

# MISSISSIPPI DEMOCRAT.

"THAT GOVERNMENT IS BEST WHICH GOVERNS LEAST."

VOL. I.

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## Political.

### Democratic Address to the People of Mississippi.

By a resolution of the Democratic Convention at Jackson, on the 6th and 7th of July last, we were required to prepare an address to you; and though it does not specify the topics to be embraced, we understand the object was to present, in a clear and suitable form, not so much the political creed of the convention, as the views and principles of that portion of the democratic family, who are Mississippians, in relation to our National and State present posture of political affairs.

indications of the coming crisis. A task before us, comprehending such a variety of subjects of the utmost interest and magnitude, we stand admonished, at the outset, that we are to avoid all idle flourishes and give what we have to offer as succinctly as possible.

The first sentiment that presses for expression is that of congratulation. The great American cause, carrying onward the constitutional representative system, free institutions, and the utmost exertion of popular power that may comport with the safety and prosperity, the existence and perpetuity of the Union, is still triumphant. The late Presidential canvass has given another signal proof to the advocates of the corrupt and tottering dynasties of the eastern hemisphere of what an enlightened people can do and will do, under the auspices of a good government, to discard delusions—to correct abuses—to arrest encroachments—to offer upon the altar of a common country all the sacrifices required for harmony—and to bring back the administration of that government to first and standard principles. To that result the democracy addressed contributed nobly. Aye—though Mississippi was but one of the then twenty-six confederated States, the voice she uttered in the ballot struck dismay into the camps of the opposition. Thousands upon thousands, who in times of delusion and panic had aberrated from the true faith for a season, were now, on free, fair, manly discussion, brought back into the fold. Yet let us not sleep on this triumph, but maintain it by vigilance and activity. The opposition—those who entertain and propagate delusive and hurtful doctrines—are still awake and in action—unsubdued. By constant circumspection and incessant exertion, the aristocratic and selfish few have ever succeeded in putting the chain upon the confiding and indolent multitude. This lesson burns on every page of the annals of mankind. Let us be at once reprimanded and instructed by it. Washington deprecated what he feared might be the dangerous excesses of party spirit; but the system adopted under his auspices was then an experiment, and the solicitude of the Father of his Country was too intense. On the contrary, Ames, his cotemporary, and Jefferson, who stood at his good right arm, compared the ebullitions of party to the agitations of the ocean which keep its waters pure and living. Let us not dread inquiry, and frank, full, truthful and fraternal discussion. Excluding once and forever a certain *religio-politico faction* as the only alien enemy among us—which will be noticed in another connection—and looking around us for true American friends, we are bound to recognize the masses of the whig party as brethren, and as sincerely devoted to the interests, honor and prosperity of the country. They indeed differ from us upon many and very vital questions; but, instead of resorting to asperities and criminations, let us upon our own favorite principle, accord to them equality of rights, and calmly discuss those questions with them as members of one and the same family. The truth will prevail. And here we may add an expostulation with the democracy of this State, not to permit at this, or any other crisis, the altercations among aspirants, the disputes and quarrels, or any minute varieties of sentiment among ourselves, to produce discord and schism. "In union there is strength."

Considering the many lucid expositions of the democratic creed that have from time to time been circulated, it would be useless if not arrogant in us to attempt

more than a brief explanation of its principles. The sovereignty of the people is the grand foundation on which were erected the confederacy of the States, and the separate policy of each State; and on that basis, they seem destined to endure. It will be sufficient to advert only to the national structure. It has become an axiom that no man, or particular family, or caste, or cabal, is born by Divine appointment to a sceptre, nor can rightfully claim it on any factitious cause; and that therefore, all men, in regard to absolute civil and political rights, must ever be, upon nature's ordination, equal one to another, and each one as much a sovereign as any other. It is also self-evident, that since the people bear all the burdens of political association, all government, to be legitimate, must have for its end the utmost attainable good of the people. American experience has demonstrated another grand and consoling truth, that the people, whilst they are the only fountain of authority, have the intelligence and the virtue not only to frame the best government, but to conduct it in the best manner. Hence it follows, that in a government, originating in the popular will, such as that of United America, the representative must obey the instructions of his constituents, unless obedience may involve an infraction of the constitutive code, which, whilst it remains, must regulate and restrain, as well the people themselves, as the government. Hence, likewise, it plainly follows, that all who deny the right of popular instruction, do thereby deny the right and the competency of the people to govern; and whatever may be their name or profession, they are essentially monarchists, or what is no better, opposed to constitutional representative government. We have been successively called agrarians, jacobins, democrats, and constantly denounced as disorganizers and demagogues for our continued and consistent assertion of popular supremacy. Yet the practical efficacy of this doctrine has been manifested; nor can it be abandoned without a subversion of the whole system. A direct or ultimate responsibility to the people, must ever be essential to a faithful administration of the government, and the rebuke of fraud, monopoly and speculation, which are ever reaching into the public crib. But if the representative be bound to obey the instructions of his constituents, when duly expressed, the people are bound to understand the subjects with which they thus interfere, and to give only such instructions as are compatible with the national compact, and the rights of the States. Let us then not allow any delinquent to protect himself under the cloak of democracy, when he is apostate to its very first principle; but let us see to it that the honor of our race is supported, and that with increasing knowledge public probity shall advance. For the extension of intelligence among the masses, as well as the preservation and increase of all the private and social virtues, we must depend upon the mothers of our country—the schools and colleges—a free but reformed and reforming press—the ministers at the sacred altar—and the voice and example of such men in the national councils as Macon and Calhoun, Jackson and Polk, in contrast to the costly, criminal and degrading fashions and customs of European courts. Our large cities may already be too much vitiated; but American fashions and customs and morals are to be found displayed on the plains and among the hills and the mountains!

The next doctrine is a result from the preceding, and is of inestimable consequence, because of the great variety of subjects of immense interest which it brings into consideration. It is this: *the necessity of the national Constitution, and the paramount obligation, incumbent upon every good citizen of the Union, to conform to its letter and spirit.* That constitution is at once a compact between the States, and the constitutive and conservative code of the people of America. It defines the nature and the branches of the national government; the powers granted, to be exercised by each branch, and by the legislature and executive conjointly; and after declaring the absolute rights of the citizen, that are to be forever inviolate, it provides that the powers and rights, not so granted or declared, shall be reserved to the States, and to the people. It originated in a convention of the original States, and was finally adopted in the separate conventions of those States. Hence it is a compact between the States, as well as a covenant of union between the people of all the States that concurred in its adoption, as well as of those States which have come and shall come beneath its canopy. It was, moreover, a compromise of all conflicting interests which had arisen from differences and variety of locality, circumstances and condition. It was the work of wisdom, patriotism and forecast, which the world had not essayed, and the wisest and greatest patriot had not anticipated, but which the Almighty, in his inscrutable providence permitted! In itself, it contained the mode in which it should be enlarged or restrained, as the exigencies of the people or the States

should require. Its adoption formed an era in human progression, which even the declaration of the 4th of July, 1776, did not surpass. The sublime results of its adoption are within the memory and consciousness of the living generation; and they shall establish for us, without argument, the necessity as well as everlasting fitness, of such a constitution; and can anything be added to show more irresistibly the duty to conform to its letter and spirit? Upon the government of this confederacy is devolved its exterior relations and intercourse—to declare war—to make peace—to admit new States into the Union—to raise a national revenue; to regulate commerce among the States; to decide as well questions international as those arising between States and citizens of different States; and to control the army, navy, and even militia. These and other granted powers though vast, are necessary to a perfect and perpetual union; but as the area of the confederacy is enlarged, the number of States increased, and population swelled, the compass and importance of national legislation and action are magnified—and so, in that ratio, augments the necessity of a rigid interpretation of the conceded powers. This is the doctrine of the Virginia resolutions of 1798. All experience has shown their wisdom and increasing necessity; so that we may say, it is the doctrine of the entire democracy, that *no powers shall be exerted by the National Government but such as are clearly conceded out of those reserved by the States and by the People.* This has become a prominent element in the American cause. If the converse of this principle of construction should be allowed in practice; if by national legislation any measure may be passed on the pretext of expediency, or because it may seem conducive to the common defence or welfare, whether it be within the conceded powers or not; and if the national judiciary be inclined to sanction such an extravagant course, it is plain that, within a very few years, we should have to look to the government and not to the constitution for the fundamental law; for in effect the government would be supreme, and the constitution no more than an act of ordinary legislation that is subject to be enlarged or restrained according to the caprice of each Congress, or the mad or rapacious schemes of a dominant faction. *This is not to be endured.* Every act of the national government, which is not expressly allowed to it, is of doubtful or questionable character, is an usurpation that tends to consolidation and the subversion of the constitution and the States.

If such, then, be the only legitimate and sufferable mode of interpretation and action under the compact of the States, it follows that the national government has no authority to create a corporation of any sort—no East India company—no bank. Congress may not abrogate the special tender; and if it may regulate the currency it must do this by legislation that is direct, and that shall be ever subject to any change, by successive enactment, which the exigencies of the great commonwealth, upon experience, may demand. Congress alone—not an incorporated company—may regulate the currency. It ought to have been sufficient from the first that the constitution did not give to it the power to create a banking, or any other corporation; and it would have been fortunate indeed if the prohibition against the issuing of bills of credit by the States had been regarded, in practice, as a substantial negation of any and every bank charter; but we have had two national banks, which the branches of the federal government passed, approved and sanctioned, by way of enlargement of the Constitution; and we have had a multitude of local corporations authorized to emit, what the States were prohibited from emitting, *bills of credit to supply a currency!* These have been enormous abuses—admonitory sacrifices to expediency and constructive power! The invention of a bank of emission and circulation was a *charte blanche* for forgery, fraud and corrupt accumulation, which Satan, since his fall, had not conceived, but which was invented in Britain, as the most effectual plan to vitiate, rob and enslave the human race. For a season its evils were not apparent, and its course was irresistible. Mississippi, for a time, with a rare phrenzy, knelt at the shrines of the Molock; but she and the other States have had the intelligence to discover the malign and blasting influence of such idolatry, and the recuperative energy to cast it away forever; and although it may require generations to efface its leprous contaminations, the pall of oblivion is prepared for its temples. Britain has submitted to the monster too long. With her bank to play into the hand of the blood-stained East India company, and a protective tariff as a collector, her people have been reduced to a slavery so profound, that her fleeced and famishing millions, from ignorance and destitution, have lost the power of resistance! We have escaped—barely escaped—a like dreadful destiny.

In this escape, however, it must be remembered that we are alone indebted to

AND TYLER; for when mad majorities in the national bank, the "one man" was at the helm to refer the measure to the people. And here, in dismissing the topic of the banking system, we may say all that may be requisite about the veto power. Every sound democrat can perceive the vast difference between the power of one man, upon his mere will, to dictate this or that measure, which the President is invested to say this or that bill shall not be a law, unless re-passed by two-thirds of both houses of the legislature, and thus in effect to submit the constitutionality as well as policy of the measure to the consideration of the people. It has never yet happened that any prevalent mania had cast two-thirds of the legislature in its favor. The veto clause in the constitution therefore, vests only a protective and conservative power. Its exertion has twice saved the country.—Let it be perpetuated.

The next subject in importance to which the principle of strict construction should be applied, is the taxing power. A tariff for revenue only, adopting honestly the lowest rates required to raise the adequate amount for a safe and economical administration of the government—and which will bear with the utmost attainable equality on every section of this extended republic, is such as would conform to the constitutional grant and requisition. Such is not the tariff now exacted. It is a novel thing to hear a protective tariff—much less the enormity of 1842—advocated in Mississippi. Heretofore there had been no jar in the sentiment among us on this matter. In regard to it we had but one party; and the only difficulty was to repress the universal abhorrence, indignation and resentment of our people; but although it has recently had its advocates even here, we are not authorized in truth to say that they have produced any change of opinion, or done more than excite astonishment at their fatuity!

A revenue, however, must be collected; it necessarily must be large in amount; and the government must have and ought to have the safest depository that the uncorrupted judgment of the national legislature can devise. A MACHINE TO MAKE MONEY, IS NOT WANTED, NOR IS IT TO BE ENDURED. The executive and the Congress are not to be transformed into bankers and brokers. That would be the very last thing to be suffered. To deposit the public treasure in the local banks is but to sustain those inherent and intolerable frauds—those cancers upon the body politic. If then those treasures cannot be otherwise safely kept for disbursement, as required by the government, there can be no valid objection to a treasury system—and we may be justified in saying that the democracy of Mississippi will be satisfied with the plan which the chief magistrate of their choice may frame and propose to the congress.

Bearing in mind the imperious necessity of so constraining and so acting under the compact of the States as that the national government shall not exert any power whatever, but such as is plainly conceded, it must, we think, strike every citizen of good sense and practical honesty, that the federal government cannot authorize any scheme of local benefit or effect on the mere verbal assumption that it is one of National advantage; but that to be justified it must be essentially necessary to the National defence and safety, or clearly for the common benefit of all the States: that it cannot make appropriation of the National Treasury to pay debts contracted, or claimed to be contracted by the States in their separate capacities; and that, if at any time, on the legitimate operation of the Federal government, there be a surplus of its revenue, not required for present lawful expenditure, that surplus cannot be distributed among the States in any mode, or any pretext, but ought to be retained either to lessen a future collection of revenue, or to meet National contingencies, and that nothing but a great emergency, such as war or some calamity, can justify or extenuate a resort to foreign loans and a consequent National debt. If such a profligate course be allowed, the revenue must be increased; a high and discriminating tariff must be perpetuated, and a National bank be resuscitated; and in respect of the National debts of this and other countries, they will be represented by the incorporated companies of the globe! If the good people shall be found willing—in the view of past disclosures—to commit their annual earnings and substance into such vortices—let them do it—for it was for their benefit government was imagined and constitutions ordained to regulate and restrain them; but when they shall have lost liberty, security and property, their admiration of a *splendid central government* will be a poor equivalent!

But whatever may have been and may still be the differences of opinion among the people of Mississippi, in regard to issues that have agitated the nation since the era of the Federal constitution, there is

one National measure on which we all now concentrate—less than one to the hundred excepted; it is that of ANNEXATION; and we will not indulge in any retrospect that may lessen or embitter the concord. A decided majority of the people of the northern, middle, western and southern States concurred in rebuking the federal senate for the rejection of the treaty of annexation, and coerced the final passage of the joint resolutions. Those resolutions specified the terms on which the United States declared the republic of Texas should be admitted into the Union; and being passed by the congress and approved by the executive conformably to an explicit grant of power contained in the compact of the States—they were submitted, as a second overture, to that republic by the envoy of the States. The politicians, who had opposed the treaty, and many others, supposed that now Texas, in retaliation, would prove refractory—and so the project would fail. Our brethren beyond the Sabine had heard the voice of the people of America, and they responded. They did not delay to count money; they did not listen to the carles of their own press; they did not pause to look into consequences; they did not consider for one moment the protection offered by Britain, or the complacency of the King of the French tacked on to Britain! Their government they gave a prompt assent, and through their convention, on the day of liberty, they repeated that assent by acclamation! History will send down to the last day the record of these events!—But according to the compact of the States and the proposition itself, as accepted, it is still with the next congress and the President to receive the new State, with her constitution and allotted representation.—As to the President and House of Representatives there can be no doubt; but we are justified in asking, will Texas be a second time rejected by the Senate? If the unappropriated public domain of that republic, within her legitimate boundaries, be more than sufficient to pay her public debt, then the treaty was a better bargain to us than the resolutions; but it will be remembered that the Nueces and Rio river were asserted in the senate, in opposition to the treaty and in favor of Mexico, as the true boundary; and although it has been known and generally conceded, since the treaty for the cession of Louisiana to the United States, that the Rio Bravo del Norte to the south-west, and the Cordillera to the north, were the rightful boundaries of the ceded territory, and must be recognized as the south-western and northern limits of Texas, yet have we any assurance that the senators making that objection will not adhere to their position? Are we to know that this and all the other bugbears, obtruded for the objection of the treaty and of the resolutions, will not be interposed, with other and new difficulties, for the exclusion of Texas? It may indeed be conceded—and with unqualified gratification—that opposition to the final reception of Texas is now mainly to be found among the abolitionists and those presses that object to the occupation of the country between the Rio Bravo and Nueces; and it is to be hoped that, especially since the recent disclosures of the atrocious purposes of that faction, it may find itself too much sunk beneath the indignant scorn of the American people to make farther resistance. But in reference to the abolitionists, if in the meantime they can collect, reassure and reinforce their defeated and confounded forces, what will they care for the constitution, the compact of annexation, or any obligation or sanction, sacred to earth or Heaven!—Have we read to no purpose the history of fanaticism? Has it ever wanted a pretext for any purpose, however dreadful? Were not the myriads of Europe precipitated repeatedly upon Palestine for no better purpose than to rescue a piece of wood from the hands of infidels? The Inquisition was established to enforce what was called the true faith, and 2000 victims were conducted to its tortures and flames within its first year's operations? And have men ceased to mock the Almighty and blaspheme the atonement of the peaceful Savior by casting away the sword and the faggot? Why is this new crusade preached? Why is it that the Africans held to service in the southern States are selected as the only objects for the interference of religion and philanthropy? It is as they assert—that in God's service, and for the sake of liberty and humanity that the work must be accomplished; and the felon leaders and their demented followers are prepared to light the brand of insurrection to the utter extermination of those they profess to serve! The real object is the dissolution of the southern States, in order to give to Britain the production, future, carriage and sale of the staple of those States. We are not here to give the facts that have marked the purposes and stamped the character of this monstrous conspiracy; but it is enough to point to Prince Albert, presiding in the "World's Convention," and to the American delegation in that notorious assembly, to fix the British affiliation of the abolitionists of these States. Will they perse-

vere in their purpose? Or will our northern brethren, who so recently and so nobly rallied to the rescue of the constitution and democracy; aye, will not our whig brethren in the north, who are devoted to the same constitution, and to this glorious Union, unite with us in every peaceable and lawful means to reclaim to a sense of duty and patriotism those misguided countrymen? We hope for the best. In Mississippi, at least, that faction can have no advocates.

In conclusion, we would address the democracy of this State in particular.—The convention, which we have endeavored to represent, was full and truly enlightened. Not the slightest discord or disagreement disturbed its deliberations; and its nominations resulted almost in a perfect unanimity. The convention, therefore, faithfully and efficiently discharged the trust you conferred upon it, and at the same time give to you an example of concord, concession, and united exertion. Will all the nominees be sustained—sustained by every voter in our ranks without any regard whatever to his own preferences to the contrary? The convention, by the act of nomination, has given to you its opinion of the claims, the qualifications and the merits of all of the nominees.—Nothing, then, is required in order to their election, by a majority greatly augmented over that of the last contest, but for every one of you to be on the alert, and above all to appear at the polls and give the confirmatory vote. IN UNION THERE IS NOT ONLY STRENGTH BUT RENewed VICTORY.

[Signed by the State Democratic Central Committee.]

B. F. DILL, H. T. ELLETT,  
J. E. MATTHEWS, S. R. ADAMS,  
E. M. LAWRENCE, JOHN BATTALIE,  
B. D. HOWARD, J. W. GLENN,  
JEFF. NAILOR, D. M. FULTON,  
T. L. LEMLEY, T. J. JOHNSON,  
SAM. MATTHEWS, M. WATKIN,  
W. D. MCKINNEY, T. W. WALSH,  
C. D. FONTAINE.

Central State Committee.

"PAUPER LABOR."—The success with which the eastern manufacturers used the cry of "foreign pauper labor" in compelling consumers to pay taxes to manufacturers, is already being turned against themselves. The Tribune has been the most persevering utterer of the unmeaning cry, and we find in that paper of Thursday the following reason for supposed distress of shoemakers in New York:

"The boots and shoes made in the city, are principally 'Custom-made,' that is, made to order. The more common article sold here, is chiefly manufactured in the Eastern States, where the workmen can live for almost less than half the sum it costs our city mechanics. Transportation from those places here amounts to a mere song, and consequently our market is filled with this kind of work, and the laborer on this branch of industry in our city is compelled to submit to the grinding competition engendered, and give all his labor, his time and health to earn food and clothes."

The pauper labor of New England is now the great evil it seems. The pauper labor of old England was to be kept out by a Tariff. What remedy is to be applied to the pauper labor of New England? A Protective Tariff? All the Railroads to be pulled up and a Custom House set astride of the Hudson. [Morning News.]

THE HYDRAGOS.—This name is given to an immense animal of the make tribe, which has been recently dug up from the bowels of the earth, imbedded in limestone rock one hundred and fourteen feet in length, by the celebrated Dr. Alexr. Leake. It was found on the banks of the Alabama river, in the State of Alabama, and was sent to New York, where it has been prepared for exhibition. Of course, only the bony parts of the reptile remained. Our books give us no description of such an animal, and how long it has lain dead, no one can know. Perhaps the only animal it was like, was the great African snake, which, if we may believe history, stopped the march of the army of Regulus. It is conjectured that at least three buffaloes were required by the Hydragos at a single meal. After a few day's exhibition in New York, Dr. K. goes to Europe to find a market for the Hydragos.

We learn that the business of manufacturing cottons and some other kinds of goods has been so lucrative during the year past, that many small establishments, costing from forty to fifty thousand dollars have realized profits exceeding their actual costs. There is no other branch of business in the country which can boast of such large profits, so uniformly and generally realized by all whose capital is employed in it, as the manufacturing establishments which have sprung up under the unjust and unequal protection of the present tariff. [N. Y. Post.]

A kiss-me-quick before-mother-see-you-brownest is coming in fashion in New York. What "a love of a kiss!" It will doubtless be a favorite with both sexes.