



AND NORTH-CAROLINA GAZETTE.

FRIDAY, OCTOBER 17, 1823.

VOL. XXIV.

NO. 1256.

PROPOSALS FOR A NEW PAPER, TO BE PUBLISHED TWICE A WEEK.

Office of the Raleigh Register, October 1, 1823.

That a people who are self-governed and self-defended; who have the immediate choice of their Legislators, responsible periodically to their constituents; who have formed their own constitutions, and have the right of amending, changing and even annulling them; who are individually liable to bear arms, and to pay taxes when demanded by the constituted authorities selected by themselves—that such a people ought to be fully and frequently informed on the state of public affairs, of their domestic concerns as well as of their foreign relations, is a self-evident proposition. Letters and laws, languages and theories, are taught in the schools; but it is from the free and general circulation of Newspapers only, that a just knowledge can be acquired of passing events, or a true estimate formed, by observing their conduct, of the merits of public men.

It is now four and twenty years since the establishment of the RALEIGH REGISTER; a term of time comprising one half of the whole period of the Independence of this Nation, and more than two-thirds of the period which has intervened since the adoption of the Constitution of the United States. About the date of the establishment of this paper, and subsequently, several other papers were commenced in this State, where, previously, the circulation of Newspapers was very limited, and pretty much confined to the main post routes. The support of so many papers shews, that a certain value is put upon them by the people, and it is hoped their beneficial influence has corresponded with the support which has been given to them.

In the outset, the establishment of a Newspaper here, was an experiment of doubtful success. It was necessary to begin on a small scale, and limited weekly publication. Indeed, at that time, there was but a small portion of the State to which a Newspaper could be transmitted more frequently, and many Counties which a Newspaper scarcely ever penetrated.

With the lapse of time, the State has undergone a great change. Its resources are gradually developing; education is more and more cultivated; public spirit is consequently enlarged; and North-Carolina is assuming, if slowly yet surely, the rank in the Union to which her relative population, her political disinterestedness, and the private virtues of her citizens, entitle her.

During the same interval, the post-roads have been greatly multiplied, and the transmission of the mail has been accelerated and made more frequent, in every part of the State.

The considerations, as well of a moral as of a physical nature, which we have thus briefly sketched, seem to demand, rather than recommend, (after the example of our sister States,) the establishment of a Journal of more frequent publication than once a week.

Yielding at length to the suggestions which have long impressed upon the mind of the Proprietors of the Register this necessity, the undersigned, Co-partners in the Bookselling and Stationery, as well as Printing Business, have determined to commence the publication of a Newspaper twice a week, on the third Tuesday of November next (the day after the meeting of our General Assembly) on the terms stated below.

The considerations of a general nature, which have led to this determination, have been already stated. To which may be added the following, in detail.

Under the present arrangement, it has too often been a subject of regret, that News, sometimes of great interest to our readers, becomes stale before it can be imparted to them; it reaches them through traditional channels sooner than the Newspaper conveys it to its customary readers, and loses that relish of novelty which makes it acceptable. It frequently happens that we are obliged to compress News within a narrow space which ought to be related more at large; and many things which we are desirous of publishing, for want of room, we are compelled altogether to omit. In Winter, for instance, we shall be enabled, in the proposed semi-weekly Paper, to give a fuller account of the Proceedings of our General Assembly and of the Congress of the Uni-

ted States, and of the Debates in each; and, in the Summer, to find room for interesting matter of a miscellaneous character, which, at present, we are obliged almost wholly to exclude. A greater space is proposed, also, to be allotted to Editorial matter, including intelligence of a purely domestic or internal character. Lastly, but not least, a better vehicle will thus be afforded for Advertisements of every description, and particularly for such as, from the tardiness of a weekly publication, cannot now obtain a sufficient circulation to answer the purposes of advertisers, or those to whom the Advertisements are interesting or important.

To this plan, the undersigned invite the attention and favor of the citizens of this State generally, and particularly of those who now patronize the RALEIGH REGISTER. The undertaking thus announced will be costly and somewhat hazardous; but it will be steadily and perseveringly pursued, with a firm reliance for indemnification on a liberal support from our public-spirited and discerning fellow-citizens.

J. GALES & SON.

TERMS.

The semi-weekly Raleigh Register will commence on the 18th day of November next and be published every Tuesday and Friday throughout the year, at the rate of Five Dollars per annum.

The Register will also continue, as at present, to be published weekly, at Three Dollars per annum. Until the Editors hear from their subscribers, the semi-weekly Paper will be sent to all such as reside in situations where they can receive it twice a week, and to all those who can receive the Paper but once a week, the weekly paper will be continued. Such of their friends as shall be dissatisfied with this course will please to make known their wishes as soon as convenient, and they shall be attended to.

Advertisements not exceeding 15 lines inserted three times for a dollar, and for every succeeding publication 25 cents. Advertisements of greater length in the same proportion.

THE CONVENTION QUESTION.

From the Western Carolinian.

In your paper of the 9th inst. I find the following remarks: "Common Sense! Where is he? We are impatient to see his finale. In it, he has promised to lay siege to the remaining strong hold of Convention, to wit, the proposition of a biennial meeting of the Legislature. This project, as he terms it, is to be stripped of its "gilded trappings," and brought down to the level of common sense. But why is he not at it? Why does he not strip away?"

As you appear very anxious to know the reasons which have produced this delay, I feel willing to gratify you. The incessant firing kept up in your paper on the subject of convention, previous to the second Thursday and Friday in August, added to the usual turmoil of election, produced an extraordinary excitement in the public mind. Under these circumstances, I thought it advisable to suffer the subject to rest for a few weeks, under the hope that this excitement might, in a great degree, subside, and be succeeded by a state of mind better suited to a dispassionate view of the subject. Indeed, sir, I knew not but that your own indefatigable labors "in furtherance of the great cause," might need a little respite.

A great portion of my time for the last six weeks, has been taken up in attending on the sick. I hope, sir, these reasons will satisfactorily account for the delay which has occurred.

You further remark, "That he may rest assured, that it will require a more expert laundress than his writings have hitherto proven him to be to disrobe this project of the friends of convention, and expose its nakedness; for he will find it enclosed with more vestures than was ever the grave digger in Hamlet." Truly alarming! You go on: "But seriously, Common Sense, we shall begin to suspect you have ingloriously slung from the great task you gratuitously took into your hands, unless you soon pursue, or rather finish the subject." Be easy, if you can, sir—you shall have an opportunity of defending this strong hold of convention, which, upon a fair examination, I fear, will be found to exist in weakness. But it seems that "it is already whispered, that honest conviction had but a small share in prompting the essays over the signature of 'Common Sense'; that the author's sole object, and supreme hope did not extend farther than to throw dust in the faces of the people; that while they were snuffing and sneezing in the confusion, he might walk in at the front door of their mansion, and take to himself the most comfortable vacant seat there." It appears, then, sir, that you have had a whisper; and, in the depth of your wisdom, you have thought fit to give it publicity in the columns of your paper. This whisper is utterly destitute of truth, and contains a base, unfounded calumny; and I hope, sir, correct motives may have induced you to publish it. If popularity was my "sole object," the side of convention was best suited to attain the end in view; as on that side of the question I should have glided smoothly along with the current of public opinion. The fact of my attempting to oppose that current is ample evidence, I trust, that popularity was not my object. I have adopted such a course as I believe most conducive to the best interests of my

country; and if I have erred, it was an error of the judgment, and not of the heart; and shall continue to pursue it, the whisper published in your paper notwithstanding.

I shall now, sir, examine the "remaining strong hold" of convention, the biennial meeting of the legislature; which according to your account, is "enclosed with more vestures than was ever the grave-digger in Hamlet." This proposition necessarily involves the destruction of the principle of annual elections, the great safeguard of public liberty, found to exist in the present constitution; and contains an invitation to the freemen of North-Carolina to diminish this right in their own hands, from one to two years; and to increase the duration of power in their legislators for a corresponding period. Under the present constitution, power returns into the hands of the people once in each and every year; under the contemplated change, it will return but once in two years.

The fathers of seventy-six thought it most conducive to civil liberty, that the controul over future legislatures, should be possessed annually by the people, in order, forsooth, if they should abuse their power, the necessary corrective could be applied by the people.—If unwholesome laws, oppressive in their operation, were passed, the people could annually turn out power those who voted for them, and elect others who would repeal them. Under the proposed alteration, or amendment, as it is called, however oppressive the acts of their law-givers might be, the people must bear them for two years, without the power of redress in their own hands.

To what cause are we to ascribe the happy political condition of N. Carolina? I presume it will be conceded that they possess as wholesome a code of laws, enjoy as great a portion of civil and religious liberty, and are as lightly taxed as the citizens of most of our sister States. To what, then, are we to ascribe these blessings? Principally, I presume, under the smiles of beneficent providence, to the principle of annual elections. The temptation to an abuse of power in our rulers cannot be great under the operation of this principle, inasmuch as that abuse cannot be continued against the will of the people longer than one year; and this added to the influence of the 2d Thursday and Friday of August over the deliberations of the Legislature, has preserved the body politic in good health. If disease has at any time seized upon the system, the principle of annual election was adequate to its cure. But change the constitution, increase the duration of power in our rulers, and diminish its control in the hands of the people, and prosperity may mourn the fatal deed.

But are there no other evils expected to result from the change? Under the existing constitution, grievances which admit of legislative redress, can be annually remedied; laws which are found defective, can in the same period be amended or repealed, and new ones enacted if necessary. But alter the constitution as proposed, and grievances which exist, must remain unredressed; laws however oppressive to the people, must continue in force for two years; however salutary to the interests of the public, the enactment of a new law may be, it cannot be effected for the same period.

But how are the people to be compensated for these expected evils? They are, it seems, to be made whole by a great saving of the public money, drawn out of their own pockets, to the amount of 30,000 dollars biennially. A large and tempting sum of money I confess. This I presume is one of the many "vestures" with which this "strong hold is enclosed." Surely the people of N. Carolina love money too well to resist this bold temptation!

But let me ask, is it certain, or even probable, that this great saving of the public money will accrue? The calculation is botched upon the supposition that the legislature will continue no longer in session to do the business of two years than it has done to do the business of one year. In the practical concerns of life, to do more business requires more time; and it is altogether probable that the biennial sessions of the legislature would continue longer than the annual, and of course the expected saving would be diminished. The session might not be twice as long, and a small saving of public money might accrue; but the loss of power in the people, and other evils which would probably follow, would be more than equivalent to the gain; and the saving would be like the Indian's gun, cost more than it would come to.

But it is alleged that too great instability exists in our laws; that the legislature too frequently pass laws at one session and repeal them at the next. What law I ask really calculated to promote the public interest has been passed at one session and repealed at the next? None I presume, can be adduced. That laws at variance with the interest of the people, have been passed at one session and repealed at the next, I admit. Would it be better to continue such laws in existence for two years and let them grind the people? Such would be the practical result of the biennial meeting of the legislature.

I have thus endeavored, sir, to give you a common sense view of your remaining "strong hold" of convention. That some benefits would result from its adoption, is not doubted; but that many evils will also flow, is equally certain. Whether good or evil will predominate, is left to the good sense of the people to determine. But is there no danger that the transcendent powers of this convention may trample down other parts of the constitution than those specified, and thereby endanger civil liberty? The same power that can alter one article, can alter two, three, or a dozen. Is there any security against this danger? The wisdom and virtue of the age is held to be sufficient safety. I wish not to detract from those high attainments of my country. But experience teaches me, that those amiable qualities have their opposites,

ignorance and corruption; and that the best men may, and do often err. Those different ingredients of the human character, will find their way into the convention, and form the materials of its composition. The consequences to the people may be serious. It appears to me to be like risking a large sum of money in a lottery—where the prizes are but few and small, and that we have much to lose, and but little to gain.

COMMON SENSE.

TENNESSEE.

MESSAGE

Of Governor Carroll to the Legislature of Tennessee.

After a few prefatory remarks, the Governor says, amongst the subjects upon which it is probable your body will have to act at the present session, that of the depressed state of our currency has a high claim to our attention.

When our banks suspended the payment of specie in 1819, it was thought by those who then advocated it, to be a measure which the embarrassments of the country at that time required, but no one believed that the suspension ought to, or would continue for any length of time; and as a consequence of such a belief, a law was passed at the session of 1821, requiring that the banks shall commence the redemption of their notes on the first Monday of April next. As that time approaches, an apprehension appears to prevail, that much distress will result from a rigid enforcement of the law, and a solicitude is felt by many, for an extension of the time, when it is to be carried into effect. There being a difference of opinion in relation to this matter among the most enlightened men of the country, I offer that which I have formed, with a deep sense of my liability to err, not doubting, but that the Legislature will give to it all the consideration to which they may think it entitled. It is urged in favor of a repeal of the law, that the banks, to enable them to commence specie payments, will have to make large calls on their debtors, the effects of which will be felt by all classes of society, and that scenes of distress will follow which the country has not heretofore witnessed. This result, I think, is extremely questionable. Is it not probable, that as the banks withdraw their paper from circulation, its place in a great measure will be supplied by a sound currency, circulated by individuals who now keep their money hoarded up, from a want of confidence in the fluctuating state of a paper medium? But, it is further urged in favor of a repeal of the law, that if the banks were to resume the payment of their notes, that the specie would soon be withdrawn from the country, by the payment of debts due to foreign creditors. If the debts of that description are so considerable as to produce such effect, it would be a subject of regret; but can it in justice be prevented? Those debts were contracted in good faith, payable in specie or its equivalent, and it would, as I conceive, be improper, that contracts thus made, should in any way be impaired by a Legislative act. If our gold and silver should thus disappear for a time, exhibiting the melancholy fact that we have traded beyond our means, it will teach us the useful lesson so to regulate our commerce in future as to produce the balance of trade in our favor. If we give to the country a sound currency, and restore confidence in the stability of our laws, there is good reason to hope that this evil will not be extensively felt. The principal part of our foreign debts are owing by solvent men, who feel interested in the welfare of the community, and who will purchase produce to pay their debts, if there is a reasonable hope of making a small profit, in preference to taking away gold and silver. But whatever opinion may be entertained as to the expediency of specie payments, the late decision of the Supreme Court of the State, declaring the endorsement law unconstitutional, makes it peculiarly necessary that something should be done to restore a sound medium as speedily as possible. A very natural consequence which will result from this decision, considering the present rate of exchange, will be the issuing of executions without the endorsement to take Tennessee bank paper. I presume it will not be pretended, that any law ought so far to interpose as to prevent the operation of this judicial decision. No course of legislation can be imagined more ruinous to the interest and liberties of the people, and to our happy form of government, than an attempt to interfere with the honest and independent expression of opinion by the Judicial Department.

With this view of the subject, I cannot but believe that the character and interests of the State require, that the law in question ought not to be repealed. We all acknowledge that a good sound currency must at some time be restored. To produce an event so desirable, the state has a crisis to meet; and are we not as well prepared to meet it now as some twelve or eighteen months hence? No doubt when the regeneration shall take place, that some persons in the community may suffer by it; but the healthy condition of the body politic, which will inevitably follow, will more than compensate for the

injury a few individuals may possibly sustain.

Should you be of opinion, after a full examination of the subject, that the banks ought to redeem their notes as contemplated by law; and should it appear by their reports, that they will be unable to do so—I would recommend the propriety of a law requiring that they shall, upon presentation of some given amount of their notes, or over, pay in specie the proportion which their gold and silver on hand may bear, to the amount of notes they may have in circulation, and give a certificate for the balance, payable at some after period with interest; and that a reasonable time be given to wind up their business in that way which may be the least calculated to injure the community. This plan will do equal justice to the note holders; an object which should not be lost sight of, in the final adjustment of the business of our banks.

There are many who really believe that the community sustains no injury by the circulation of an unsound currency. It is contended, that although the farmer and laborer give a higher price for any article of merchandise they purchase, than if they paid in specie, yet they are compensated by a corresponding increased price for their labor. It is true that merchants generally take care to avoid the effects of a paper medium. They know what their goods cost, and in selling them secure not only a reasonable profit, but an additional per cent to guard against the loss to which they are liable by the fluctuations of a paper currency. It is not so with the farmer or laborer; they have no data by which to make a nice calculation of the value of their produce or labour; and if they can receive the same prices they had previously been accustomed to obtain when bank paper was good, they are content; thus verifying a sound political maxim, that the labouring part of the people are the last in society who can bring up their services to the standard of a depreciated currency. There is another evil which has ever resulted from the emission of bank paper without a specie basis for its redemption. In no instance, it is believed, either in the United States or elsewhere, has it failed to drive from circulation the precious metals, thus frequently diminishing instead of increasing the circulating medium, and the changes to which it is so often subject, makes every individual in whose hands it remains any time liable to great losses, an inconvenience that never results from a good currency.

However strongly our feelings may be enlisted in favor of the debtor class of society, there is no means of legislating them out of their pecuniary embarrassments. The remedy is with us all individually; and the sooner we apply it in earnest the better. We must be economical and industrious; we must encourage the use of domestic or household manufactures. And above all, we must take care that the profits of the business in which we may be engaged, shall be a little over or at least equal to our expenditures. A determination to pursue a course of this kind, will soon make us an independent, prosperous and happy people.

I am fully persuaded, that if some change could be made in our Judiciary, so as to insure a speedy collection of debts, which may be hereafter contracted, that it would have a happy tendency in preventing that system of credit which has heretofore been so ruinous to our state—and it would be the means of producing punctuality and confidence among individuals, in their intercourse with each other in society.

The subject of education has often been recommended, and its claims to the fostering care of the Legislature cannot be too strongly urged. Our Colleges and Academies have languished for the want of those funds so essential to their prospects and usefulness. A strong and very laudable desire seems generally to be manifested, that we should not be dependent upon the literary institutions of our sister states for the education of our sons. We have the means, and it is only necessary that they should be brought into action, and Tennessee will soon be distinguished for her literary attainments, as she has been for the defence of her rights. The durability of our government will much depend upon the information of its citizens, which cannot be attained by all, unless the means are brought within the reach of all. Then talents will be brought from obscurity, and the son of the poorest man in the community may be qualified for usefulness, and the highest offices in the state. This subject demands your peculiar attention, and its importance is its highest recommendation.

There is no subject upon which the Legislature can act more important to the preservation of the liberties we enjoy, than the proper organization of the militia. It is inconsistent with the genius of our government and the wishes of the people to keep up a large standing army in time of peace; hence, at the commencement of a war, or on any sudden emergency, our reliance must be wholly on the militia. And it is useless to swell up their efficiency in time of danger, unless they are well disciplined. A very celebrated military writer observes with peculiar propriety, that an army without