money, once settled, should inviolably and immutably be kept to perpetuity; for whomever that is altered, from what pretence soever, the public will lose by it. Men, in their bargains, contract not for denominations or sounds, but for intrinsic value." I know that Mr. Locke is here speaking of an alteration by read his speech must be satisfied that it the arbitrary action of the Government. was there. I was forced to admit, as I do But the consequences of alteration will now, that any man who was not himself follow as certainly, by whatever power it acquainted with the Constitution, & would may be brought about. But if the Government adopts the paper system, the principle of fluctuation will be incorporated in the money of the country by the Government itself, and the alteration of its standard will be the act of the Government. was there. He derives the authority of One of the most serious evils of this fluctuation is the sudden change it produces in the condition of men. The paper system, in addition to its tendency to fluctuand I understand each other perfectly; which declares that Congress shall have ation, increases this latter evil also by the they know what course I am likely to take power " to regulate commerce with foreign encouragement it gives to speculation, and upon any great measure, and there is no nations and among the several States," &c: by the joint operation of these two causes disappointment. But in the exercise of and this, he says, coupled with the seven- men are continually rising suddenly from he little influence I possess in the distri- teenth clause of the same section and arti- poverty to wealth and sinking from wealth, bution of offices it is different. For one cle, gives to congress the power to create to poverty. Mutability is one of the worst whom I have it in my power to gratify, I and regulate the means of commerce. I features in human destiny, and is always am forced to disappoint ten; and I am did understand the Senator, at the last ses- reckoned among the chief ills of life. Men more fortunate than I expect to be if those sion, to insist that the words regulate and become accustomed to any state or condiwhom I cannot oblige do not impute my create often meant the same thing; and, if tion, and fitted to avail themselves of its not doing so, some to ingratitude, some to my memory serves me, he offered some ex- enjoyments, whatever they may be, and to want of a due sense of their ments, some amples to prove it. But, sir, if the mean- bear the nils attendant upon it. A graduwish to accomplish objects of my own, lings of words are to be thus confounded, al improvement of a man's condition is and others to a want of that influence it seems to me that language loses all its healthful both to the soul and body, and a which a more able man in my place would utility, and words cease to be as they were gradual deterioration may be borne with command. In eith r view I have made a designed—the vehicles of ideas. "God philosophical composure, and without any had bargain, and have lost much more than created the heavens and the earth," and very perceptible loss of comfort. But any his right to regulate them, grows out of his sudden revulsion either way is attended creative power. But yet the two rights or always with many painful incidents. Even But that is not all; his appointments, when powers are altogether distinct. One of where the change, humanly speaking, is made do not always add strength to his them he has transferred, to some extent, for the better, it is seldom attended with administration. So far as my experience to man, and given him dominion over the real happiness. The heir of poverty, who goes, the mass of applicants for office are fish of the sea, and over the fowls of the is suddenly advanced in fortune, has rarefrom the ranks of the Opposition; and air, and over every living thing that creep- ly any of those qualifications which fit him heir feelings of opposition, though tempo. eth upon the earth." But his creative for its enjoyment. He is removed from rarily smothered, are seldom appeased, but power is uncommunicated, and perhaps in- the circles and associations which were are certain to show themselves on the first communicable. But relieving the Senator, wont to engage his affections, and thrown occasion of trial; and the instances are far from any verbal criticisms, and even grant- into others with which his heart knows no more numerous of those who received of ling him his premises, namely, that Con- sympathy. But who, can paint the misegress, under the Constitution, has power to ry of him who, reared to better hopes, has regulate commerce, and, under the seven- lived under sunny skies and amid bright teenth clause of the eighth section of the prospects, and suddenly finds himself overfirst article, to furnish such medium of whelmed with pecuniary ruin? Time will cacy. But what is true of open and un- commerce as may be necessary for its reg- not allow us to follow out this fruitful and

the objects of the Administration and of that superstructure must fall to the ground, country to sell at specie prices, and buy the banks become identified. Agents of The best medium on earth for commerce at paper prices, or in other words to buy this influence start up, like Rhoderick is already provided, and there is no neces- at prices, regulated by an inflated curren-Dau's men, from behind every bush, and sity for another. But if this matter could cy, and sell at those which are regulated their appeals can be addressed in the most be reduced to a mere question of commer- by a stable currency. Gentlemen affect subtle, and yet, in appearance, most inno- cial expediency, I deny that Congress not to see the force of this argument, and cut forms. Take a single instance. A ought to connect her fiscal affairs with ask whether the planters do sell their promember of this, or one of the State Legis. the local banks. Who applies the scourge duce in one country, and buy their artilatures, is debtor to a bank, and a meas- to the flying courser? And such would be cles of consumption in another? I answer are of great importance is pending before the effect of Government continuing the yes. The price of every article produced the legislative body-those most conver- stimulus of her deposites, and receipt of in this country, and which usually goes to sant in bank affirs choose to suppose that bank paper, with the local institutions, a foreign market, is here regulated by the t will in some way materially affect bank. But I know it will be said she is invited price in the foreign market. The paper ing interests, and the general conversation to apply the rein, and not the scourge. currency of a country does not form a porupon the subject inculcates that belief. A Sir, this is a ruinous fallacy. It is, in fact, tion of that great ocean to which I had refbank officer has occasion to write to his an invitation to place both the scourge erence in a former part of my remarks; member merely to inform nim that on such and the rein in irresponsible hands, and but is, as it were, an isolated lake which a day his note will be due; but, as he has with the power to use them with the wild- has no outlet by which it may mingle ithis pen in his hand, he adds: "The est discretion, or, rather, without any dis- self with those vast waters. You may measure now under consideration in your cretion at all. And a scourge it would pour into it until it will overflow and inunhody, if it becomes a law, will, it is prove to the whole country. The Inde- date the country in which it is situated, thought, create a necessity for the banks, pendent Treasury system proposes nothing and thus involve it in ruin; but it leaves to curtuil their issues, and the debtors will, more than to withdraw the stimulus which the great ocean without unaffected by its of course, be required to pay up their notes the Government has heretofore given to a swell. It raises prices at home but affects of full." Now, there is nothing wrong in system she has neither the right nor the them not in other markets. However aall this; but what is the effect upon the power to control, and leave it to the ac- budant, therefore, money so called may be receipt of the letter? A perfect natural tion of those laws founded on the eternal at home, the exporter can afford to give one. He sthoughts take a new direction, principles of truth and nature, and by the farmer no more than the price in the "It is true," he says to himself, "I had which it will certainly, in the end, be foreign market will warrant, leaving him intended to have voted for this measure, properly guided. But the soundest prin- his reasonable expenses and profit besides. by revenue officers in payment of public Hamburg, in 1619. The famous Bank or grievous fault," and many of its present and supposed it a beneficial one; but in ciples of Government are at war with any But it is not so with the articles he imports: dues of what cannot be considered as such England had no existence until 1694, and friends, could they be so persuaded, would that I may be mistaken; and if it is to affeet the banks as stated in this letter, the tuation is one of the most prominent char- the influence of the swollen circulation, consequences to myself are appalling. I acters of that system; in proof of which, if and bring correspondent prices, and at thorize or compel the receipt of debis, and These places have all been conspicuous up- the Opposition to make good this charge, am not able to pay up this note, without any is required, I will read an extract from those prices the consumer must purchase. the sacrifice of all that I possess. My the last April number of the Edinburg Re- But it will be said that England, the principal country with whom we trade, is "There might, indeed, and most proba- a paper country, and therefore we lose The hazard is too great: I cannot en- bly would be, commercial revulsions, and nothing by our paper system in our a fall of the exchange, even though the intercourse with her. Sir, a man loses circumstances, a man who had not the in- currency were wholly metallic, or fluctua- all by any circumstance, that, but for tegrity of Aristides, with the firmness of ted exactly as a metalic currency would that circumstance, we would have made. Socrates. Sir, we all feel this bank influ- do; but there is not the slightest reason Although England is a paper country, yet, ence pervading the very atmosphere we for supposing that they would be either if we were exclusively a metallic country, founds things essentially different. Bank lust of gold. Plunder by force or strata- only a banker, but a bank. For who is breathe. The filaments of its attraction half so frequent or severe, as under the we should make more by our intercourse notes are no more money than the note of gem is the real sustenance of those nathere who may not, by bill of exchange, insinuate themselves every where, into the existing system. A mixed currency, or a with her. And why should we, because currency of coin and paper, supplied like she chooses to main herself by her paper that of England, is exposed to fluctuations system, follow her example? The whole upon that, by some subtle power of which in its amount, and capacity of transacting business of life is a struggle between nabusiness, ten times greater than any that mons and individuals for their respectivo. I now proceed to the consideration of could attach to a purely metalic currency, portions of the goods of fortune; and why the subject as connected with commerce or to a mixed currency fluctuating accor- should any wise man, who is embarking in and political economy. I am not induced ding to the demand for bullion. If the any strife, disable houself because his adto take this view from any belief of my currency consisted wholly of gold, if no versary has had the folly to do so. I am own, that it is pertinent to the present in- additional supplies of paper could be ob- certain, sir, that to do justice to this arguvestigation; but our friends on the other tained except upon the deposite of an e- ment it should be more elaborate, but I yer call a chose in action. In ancient reign of Queen Anne, whose expensive public opinion is to be moved, and all these side have obtruded it upon us, and by quivalent amount of gold, no general rise must leave it with the few hints I have the substitute in effect proposes to give to pressing it themselves in debate, have of prices could take place, except when thrown out, which I trust will be undermade it necessary for us to meet them up there was an influx of the precious metals; stood by any intelligent mind. And yet the transactions were rather barters than compelled her to apply to the bank for as- Government, while, whatever may be said on that ground. I insist, as I did at the and these, as every one knows, cannot be the paper system is applauded to the skies, sales, in the modern meaning of that term. sistance. In consideration of that assistance as the wing upon which England has soar-In later times, gold and silver were found tance, the bank was secured in a monopo- wants them all, and no human ingenuity in his opinion of the obligations of this more considerable degree than in others. ed to her present prosperous height. Sir, to possess all the requisites of a common ly with a doubled capital. The equivolent can lay its finger on the clause of the bill Government, in relation to the currency. But when individuals or associations are England has thriven in spite of her paper standard of value in a higher degree than she paid was an advance to the Govern- in which either of them lies. If gentle- I deny that the Government is bound to allowed to issue notes, or paper fitted to system, and not by reason of it; and the an thing else. They combined intrinsic ment of £100,000 in cash, the cancelling ment of regulate any other currency than serve all the purposes of money, not upon same an wer applies to the panegyries take in a small compass with indestruction of exchanger bills to the amount of £1. appearing on the face of the bill, there is that of gold and silver, nay, I deny its right a deposite of bullion, but merely upon their which has been poured forth upon the won-billy and almost indefinite divisibility, and 775,027, and throwing into circulation 1.7. To reasoning with suspicion. In this rethey have been adopted, by the common 500 000 more of the exchequer bills.— spect it resembles confidence: a man conin the whole Constitution, although a late at some future period, a new and most try. They have, it is said, caused the the Lonsent of all minking, as the entry gener. And thus the hank for relieving the necessition is brought derness to blossom, built un townfed our desert, opened our lands, con-