

and have been long contending against injustice, may not be patient after having exhausted all other means of getting an equal share in the Government, and they will not halt at fears of danger when they have once resolved not to submit. More than once or twice have I heard it urged upon the consideration of this majority, "not to despair, for they had the right and the power to ORIGINATE a Convention and redress themselves." I am greatly deceived, if it was not designed to press these things upon the attention of the people in 1823, when a Convention was held in Raleigh by the representatives of those who have been so long excluded from a fair share in the government of the State. I may indeed be mistaken, for I cannot speak *ex cathedra*, but I have reasons to think it was so, and that the design was not carried into execution, because the public attention soon after it, became so much engrossed by the Presidential Election. The inequalities of our representation are now much greater than they were at that day—the temper of reform is now much milder—the concessions which are now offered are more liberal; consequently, a refusal to accede to them will be much more offensive. Hence too, the majority are less likely to submit to any refusal to do them justice, and the minority will be less excusable for such a course. For one, I say then, let these things be settled—and in my judgment, (however honest his purpose may be) that man is blind to the interest of North-Carolina, as well as indifferent to the demands of the most ordinary equity, who will any longer withhold his assent to a just compromise of this agitating question.

I know that there are some among your readers who will pervert my argument into a seeming threat, and crow a note of defiance—"What forsooth, does this scribbler expect to alarm me into his terms?" No my good sir, say I to any such—I seek not any thing of the sort. But those who love the State more than their party—those who are not too proud to be wise, and would take a sober view of the probable effects of withholding an admitted right—who are Statesmen and not political coxcombs, may find, I think, in these things, subjects for reflection and arguments to convince them. Rest assured they are not meant for you my high mettled friend.

If an agent were called on to account and surrender his power of Attorney, and he refused it upon the vain pretext that his principal had accompanied his demand with an intimation that obstinate refusal would compel him to demand the surrender by suit, would it be a good answer from a faithful agent?—"I will give nothing though it be just, because you have dared to let me know I might ultimately be forced to do it?"

If a man has come into possession of another's property by accident in a time of common danger, can he honestly withhold it from the true owner, upon the pretence that he is justified, because the owner will not go on his knees and humbly beseech him to restore it? Shall he pray for it 'seventy times seven,' and will not seven times answer the pride of his neighbor? Alas! how long must it be true, that men will perpetrate injustice in their political relations, which they would scorn to practise in the private relations of life! If a partnership is formed in trade, and after its continuance for 50 years, two thirds of the partners do not furnish funds sufficient to cover their own expenses and the other third are yearly sinking their capital in defraying these expenses—would it be considered just in that two thirds, to refuse the entreaties of their copartners to consent to diminish the expenses and reform their articles accordingly. The answer is too plain, and who is so blind as not to observe a parallel to this, in the Government of North-Carolina? But it may be said, that some of the partners, whose substance is let out by this ruinous copartnership, do not complain, and yet does that, in any way, justify the infliction of this injury upon those who do complain of it? In the school of party, stimulated by jealousy and a love of power, logic-like this may pass for substantial, but what is it in the school of reason and justice? Let candor and conscience answer the inquiry. SENEX.

**India Rubber Table Cloths.**—We have recently seen, and have in our possession, a sample of a new and superior kind of covers for tables and stands. They are manufactured by Samuel Steele & Co. Woodbury, Ct. They are composed of cotton, with a composition of Indian rubber, &c. varnished and braided in an elegant manner. They cost but little more than the common oil cloth, and are much superior both for beauty and durability. One very important quality which they possess over any oil covers, is their elasticity, as they can be doubled in every possible manner, without breaking or injuring the composition of which they are made.—*Danbury Herald.*

London is said to be one of the healthiest places in the world. It has been stated, and we believe correctly, that the happy exemption which the inhabitants of that city for the most part enjoy from the diseases common to other capitals, is owing to the sulphurous naphtha emitted from the coals, serving the salutary purpose of checking the progress of febrile infection. To prove that the air is saturated with this naphtha, you cannot find a wasp, an insect to which sulphur is obnoxious, within the sphere of its action.

**Internal Improvement.**

**ADDRESS OF THE COMMITTEE.**

*To the People of North-Carolina.*

A numerous and respectable portion of your Fellow-citizens, who assembled at this place on the late Anniversary of American Independence, to consult on the means of improving the condition of the State, have directed us to lay before you the result of their deliberations. Without pretensions to authority or the wish to obtain it, without party or sectional views of any sort, and with no influence save that of reason, we claim your attention simply because of our communion of interest with you on a subject of deep and abiding importance, and because of a sincere and hearty zeal to advance the prosperity of our common country. Nor do we deem it too much to hope that, even at this moment, amid the din of political strife and the struggles of contending candidates for your favor, these claims will not be disregarded by an intelligent and well-meaning community.

North-Carolina is endeared to us by every tie of nature and every obligation of duty. Her advancement in whatever is great and good is inseparably interwoven with our hopes and wishes, our patriotism and our pride. Keen therefore is the mortification, to be obliged to confess that she is falling behind several of the States of this glorious confederacy, in that career of distinction to which all were invited by the bounties of Providence, the freedom of the American Institutions, and the capacity of the American People. Forty-four years have passed away since, under the auspices of the Federal Constitution, she entered upon this generous competition. In extent of territory she had then the advantage of New-York and of Pennsylvania. Excluding their principal cities she was not inferior to either of them in wealth. In free population she nearly equalled New-York, and was but a third less than Pennsylvania. Her superiority in extent of territory yet remains, but in all other points of comparison how changed is the scene! Her free population is now to that of Pennsylvania as one to three, and to that of New-York as one to four, while in wealth she bears to each of them but the ratio of one to six.—In New-York and Pennsylvania, Colleges, Academies, Scientific and Literary Institutions are spread throughout the land, presenting the opportunities of acquiring a finished education to those who have the means to procure this invaluable blessing; while ample provision has been made by law for communicating necessary instruction to every child in the community however poor and destitute. In our State, notwithstanding the injunction in our Constitution, and except in the erection of the University, and in the incorporation of a few Academies either without funds or with funds not derived from legislative grant, no public Schools have been established "for the cheap and convenient instruction of youth." In Pennsylvania, more than seven hundred miles—in New-York, six hundred miles, of Canal Navigation have been created, while Rail-ways are every where in the process of construction, stimulating and employing labor, making and diffusing wealth throughout their wide spread borders. Their sea-ports are crowded with vessels; their mechanics find constant employment and high wages; their manufactures are prosecuted with still increasing skill; and their agriculture is beautifying and enriching the soil at the moment when it gathers the reward of industry. There, Hospitals for the sick and the insane—Asylums for orphans—Institutions for the cure and instruction of the blind—Schools for the deaf and dumb—and other beneficent establishments for the removal and mitigation of human woe.—delight the eye and elevate the heart of the beholder—fit offerings of gratitude from a prosperous community to the Father of the human race for His blessings on their exertions, and mute but expressive soliloquies for a continuance of His bounty to those who delight in doing good to the children of men. How are all these things in North-Carolina? Fellow-citizens, we do not require your answer, nor do you need information from us. You know how they are—and we forbear to speak. It is sufficiently mortifying to discover, it were too painful to dwell on the humiliating contrast.—Indeed, did we not hope that this reproach would ere long be removed from amongst us, we should endeavor to bury it in thick night, hide it from the world, and if possible forget it ourselves. But we trust that a blessed change is in store for us. We know that there are difficulties, and serious difficulties to be encountered—but we are sure that there are none which may not be subdued by wise counsels and united exertions; and we are convinced that on You, People of North-Carolina, it depends, whether the State shall or shall not become all which her warmest friends ought to desire for her.

The subjugation of the earth can be effected but by labor—and the steady, judicious and economical application of labor to this purpose lies at the root of human prosperity. The extraordinary fertility of the Genessee Country, like that of the valley of the Mississippi, no doubt attracted to it many citizens from the adjoining States, and many emigrants from foreign countries, and thereby hastened its settlement and growth. But taken in the whole, it may well be doubted whether New-York or Pennsylvania presented a better natural soil for the labors of the husbandman than was generally to be found in North-Carolina; while in the mildness of our winters, the higher value of the products of a Southern climate, and the greater ease with which our earth is tilled, we had on our part decided advantages. But these were compensated, and more than compensated, by two physical blessings bestowed on them in an eminent degree. Each of these had a port of safe and ready access from the ocean, and bold rivers penetrating far into the interior—possessing thus the means of cheap transportation to a home market, and of easy exportation to foreign ones. Marts were to be found within each state for all that the industry of its citizens could produce, and the products of labor were not consumed by the expenses of reaching the place of sale. While adequate motives were thus furnished to excite agricultural industry, its success gave activity to mercantile adventure and employment to the mechanical arts. The profit of these built up capital, and capital led to enterprise, to the discovery of new sources of wealth, to the extension of facilities in business, to manufactures, to every species of improvement, and to general prosperity. The great wants of our State then are emphatically, good marts of traffic and the means of cheap transportation. Until these can be supplied, our forests seem to little purpose with the luxuriant and valuable productions of nature, our alluvial lands present too feeble attractions to their general subjugation, and many of the mineral treasures with which our earth abounds must lie undisturbed and even unexplored. Men can not be well induced to labor for more than they can consume unless the surplus may be conveniently exchanged for the commodities which refinement has made valuable, or can be stored up in accumulations for the winter of age or the wants of posterity. While production is thus kept back, there is neither supply nor demand for commercial capital. The products actually made, because of the costs of transportation, are of little value, and there is therefore no increase of agricultural capital. Slovenly farming, slender traffic, and a languid circulation, general want of enterprise, inactivity and listlessness become habitual, and generation succeeds generation with scarcely a perceptible improvement in wealth, manners, sciences or the arts. If by a sudden dispensation of Providence, the shoals which endanger and impede our maritime navigation were removed, and the various streams which intersect our State were rendered fit for the purposes of conveyance from their very sources, all will admit, that we should spring forward with resistless energy to the consummation of our hopes. The impulse given to business of every sort would be felt in every section of the State and in every department of industry. Let children indulge in day dreams; but it is for men to enquire whether they have not the power of supplying the deficiencies of nature, and of acquiring by their own exertions what for wise purposes was originally denied. Obstacles surmounted and difficulties subdued, as they are the best trials, so they become the noblest triumphs of virtue, intellect and courage. Often the most eminent among men have been trained up to fortitude and wisdom in the school of adversity; and the most illustrious of nations have usually passed through the stages of infancy and childhood, struggling for existence, gradually gaining and consolidating their strength, and by severe trials acquiring the qualifications and forming the habits which were to be displayed in the maturity of manhood. "Heaven grants the gifts it grants the power to gain." Is the navigation of our rivers obstructed? To a considerable extent and with no mighty effort, we can remove these obstructions. Where these are not removable, or the streams are too shallow for boat navigation, or streams are wanting, experience has shown, that the Canal and still more the Rail-way, furnish better means of conveyance. As in no country are these more needed, so in none can they be made at less expense. The process of effecting speedy and safe communications with the ocean has already commenced amongst us under the happiest auspices. Art in this respect, signally triumphing over nature—dredge boats are removing in hours the slow accumulation of years; and we announce to you with joy that the day is not distant when our main outlets to the sea will afford ready passage to vessels of sufficient burden for all ordinary commercial purposes. There is then ample room for exertion, but there is no cause for despondency.

We are aware that injudicious attempts heretofore made in the cause of Internal Improvements have prejudiced many against the renewal of any efforts at improvement. But prejudice is a wretched counsellor, whether it seeks to conceal the selfishness of the sordid and the fears of

the timid, or is seen in the apathy of the sluggard, or speaks in the sneers of the scorner. We have attempted too many plans at once—we have frittered away our means over too great a space, and have expended much money in many silly schemes. Let us then profit by experience. Let it teach us caution, judgment and a proper application of our resources. Let it guard us against the recurrence of former errors, but never let it repress exertion in the cause of duty. Others have by a well devised and spirited course of Internal Improvements, brought incalculable blessings on their country. And why may not we? Are the people of this State by some irreversible interdict of Providence, disqualified for improving their condition? If so, in what does this incapacity consist? Do they want mental energy? Look abroad and see the sons of North Carolina, wherever a field is presented, contending gallantly in every department of manly excellence for the palm of victory.—We have been called an unpretending State, and long may it be before a wretched self-conceit shall cause that epithet to be exchanged for one less equivocal and far more to be abhorred. But it were not a want of pretension—it would be self-degradation, ingratitude to God and treachery to ourselves—to admit any inferiority for good or great purposes to the proudest among the members of this Union. Do we want the pecuniary ability? If we were called on to raise at once a large sum of money to be sunk in the ocean or transmitted to a foreign land, it may be conceded that we could with difficulty comply with the requisition, and should severely feel the loss.—But it is among the striking effects of this system to which we invite your attention, that it disburses within the community what the community furnishes, and returns speedily and in abundance all which it exacts. From the moment of its commencement, it creates neighborhood markets for labor, materials and provisions, and throws out money into brisk circulation. As it proceeds, it not only contributes by its profits to pay the interest on advances, but it extends more and more the sphere of activity; so that, independently of the immense benefits which it promises in the end, it pays in its progress by the excitement which it communicates to industry, and the impulse which it imparts to business of every description.—Money thus employed is not sunk, nor lost; but is money put out at compound interest. Such a course of expenditure and restitution is like that of the blood in a young and vigorous body. It gushes forth from the great reservoir, the heart, and is propelled through the arteries to the very extremities, enriching and strengthening the entire system in its course, but is returned by the veins to be again and again sent forth in a round of life-giving circulation. Our very poverty then, the result as has been seen of unrewarded labor, languid trade and limited production, is the strongest reason which can be urged for engaging zealously in the system. The one vanishes as the other comes forward. True we must have; or procure, wherewith to begin the experiment. But here there is no real difficulty. If each one amongst you will consent to set apart half of what he can spare without inconvenience to his family; if he who has not money will be ready to make his advance in timber, food, or work; we shall at once have a capital more than sufficient for the undertaking of every useful enterprise. But the State Treasury ought to aid, and if you say so, will aid, in their accomplishment. Why has a public revenue been collected if it is not to be used, and where is the advantage of public credit if it is not to be employed for the public good; and where is the service in which either can be more beneficially engaged? Is the character of the State part of the property of every one of its citizens? Does his heart throb with honest joy when he hears it mentioned with respect, or does his veins tingle with vexation when it is spoken of in the tone of taunt and derision? Then tell your Legislature, who have this holy treasure in their keeping, that in these days, when the spirit of improvement is abroad and the strife for pre-eminence in the arts of life is carried on with chivalrous emulation, no State has character that advances not in this career. Are the employment of the poor, the encouragement of the industrious, and the comforts of all classes of the community objects worthy of the care of a paternal Government? Would you furnish the means to instruct the ignorant and lay deep the foundations of republican Government in the education of every free child within your borders, however humble his origin or destitute his condition? Would you stay the flood of emigration which is sweeping from you by thousands the most adventurous of your youth, and remove the necessity which bids them abandon the home of their childhood and the graves of their fathers for some distant land where scope is to be found for exertion and reward is offered to enterprise? Would you bring the grazier and the miner of the West, and the planter and farmer of the Interior, into communion with the merchant and mechanic of the Seaboard, and unite the integral but deserved parts of North-Carolina into one brotherhood of interest, feeling and patriotism? Would you command for her that respected station among the States of this Union she ought

to occupy, and assure to her a fair share in all its honors and of all its benefits. These—all these great, and good, and glorious purposes you may accomplish, but you can accomplish them in one way only. Internal Improvement has effected them elsewhere—and can effect them here. But it is for you to give the impulse. Instruct your Representatives to organize, and to prosecute with vigor, a liberal system of Internal Improvements. Direct them to cause to be ascertained the best plans for creating and improving markets, and for facilitating and cheapening transportation, and when ascertained to forward them by a judicious and efficient application of the public resources. Chosen by you, and licentious for your approbation, they carry into the Legislative Halls the spirit by which you are animated, and take from you that tone of voice which is heard in legislative enactments.

It may be asked, why has not the Convention ventured to recommend some specific plan of Improvement? Brought together suddenly from various sections of the State, and remaining in session but three days, had the members deemed themselves competent to make the recommendation, it is very obvious that they wanted the leisure for maturing a plan fit to be laid before you. But in fact the great purpose of the Convention has been to awaken you to a sense of the vast importance and urgency of the subject, and if possible draw to it your earnest and united attention. If we succeed in rousing you to think seriously and to commune freely on the topics suggested, to strive to obtain and interchange accurate information, and to resolve after deliberate advisement in favor of Internal Improvements, specific plans may be hereafter much more advantageously devised and arranged. Our propositions therefore, (be in truth they are but propositions) are laid before you in the form of simple resolutions.—With your sanction they may become the principles of State-action; without they are wholly inoperative. Examine then, we entreat you, with the candor due to the motives that have prompted them, and with the calmness and good sense and regard for the public good which ought to determine your judgment upon them. Call together such neighborhood and county and district meetings as will afford the most convenient opportunities for obtaining explanations, for interchanging views, for removing difficulties, and for forming, animating and ascertaining the public mind. Devise among yourselves such plans of improvement as your peculiar localities require, and apply at once to their execution the means which through your county courts are already in your hands, or arrange for procuring legislative sanction to them. And when your Delegates shall assemble as we have proposed in November next, let them come together deeply imbued with your spirit, thoroughly apprised of your views, zealous and ready to work together in this great concern of the State.

Fellow-Citizens—We owe to you as well as ourselves an explanation. There was a difference of opinion in the Convention on one of the propositions now before you on the Resolution which declares the "policy requires that the funds of the State ought in the first instance to be employed exclusively in providing the means of internal transportation and in creating and improving markets within her limits." We shall not trouble you with the arguments which were respectively urged by those who supported, and by those who opposed this Resolution. We, who address you, did ourselves differ on this proposition, but each knows that it was an honest difference of opinion among men, all zealous for the same end, and no one doubts or questions the patriotism of the rest. A majority approved of the Resolution, and therefore it is submitted to you—and however you may decide, we are all and each of us ready to support your decision. We go—every man of us goes for North-Carolina and the whole of North-Carolina. Improvement—but no effectual must begin somewhere—and we hope it will reach everywhere. What gets not the benefit of it to-day, will we trust receive it to-morrow, and every successful experiment facilitates the next. It is our ardent hope and earnest prayer that, whatever spot this beneficent spirit shall select as the first scene of its operation, it will not desist from its kindly action until no immediate as well as its general blessing shall have pervaded every part of the State. Too long has North-Carolina been rent asunder by sectional jealousies and party local feuds. If she is ever to prosper, it must be by vigorous, persevering and united action—by "a strong pull, a long pull, and a pull altogether." For ourselves, we pretend to no exemption from the infirmities of nature, and are conscious that we respectively feel those partialities which bind men to their immediate vicinities. But we infinitely prefer the advancement of the State, as a State, to the prosperity of any portion of it; and it is because we do so, and know that we do so, that we hope for your approbation and ask for your concurrence.

- WILLIAM GASTON, Chairman.
- G. E. BADGER,
- JOHN H. BRYAN,
- WBL. BOYLAN,
- ISAAC CROOM,
- JOS. J. DANIEL,
- LOUIS D. HENRY,
- JOHN HUSKÉ,
- WM. H. HAYWOOD, Jr.