

# Communications.

FOR THE TARBOROUGH PRESS.

Mr. Howard: An essayist under the signature of "Civis," in your last paper, expresses his strong disapprobation of the amendment by the Convention of the 32d article of the Constitution of the State—and offers some speculations on the subject effectually tending to suggest to a thinking mind a train of most interesting reflections. I am willing to believe that his intentions may be really pure—but while I sincerely accord my respect to his "intentions," if of such character, I feel constrained to refuse it to his opinions. Without ascribing much weight to my own notions on this subject, I confess I cannot resist the conviction that any religious test is, and ought to be, regarded as far behind the intelligence of the "age;" and I feel mortified for my native State, that there should have been found a majority of our delegates disposed to retain an article, even amended as it is, so well calculated to throw such odium and degradation upon our character as an intelligent community. Yes, this State now stands alone among her sister States, unrivalled in the special eminence of hallowing and preserving the antiquated relic belonging to an age of superannuated error, and cruel and intolerant zeal. I should humbly conceive that it required no great master in political economy to inform us, simple as we are, that keeping in view the spirit of our institutions, one of the principal objects of our government is, to secure and guarantee to all its citizens a perfect equality of rights and legal privileges. Here no hereditary rank, no aristocracy stalks among us, appropriating offices and honors to themselves, and lordling it over the many. Our country (thanks to a kind Providence) is reputed, and emphatically is, an asylum for the oppressed of all nations. Once received as citizens, the Jew, the Mahometan, the Jesuits, *et multi alii*, of every or any religious sect, enter as largely into the enjoyment of our legal and political rights as ourselves. The right of worshipping the Almighty according to their own conscience, is surely one of those rights guaranteed to citizens; and what can be more sacred, more holy, more dear to the honest and virtuous citizen? And yet there are to be found advocates—(and among them good, well meaning, honest, mistaken republicans, forgetting their devotion to equal rights)—for disfranchising their own fellow citizens of this inestimable privilege. The error lies in granting to government religious or ecclesiastical power in any shape, to be exercised with its political power. Government was not intended to determine religious controversies, or to decide upon the thousand and one dogmas or hobbies, as Civis calls them, of religious sects. Ecclesiastical courts (thanks to God) are unknown to our institutions. Let all religious sects be tolerated, let equal justice be dispensed to all—but let none dare to hope for a political ascendancy, which may enable them to mar the most beautiful political structure ever exhibited to an admiring world. Let a wise legislation protect all sects in their privileges and worship, but let it also fix the limits beyond which they shall not pass. Let it take care that society be not disturbed by these discordant systems—let it preserve order among them, by teaching them the submission due to the government which protects them in their rights.

But Civis "hopes the Convention will not rise," &c. (see 21st line, 1st column.) Suppose the wishes of Civis indulged, and that the Convention were privileged to sit until they should decide "what we are to understand by the words Christian religion"—and suppose the interests of the contending sects balanced, the question being the reception or denunciation of Catholics, Dunkards, Mormonites,

Unitarians, and many others, as Christian sects—is there a man of mature age, who could hope to live long enough to see the termination? Society would be convulsed to its foundations, and it would be discovered too late, that reason would be too feeble and ineffectual a tribunal, to compose a strife capable as heretofore, of laying a world in flames and ashes, while the blood of martyrs would water the roots of that accursed tree Intolerance. The pretensions of "the only Christian church," in common with the other "only true churches," would resound from north to south—the cries of Protestants, heretics, orthodox and heterodox, Dissenters, Episcopalians, Presbyterians, Baptists, Mormonites, &c. would ring from east to west, while thousands, inflamed by a blind and furious zeal, would rush to the rescue and array themselves to give new impulse to ecclesiastical rage, until the mild religion of the meek Jesus would hide its head in shame and horror of the stupidity and wickedness and bigotry of rational man.

Does Civis actually believe that the safety of the State is to be secured only by denouncing his fellow citizens of different religious creeds from his own, or the Protestant? I will not discuss this point. A great and intelligent people look to other means than speculative opinions in religious creeds for "the safety of the State." Civis need not fear that the people will be wanting to themselves, or slow to detect the Atheist, or the man holding opinions dangerous to the State, when aspiring to office. Public opinion is a sufficient corrective for dangers from this source, but the notion is too common that the people are incapable of self-government—let them be trusted and it will be found that they are the sure conservative power of every thing valuable in our institutions.

Civis infers that the reason why "preachers are proscribed from a seat in the Legislature is, no doubt on account of the almost implicit reliance each flock places in the Pastor's judgment, and the undue control he might exercise over them in elections." If this were all, it were indeed enough—but it is not all. The object is to preserve the purity of our institutions, and to keep alive the just abhorrence of that unholy alliance of "Church and State." To prevent the various clergy, bodies of distinct and separate interests—interests ever hostile to the political interests of all States—from being immediately and specially represented in those interests in our public councils.

Civis enquires, what will posterity find, &c. (12th line from bottom of 1st column.) If the march of mind, and sound and liberal views in the science of government and the rights of man proceed with the same step, as in this day, it may safely be pronounced that the voice of posterity will be an unequivocal condemnation of Civis's narrow and intolerant views. Alas! poor human nature—would it not be better for Civis to imitate the benevolence of Uncle Toby, when addressing the fly he set at liberty, "Why should I hurt thee—surely the world is wide enough for thee and me!" Ah! poor "Jesuitical venter of indulgences"—long, long and deeply (it would seem) the arrow must continue to adhere to thy side! Evils, cruelties and horrors, has your sect indeed inflicted on suffering Protestants in by-gone ages, and hopelessly have sounded the shrieks for mercy, mercy, in thy impitiable ears, when thou granted it not, but drew closer and tighter thy hellish engines of torture and destruction. History is full of thy cruelties, persecutions and intrigues—askest thou now for mercy, for charity? Yes, and thou hast, and shall receive it from an effrightened age, from the liberal spirit of the followers of Christ. Though thy crimes be as scarlet, they shall become white as snow. Enlightened opinion, an enlightened country shall give you without mockery the rights of citi-

zens; and not you only, but the Turk, Jew, and every other sect. A liberal age shall raise you to the dignity of man, and effect a certain triumph over the cant, superstition, and venality of bigots and fanatics. The divorce of religious and political power is approaching its consummation, never again to be united. Let the faithful "reprover of sin" go on in his proper sphere, to impress upon the aged and the young their moral obligations; but oh, Civis, let him be covered always by the mantle of charity. Let him walk humbly, and with a single eye to the service of God, to which he is set apart. Let him remember that the kingdom of Christ is not of this world; let him eschew the pursuit of temporal power, wealth, honors and distinction. Let it not grieve this faithful reprover of sin that he cannot sit in the councils of the nation, to represent the temporal and political interests of the clergy. Let him not tarnish the snow-white purity of his epoch by aspirations after the things of this world, much less after the power of the sword; nor vainly imagine that, while he utters his moral apothegms, he is seeking with a single heart the salvation of the souls of men.

Pardon my prolixity, Mr. Printer, I have merely glanced at the topics presented by Civis. I conclude in nearly his own words. I for one protest against the reformed Constitution, because it has not totally expunged the 32d article.

TOLERATOR.



TARBOROUGH,

SATURDAY, JULY 18, 1835.

We have received from a friend a handbill purporting to be "A few questions and answers relative to Slavery, which appear to interest every citizen of the United States. By Sherlock S. Gregory." It was enclosed in an envelope, directed to the Postmaster, Greensborough, Green county, Ga. and was picked up on the road near Enfield, together with an anti-slavery newspaper, on Sunday last. Several copies, we are informed, were found on the road by others, supposed to have been distributed intentionally by some person travelling South in the stage. The handbill contains a variety of incendiary questions and answers—asserts that "the negroes to our knowledge are no worse than the whites," and avers that "unless the Southern people conclude to free the slaves, we will be severed from the South to free ourselves from the expected curses"—these curses upon the country have commenced, it states, and the most prominent are enumerated, as "the Cholera," "the inundating our land by great numbers of Roman Catholics," "the unheard of numbers that die of consumption in the city of New York," &c. If Mr. Gregory, or his agent, will make himself publicly known, we have no hesitation in assuring him that he will receive many marked attentions, such as will not be readily effaced, from the people of the South whom he so diffidently attempts to enlighten.

State Convention.—This body adjourned on Saturday last, after a session of five weeks and three days. The following are the Captions of the articles of amendment to the Constitution, adopted by the Convention, which are to be submitted to the people for their ratification or rejection, on the 2d Monday in November next. If the amendments be ratified, they shall take effect and be in force from after the first of January, 1836.

We will barely remark, that there were but fifty-seven voters in this county who sanctioned the call for a Convention, and we doubt very much whether half that number will assent to its amendments.

1. For fixing the numbers of the Senate, and laying off the State in Electoral Districts, as follows:

That until the first session of the General Assembly, after the year eighteen hundred and forty-one, the Senate shall be composed of Members elected from districts as follows. The 1st district, Perquimons and Pasquotank; 2d district, Camden and Currituck; 3d district, Gates and Chowan; 4th district, Washington and Tyrrell; 5th district, Northampton; 6th district, Hertford; 7th district, Bertie; 8th district, Martin; 9th district, Halifax; 10th district, Nash; 11th district, Wake; 12th district, Franklin; 13th district, Johnston; 14th district, Warren; 15th district, Edgecombe; 16th district, Wayne; 17th district, Greene and Lenoir; 18th district, Pitt; 19th district, Beaufort and Hyde; 20th district, Carteret and Jones; 21st district, Craven; 22d district, Chatham; 23d district, Granville; 24th district, Person; 25th district, Cumberland; 26th district, Sampson; 27th district, New-Hanover; 28th district, Duplin; 29th district, Onslow; 30th district, Brunswick, Bladen and Columbus; 31st district, Robeson and Richmond; 32d district, Anson; 33d district, Cabarrus; 34th district, Moore and Montgomery; 35th district, Caswell; 36th district, Rockingham; 37th district, Orange; 38th district, Randolph; 39th district, Guilford; 40th district, Stokes; 41st district, Rowan; 42d district, Davidson; 43d district, Surry; 44th district, Wilkes and Ashe; 45th district, Burke and Yancy; 46th district, Lincoln; 47th district, Iredell; 48th district, Rutherford; 49th district, Buncombe, Haywood and Macon; 50th district, Mecklenburg. Each district entitled to one member in the Senate.

2. For fixing the number of members of the House of Commons, and for laying off the State as follows:

That until the first session of the General Assembly after the year eighteen hundred and forty-one, the House of Commons shall be composed of members elected from the counties in the following manner, viz:

The counties of Lincoln and Orange shall elect four members each.

The counties of Burke, Chatham, Granville, Guilford, Halifax, Iredell, Mecklenburg, Rowan, Rutherford, Surry, Stokes and Wake, shall elect three members each.

The counties of Anson, Beaufort, Bertie, Buncombe, Cumberland, Craven, Caswell, Davidson, Duplin, Edgecombe, Franklin, Johnston, Montgomery, New-Hanover, Northampton, Person, Pitt, Randolph, Robeson, Richmond, Rockingham, Sampson, Warren, Wayne and Wilkes, shall elect two members each.

The Counties of Ashe, Bladen, Brunswick, Camden, Columbus, Chowan, Currituck, Carteret, Cabarrus, Gates, Greene, Haywood, Hertford, Hyde, Jones, Lenoir, Macon, Moore, Martin, Nash, Onslow, Pasquotank, Perquimons, Tyrrell, Washington and Yancy, shall elect one member each.

3. Prescribing the qualification of Members for the Senate.

That each member of the Senate shall have usually resided in the district for which he is chosen, for one year, immediately preceding his election, and for the same time, shall have possessed, and continue to possess in the district which he represents, not less than three hundred acres of land in fee.

4. Prescribing the qualification of voters for Members of the Senate.

That all free men of the age of twenty-one years, who have been inhabitants of any one district within the State, twelve months immediately preceding the day of

any election, and possessed of a freehold, within the same district, of fifty acres of land, for six months next before, and at the day of election, shall be entitled to vote for a member of the Senate.

5. Directing the manner in which future amendments shall be made to the Constitution. [No Convention of the people shall be called by the General Assembly, unless by the concurrence of two-thirds of all the members of each House. No part of the Constitution of this State shall be altered, unless a bill to alter the same shall have been read three times in each House of the General Assembly, and agreed to by three-fifths of the whole number of members of each House. Nor shall any alteration take place until a bill so agreed to shall have been published six months previous to the new election of members of the General Assembly; but after such publication, if the alterations, proposed by the preceding General Assembly shall be agreed to in the first session thereafter by two-thirds of the whole representation in each House of the General Assembly, after the same shall have been read three times on three several days in each House, then the said General Assembly shall prescribe the mode by which the Amendment or Amendments may be submitted to the qualified voters of the House of Commons throughout the State and if the majority of the voters have approved the same, it shall become a part of the Constitution.]

6. For excluding Borough Members in future. [This Article sufficiently explains itself.]

7. For abrogating the right of free Negroes or Mulattoes to vote for Members of the Senate and House of Commons. [This Article sufficiently explains itself.]

8. For disqualifying Members of the Assembly and Officers of the State, from holding office while they hold any office under the United States, or any other Government. [This Article sufficiently explains itself.]

9. For making the Capitation Tax on Slaves and free White Polls, equal. [That is, all free males over 21 and under 45, and all slaves over 12 and under 50, to be taxed, except in cases of bodily infirmity.]

10. To require Members of the General Assembly to vote *viva voce* in election of Officers. [This Article explains itself.]

11. To amend the 32d Article of the Constitution. [The word *Protestant* is struck out, and the word *Christian* put in its place, so that hereafter no Christian can be excluded from Office.]

12. To provide for biennial meetings of the General Assembly. [This Article explains itself.]

13. To provide for the election of Governor, biennially by the people. [In case two candidates shall have an equal and the highest number of votes, the General Assembly shall decide which of the two shall be Governor. Contested elections to be determined by both Houses of the General Assembly.]

14. To provide that the Attorney General shall be elected for a term of four years. [To be elected by joint ballot of both Houses of the Legislature.]

15. Providing the manner in which the Judges of the Supreme and Superior Courts and other Officers of State may be impeached and tried for corruption and mal-practices in Office. [To be impeached by the House of Commons, and tried by the Senate. Judgment not to extend further than to removal from office, and disqualification to hold and enjoy any office of trust and profit under this State, but may be subject to indictment, trial, judgment and punishment, according to law.]

16. For vacating the office of Justices of the Peace, and disqualifying them from holding office upon the conviction of an infamous crime, or of corruption and mal-practice in office. [Provides, that on conviction of any Justice of the Peace of an infamous

crime, or of corruption in office, he shall be forever disqualified from holding such appointment.]

17. Providing for the removal of any of the Judges of the State or Superior Courts, on account of mental or physical disability. [On a concurrent Resolution of two-thirds of both branches of the General Assembly, a Judge may be removed from office for mental or physical disability.]

18. Providing that the salaries of the Judges shall not be diminished during their continuance in office. [This Article explains itself.]

19. To provide against unnecessary private Legislation. [This Article provides that the General Assembly may pass general laws regulating divorce and alimony; but shall not have power to grant a divorce, or secure alimony in any individual case; nor shall have power to pass any private law, to alter the name of any person, or to legitimate any persons not born in wedlock, or restore the rights of citizenship to any person convicted of infamous crime. Nor shall the General Assembly pass any private law, unless it shall be made to appear that 30 days notice shall have been given in such manner as shall have been provided by law.]

20. To amend the 13th section of the Constitution. [To strike out after the word *demerolity*, the words "and on Attorney General," and to insert between the words "Equity" and "Judges," the words "and," so as to exclude the appointment of Attorney General from this Article.]

21. To provide for vacancies that may occur by death, resignation, or otherwise, before the meeting of the General Assembly. [Writs may be issued under such regulations as may be prescribed by law.]

22. To provide for the appointment and removal of Militia Officers. [The General Assembly shall have power to pass laws regulating the mode of appointing and removing Militia Officers.]

Death of Chief Justice Marshall.—The Hon. John Marshall, Chief Justice of the United States, died at Philadelphia on the 6th inst. after a confinement of several weeks. Judge Marshall was born in 1755. In 1775 as a lieutenant in the service of his country he was engaged against Lord Dunmore. He afterwards served with distinguished courage and ability in the war of independence and fought at the battles of Brandywine, Germantown and Monmouth. In 1782 he represented his fellow citizens in the Legislature of Virginia; in 1799 he was elected to Congress; in 1800 he became Secretary of War; and in 1801 was appointed Chief Justice of the United States. This august office he held, to the time of his disease. He died surrounded by esteemed friends and affectionate relations. In Philadelphia, New York, Baltimore, Richmond, Norfolk, &c. testimonials of respect for the memory of the deceased have been adopted.

Gama Grass.—We have been informed by James B. Marshall, Esq. that he has lately brought into a state of cultivation this valuable grass, and in the month of May cut from less than two feet square, two pounds nine ounces green grass. In less than 14 days after cutting, it grew 12 inches in height; and it may be cut every 25 days until the 1st of November or severe frost. He says his horses, cattle and sheep prefer to the best of blade fodder; and having tried red top, timothy and clover, he is certain one acre of Gama will produce more forage than ten in those grasses.—Persons wishing to see the quality of the hay, can do so by calling on this office.—Wash. Whig.

## FOREIGN.

Late from Europe.—The packet ships Rhone from Havre, and North America from Liverpool, have arrived at New York.